



MUSIC, AS A SOCIAL ACTIVITY

Meredith Ellen Grace Hall, B.A.(Hons)

The Department of Anthropology

The University of Adelaide

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PRECIS

Precis

This is an anthropological study of music as a social activity in the city of Adelaide, South Australia, - described as a 'Festival City' and a 'City of Churches and Taverns'. In Adelaide, music and its performance contexts are seen as symbolic activities having different 'levels of emergence'. These levels are layers in society varying from micro to macro perspectives. They have a horizontal axis of 'sequence' such as 'syntagmatic' melody, and a vertical axis of 'dimension' such as 'paradigmatic' harmony.

The lowest level for gaining a sense of symbolic organisation is 'sequence and dimension', followed by the higher levels of 'frame', 'field' and 'extended context'. The symbolic processes behind the form and content of music itself, and the choice of music for a particular performance, can best be revealed when each of these levels is viewed separately in detail, and together with other levels in an overview. In this way, the relationships between micro and macro levels of society can be analysed.

Performances (which may consist of more or less unrelated themes occurring in sequence), and rituals (having themes which are carried through three major phases) are both organised in terms of a symbolic focus. Although symbols are generally multifocal, in any given context only some meanings of a particular symbol are emphasized. This focussing process helps to create the frame boundaries around a performance. Within this frame, symbols are further arranged according to their situational dominance or sub-dominance.

There are performances in which the dominant symbols are those of the wider context, and other performances in which they are not. In the first case, the dominant blue-print in society - the 'paradigm' - is reinforced. In Adelaide, the core paradigm is that of Anglo-conformity. In the second case, two sets of symbols (dominant and sub-dominant) are juxtaposed in the form of 'social metaphor'. In Adelaide, social metaphor supports an anti-tradition or an alternative paradigm. For example, metaphor supports New Music, or the traditions of 'migrant' people. The range of Case Study summaries shows how symbols emerge as dominant or sub-dominant.

Control over the choice of music performed in Adelaide is in the hands of two major groups: the 'Establishment' (an interlocking group of families) and the 'Elite' (a group with claims to resources through business). They control cultural and capital resources, although the 'Establishment' has a much greater control over the definition of culture. For it still patronises educational institutions, and in so doing perpetuates the culture. Because education requires prior access to cultural and capital resources, there is a high degree of overlap between the definition of the dominant class/status groups and the dominant culture of this society. The restricted availability of education results in the means of interpreting and reinterpreting value codes remaining the privilege of a minority with prior resources. 'Culture' is thus formed in terms of the paradigm, and consists (according to members of the culture) of 'high' and 'low' culture. 'Society' contains much more than dominant themes: it provides the sub-dominant social metaphor which can become the basis for social change.

Particular Case Studies provide the core of this thesis in that they reveal 'levels of emergence' existing along the continuum of social relationships. The nature of social structuring is such that boundaries are created around events. These boundaries permit and emphasize the closure which disrupts the continuum pattern. In this way, 'levels of emergence' are formed on both horizontal and vertical axes.

Having recognised 'levels of emergence', it was then necessary to formulate a Grounded Theory based on the Case Studies (only a few of which are summarised in this thesis) in order to describe the fluidity or dynamism of the 'levels of emergence'. This theory may be of equal or greater value to the general field of Anthropology than the Case Studies themselves.

This theory consists of 'nested' concepts labelled according to the nature of the 'levels of emergence' described, that is, frame, field, etc. On each level, symbols cluster further to form themes which may be carried from one level to the next, through communication networks which cross-cut the levels. These themes may be in the form of 'presentational' values or 'discursive' attitudes. Their applicability to any situation is mediated through, for example, musical performance or ritual.

Themes which pass through several levels are termed 'Social Images'. They are themselves the result of the symbolic selection process called 'Impression Management', which orders the distribution of capital and cultural resources, and thus the choice of music performed.

Finally, as Professor E. Leach has suggested, 'paradigmatic' ladders and 'syntagmatic' chains of symbolic organisation can be transformed. Through metonymy paradigmatic ladders can be transformed into syntagmatic chains;

and through metaphor, syntagmatic chains can become paradigmatic ladders. ✓
Thus, as with space and time, there is a degree of interchangeability
of the perspectives. Therefore, through studying the patterns of
dominance and sub-dominance of symbols, from segments of music to
musical performances in the wider society, one gains a key to understand-
ing the dynamics of society.

Disclaimer

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge, contains no material previously written by another person which has not been properly acknowledged and cited.

Signed: . . . !

Date: 21st May 1981

Dedicated to
Miss Thelma Dent,
who was an excellent piano teacher
and friend.

Credits

I would like to thank The University of Adelaide and The Department of Anthropology for offering me the opportunity to undertake the research work for this thesis, and for allowing me to complete the writing in the United Kingdom and Indonesia. I also thank them for the provision of the University Research Grant during the period of my most intensive research. In particular I would like to acknowledge the following for their terms of supervision: Mr. Thomas Ernst, Mr. Roy Fitzhenry, Dr. Kingsley Garbett, Dr. John Gray, Professor Bruce Kapfarer, and Dr. Adrian Peace.

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SECTION I

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION



Choice of Subject: 'Music, as a Social Activity'

The subject of this thesis is 'Music, as a Social Activity', but 'Why choose to concentrate on music as a social activity, rather than politics, economics, religion, or some other topic?' Despite the fact that some anthropologists, (notably Claude Levi-Strauss, Edmund Leach, John Blacking and Rodney Needham) have studied the social significance of music, this subject has largely been left for musicologists to investigate, supposedly because of their more specific expertise and interest in the subject. However, musicologists and ethnomusicologists have not been directly concerned with music as an integrated part of social life. They have been more concerned with the relationship between musical structures and society. Many areas of study have been left untouched, and these gaps are now apparent to those who know something of the work of musicologists, ethnomusicologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. Had there been a complete study of music as a social activity, using an approach which integrated the more specific interests of each discipline, one may still pose two more questions. Firstly, 'Why be concerned about the lack of integrated theory of music as a social activity?' And secondly, 'Is it useful to have such a theory, even though it may be interesting to propose one?'

Within the space of this thesis, I aim to answer such questions by pointing out the major ways in which music reveals the dynamics of the societies in which we live. I argue that through an examination of the plurality of musical activities, their boundaries, and the processes of interaction between them, one can see social interaction, process, and structure with "both breadth and marvellous concreteness".¹ Music may be meaningful,

1 Weber, W. 1975, Music and the Middle Class - The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna. London: Croom Helm. p. 15.

"because it refers to things outside itself, evoking associations and connotations relative to the world of ideas",¹ as perhaps anthropologists and sociologists would tend to view the function of music. But music may also be meaningful, because "within the context of a particular musical style one tone or group of tones indicates - leads the practical listener to expect - that another tone or group of tones will be forthcoming",² as perhaps musicologists and ethnomusicologists tend to view music. On the one hand, one can look at music in the world, and on the other, one can talk about the world in music. As Leonard Meyer³ points out, and as I argue here, even though one can separate these two kinds of approach to the meaning of music, "there is in practice an intimate interaction between them".⁴ For this reason attention should be given to the task of developing a theory, or methodology, capable of dealing with the social content of music, from its tonal structure, through the specifics of performance contexts, to its widespread symbolic import in the extended contexts of culture and society. So far, this task has been left incomplete; for this reason I aim to provide a substantive theory which, though grounded in specific ethnographic accounts, is still applicable to other research.

It is usual to begin a thesis with an appreciation of the chosen subject. Whilst this thesis is generally about 'Music, as a Social Activity', the ethnography is specific to Adelaide, the capital city of South Australia. This large and complex subject will be broken into manageable areas of discussion. But for the moment let us introduce a poem written by Wallace Stevens, which immediately suggests some of the complexities associated with writing a social analysis of musical presentations.

1 Meyer, L.B. 1967. Music, The Arts, and Ideas: Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture. Third impression 1970. Chicago and London: Uni. of Chicago Press. p. 6.

2 - 4 ibid. pp. 6-7.

The poem is called, 'The Man with the Blue Guitar':-

*"The man bent over his blue guitar
A shearsman of sorts. The day was green.

They said, 'You have a blue guitar,
You do not play things as they are.'

The man replied, 'Things as they are
Are changed upon the blue guitar.'

And they said then, 'But play, you must,
A tune beyond us, yet ourselves,

A tune upon the blue guitar
Of things exactly as they are.'"¹*

Consider this statement, "'You have a blue guitar, / You do not play things as they are.'"² One way of unravelling this artistic puzzle is to suggest that, for example, a musical performance is set within the context of the wider society; and discrepancies between everyday and performance contexts can inform us about the dynamics of social processes. As the poet suggests, "The day was green."³ Yet, the guitar was "blue".⁴ The implications of this statement are explained in the remainder of this short poem. In brief, a musical performance is structured in a different way from an everyday situation, and it therefore results in perspectives that are not wholly consistent with the wider environment. Notice that the guitarist replies, "'Things as they are / Are changed upon the blue guitar'"⁵ Wallace Stevens then proceeds to reveal the paradox involved in any performance of the Arts.

1 - 5 Moore, J.G. 1968. The Many Ways of Seeing: An Introduction to the Pleasures of Art. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. p. 55.

Aspects of the wider social environment impinge on musical performance; but these have a structure of their own. This limits the focus of the participants to just some aspects of "'Things as they are'"¹ outside this context. The social interaction surrounding a musical performance is bounded by rules, concerning the forms of action which are appropriate to a particular performance. With reference to the poem, one might say that the audience response to the guitarist's statements reaffirms the complexity of interwoven perspectives. They say, "'But play you must/ A tune beyond us, yet ourselves.'"² That is, the musician must create music which transcends everyday human experiences, but which is complementary to them. Music, indeed, has two major functions. One is to provide long-distance communication across territorial, or space/time dimensions so that people can communicate with their deity. The other is to provide the cooperation necessary for the coordination of performing and listening activities.

The final poetic statement summarizes the paradox of Arts performances. The people request that the musician play, "'A tune upon the blue guitar/ Of things exactly as they are.'"³ Yet this is not possible, and indeed the role of the artist is more often to add a social and individualistic perspective, which, through its selective focus, highlights some of the symbolic aspects of a social milieu. The Arts are, then, very much a part of 'the social construction of reality'.^{*} Indeed, I argue that they are an essential part. This Introduction to the 'social construction of reality' provides a

1 - 3 Moore, J.G. 1968. The Many Ways of Seeing: An Introduction to the Pleasures of Art. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. p. 55.

* Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. 1966. The Social Construction of Reality - A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Penguin Books.

key to understanding ethnography and the resulting 'grounded theory'* presented in this thesis.

Choice of Adelaide as the Research Area

Adelaide has specific points of merit as a research area. Historically, it was the last of the Australian colonies. It was also the most highly planned one, for colonial problems in America and in the earlier states of Australia indicated a need for such planning. Three groups of people were involved in the initial stages of planning, which began in England. First, there were the speculator-capitalists, who invested money in the new colonial venture and who formed the South Australia Company in England. One of their major roles was to control land prices. Second, there were representatives of the British Government, who were responsible for the administration of the colony, and, third there were men with the know-how to put a vision into practice - such as the surveyors. Gibbon Wakefield was the man whose proposed plans for the colony were put into practice by the Government. But the Government's methods for implementing them were inexpert. These plans included statements about the physical and ideological framework of the colony.

It was to be a planned city in the fullest sense - even the class structure was given due consideration. I emphasize the point that the planning extended to the definition of culture and society, and therefore choices in music were also to some extent dictated. However, life in the colony led to deviations from the plans. This gap between the ideal and actual application of the plans receives detailed discussion in Section II. Within the historical account of music in Adelaide, values such as 'respectability' receive

* Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L. 1971. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Quantitative Research. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co. Chapter 10, p. 12.

detailed discussion. They give insight into the ways in which social images* are created, maintained, or changed.

The Central Sociological Problem

The central sociological problem has been to account for the choice of music within particular social situations. One of the questions asked is, 'What are its determinants?' In attempting to answer this question, it is essential to consider the influences of such variables as status and class, as well as economic, political, religious and educational variables, and their effect on the social selection of music performed. Any of the above mentioned variables describe power relationships which require further consideration in order to see the ways in which "economic"¹ and "cultural"² resources are distributed within a particular society. As defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1973), the concept of "economic capital"³ refers to the allocation of financial and land resources. "Cultural capital"⁴ involves the notion of hereditary privileges within a controlling 'establishment' set of families. As indicated previously, the planning of Adelaide did place "economic"⁵ and "cultural"⁶ capital in the hands of given sectors of the social structure. Also, included in the concept of "cultural capital"⁷ are hereditary stocks of knowledge about ethnic- and class-appropriate forms of behaviour. In fact, the sets of symbolic resources defined above have an inequitable distribution in any given society. The choice of music for any given situation, then, depends upon those who have power over the allocation of economic and cultural resources. Where only one group of people controls both kinds of resources there will be a

1 - 7 Bourdieu, P. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Papers in the Sociology of Education; 'Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change.' Tavistock. pp. 71-112.

* See pages 20 - 24 of this Introduction.

concentration of wealth, power, and prestige. That is, there exists a definite correlation between dominant class and its representative sets of symbols, and dominant culture. In Adelaide there is an Establishment group of interlocking families, whose members control both economic and cultural resources. At this stage, it is sufficient to recognize the existence of different class and status groups, and their influence on the situational selection of music for performance. Here the term 'class' refers to the degree of control over the distribution of capital and cultural resources - i.e. to the unequal distribution of income, property, occupational opportunities, (which are partly the result of educational imbalances) and prestige. From these imbalances come the patterns of power relationships.

Although class and status form distinct power relationships, they tend to operate together. But at the same time, musical tastes give form and definition to class and status categories. That is to say, people not only organize musical occasions, they are also organized by them.* Thus I argue that the Arts do have a strong, albeit unobtrusive authority in culture and society, because they carry information about social structure. They not only influence the specific patterns of social interaction which extend outside the performance frame, but they also contain messages about the boundaries for acceptable behaviour, (as defined by the social context). Labels such as 'high' and 'low' culture, and tastes in musical style help to define culture and society through their selective focus on certain given themes.

* Class and status categories influence the form and definition of musical taste.

Musical activities may be rituals, performances, or happenings.

Sometimes music plays an important role in ceremonies, but in such social situations music may not remain the central focus throughout.

In discussing the range of music presented in Adelaide, and the differing emphases given to particular kinds of musical performances, one must consider the processes whereby the form and content of the musical occasion become 'legitimated'. The degree of legitimation held by a particular musical activity can be defined in terms of the degree of support which it receives. This support can be expressed through the allocation of both economic and cultural resources. Furthermore, as Marc Swartz suggests (1969), there is an exchange network between, "those who give the support and its recipients."² This is clearly expressed by the existence, in Adelaide, of a Government funded and controlled bureaucracy which coordinates Establishment interests in the Arts, and Government policy concerning the allocation of resources for the Arts. It also coordinates Elite interests in the Arts, and networks used to gain more resources for particular performance groups.

The Hypothesis

The social restrictions on the choice of music occur at all of the following 'levels of emergence': the level of Government divisions concerned with art policy; the level of educational institutions; the level of musical societies; and at the lowest level - that of individual musical performances. The hypothesis is, then, that music as a social activity has "different levels of emergence".³ The restrictions on the choice of music occur at all of these

1 See pages

2 Swartz, M.J. (Ed.) 1969. Local-level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives. London: London Uni. Press. p. 30.

3 Garbett, K. 1970. 'The Analysis of Social Situations'. Man. Vol. 5. 1970.

levels in society. An explanation of the concept of levels of emergence will become clear as this thesis progresses, particularly during the outline of the substantive theory.*

But first, it is necessary to give a lengthy statement about the approach to anthropological research and writing used here. The reason for this is that not all forms of social analysis are fluid enough to allow the most fruitful discussion of 'levels of emergence' and social change. For neither pure functionalism nor pure structuralism provide the necessary framework for this discussion.

Limitations in Research Approaches

Functionalism, according to Robert Merton, has three major assumptions, and they are:-

*"(1) the postulate of the functional unity of society - everything is functionally related to everything else; (2) the postulate of universal functionalism - all cultural elements perform a function; and (3) the postulate of functional indispensibility - every cultural element is capable of performing the same function."*¹

This all embracing view of the functional unity of society can be shown to be false by ethnographic data, for societies are not completely integrated in function. There are disjunctions caused by conflicts and contradictions.

1 Kaplan, D. and Manners, R.A. (Ed.) 1972. Culture Theory. Foundations in Modern Anthropology Series. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. New York: Harper and Row, Pub. Inc. Vol. 1. p. 57.

* See pages 257-290

On the other hand, 'pure' structuralist anthropologists look at the ways in which social structures form an overall pattern. In the case of Claude Levi-Strauss,^{*} this involves reference to the structure of thought. Within this framework it is the social interaction which is left unexplained. For one should be asking questions about processes of social interaction which operate in and across social structures.

There are two major ways in which the analysis of a social situation can proceed. One emphasizes the macro-level of understanding; the other emphasizes the micro-level. In the first case, the parts of a society are viewed in relation to a larger social network; and, in the second case, the parts are viewed separately, or at most in relation to each other.

To illustrate these cases, two examples have been selected. Firstly, Lewis Dumont in Homo Hierarchicus¹ gives a wholistic appreciation of purity and pollution concepts in the Indian caste system. He aims to deal with explanations of the whole ideology of the social system, and at the same time he criticises Marxist approaches which begin with the economic basis of production. That is, for example, Lewis Dumont criticises Frederick Bailey for presenting in Caste and the Economic Frontier² an explanation of purity and pollution concepts based on one local area, which is then misapplied to the wider social context. Here, it is suggested that structure and super-structure cannot be dealt with independently. Questions of, for example, equality and inequality should be dealt with in relation to the distribution of economic and cultural resources in a particular society. Furthermore,

* Lévi-Strauss, C. 1970. The Raw and the Cooked - Introduction to a Science of Mythology. Vol.1. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc.

1 Dumont, L. 1970. Homo Hierarchicus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

2 Bailey, F.G. 1957. Caste and the Economic Frontier. Manchester.

every society contains equalities and inequalities, which are part of both the structure and the super-structure. Thus, it is argued that approaches which begin with the economic structure, and those which give emphasis to the super-structure occur at different ends of the one continuum. Both explanations have their particular strengths and weaknesses. However, there has grown up a tradition of 'polarized' camps defending each of these approaches. Yet, greatest explanatory power could come from using both of these approaches in the one overall social analysis. The comprehensive, well argued approach given by Lewis Dumont can be balanced by the particularity of Frederick Bailey's account.

Secondly, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's¹ wholistic approach to 'the social construction of reality', and Max Gluckman's situational analysis of the Zululand Bridge-opening ceremony* can also be used as complementary methods of social analysis. By looking beyond the purely situational analysis to the processes of legitimation in the wider social context, more can be gained through this type of analysis. I am suggesting, then, not a 'simple' combination of approaches, but rather an approach which sets the situational analysis within the framework of the wider society. Themes such as interaction, process and structure can then be analysed as they operate on different social levels. The 'Grounded Theory' developed for this purpose will be discussed in the next section of this Introduction.** It is necessary to distinguish the approach used here, from those in which the 'combination' of the two approaches has resulted in losing the advantages of either macro, or micro analysis. Eric Goffman's Frame Analysis falls into this category.²

1 Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. 1966. The Social Construction of Reality - A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Penguin Books.

2 Goffman, E. 1974. Frame Analysis. New York: Harper Colophon Books.

* Gluckman, M. (Ed.). 1971. Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand. 'The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers': No. 28. Manchester Uni. Press.

** See pages 13-15.

He attempts to both generalize from the specific contextual meanings of symbols, and to specify social meanings from the generalized definition of symbols - an approach which is unsatisfactory.

Max Gluckman and Jack Douglas have approaches which can be used together, to show some of the ways in which lower-level events and higher-level organizations interact. Max Gluckman's approach to the emphasis of a particular social situation in modern Zululand is as follows:-

*"As a starting point for my analysis I describe a series of events as I recorded them on a single day. Social situations are a large part of the raw material of the anthropologist. They are the events he observes and from them and their inter-relationships in a particular society he abstracts the social structure, relationships, institutions, etc., of that society. By them, and by new situations, he must check the validity of his generalizations."*¹

Accounts of specific social situations do provide a key to the understanding of social processes involved in interaction. They are the core of this thesis, in that the Grounded Theory^{*} develops from them. However, I would like to go one stage further than the above approach, by emphasizing the significance of looking at the juxtapositioning of these individual events in a wider context. Jack Douglas summarizes this approach, when he says:-

1 Gluckman, M. 1971. Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand. 'The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers'. No. 28. 1971. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 2.

* See Section III, Chapter 3.

"The analysts of everyday life must become increasingly concerned with the ways in which human beings construct order across their social situations.... and upon analysis of actions bounded by a simple situation."¹

Thus, from the outset it should be clearly understood that my aim is to utilize both macro and micro levels of analysis, and to show the processes whereby the two become involved in a dialectical interaction. This is one way in which to deal with data which ranges from overall historical accounts of specific institutions, through accounts of performances, and, finally, through to an analysis of the arrangement of symbols within the sequences of particular performances.

The Pathway to an Alternative Approach

Given that I wish to deal with both the macro and micro levels of case material, I turn to the task of formulating Grounded Theory, as described by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, but with some amendments. Perhaps by using Grounded Theory I will be able to develop an approach capable of dealing with the ^{dynamic} problem of 'levels of emergence'. This approach has been useful for the synthesis, as well as the analysis of data, so that the structure and workings of society can be seen. Also, the substantively based theory has had to cope with a wide range of research material, for example: historical accounts of musical activities; contemporary data ranging from detailed accounts of aspects of particular performances, rituals, happenings and ceremonies; particular observations of interaction; informal

1 Douglas, J. (Ed.). 1974. Understanding Everyday Life - Towards the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 12.

conversations; formal interviews; and computerized results based on questionnaires and interviews. But more than this, it has had to cover the entire spectrum of levels of emergence from micro to macro social contexts.

Grounded Theory is original in the sense that it is based on specific ethnographic accounts. It must have a minimum of "four highly interrelated properties".¹ The first is that the theory arises from the research data. That is, it should have a firm substantive basis. Secondly, such a theory must be comprehensible to two major audiences - the members of the society being discussed, and the anthropologist. Thirdly, "it must be sufficiently general to be applicable to a multitude of diverse daily problems within the substantive area, not just to a specific type of situation."² This third requirement can be fulfilled if the social theory used for the analysis has a number of interrelated sections. Fourthly, Grounded Theory must enhance the anthropologist's ability to explain social situations from the view-point of the participants; and, also enable the anthropologist to carry out further analysis of, for example, performance purposes and meanings. Grounded Theory "must allow the users partial control over the structure and process of daily situations as they change through time."³ Although Glaser and Strauss have suggested that these requirements for the formulation of Grounded Theory are difficult to fulfil, I suggest that it is not such a difficult task. I have found that Grounded Theory arises quite easily from the case material, once the concept of levels of emergence has been applied.

1 Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L. 1971. The Discovery of Grounded Theory Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., Chapter 10, p. 237.

2,3 ibid. p. 237.

I now continue by stating the three major themes in this thesis which explain the creation and maintenance of 'Social Images' on all levels of emergence.

The Three Major Themes:- Interaction, Process and Structure; Social Images

Whilst it is not my purpose to give a detailed account of Robert Murphy's argument (1972),* the following statement does summarize some of the more recent approaches to anthropology. The emphasis is placed on viewing society "as process" rather than as structure:-

*"It is only necessary to abandon a few of the most cherished assumptions... in order to see society as process and to distinguish related but not at all complementary forms of order that lie in mind, culture, and activity. Each level manifests contradictions just as much as harmony, counterpoint more than congruence. And between them are inversions, distortions and opposition."*¹

But more than this, society can be viewed in terms of three interrelated themes. They are interaction, process, and structure. These themes are vital components in this symbolic analysis, which is in turn a way of explaining the complexity of 'Social Images'. I now give brief definitions of these themes in terms of 'Social Images'.

1 Murphy, R. 1972. The Dialectics of Social Life - Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. p. 236.

* ibid.

A recognition of everyday interaction and the theme of 'process' allows an analysis which acknowledges the dynamics of society. Structure is a form of social process which channels social action in prescribed ways in order to create a social image. Social Images, as will be illustrated here, can be 'paradigms' (blue-print behaviour patterns which are closely tied to the dominant culture of a society), or social metaphors, which help to structure sub-dominant social perspectives. One can suggest that any social image is the product of interaction, process and structure.

Interaction is defined as communication between people in any given context. The communication can be verbal or non-verbal and may include language, gesture, music, dance etc. Interaction can be 'discursive' (that is, wide in its focus), or 'presentational' (narrow in its focus). For example, conversation is discursive whereas liturgy is highly presentational. Also, with regard to music, Jazz improvisation in a bar setting could be described as discursive, whereas Opera performed in a concert hall is an example of a presentational form of Interaction.*

Process links Interaction with Structure. It is defined in terms of focussing procedures whereby symbols are managed, or manipulated to create Social Images. Process describes the progression of events simultaneously on 'paradigmatic' and 'syntagmatic' axes. These two terms can be explained by the analogy that the 'paradigmatic ladder' plays a similar role in social process as harmony plays in music, and the 'syntagmatic chain' is similar to melody.

* My definitions of discursive and presentational forms are not the same as Susanne Langer's, since I am not convinced that the alignment of language with discursiveness and music with presentationalism goes far enough for this study. That may be so but I want to say something more than that, and not have the discussion closed at that point. See Langer, S.K. 1942. Philosophy in a New Key; A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art. Third Ed. Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard Uni. Press. 1974. Chap. 4. pp. 79-102.

Structure is defined as a boundary which frames Interaction and organizes it in terms of a specific focus. The juxtapositioning of dominant and sub-dominant themes in any given context results in a discontinuity in interaction. These breaks in the social continuum form part of the pattern we call Structure. For example, boundaries form around social institutions, ceremonies, rituals and performances, because of the symbolic statement of their focuses. These boundaries may be fluid, but they are highly visible. They may expand or contract as resources are drawn towards or away from them.

Social Images not only describe the dynamics of interaction, process and structure, they also participate in them. To link this section with the previous discussion of cultural and capital resources,^{*} I call the reader's attention to the fact that the differential allocation of these resources gives definition and focus to the ways in which these three themes work in a particular situation.

Social structure is created because people focus on certain patterns of behaviour rather than on other alternative kinds. Focus creates the boundaries around structures, albeit fluid ones open to negotiation, through a process of selection whereby some people, actions, or distinctions are included, and some excluded. Focus gives structure on identifiable, symbolically organized form and content by which one can recognise distinct social situations. Because people construct social categories based on rules about acceptable and unacceptable forms of interaction (in a given context), Social Images are created. Social Images are, then, clearly defined or focussed patterns of behaviour. As will be shown in this thesis, to describe the way in which Social Images operate, one must look at the organization of symbols.

* See pages 6-8.

The existence of social boundaries around symbolically focussed social events results in the segmentation of the progression of events. Between these segments are created pauses or gaps in the social continuum. These pauses consist of less easily defined social activities in which symbolic meanings are not necessarily ranked according to dominance or subdominance. For example, there is a free play of ideas in conversation. Some of the ideas may be conflicting or ambiguous, but people negotiate their points of view with others. Thus, change becomes possible in a discursive context where competing attitudes can be expressed. This discursiveness has been distinguished from presentational communication. The latter is characterized by a symbolically organized interplay of ideas with a definite ranking of meanings - according to their dominance or sub-dominance. Meanings cannot be negotiated, and definitions are narrow.

Thus I repeat that by looking at social structure only, one cannot deal with social change, which is brought about by interaction of a discursive kind (at least in the first place), rather than by interaction of a presentational kind alone. Interaction may be changeable and fluid, and therefore capable of cross-cutting social structures. It is therefore involved in the re-interpretation, misinterpretation or change of social attitudes and values.

Process describes the dialectic between formal structures and interaction of an informal kind. Through the observation of process, both conformity and non-conformity can be revealed. Common sense tells us that social structures are created to enable people to reduce the problems associated with the daily setting up of 'new' systems of organization for recurring social situations. For example, we have the daily structured focus of routine.

On the philosophical level, let us consider Robert Murphy's statements:-

*"The world of phenomena is continuous, and the human mind, aided and abetted by language, breaks it up into discrete objects. Our choice in considering these objects as the essence of experience is an arbitrary one. We believe in a universe of separate and independent things that become somehow related to each other, but we could just as profitably, perhaps more so, look upon reality as continuous and study the means by which it becomes fragmented."*¹

This 'continuum approach' seems valuable, and that is why the order of the three themes is Interaction, then Process, then Structure. I have not begun with structure, which is the more usual approach, because it seems to me that interaction is the more fundamental starting point. However, none of the three themes can be treated in isolation - and I wish to make this point very clear.

The Distinction between Culture and Society

The two concepts of Culture and Society must be distinguished to allow for the further explanation of the differences between root paradigm and metaphor. Root paradigm may be aligned with 'culture' and social metaphor with 'society', but the distinction between the two sets of relationships must be defined.

1 Murphy, R. 1972. The Dialectics of Social Life - Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory. London: George Allen and Unwin. p. 208.

Here, Robert Murphy's definitions of 'culture' and 'society' are used.*
 The term 'culture' describes "fairly fixed systems of norms and standards, values and expressions which mediate social activity, but are to be differentiated from it".¹ 'Culture' consists of typifications of society which provide a focus for action. In focussing action along particular channels, 'culture' involves the omission of other alternative kinds of action. The effect of this process is that a central paradigm or community definition of culture is reinforced.

On the other hand, 'society' consists of various levels of social thought which influence action. 'Society' includes social behaviour which may contradict the dominant definition of 'culture'. That is, 'society' includes sub-dominant symbols which are omitted from the central definition of 'culture' in the paradigm. Robert Murphy continues, "Social structure.... consists of the organization of ongoing social activity, related to culture, but not homologous with it."² Both 'culture' and 'society' display different degrees of dynamism, but 'culture' is usually described as root tradition. In this thesis, paradigm is aligned with the definition of the dominant culture, and metaphor is aligned with society.

Symbols and Focus

Social Images within culture and society become legitimated by acts of symbolic communication - about, for example, nature, people, culture, society, or religion. Because social symbols are bound to the context of human relationships, one cannot talk about interaction, process, or structure without reference to them.

1, 2 Murphy, R.F. 1972. The Dialectics of Social Life - Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. p.16.

* ibid.

There are many kinds of symbols but all are potentially multifocal; that is to say they have a number of different meanings, some or all of which may apply in a given context. However, most often social activities focus on a selection of meanings which are then stressed. Social focus arises from the selective emphasis on some meanings of a symbol, rather than others. This repetition of focussing on some aspects of a given symbol, or set of symbols, creates definable Social Images. In creating a social image some symbols (and aspects of them) will continually be given dominance over others. That is, there will be dominant and sub-dominant symbols.

A given Social Image can be sustained by its association with symbols of goodness and order. Conversely, other Social Images can be controlled by association with symbols of disorder. This method is a useful conscious way, and sometimes subconscious way, of maintaining the status quo. The point is that alternatives to the status quo are less likely to be adopted if they are associated with symbols of disruption. This is because many people fear the consequences of altering the accepted structures such as given power relationships and those with the power have vested interests in sustaining them.

I have already referred to discursive and presentational forms of expressing meaning. Symbols may be used discursively or in presentational form. That is, the meaning of a symbol may be diverse, ambiguous and multifocal, in which case it is discursive. Or, the meaning of a symbol may be narrow and highly defined, in which case it is presentational. Both music and language can be highly discursive or presentational according to the way in which the symbolic content of the communication is organized. Symbols may also vary from being highly presentational at one point in a social event, to being

highly discursive at another. The discussion of rituals, performances, and ceremonies in Section III will explain this statement further.

Symbols may either 'summarize'¹ meaning, or 'elaborate'² on it. As Sherry Ortner suggests (1973),* symbols which summarize meaning "operate to compound and synthesize a complex system of ideas, to 'summarize' them under a unitary form which, in an old-fashioned way, 'stands for' the system as a whole."³ On the other hand, elaborating symbols provides a means of "sorting out complex and undifferentiated feelings and ideas, making them comprehensible... communicable... and translatable into orderly action."⁴ Summarizing symbols would, for example, tend to occur towards the end of a ritual as a means of encompassing the meaning of the ritual as a whole. Elaborating symbols, however, may occur in the first stages of a ritual as a means of focussing attention on particular meanings of multifocal symbols. They are involved in the process of sorting out symbol dominance and sub-dominance. After the section with ambiguous or controlled contrary meanings, (which often occurs in the centre of the ritual), both summarizing and elaborative symbols can be used to re-focus on the dominant symbols. In this phase the meaning of the social situations as a whole is seen in relation to the central phase, and is therefore a phase of summary.

The multifocality of symbols means that social change is possible when one focusses on a different aspect of the same symbol. For example, attitudes to war can be different depending upon whether one focusses on the victories

*1-4 Ortner, S.B. 1973. 'On Key Symbols'. American Anthropologist. 1973. Vol. 75, No. 5. pp. 1338-1346.

1,3 ibid. p. 1339. 2,4 ibid. p. 1340.

gained by war, or on the lives lost through war. Thus duty and sacrifice can be viewed separately or together. Symbols help alternative sets of ideas to be expressed, and they focus social action. In fact they are very much a part of the human thought processes behind social action. When one says that symbols focus meaning, one is suggesting that symbols organize thought and action in terms of a ranking scale, or hierarchy. For this reason, symbols may be described as the visible evidence of the meaning in social relationships. They show how social interaction of a highly discursive nature can be translated into presentational forms.

Through symbols people can be differentiated in terms of class and status, (e.g. educational opportunities and musical taste). Alternatively, symbols can combine human relationships to overcome hierarchical differences - at least for a short time. Symbols can give information about the social organization of concepts such as 'superiority' and therefore 'inferiority'; 'equality' and therefore 'inequality'; 'conformity' and therefore 'non-conformity' or deviance. In defining the symbols related to the first concept of each pair, the symbols relating to the second ones are thereby defined. 'Rites of Passage'^{*} contain the focussing, differentiating and summarising aspects of symbols at various stages throughout the ritual. Such symbols describe the possibilities of moving from one social category to another (as in status changes), and the requirements for so doing. I have already said that through symbolic behaviour social systems can be reinforced or changed. In the latter process, symbols are used to persuade people of the need to change their social system. That is, symbols can be used to legitimate social or religious practices. Unfortunately, religious values such as

* Used in the same way that A. van Gennep uses the term in The Rites of Passage. 1908. New ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.

'humility' may encourage a group to remain subordinate to a dominant group, and so can be used by the dominant group to keep check on their subordinates.

How does this discussion relate to the topic of music in Adelaide? An example of this argument can be seen in the case of (Art Policy in South Australia,) where both an Establishment group and an Elite aim to maintain their power over other members of the society. By controlling Art form and content (that is, symbols), they can claim the responsibility for the choice of music they consider to be the 'best'. Thus, for example, (classical music is the most 'established and elitist' in terms of educational opportunities, (in that it is only available to members of the society with the necessary capital and cultural resources available to them), classical music is given the highest status by the minority group. In this way a wide range of social spheres is controlled.)

Also, one finds that Establishment members are involved in Government, and that symbols of social order are associated with the symbols of Government. The symbols of order become visible in the social context of musical performances, and in the discussion of 'respectability' which is defined by the dominant group (see Section II). Alternative kinds of social action are often described as undesirable because of their association with disorder, which people tend to fear.

To summarise then, through the manipulation of symbols which are ranked in accordance with the distribution pattern of capital and cultural resources, the present power relationships can be maintained. One can begin to see that musical symbols are not just optional extras in culture and society, but a central means of controlling Social Images.

Both paradigm and social metaphor have summarizing and elaborative symbols associated with them. However, paradigms tend to encompass social action within the blue-print and they are thus more summarizing in their action. Social metaphors are on the whole more elaborative. In simpler terms, paradigms are concerned with synthesis, and social metaphors with analysis. In this thesis the processes of synthesis and analysis are treated as part of the same mechanism.

For Sherry Ortner, 'key scenarios' refer to action, and 'root metaphors'^{*} express a view of the world. I do not find this distinction of great use, whereas the distinction between paradigm and social metaphor is useful in social analysis. The separation of views from action is not very profitable because in most social situations the two operate together. It is only useful when action contradicts the views held by a particular group of people. On the other hand, the distinction between paradigm and social metaphor can reveal the ways in which people are inconsistent. It can also give information about the interaction, process and structure of social reinforcement and change.

Moreover, I am in fundamental disagreement with Sherry Ortner's view of metaphor as "static and formal images" related to thought, but not to action. 'Key scenarios' are "dramatic"¹ and associated with action. Even though the strict comparison of approaches is not valid, it is essential to comment that although social paradigm may be more stable, social metaphor is greatly dynamic. Even the most straightforward definition of the term 'metaphor'

* Ortner S. 1973. 'On Key Symbols'. American Anthropologist. 1973. Vol. 75, No. 5. pp. 1335-1346. p. 1342.

1 ibid.

indicates that it operates by placing two or more sets of different concepts together. It can never be static, because interpretation of the links between the two sets of concepts is necessary. This symbolic ordering is central to the process of social change.

I now turn to the definition of 'paradigm', which will be followed by the definition of 'social metaphor'.

Paradigm

Here the discussion of the concept of 'paradigm' is illustrated with reference to Adelaide's colonial history. At the root of this history is the 'paradigm', or blue-print of Anglo-conformity. Gibbon Wakefield's model for a British colony is part of the paradigm, and from it "spring coherent traditions."¹ The root paradigm consists not only of this model, but also of a framework of interrelated social values, which make up the dominant ideology. Of these values, three are discussed in this section. They are the values of 'British Society', which gave the early colonists a sense of common identity; 'British Culture' which resulted in British institutions of law, politics, religion and class being transported to the colony; and, the value of 'respectability'. This 'respectability' is evident in the historical accounts of early musical events. Such values were part of the idea of Adelaide as the model city.

Adelaide was not a penal colony. In this respect it was unlike many other British colonies. It had a gentry (upper class) of wealthy landowners, a supporting population of white-collar workers (the middle class), and a

1 Kuhn, T.S. 1962. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 10.

lower class of free workers. This framework is thrown into relief when viewed in relation to Adelaide's non-British settlements. Firstly, the dominance of the Anglo-paradigm is illustrated by the British settlers' dismissal of Aboriginal ways of life as 'uncivilized'. British settlers saw themselves as being 'civilized'; one expression of this sense of superiority was the fostering of the Arts, through the patronage of the wealthy settlers and the Government. In fact, this idea of superiority was ethno-centric. Aboriginal people living on the banks of the River Torrens no doubt thought their way of life was more suited to the existing environment. However, colonial surveying by Governor Light took no account of Aboriginal rights to land.

Secondly, the boundaries of the British community were also experienced by German settlers, who had started their own communities at Gawler (outside the city zone), and in other areas outside the planned core of British settlement. Once again, after the Second World War, the influx of people from war-torn countries resulted in a more pluralistic society, but with the Anglo-enclave remaining at its core. This is well illustrated by the use of the term 'migrant'. Immediately, this label identifies one category consisting of a wide-range of ethnic groups. Together they are viewed in relation to the central social group - the Anglo-enclave Australians.

Thus, the Anglo-paradigm is the central paradigm which excludes other ethnic groups. Harold Eidheim, in 'When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma',* refers to "the problem of delimiting ethnic groups as contrasting cultural units, and of defining ethnic borders".¹ Part of this problem is solved by

*,¹ Barth, F. (Ed.). 1970. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries - The Social Organization of Cultural Differences. "When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma". Eidheim, H. London: George Allen and Unwin. pp. 39-57, p. 30.

looking at the organization of social metaphor in relation to the root paradigm. Metaphor shows the ways in which ethnicity is viewed by participants in any given social situation. This will receive further discussion in Sections III-V. Here, I refer to a second point made by Harold Eidheim,^{*} which is that people congregate within previously established structural boundaries. But more than this, within a context in which many ethnic groups come together, as for example a Good Neighbour Council musical performance, people will use their perceptions of ethnicity to organize themselves spatially into ethnic groups. The third point to be made here concerns a social dialectic. In order to gain mutual support, ethnic groups divide themselves into sub-communities. They also share mutual support fields for 'migrants'. But to gain representation in the corridors of power, they must develop links within the system of Anglo-conformity. Individual migrants who move into Government postings can influence the setting up of migrant institutions funded by the Government. Paradoxically, this puts migrants under the control of the Anglo-majority in Government, and funding policies will still favour Anglo-interests, institutions and projects.

As social metaphor shows, migrant institutions like the 'Good Neighbour Council', which is funded by the Government, have the difficulties of conflict between ethnic groups, and Government aims. Such institutions have "intercalary"¹ or mediating roles with all their inherent difficulties. This term has been used previously by A. Epstein in Politics in an Urban African Community,² where Tribal Elders,³ members of the African

* Barth, F. (Ed.) 1970. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries - The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference. 'When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma'. Eidheim, H. London: George Allen and Unwin. pp. 39-57.

1-3 Epstein, A.L. 1973. Politics in an Urban African Community. Manchester Uni. Press. pp. 65, 100; p. 159; p. 195. These are references to intercalary role. Tribal Elders, pp. 65, 100.

Representatives Council,¹ and members of the Urban Advisory Council,² all have intercalary roles in the extended context. In the same way, migrants who have come to South Australia have become aware of the boundaries of the Anglo-community. Finally, earlier generations of British migrants (Australians), distinguish themselves from 'new' British migrants.

From the above discussion of ethnic boundaries, one can begin to see some of the consequences of the core Anglo-enclave on social interaction, processes of metaphor creation, and social structures within Adelaide. Each of the above cases is distinct. They describe different levels of emergence in the hierarchy of ethnicity. However, all are formed with reference to the core paradigm. Group categories are given further definition in particular contexts. This point is also made by E.E. Evans-Pritchard,^{**} Max Gluckman,^{**} and M. Epstein.* In the Introduction to The Nuer, Evans-Pritchard describes the problems associated with eliciting Nuer lineage names from one of his informants, because there were different levels of naming based on residential district, lineage, etc. The implications of Evans-Pritchard's argument and other discussions of 'situational selection,' are that the form and content of the category defined by the label 'Australian' depends upon the situational perspective of those using that label. In different contexts the label may refer to Aboriginal people, or to the community of early British Settlers, or both of these together, or to all people resident in South Australia for more than five years. In other situations, Russians, Greeks, Irish and Dutch people may express their unity as migrants, or

1,2,* Epstein, A.L. 1973. Politics in an Urban African Community. Manchester Uni. Press. The African Representatives Council - p. 157; The Urban Advisory Council - p. 195.

** Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1971. The Nuer. Oxford University Press.

** Gluckman, M. (Ed.). 1971. Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand. 'The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers'. No. 28. 1971. Manchester University Press.

sub-divide into categories based on past or current residential areas and language variations.

In particular situations, class variables cross-cut ethnic boundaries. Both, however, receive definition in relation to the root paradigm of Anglo-conformity. Furthermore, in musical performances in particular, one can see the social prestige which accrues to given social classes. The interplay of ethnic, class, and prestige variables is well illustrated in Jack Mitchell's analysis of The Kalela Dance.^{*} The Kalela songs give a further indication of 'tribal', 'tribalism', and 'class' themes as they appear both in the Kalela Dance, and in the wider social context of the Copperbelt. In this discussion of ethnic boundaries in Adelaide, I have suggested that dominant community and sub-community structures can be looked at more closely with the use of such concepts as 'paradigm' and 'social metaphor'.

Social Metaphor

Whereas paradigm refers to blue-prints of mainstream thought and interaction, 'metaphor' refers to non-conformist interaction. Indeed the word 'metaphor' is derived from 'meta' the Greek for "change",¹ and "phero"² meaning "I bear"³. The term refers to a "transfer of significance",⁴ from one context to another. 'Metaphor' consists of socially coded meanings, such that dominant symbols are compared and contrasted with sub-dominant ones. As Victor Turner points out, "the relationship between the two kinds of symbol gives metaphor its meaning".⁵ Through socially focussed processes of symbolic

* Mitchell, J.C. 1956. 'The Kalela Dance'. In The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers. No. 27. pp. 1.50. Third Impression, 1968. Manchester Uni. Press.
 1-3 Treble, H.A. and Valling, G.H. (1968 reprint). An ABC of English Usage. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 115, 116.
 4,5 Turner, V. 1975. Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. p. 30.

selection, the relationships between hierarchically arranged subsidiary subjects, and dominant subjects symbolically associated with the root paradigm can be altered. Such focussing processes relating to groups in 'grids'* cannot be carried forward without metaphor. Social metaphor may even result in the members of a society questioning the legitimacy of dominant symbols. Following such questioning, meanings associated with and expressed by the dominant symbols can be transformed to become sub-dominant ones, and the assessment of primary and secondary themes may be altered. Thus, to understand a 'metaphor' one must first understand the relationship between the two themes of the metaphor.

The 'metaphor' is, then, a development of the 'simile', but the connection 'like' is removed so that one thing 'is', or 'becomes' something else. Metaphor involves the "application of a name or descriptive term to an object to which it is not literally applicable."¹ It has transformative processes built into its symbolic construction. That is why metaphor is important in the analysis of music as a social activity.

In his article called 'The Mission of Metaphor in Expressive Culture' (1971), James Fernandez distinguishes between two kinds of metaphor - those which "conform more closely to the shape of experience"² he calls "structural metaphor"³, and those which refer to "the feelings of experience"⁴ he calls "textual metaphor".⁵ The ethnographic accounts of music in Adelaide demonstrate both these kinds of metaphor. Fernandez also points out that symbolic behaviour can more easily be understood if the "underlying metaphor"⁶ and its

* Douglas, M. 1970. Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology. Chap. 10. Barrie and Rockliffe.

1 Treble, H.A. and Valling, G.H. 1968, reprint. An ABC of English Usage. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 115, 116.

2-6 Fernandez, J. 1971. 'The Mission of Metaphor in Expressive Culture'. Current Anthropology. Vol. 15. No. 2. 1971. pp. 119-133, p. 120.

subject is uncovered. He stresses the importance of the social choice of symbols used in images.

James Fernandez's way of approaching the analysis of a ritual is also valuable and similar to the method used here:-

*"A ritual is to be analysed, then, as a series of organized images or metaphors put into operation by a series of superordinate and subordinate ceremonial scenes."*¹

By metaphors we are moved, and their aptness lies in their power to change our moods, social relationships, and "our sense of situation."²

Both paradigm and social metaphor are shaped by the elaboration of symbolic interaction, process, and structure. Symbolic processes link social metaphor to the cultural paradigm through a complex web of symbolic transactions between people to form a wider social fabric. These symbolic processes are a crucial part of this thesis. The three different kinds of 'metaphor' are discussed in Section III.

Focussing Norms and Actions

The very partiality of socially constructed images allows change to occur through transformative processes. I now discuss the nature of norms and actions which are vital components of everyday life. Robert Murphy's discussion of norms and actions is most useful. He suggests that in any given situation:-

1 Fernandez, J. 1971. 'The Mission of Metaphor in Expressive Culture.' Current Anthropology. Vol. 15. No. 2 (June 1971). pp. 119-133, p. 125.

2 ibid. p. 129.

*"The norms provide the image of order and fitness; they link time and activity in the mind, but they cannot be allowed to impede their flow. They also provide the image of value and purpose in a world that is permeated with particularity of interests, and indeterminacy of the result of action."*¹

Murphy continues by arguing that norms and actions are "contradictory in form and content".² He explains this in the following terms. Norms are specific and bounded in form, at least in theoretical terms. Despite this discreteness they are multiplex and unbounded in content. That is, norms are created to cover a wide range of activities, and are applied to these activities so as to focus the emphasis of future activities of a similar kind.

Activities are "diametrically"³ distinct, at least in terms of the levels of social perception. They are unique and diffuse in form. They are not as formulated, nor as bounded as norms. But acts are specific in content. Each act is specific to a particular context, whereas norms are forms of knowledge which cross-cut context specifics. Activities are also "sequential in time, multifaceted",⁴ whereas "norms are timeless, one-dimensional in particular contexts."⁵ Having given this explanation of norms and actions, Robert Murphy relates his argument about actions to symbolic webs in ritual frameworks. He adds that "Some activities may be specific in form and content, and some norms may be diffuse in form and content."⁶ This makes the explanation more accurate (though perhaps less clear).

1 - 6 Murphy, R. 1972. The Dialectics of Social Life - Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory. London: George Allen and Unwin.
1,2 p. 241; 3-6 p. 242.

Let us briefly consider the implications of these additional statements. In the case of an activity with specific form and content, the form results from the systematization of actions. This occurs through the organization of symbolic sequences. Then, the form of a norm will become diffuse when it has become subject to so many contradictions that the focus of the original form is lost. In this way the continuum range between actions and norms (specifics or diffuseness) can be recognized, and the structural focussing mechanism can be viewed as part of the social processes involved with reinforcing, reinterpreting or transforming social activities. Furthermore, whilst one thinks of form and content as distinct entities, this perception actually cross-cuts the experience of form and content - as they operate together in any given situation.

The Moral Existence of Human Beings

For several pages I have talked about the creation of a socially constructed reality, but there is a further point I would hasten to add here. The moral existence of human beings is one issue, one basic aspect of social life, which most anthropologists have avoided, probably because of the difficulties associated with defining (in universal terms) the concept of 'morality'. Also, some have thought that they could deal more impartially with the subject of belief systems if the moral aspects were deemphasized. However, I do not think that religion and morality can usefully be separated. For we would be left with an analysis which is the empty shell, rather than the heart of living human relationships.

Anthropologists have been encouraged to look at the ways in which many different societies work, and so the discipline has become highly relativistic, and at times superficial in its appreciation of human thought and feeling. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann give the following argument in their book,

'The Social Construction of Reality'^{*} :-

"Society is a human product.

Society is an objectified reality.

*Man is a social product."*¹

For a short time I found this a very useful albeit incomplete summary of the form of anthropological arguments. However, on reflection I think that this is a poor account of the dialectics operating in society. It gives no recognition to ideas, truths, creative potentials, call them what you will, which lie outside the specific or relativistic interpretations of particular cultures and societies. These are shared moral responses, as distinct from values. Values are very often culturally defined by particular societies. Moral responses, on the other hand, are not simply social, but innately human and 'divine', in the sense that they operate independently of a particular society, and on another social dimension or plane. I argue that a complete understanding of human life cannot be reduced to the social level alone. To view everything in terms of social functions, or socio-personal functions is to impoverish one's analysis. Human nature is not encompassed by society; society is not as complex as man himself.

Before proceeding with the last sections of this Introduction I will give an outline of the form and content of this thesis.

1,* Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. 1966. The Social Construction of Reality - A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. 1973 Reprint edition. London: Cox and Wyman Ltd., p. 79.

The Thesis Outline

There are five major sections to this thesis. Each has been organized in such a way as to coincide with a particular stage of the Grounded Theory, (outlined in Section III). The five sections are as follows:-

- Section I General Introduction - Social Images
 Themes are: interaction, process, and structure.
- Section II Relational Spheres of Reference
 Historical typifications and boundaries of musical taste resulting in an overall map of musical activities.
 Tradition and Anti-tradition are themes.
- Section III Fields of Interaction
 Art Policy and Bureaucracy.
 The Grounded Theory is given, and symbolic dominance and sub-dominance are discussed. Paradigm and Social Metaphor are discussed in relation to dominant and sub-dominant symbols.
- Section IV Frames of Interaction
 Individual case studies of musical activities and performances.
 Further considerations of dominance and sub-dominance.
 Space/time perceptions in traditional and non-traditional musical activities are also discussed.
 Conclusions.

Section V Conclusions - Impression Management

The possibilities for social change.

The argument of the thesis is summarised.

Einstein's concept of space/time transformation is discussed in relation to the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of social situations.

The subjects of reification, reflexivity and transformation are reintroduced.

Concluding remarks.

I have already dwelt at some length on the Social Images resulting from the combination of interaction, process, and structure in social activities. These concepts are aimed at identifying the living process of sustaining, changing, or creating 'new' Social Images. The first point to note about the above section headings is that they refer to different levels of structuring social interaction. The Social Images discussed in the Introduction not only influence Impression Management but are an expression of it as well. Therefore the first and last sections together introduce the main ideas and summarize their implications in the ethnography, and Grounded Theory of the thesis. The section headings of, 'Relational Spheres of Reference', 'Fields of Interaction', and 'Frames of Interaction' describe levels of social activity (i.e. levels of emergence) which coincide with the stages of the Grounded Theory. This makes the task of elaborating the Grounded Theory much easier than would otherwise be the case, because the thesis structure facilitates the step by step discussion of the levels of socially constructed realities.

Each level of emergence consists of bounded structures whose definitions become easier as one moves from the highest level, that of the extended context, to the lowest level of sequences and dimensions. The extended context consisting of relational spheres of reference, (for example, those of politics and economics) refers to the macro-level of emergence, and sequences and dimensions refer to the micro-level. Along the continuum between the two are the structures of fields and frames. These structures can be identified by patterns of interaction and social processes which bind them into distinct entities. In the summary of the Grounded Theory to be given in Section III, but outlined here in the Introduction, the nested concepts will be introduced. These are sociological tools whereby it is possible to show how the levels of emergence are either interconnected or kept distinct. At this point one should note that networks of interaction cross-cut these structural levels, both in theory and in practice, in a complex web of social relationships. Such linking takes place either in terms of the core paradigm, or in relation to it, (as in the case of social metaphor).

The chapter titles and sub-headings for each section of the thesis can be found in the List of Contents, at the beginning. The arguments for Sections II to V are now introduced.

Section II

Relational Spheres of Reference

The term 'Relational Spheres of Reference' refers to the culture and society in which action takes place. It is a broad category in which one finds patterns of social behaviour which can be 'typified'. Within the relational spheres of reference there are bounded groups based on, for example, class and status. One has in this broad category an overall picture of Social

Images, and of the ways in which they are related or segregated.

In Adelaide one notices that there is an identifiable Anglo-enclave which excludes migrants. However, a network of social relationships cross-cuts the boundaries between the definition of identities, such as the ethnic identities expressed in musical performances. To discuss these relationships in other than broad terms, one must look at key ethnography for specific contexts.

It would be practical to launch into Adelaide's history as such. Anthropologists have difficulty with historical data, because although it is very important to set the contemporary scene within its historical context, history is not our main focus of attention and yet it is an enormous subject in its own right. Therefore in Section II I present only selected data which focuses on musical events. It is historiographic data, but, nevertheless valid as an illustration of the paradigm of Anglo-conformity. I do not attempt to analyse historical details, but only to concentrate on aspects of the history which are obvious to any observer of the historical documents. For example, the continual mention of 'respectability' with regard to early musical performances makes it very easy for me to justify my interpretation of this social label. One can also see in this historical account the increased specialization of music which was catered for by the building of music venues. The 'Establishment influence' can be clearly seen.

In this section then, I concentrate on the historical emergence and legitimation of musical tastes in Adelaide. I refer to a typification of a classical musical performance and its traditions, and to typifications of an anti-tradition whose definition depends upon a knowledge of what constitutes a traditional classical performance.

This thesis paves the way for further research into the specifics of migrant and Aboriginal music. First it was necessary to find out why migrant and Aboriginal music were not heard in specific Anglo contexts, and where the central sources of power and control over the choice of music actually lay. Once the Anglo-enclave and its control over capital and cultural resources have been isolated, it will then be possible to analyse the specifics of migrant and Aboriginal music more precisely. Through a detailed discussion of paradigm and social metaphor it is possible to hypothesize how migrants can gain more control over the allocation of resources. Then one can answer the question of why the music of migrant and Aboriginal communities appears to be outside the Anglo power system. Social change in the power structure can occur only when particularly powerful social metaphors upset the relationship between dominant and sub-dominant symbols. Then the sub-dominant symbols become dominant. One can watch this process being worked out in interaction and structure, and discover enlightening information on how societies work, and how symbols communicate social thought and action.

Section III

Fields of Interaction

In this section I begin to set down the contemporary ethnography, beginning with the bureaucracy associated with Government Art Policy in South Australia. I discuss the Adelaide Festival of Arts, the Festival Centre Trust, and the Premier's Department Arts' Development Division. All have committee structures designed to deal with different aspects of performance programme choice, advertising and programme organization and coordination. However, the Arts' Development Division in the Premier's Department is also involved in Government Art Policy and funding.

Once these four topics have been introduced, it will be possible to begin a dialogue between the spokesman for the Festival of Arts and the Festival Centre Trust on the one hand, and the spokesman for the Experimental Arts Foundation of South Australia, (E.A.F.) on the other. This will demonstrate several very different perspectives concerning the allocation of resources for the Arts, the choice of Arts performed and the definition of Art. The E.A.F. is one of the fields within which professed anti-tradition is being fostered. Although its members express specific views of their own, all agree that non-mainstream Arts should receive a greater proportion of Government funds.

The interaction between the representatives of the above institutions becomes apparent in the network of social relationships operating across their boundaries. This network involves the communication of information about the choice of music performed in particular venues, such as the E.A.F., or Festival Centre Art Gallery. Networks are areas of discursive communication between organizations and the people within them.

This technique of reporting dialogue is a most powerful way of presenting information to the reader, who can then proceed to come to conclusions of his own. Dialogue presents a social situation to the reader with far more accuracy and clarity than any well drawn argument. Dialogue is literal rather than composed. In this case, representatives from the E.A.F. talked with the Director of the Festival Centre Trust. The Director of the E.A.F. then taped his comments on that talk. I have also made an independent observation of the structures of these institutions, by discussing their organisation with various members.

Having thus given the reader some ethnography I set forth an outline of my substantive theory. In Sections IV and V the application of this theory can then be demonstrated.

Section IV

Frames of Interaction

Section IV forms the core of the thesis in that specific ethnographic accounts of musical events are recorded. It is the focus of the thesis, and the empirical basis for the Grounded Theory. As a result of the previous sections, the reader has sufficient information for his own interpretations of the Case Study summaries.

The full range of Case Studies which I have undertaken is illustrated below. The titles of the Case Studies are followed by brief descriptions of their contents. Those marked with an asterisk do not appear in the text of Section IV as space and time did not permit their full detailing. Nor are all the Case Studies listed here as the research was extensive and it was necessary to sift the data until representative Case Studies became apparent. Thus the Case Study summaries which have been included in Section IV represent one of the early stages of discovering the Grounded Theory outlined in Sections III and V. They demonstrate recurring themes (such as tradition/anti-tradition). These repetitions were viewed as indicative of the social emphasis given to them.

The Case Studies are as follows:-

1. A Traditional Christmas Festival 'Carols by Candlelight'.

In this case study the events are described as they occurred. However, information from additional interviews has later been inserted to support the description.

2. A Traditional Choral Performance. The Adelaide Harmony Choir performs Mendelssohn's 'Elijah',

In this case study some background to the Choir is given. Then, the performance is fully described. On the basis of that information a symbolic analysis of the structure and interaction in the performance is given.

3. A Traditional Anzac Day Ritual. The Codetta of the Dawn Service. A Transcendental Performance.

In this case study the role of music in one part of the Anzac Day ritual is analysed. Particular attention is focussed on the transcendental aspects of the performance of music in the 'codetta' of the Dawn Service. The background of this case study is given in Section II, where I briefly look at the March Music of the same ritual.

4. A Stage Band at Practice and Performance. A Transformative Performance.

In this case study march, dance and jazz music are performed in a traditional educational institution for an audience not previously reached by those musical forms. The analysis shows that this context helps to legitimate and to lift the status of jazz to the status of classical music and orchestral performances. The alternative name for the Stage Band is 'Symphonic Band' which indicates a blending of traditional terms usually applied in different fields and frame of musical activities.

5. New Music. 'Peccata Mundi' by T. Cary is performed. Social Metaphor and Parody.

In this case study we look at New Music which is supported by a traditional educational system. 'Peccata Mundi' is performed for a University audience, and in it we have a new musical setting for the words which occur in traditional Masses 'Peccata Mundi', The lines stress man's folly in polluting his world and making it uninhabitable. The destructive nature of war is stressed. So we have a parody of traditional Mass themes, and this use of metaphor encourages members of society to reflect on their life styles. New methods of composition involving sound continuums rather than scales, are used to emphasize the destructiveness of earthlings which triumphs over their creative potential.

6. * The Hajek Issue. Tradition versus Change and Anti-tradition.

In this case study the nature of Art and Art Policy in South Australia are discussed by members of traditional and anti-traditional groups in Adelaide society.

7. The Experimental Art Foundation. An Anti-traditional Institution.

In this case study I review meetings concerned with the Jury System method of choosing which Art projects should be funded. This plan was the result of the Hajek issue, in particular.

8. A New Music Performance. Conceit in Performance.

In this case study we look at New Music as performed at the Jam Factory in association with artists and the Experimental Art Foundation.

9. * The Australian Broadcasting Commission (A.B.C.).

In this case study a dispute between three major Unions (Journalists, Musicians and News Readers) is reviewed. The issue concerns Government controls of and financial cut-backs within the A.B.C.

10. * Two Sets of Computed Results concerning the Definition of Musical Tastes.

Firstly, public opinions about the importance of musical education in schools is analysed. Secondly, 200 interviews carried out in three different music shops are analysed to reveal the tendencies and the kinds of music bought and sold at each of the shops. It was found that one small business catered for classical and jazz musical tastes, that another, near a large Department Store, sold classical, folk and jazz music and that the Department Store sold mainly 'pop' and country and western music.

11. The First National Italian Festival. Social Metaphor.

In this case symbol dominance and sub-dominance is discussed, and we see that the symbols reveal the nature of relationships between Italian and other communities in the society.

12. The Folkloric Festival. Social Metaphor.

In this case we look at an annual event arranged by The Adelaide Folkloric Society which helps to foster and finance migrant cultures in Adelaide society. I analyse the symbolic organisation of dominant and sub-dominant symbols in order to show the structure of the performance. The study also reveals elements in the structure of the wider society.

13. * The Commercial Field of 'Pop' Music.

Interviews carried out at a local radio station revealed the influence of the recording industry on the commercial music which goes on air. We also see how the industry aims to capture a young audience.

14. * 'The Eagle' Piano Bar. A Discursive Performance.

This performance is highly discursive due to the social context of a bar. Audience participation in the appreciation of the music is variable and spontaneous. (It is not structured like the interaction in a classical concert). Also, the emphasis is on conversation rather than on music, or the musicians.

15. Music in a Reformative Institution. Images of Deviance.

In this study attention is focussed on the capacity of music and lyrics, to help with the communication of thoughts and feelings the young people have, which would not otherwise be understood.

These case studies are diverse in subject matter, (although they all deal with music in Adelaide), and styles of analysis. For this reason they reveal much about society. In Sections III and V, I reveal the mechanisms at work in these case studies.

Section V

Conclusions - Impression Management

The study of social change leads the discussion away from the core of particular Case Studies towards a consideration of the ways in which people

"construct order across their social situations."¹ Only then can the levels of emergence in society be clearly seen. Each musical performance is a symbolic reenactment of the crucial thought and behaviour patterns upon which the society depends. Musical styles are a guide to the Social Images with which people identify. For example an expressive style such as 'punk rock' may become the focal point for the crystallization of social protest. This protest may be in the nature of rebellion, in which case the status quo is left intact, (although some reinterpretation may occur), or revolution, in which case the society continues its symbolic transformations.

Reification, Reflexivity, and Transformation

Having given an outline of each section of this thesis I now continue with the last three parts of this Introduction. The first of these involves the definition of the three-stage argument concerning social change. Reification is the opposite of social change and means the reinforcing of existing social attitudes and values. Reflexivity refers to the process whereby people think about their social environment and become critically aware of its faults as well as its benefits. They also become critical of their own position in the society, and more receptive to viable alternatives to the existing order. In short, the mystification of society is lifted and a society is seen in its true light as only one of many possible ways of organizing social life. Transformation refers to the process of social change. More specifically, it refers to the symbolic process of social change.

Attitudes precede change. Through symbolic processes discursive attitudes can be converted into presentational values, and so the new social system becomes stabilized. However, sometimes new attitudes do not result in

1 Douglas, J. (Ed.) 1974. Understanding Everyday Life: Towards the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p.12.

change. Instead they may overlay, rather than displace earlier focuses. Finally, change involves the transformation or reinterpretation of relationships in society.

Let us now consider the statement that formal and informal events which are related on the ground level may be either related or unrelated on a higher level of emergence. By definition hierarchies must be discontinuous (because structure implies breaks in the continuum). The hierarchical ordering of musical structures is therefore "both functional (in that established and relatively stable themes are repeated) and syntactical (in that such stable events are functionally related to less stable parts)."¹ This process produces 'enclosure', or incorporation, which must differ at each level of emergence. Otherwise, low-level patterns would not combine to form larger ones, as extra links must be evolved to create the macro-level. Leonard Meyer (1967) points out that:-

*"The interaction between the formal and the syntactical, processive modes of organization is as a rule both simultaneous - in the sense of being hierarchic - and successive."*²

When both the formal and syntactical levels of organization are on the one hierarchical level, 'bifurcation' has occurred. The linking of symbolic frames and fields to the extended context, by means of a theme, is known as 'congruence'. Such themes are arranged according to their dominance or sub-dominance.

1 Meyer, L.B. 1967. Music, The Arts, and Ideas; Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture. Chicago and London: The Uni. of Chicago Press. p. 308.

2 ibid.

Non-congruence on one social level, or between levels, may create difficulties for the anthropologist who attempts to identify and then to articulate structuring processes on several emergent levels. That is, a theme may disappear for a time on one level but the anthropologist must be ready to recognize it if it reoccurs on another level. Breaks in congruity, temporary or otherwise, require as much explanation as the existence of congruence between several different levels of emergence. Often the continuation of a theme through several levels prevents another from occurring in the same way. That is, some symbols and themes are dominant over a range of social levels, whereas others are confined to just one level.

The recognition of social ambiguities, i.e. non-congruence, is a vital part of social change. If this recognition does not occur, then congruence in themes and, therefore, congruence of social form will continue. Where possibilities for change do occur through non-congruence, there may still be a "kind of structural resolution which, because it reestablishes stability, both permits and emphasizes closure."¹ In these cases the possibilities for change are restricted to the frame. Finally then, the juxtapositioning of themes on various social levels and dimensions of time and space allows a consistent structure to be created - a Social Image.

Therefore, I reiterate that events related on one level may not be related in the same way on some other level. One can also suggest that the boundaries between musical events and levels are based on the flow pattern of capital and cultural resources. Whilst there are themes which pass through all levels of society, such as paradigms which give continuity to internal processes -

1 Meyer, L.B. 1967. Music, The Arts, and Ideas; Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p. 311.

there are others such as metaphors which result in disparities and disjunctions between social fields. These themes may only flow through one or two levels, for example frames or fields. Paradigms and social metaphors indicate the criteria necessary for group closure and for forging links between structures via networks.

One must make a basic distinction between performance contexts in which the dominant symbols are also dominant in the extended context; and those in which the dominant symbols are sub-dominant in the extended context. This distinction may be a simple one, but in terms of anthropological analysis the consequences are far reaching, because they give an insight into how society works. In the case of the dominant symbols of a performance not being those of the wider society, one can distinguish between three different categories of social metaphor. There are those social metaphors which are straightforward, those which are conceits, and those which are parodies. Examples of all three types will be given in Section III. Briefly, both conceits and parodies ridicule a 'false' convention. However, on the one hand, conceits are far-fetched examples in which the connections between ideas are often obscure. Parodies, on the other hand, are more easily understood by a non-specialist public, because the links between ideas are clearer. Therefore the likelihood of their transforming society, or parts of it, is increased.

There are three stages in my argument concerning transformation. In stage one we have:-

1. The reinforcement of traditional attitudes and values.
2. The reinterpretation of traditional attitudes and values.
3. The creation of new attitudes and values.
4. The reinforcement of new attitudes and values.

Transformations are first noticeable in attitudes, (which are more discursive than values).

Stage two of the argument relates symbolic reinforcement and reinterpretation to social process:-

1. Tradition is reinforced when the dominant matrix of symbols receives continual focus. In this way core paradigms are reified.
2. Some reinterpretation of tradition is possible when dominant symbols are set against sub-dominant ones. If the focus is loosely maintained, participants may reinterpret the emphasis as being given to sub-dominant symbols. (thus making them dominant in that context).
3. Transformation is possible when sub-dominant symbols are set against dominant ones in a credible context, in which the sub-dominant ones receive acknowledgement.
4. New attitudes, (or different combinations of the old ones), and values are reinforced when sub-dominant symbols cause change - i.e. when they become dominant.

In this way I show that symbols play a necessary part in changing the focus of any society. Finally, stage three of the argument includes the operation of social metaphor :-

1. The reinforcement of traditional attitudes and values involves emphasis on a non-reflexive society. This is the extreme case of a society in which change is relatively slow, because the dominant symbols are reified.
2. The reinterpretation of traditional attitudes and values involves emphasis on reflexive individuals and sub-groups within an initially non-reflexive, (non-receptive) society. At this stage, the change is aligned with anti-traditions and dismissed as a force for disorder by the majority of people. The new alternative is not seen as viable, and the supply of resources to it is limited. This is the stage of conceit (metaphor) where the system runs parallel to the official stream of dominant symbols, yet remains sub-dominant.
3. The creation of new attitudes involves reflexive individuals operating within a reflexive society. This is the stage in which the reinterpretation may achieve wider status outside the sub-group. In so doing, it becomes a viable and credible alternative to the present order. The range of resources is expanded and if symbols are manipulated further there may be a 'revolution'. This is also the stage of parody, and of the maximum opportunities for social transformation.

4. The reinforcement of new attitudes, and their values, involves the presence of a non-reflexive individual in a reflexive society. Members of stage two or three refuse to change even when there is pressure from another source to do so. The society as a whole is receptive to ideas other than those proposed by stage three, but change is not cultivated due to the maintenance of paradigms. In this stage, sub-dominant symbols may become and remain dominant.

The above pattern is not necessarily an unbroken sequence but the model is useful for indicating the way in which this theory of symbolic transformation can be used.

Social Interaction and Space/Time Sequences and Dimensions

Human beings perceive their world in terms of two concepts, space and time. Together they constitute a spatial-temporal framework within which society exists. This complementary relationship between space and time dimensions is of great importance in the analysis of both ritual and everyday behaviour. Nevertheless, space/time frameworks are subject to social definition, and distortion with respect to social perceptions and purposes. Any interpretation of the ways in which people use the three dimensions of space, and the fourth dimension of time cannot be formed in a vacuum; it can only be formed in relation to the fifth dimension - that of society, which is both historically and situationally defined.

In this discussion I am particularly concerned with concepts of space and time as they appear in musical performances, or activities involving music at critical stages. The perception of time and space changes when one

moves from everyday activities to a performance or ritual framework. These changes take a number of steps during which time attention is gradually focussed on the performers. Whilst most performances are programmed to last for a given length of clock time, the music changes the way an audience perceives time, for example by variations in its pace. Socially constructed time varies from pure units of time, although we perceive time with reference to social and physical gauges.

E.E. Evans-Pritchard relates structural time and space to structural distance. The sense in which he uses the term is different from the way in which it is used here, but it is not unrelated. People may be spatially distant but structurally close. As Evans-Pritchard says:-

*"The values attached to residence, kinships, lineage, sex and age differentiate groups of persons by segmentation, and the relative positions of the segments to one another gives a perspective that enables us to speak of the divisions between them as divisions of structural space."*¹

A second point made by Evans-Pritchard adds to my discussion of the Anglo-conformist matrix and 'image' of conformity and non-conformity, that is his discussion of 'structural relativity'.* I am to demonstrate the relativity of socially constructed realities, by showing how legitimation procedures for groups and sub-groups are aimed at giving structure to events, thereby creating a dominant image.

1 Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1940. The Nuer. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 110.

* ibid. Chapter 3.

A basic paradox is evident: people act differently in different situations. For example, a person may describe himself as a migrant in one context, and as an Australian in another. Such a choice becomes apparent when considering the dominance or sub-dominance of particular symbols.

Finally, Albert Einstein,^{*} suggested that space and time were more closely associated with one another than had previously been thought, and moreover, within certain limits, the notions of time and space could be substituted for each other. The potential for this theory in social analysis has not been investigated, and yet there is much food for thought. Furthermore, in music, the concept of 'duration' allows one to think of events repeated in time, as taking on an aspect of space, and to think of the placing of musical ideas as being coordinated in space/time sequences and dimensions. The added complexity is that one is dealing with both virtual and actual kinds of knowledge about space and time. Space/time transformations will be discussed more fully in Section V, as they are a fascinating area of study.

Summary

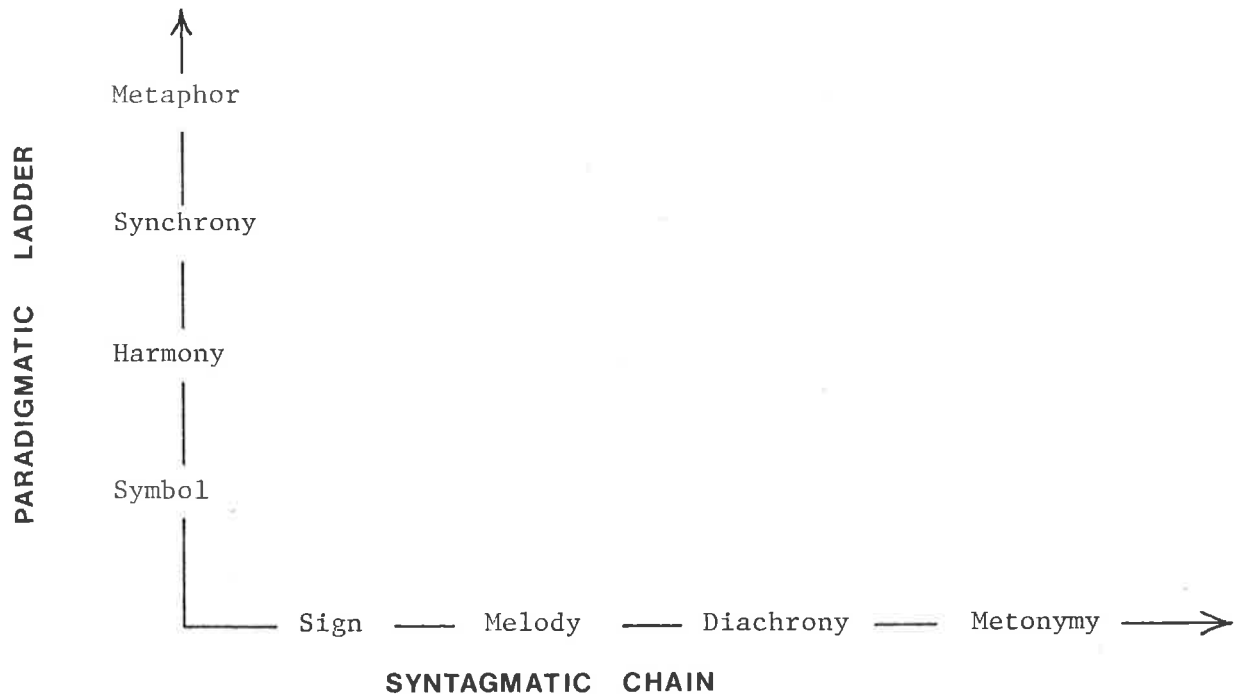
The focussing mechanisms which produce structures "falsify the world, at the very least, by omission,"¹ and therefore the whole society is not like its dominant symbols or 'images'. Culture is not society; norms are not actions. In fact, one can set out the main themes of my theoretical perspective in a few lines. It is simply sufficient to recognize the distinction between:-

* Einstein, A. 1920. Relativity; The Special and the General Theory. Tr. Lawson, R. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. (1979 Reprint).

1 Murphy, R. 1972. The Dialectics of Social Life - Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory. London: George Allen and Unwin. p. 239.

Figure 1.1

Distinctions between Key Anthropological Terms



These relationships are not polar ones, rather they represent intersecting axes - the terms on the left constitute the horizontal axes, and the corresponding terms on the right the vertical axes of space/time sequences and dimensions. Process mediates between all of these concepts, thus linking them and creating Social Images.

The further implication of this theory is that in the same way that, for example, melody can be transformed into a different key so that it can be played by a different instrument, "syntagmatic chains of signs linked by metonymy can be shifted by paradigmatic transformation (metaphor) into a different form."¹ It is primarily this last statement, by Edmund Leach, that I aim to substantiate in this thesis.

1 Leach, E. 1976. Culture and Communication; the Logic by which Symbols are Connected. Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press. p. 15.

SECTION II

RELATIONAL SPHERES OF REFERENCE

CHAPTER 1

CLASS, STATUS, POWER, EDUCATION
AND MUSICAL TASTE

Gibbon Wakefield's Plan for a Model City

A major factor in Adelaide's history has been its definition as a British Colony. I now give an account of Adelaide's history so that it will then be possible to see the reasons why some social groups have more power over the choice of music than others. In this account I am to show that the historical and contemporary contexts of musical activities are best understood in relation to the paradigm of Anglo-conformity. The characterization of this blue-print of Anglo-conformity involves a consideration of musical activities in relation to wider spheres of social activity, including political and economic ones. Then social processes which either confirm or modify the paradigm can be pinpointed, and explained. Moreover, the core paradigm can be seen to influence the selection and structuring of musical institutions, the historical boundaries of interaction networks between particular contexts, and the strategies for reinforcing or transforming symbolic meanings within performance contexts. Firstly, I describe Gibbon Wakefield's plan for a model colonial city.

Adelaide has been described as one of a "heterogeneous collection of regions created by the transplanting of European peoples and institutions into positions of dominance in once alien lands."¹ Like other societies, Adelaide did not just begin - it was modelled on 'British Society'. Indeed, as this historical account suggests, every attempt was made to create the colony in the image of 'British Society'.^{*} However, this task was fraught with difficulties.

In 1829, Gibbon Wakefield put before the British Government his theory of systematic colonization. The major aspects of this theory were:-

1 Meinig, D.W. 1962. On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884. First Pub. by Seal Books (1970). Rigby Ltd. p.10.

* I refer to institutions and values which were brought from Britain by the colonists.

- "1. Land was to be sold for a fixed minimum price.
2. The proceeds were to be used to subsidize the emigration of colonists.
3. The volume and pace of immigration was to be correlated with the amount of available land.
4. There was to be a large measure of self-government."¹

With political revolt current in America, colonial planning disappointments in Canada and in the early penal colonies of Australia, the British Government was searching for improved forms of colonization. Colonization was seen as a partial solution to the problems of overcrowding and economic crisis in Britain. Thus, the British Government welcomed Gibbon Wakefield's theory, and in 1829, they began to review the problems of colonization in the light of it.

Adelaide was unlike the earlier Australian colonies, in that it was not a penal colony. In this respect it was also unlike many other British colonies. Whilst the British Government altered Gibbon Wakefield's original plan that the colony be self-governing, the aims of prior survey and family colonization remained, as the means of preventing squatting and the involuntary immigration of prisoners and land-bonded servants. Approval for the colony was given when a system of crown-appointed officials for leaders of the colony was proposed. In 1834, a Bill was passed, which placed the colony in the hands of a Board of Commissioners, who had finances in this new colonial programme. Its members had purchased large tracts of land, which gave them the right to significant political influence in the colony.

1 Meinig, D.W. 1962. On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884. First Pub. by Seal Books (1970). Rigby Ltd. p.10.

Gibbon Wakefield's model for a British colony is part of the paradigm of Anglo-conformity.* But the core paradigm also consisted of a framework of interrelated social values, which constituted an ideology shared by both the colonists and the initiators in Britain. Gibbon Wakefield's model contained statements about the structure and super-structure of the new colony. In it he also made statements about the physical planning of the city, and the class structure. But, in any case, the British settlers brought with them a reasonably coherent tradition of laws, religious practices, political processes and institutions, and class values. These can be described as the culture of the colony; as distinct from the society of the colony.** Culture describes social typifications which provide focus for action. Action is focussed along particular social channels, and through such focussing, alternative kinds of social activity in the extended context are controlled. Thus, the central paradigm is reinforced. Both culture and society display different degrees of dynamism, but culture is usually described as core tradition. The point to be made here is that the daily practical life of the colonists did not, and could not completely coincide with the ideas outlined in the visionary model. This situation became evident in the early days of the colony (1836), when, for example, colonial administrators and colonists were faced with the consequences of uncoordinated timing between the physical layout of the city, and the early arrival of colonists. Let us consider this point with reference to a more detailed account of the early days of the colony.

The first site for the colony was chosen by Surveyor-General Colonel William Light. The chosen name, Adelaide, signified Queen Adelaide's royal patronage, which was further emphasized by her representative, the Governor - who was a politically powerful figure in the colony. By January 1836, Colonel Light

* See the Introduction, pp. 26-30.

** ibid. p. 20.

had begun to design and survey first the city proper, and then the surrounding hinterland. Significantly, his efforts were interrupted in their initial stages by the early arrival of settlers. The members of the Board of Commissioners in Britain were too eager to regain their invested resources, and had sent out settlers before the surveying had been accomplished. This stream of early settlers arriving in the colony marked one of the first breaks with the plan for colonization. This change in plan had wide ramifications in the colony. Instead of moving straight on to the farm land, early colonists were forced to settle in the city, and to wait for the land to be made ready for them. As a result, a crisis was reached in the following years, from 1837-1840. This was because, whilst the colony's population was increasing, rural colonists had not begun to work a surplus from the land, and therefore food was either scarce, or expensive.

Two further points can be extracted from this account of the early days of the colony. Both arise from the breakdown in communication between those involved in setting up the colony - that is, the British Government, the planners and surveyors, and the Capitalists - not to mention the majority of the settlers. Further delays in the surveying were due to the British Government's policy of surveying the city and port first. Colonel Light sent a series of urgent requests to the British Government, but additional staff were not sent to help with the surveying. Before long, Colonel Light and his team of surveyors returned to Britain leaving the task of surveying incomplete. Secondly, the Capitalists, led by Mr. G.A. Angas started the South Australia Company. They bought and sold large tracts of land as the core of their commercial enterprise. Then, in order to boost the sale of land, they lowered the sale price to £1 per acre. As a result, the number of settlers arriving with Governor Hindmarsh was increased.

To summarize the points made so far then, planners and surveyors were at odds with the British Government concerning the way in which they put the model into practice. Because self-government was not granted, problems in the surveying were increased. For whenever colonial problems arose, delays were incurred in obtaining permission to act from the British Government, whose members were 12,000 miles away. Then, attempts at prior surveying were frustrated by the capitalists who were eager to reap the benefits of this colonial experiment. There were tensions between the ideology of a planned urban colony on the one hand, and the practical implications of this plan on the other. That is, there was a break between levels of social planning and action - between objectified and subjective 'reality'. The several sources of authority over the colony complicated matters. The plan was, at best, a means of structuring the practical experiences of the colonists. At worst, it was a down-right obstacle to the processes of running the colony. At every stage, the plan had to be modified by the practical demands of the colonists, who found that the actual site of settlement was climatically unlike that of their country of origin. The agricultural methods of intensive farming, in most cases, could not be supported in the drier lands; and, after numerous crop failures, large-scale agricultural techniques were introduced. In the meantime, the population had continued to grow out of all proportion to the means of primary production. Thus, both the mode and means of production had to be altered, due to the situational context.

After Colonel Light had left the colony, Governor Hindmarsh and Commissioner Fisher quarrelled, as did the Treasurer and Secretary of the Colonial Government. As a result, they were all recalled by the British Government. In their places, Governor Gawler was sent out to put the colony in order, and to set colonial developments in progress, (October 1838). Early

political developments in the colony followed the pattern of the British parliamentary system, but with the additional reference to government in New South Wales. In the Australian colonies, other than Adelaide, the Governor was a military 'despot' whose authority was unquestionable; but, in South Australia, there was from the start, a Legislative Council (nominated by the British Government). English laws were enforced in the law courts. The Governor's powers were further checked by the presence of a Resident Commissioner, who was the appointed representative of the Board of Commissioners. In 1838, Governor Gawler took up his appointment as both Governor and Resident Commissioner. In this way he gained more power, and the earlier split between the offices of Governor and Resident Commissioner was temporarily resolved - but at the expense of checks on his power as Governor. By this time, the colonial population was 5,000, and surveying programmes had to be increased. Governor Gawler began public works programmes to provide work for the unemployed people who were living in the city area. However, some of the potential farmers had become accustomed to city life, and they preferred to stay in the city, and earn an income through speculating the cost of town blocks. By 1840 the colony was bankrupt.

As a result of colonial bankruptcy, two significant things happened. Firstly, the German settlers^{*} organized themselves to help the total community, as well as their own sub-community. Secondly, the British Government intervened once more. This time, it took financial control over South Australia, so that the colony no longer relied so heavily on the Capitalists' expenditure. A new governor, Governor Grey, was sent out to the colony. He dealt with the problems of colonial debt with severe measures and implemented changes with military authority. Public works

* The German settlers arrived only two years after the British.

Public works programmes were stopped, and many people were temporarily without work. Taxes were increased, and soon the workers were prepared to return to work for less pay. In these years, labourers worked long hours - from 6.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m., and consequently, Governor Grey was very unpopular. His policy regarding unemployment was hard on the workers. As an expression of their discontent, the labourers burnt effigies of the Governor in the streets, and signed petitions which were then sent to the British Government, asking that Governor Grey be recalled to Britain. There were also marches on Government House. However, by 1841, Governor Grey's measures had been successful, in that at least there was no unemployment, and food was cheaper. In the early 1840s crop production was aided by the invention of the 'Ridley Stripper' (an early mechanical reaper) which was, from then on, an invaluable piece of farm machinery suitable for local conditions. At this time mining ventures were beginning to bring rewards to the colonists, and by 1844 prosperity had been established.

Gibbon Wakefield's plan for a model colonial city was not restricted to the physical layout of the central city square and its surrounding parklands. His plan of colonization made direct reference to the patterning of classes in the colony. As D.W. Meinig suggests, Wakefield had "envisioned the transplanting not of a seedling but of the full-grown tree of English Society, root, trunk and branch."¹ He did not see that any colonial plan had to take account of the context in which it was to be situated. Meinig makes the further comment that:-

"The vision of directly transplanting rather than gradually evolving a full social order inevitably led to an over-emphasis upon the creation of a model city with a full urban society, and the comparative neglect of rural

1 Meinig, D.W. 1962. On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884. First Pub. by Seal Books (1970), Rigby Ltd. p.10.

*industries. The result was a top-heavy super-structure unsupported by sufficient primary production. Of the total population of 16,000 in 1840, half lived in Adelaide."*¹

Having mentioned some of the problems associated with the physical planning and timing of the colonial programme, I now turn to a consideration of Wakefield's class model. Wakefield envisioned a colony with three social classes. These were abstracted from his perceptions of 'English society', and hierarchically arranged in the new environment. Some of the evidence used to support this three level stratification of social classes was based on colonial experiences in New South Wales. There, the policy of granting land to settlers had led to a labour shortage. This was one of the problems which Wakefield hoped to overcome through modelling the social class structure of Adelaide.

In Gibbon Wakefield's model, the upper class was to consist of wealthy land owners, and those capitalists who controlled large numbers of shares in business enterprises, such as mining, banking, or, newspaper production. The lower class was to consist of labourers, who were to provide the source of free-labour. Although convict labour was deemphasized, members of the labouring class were to be prevented from becoming land-owners until they had served their peers for some time. The rate at which labourers were to be filtered through to the middle class, depended upon the rate at which other labourers came to take their place. To implement this plan Wakefield made several provisions in the model. Firstly, as already mentioned, the proceeds from land sales were to be used to "subsidise the emigration of colonists."² Secondly, land was to be sold at a price sufficiently above

1 Meinig, D.W. 1962. On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884. First Pub. by Seal Books (1970). Rigby Ltd. p.20.

2 ibid. p. 10.

the labourer's means to prevent him from buying a small property of his own, until other labourers arrived in the colony. In this way, there was some attempt to balance the means of production, with control over the means of production. Between the upper class and the lower class there was the middle class. It consisted of those we now call 'white-collar workers', that is, those people working in service jobs, such as Government employees and owners of small businesses. There were also those who owned small amounts of land and who worked the land themselves, and those who were managers of absentee-owned lands. In short then, this class was based on the recognition of the division between ownership, and the managerial control over the means of production. The middle class consisted of the majority of the population.

This model could not cover the eventualities of alterations in the model class structure arising in the actual settlement context; but, before going on to discuss the subdivisions within each of the three main classes, some general discussion of the way in which the term 'class' is used here is given, because the definition and content of 'class' can be elusive.

A Definition of Class

'Class' is the term used here to describe "historical phenomena, unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw material of experience and in consciousness."¹ E. P. Thompson goes on to say, "I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens... in human relationships."² He emphasizes the dynamics of class relationships which makes analysis impossible if the structure is "anatomised."³ The relationship must,

1-3 Thompson, E.P. 1965. The Making of the English Working Class. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. First Pub. Nov. 1963. Printed by The Camelot Press Ltd. p. 9.

according to Thompson, "always be embodied in real people and in a real context."¹ Nor can one recognize three distinct classes, and then patch them together as if they constituted the whole explanation of society. There are, for example, networks of relationships which cross-cut the definition of class boundaries. Returning to Thompson's definition of class, one finds that class happens when some people "as a result of common experience, (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their 'interests' in distinction to other class groups in that society."² The experience of class is reinforced by norms or transformed by alternatives to norms. Each class, then, has as part of its shared identity, some characteristics which are said to be common ground. E.P. Thompson describes the "class experience"³ as being based on "the productive relations into which men are born - or enter involuntarily."⁴ For him, "class consciousness"⁵ refers to "the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas, and, institutional forms."⁶ Emphasis is placed on the "logic"⁷ of the system; not the "law".⁸

'Class' refers to the degree of control over the distribution of capital and cultural resources, and to the unequal pattern of wealth, power, and prestige. As mentioned in the Introduction,* Pierre Bourdieu defines cultural and capital resources in relation to class. In a general way I aim to show the relation between 'culture' and 'society' by pinpointing early colonial developments in the sphere of musical activities. The pattern of classical musical education illustrates how education helps to reproduce power and symbolic relationships between classes. Bourdieu suggests that education influences the structural distribution of "cultural

1-8 Thompson, E.P. 1965. The Making of the English Working Class. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. First Pub. Nov. 1963. Printed by The Camelot Press Ltd. p.9.

* See pages 6-8.

capital among these classes."¹ He sees education as a mechanism which tends "to ensure the reproduction of the structure of relations between classes."² He is concerned with process in relation to social structure, and suggests that a limited amount of social mobility may reinforce the existing social structures by giving them credibility. Such limited mobility conceals the hereditary form of transmitting power and privileges, but nevertheless reinforces them. For this reason a look at 'class' is useful, firstly in terms of the class model, and then in terms of practice.

As we shall see, education in the classical music field does not rest on talent alone; it rests on cultural wealth which enables new generations to receive training. One can offer people all sorts of things, but they must also have some means of interpreting the usefulness of such things in their lives. One needs the code whereby symbols can be interpreted. The degree of legitimacy of symbols is described in terms of their usefulness, or appropriateness to a given social situation. I aim to show that definitions of 'legitimacy' such as those associated with 'respectability' contain class codes of meaning. Later, contemporary evaluations of education will take place, but there is little statistical information to work on concerning the early days of the colony. The existing information is more descriptive, but it is nevertheless quite informative. One can see that education and the fostering of the Arts was very important to members of the Establishment. Also, levels of education clearly influenced the degree to which individuals could interpret cultural symbols, such as those associated with the cultural aspirations of the patrons of Anglo-conformity.

Having studied accounts of Adelaide's early colonial days, I concur with Pierre Bourdieu when he argues that "the education system can attain full

1,2 Bourdieu, P. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Papers in the Sociology of Education: 'Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change.' Tavistock. p. 71.

effectiveness only to the extent that it bears upon individuals who have been previously granted a certain familiarity with the world of Art by their family upbringing."¹ Thus, the aspirations and occupations of members of the Adelaide Club led them to successful patronage of the form and content of 'Anglo-Art'. They were often the benefactors of major educational institutions such as the University of Adelaide.

In Section III, a discussion of the cultural codes necessary for the translation of cultural meaning will be given. However, in this Section, one will see that there is a link between dominant culture and levels of education. Education definitely aids the elaboration of symbolic codes of meaning which are essential to the definition of Anglo-culture. On this depends the success of communication within the Establishment framework, and from it come codes of knowledge which form a basis for the boundaries between people. Those in society without access to this coded knowledge through education have limited opportunities for gaining control in the cultural sphere. There are two major points which arise from this preliminary discussion of the relationship between levels of education and dominant cultural codes. Firstly, I suggest that restricted educational opportunities and access to cultural codes are aligned with class hierarchies. Secondly, distinctions within a class, for example between members of the upper class, are based on cultural and capital resources. Whereas the Adelaide Establishment has had access to both cultural and capital resources, the Elite, which is more recent and without the hereditary aspect of membership, is more based on access to capital resources - which may then lead on to an interest in the Arts and to further definitions of culture. I suggest, as does Pierre Bourdieu, that class relations are maintained because:-

1 Bourdieu, P. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Papers in the Sociology of Education: 'Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change.' Tavistock. p. 79.

*"an institution officially entrusted with the transmission of the instruments of appropriation of the dominant culture which neglects methodically to transmit the instruments indispensable to the success of its undertaking is bound to become the monopoly of those social classes capable of transmitting by their own means."*¹

I add that the dominant culture could methodically transmit equally those resources necessary for the manipulation of codes of meaning. That is, by controlling the allocation of educational resources, the definition of dominant culture can also be controlled, as can, to some extent, the dominant symbols in society. In Adelaide, the Establishment has imposed an interpretation of culture which sustains its favoured position in society, even after the control of financial resources has begun to move into other hands (for example, into the hands of the Elite or multinational companies). However, once the Elite moves into Establishment educational institutions, its influence over the definition of culture will increase markedly. Thus, by guiding aspirations and defining expectations, the educational system legitimates the existence of the dominant cultural code.

Now, one may ask the question, 'How does legitimation through education work?' Let me now make suggestions about this, so that they can be reviewed in the light of subsequent ethnography. The next chapter of this Section illustrates the way in which the cultural aspirations of the early settlers led to a great emphasis on establishing specialized contexts for

1 Bourdieu, P. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Papers in the Sociology of Education: 'Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change.' Tavistock. pp. 71-112, pp. 80-81.

different kinds of music. Once again, Pierre Bourdieu puts into words the thoughts I had about this Establishment over-emphasis on academic music, which was shared by the majority of the population. He says:-

*"by making social hierarchies and the reproduction of these hierarchies appear to be based upon the hierarchy of 'gifts', merits, or skills established and ratified by its sanctions, or, in a word, by converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies, the education system fulfils a function of legitimation which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of the 'social order' as the evolution of the power relationship between classes tends more completely to exclude the imposition of a hierarchy based upon the crude and ruthless affirmation of the power relationship."*¹

The relationship between University attendance and the ruling class is well illustrated by the fact that women were more evident in the Music Department than in other parts of the University. Their presence was an expression of class cultural aspirations, because only a few actually finished their course before marrying. Cultural privileges have thereby been transmitted, and the system perpetuates itself - good and bad aspects alike - thus returning monopoly to the present Establishment.

Class Subdivisions

It is obvious from the preceding discussion of ideal and actual applications of Gibbon Wakefield's class model that the simple three way division into

1 Bourdieu, P. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Papers in the Sociology of Education: 'Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change'. Tavistock, pp, 71-112, pp.84,

classes requires some further explanation. Apart from the stable exclusive Establishment based on family inheritance of land, and control on industrial boards, other members of the society had a high degree of upward social mobility available to them. The advent of Union Movements facilitated the sub-division of the lower or working class into upper, middle and lower working classes. For example, there was a division between the majority of workers, and the officials who mediated between the workers and the bosses, and who also aspired to become firm members of the middle class. The people at the bottom of the working class voted Labour, but members of the working class at the top were inclined to identify with the middle class. Members of the middle of the working class could identify with either the upper or the lower working class, according to context. Thus, boundaries were blurred.

Within the middle class there were also sub-divisions. The people at the top of the middle class identified with the aspirations of the upper class, and therefore were inclined to vote for the Liberal-Conservative Party at elections. The middle of this large middle class is most interesting. This is because the middle class with its large numbers and changeable vote patterns can still influence the balance of power in an election today. They tended to oscillate between upper and lower class voting patterns. The educated middle class would often vote, for socialistic or moral reasons, for the support of the working class. Other members would strictly identify with the upper class Establishment vote patterns. Members of the lower middle class were inclined to identify with either the working class or the middle of the middle class, according to situational context.

Even before the parliamentary system had been firmly established in the colony, Adelaide's political scene was therefore outlined in the class structure and its consequent divisions in the distribution of power and

aspirations. This pattern is further illustrated by the form and content of musical performances.

Members of the Establishment often attended classical concerts in family groups. Early on in the days of the colony, some upper middle class people with higher than average levels of education strove after the life style of their cultural peers, and they also appeared at high status concerts. Because they had no leadership roles in these concerts such members of the upper middle class set up choirs and other musical groups of their own in which they could have leadership roles. An example of this will be given in Section IV. These occasions were often patronized by titled peers from the upper class.

I have mentioned divisions within the working class according to Union involvement, and the form of involvement. Some of the workers felt that Union leaders were becoming too like their bosses, and therefore felt isolated from them. But now I turn to divisions within the upper class. The distinction between Establishment and Elite sub-sections has been mentioned. The Elite has really only bloomed in the last ten to fifteen years. It includes businessmen such as those involved in multinational companies, who have sources of capital outside the State or Country. Other members of the Elite (which does not constitute a separate class) have gained wealth outside the auspices of the Establishment, through their attachment to the centralist policies of the Labour Party, which has lent great Government support to the Arts during its time in office.

There is a further clarification to be made. From this distinction between the Establishment and the Elite one can draw the further distinction between members of the dominant strata with economic capital, and those with

cultural capital. Those with most direct access to cultural capital through education in Establishment schools, have come from Establishment families. Those with economic capital have been the industrialists and commercial businessmen. Professionally trained people such as doctors and lawyers have invested in the education of their children as a symbol of wealth and social opportunity. As we shall see, 'respectability' is a kind of social capital used to express a superior status position in social relationships. All stratas of society have codes of social status based on 'respectability' (or 'honourability') - although the definition of these terms varies. Such social status is indispensable to groups which have claims to authority.

Authority

Now let us look at class and status in terms of the concept of 'authority'. Ralph Dahrendorf looks at the "differences in legitimate power"¹ associated with certain positions, that is, in the structure of social roles with respect to their expectations of authority. He describes his theory of property and social class in the following terms:-

*"For Marx, the determinant of social classes was effective private property in the means of production. In all essential elements, his theory of class is based on this definition of the concept of class. We have seen, meanwhile, that precisely this tie between the concept of class and the possession of, or exclusion from, effective private property limits the applicability of class theory to a relatively short period of European social history."*²

1,2 Dahrendorf, R. 1969. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 136.

This concept of class may be applied to the relationship between the capitalists and labourers in the early days of the colony, but given the possibility that labourers could save up to buy land, and that businessmen for the service occupations were needed, it was not long before a middle strata developed. In traditional Marxist terms, the presence of these middlemen marked a division between ownership of capital, or land, and the entrepreneurial control of it. Thus:-

*"A theory of class based on the division of society into owners and nonowners of the means of production loses its analytical value as soon as legal ownership and factual control are separated. For this reason, any effective supercedure of Marx's theory of class has to start at this point."*¹

The historical data presented here can be described using Ralph Dahrendorf's definition of class, for this definition allows my analysis to pass beyond Marx's definition of class in terms of the "possession"² or "non-possession of private property".³ In this way one can add to the correlation between private property and power by also considering authority. Ralph Dahrendorf continues:-

"we replace the possession, or nonpossession of effective private property by the exercise of, or exclusion from, authority as the criterion of class formation. ... we shall not confine the notion of authority to the control of the means of production, but consider it as a type of social relation analytically independent of economic conditions. The authority structure of entire societies

1-3 Dahrendorf, R. 1969. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p, 136.

*as well as particular institutional orders within societies (such as industry) is, in terms of the theory here advanced, the structural determinant of class formation and class conflict. The specific type of change of social structures caused by social classes and their conflicts is ultimately the result of the differential distribution of positions of authority in societies and in their institutional orders. Control over the means of production is but a special case of authority."*¹

The sources of authority who make funds available for the Arts are a central area of discussion in this thesis. Firstly, Dahrendorf suggests that classes are based on the legitimation of claims to power which involve choosing how to distribute capital and cultural resources in society. Secondly, he suggests that classes are conflict groups. Their basis is the extent to which a group can participate in the exercise of authority over a range of social contexts - be they political, religious, economic, or cultural.*

Having distinguished class based on authority from class definitions based solely on production control, Dahrendorf proceeds to distinguish class from social stratification:-

"It is less easy to determine the relation between classes as authority groups and the system of social stratification. ... there is no one-to-one correlation between class structure

1 Dahrendorf, R. 1969. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 136.

* ibid. p. 138.

*and social structure in the sense that classes result from people's place in the hierarchy of stratification.... On the other hand, there is between them a significant indirect connection which results from the fact that authority, the determinant of class, is at the same time one of the determinants of social status. It can be demonstrated that there is an empirical tendency for the possession of authority to be accompanied, within certain limits and with significant exceptions, by high income and high prestige, and, conversely, for the exclusion from authority to be accompanied by relatively low income and prestige."*¹

It definitely seems, from my data, that authority is very important in the claims to power over the allocation of resources. Authority is part of the power relationship between groups of people in society. Dahrendorf goes on to say that there is a "correlation between the distribution of authority and the system of social rewards that underlies stratification."² This means that those with authority can allocate surplus resources to the area of funding Art programmes. One will see from the data in this Section that fairly definite hierarchies of authority based on class and status are present in musical activities. However, only in this one area of authority can one pursue a "partial parallelism"³ between the lines of class division and those of social stratification. Otherwise classes may cross-cut, or be cross-cut by hierarchies of stratification - so as to cloud the issue.

I therefore suggest that classes may unite several strata within the one class, as illustrated by the distraction between Establishment and Elite.

1-3 Dahrendorf, R. 1969. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. pp. 139-140.

There is a strong correlation between recruitment to musical educational institutions and class/status variables, and between musical taste and class/status variables, as indicated by the dynamics of authority. The presence in an Establishment institution of a few people with status as 'talented' musicians (rather than with Establishment heritage or independent resources), legitimates the institution. Here I refer back to that part of Pierre Bourdieu's argument in which he discusses the conversion of social hierarchies into academic hierarchies so that the education system legitimates the existing social order.*

Conclusions

The education system tends to reproduce the relationships between the distribution of cultural capital and economic capital both within and between the class and status groups. In fact, Pierre Bourdieu identifies two opposed principles of hierarchical ordering. Firstly, there is "the dominant hierarchy within the educational institution, i.e. the hierarchy which orders the institutions in terms of specifically academic criteria and, correlatively, in terms of the proportion of those sections richest in cultural capital figuring in their public."¹ Secondly, there is "the dominant hierarchy outside the educational institution, i.e. the hierarchy which orders the institution in terms of the proportion in their public of those sections richest in economic capital (and in power) and according to the position in the hierarchy of the economic capital and power of the professions to which they lead."² The first refers to a hierarchy based upon richness of cultural capital (for example, the Establishment hierarchy), and the second refers to richness of economic capital (for example, the Elite

* See pages 66-70.

1-2 Bourdieu, P. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Papers in the Sociology of Education: 'Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change.' Tavistock. pp. 71-112. p. 94.

hierarchy). Both of these cases are exemplified in the dominant strata, and they are to some extent superimposed on one another. Thus, the educational institutions support the relations, not only between classes, but also within sectors of, for example, the dominant class, and strata.

The following statistics give further information about levels of schooling. They are taken from the 1971 Census:-

Table 2.1 Level of Schooling of Population, South Australia¹
Census 1971

Highest Level Attended	Currently Attending School			Not Currently Attending School		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
Child not yet attending school	-	-	-	56,767	53,990	110,757
Primary:						
Grades 1,2,3	40,144	37,010	77,154	4,674	5,079	9,753
Grade 4	12,881	12,129	25,010	4,819	5,253	10,072
Grade 5	12,989	12,300	25,289	12,054	12,236	24,290
Grade 6	12,671	12,196	24,867	16,043	15,943	31,986
Grade 7	12,384	12,052	24,436	82,239	93,903	176,142
Secondary:						
1st Year	12,460	11,636	24,096	28,317	31,023	59,340
2nd Year	11,934	11,524	23,458	45,022	49,247	94,269
3rd Year	10,147	9,849	19,996	73,368	83,512	156,880
4th Year	7,849	6,515	14,364	51,029	49,130	100,159
5th Year	3,598	2,523	6,121	60,070	44,690	104,760
Total at school	137,057	127,734	264,791	-	-	-
Other, never attended school.....	-	-	-	2,206	2,920	5,126
Not stated				12,386	12,996	25,382
Total population	137,057	127,734	264,791	448,994	459,922	908,916

Educational Qualifications

At the 1-71 Census information was sought on the type of educational qualification obtained. The following table shows that of the total population 15 years of age and over, only 19.5 per cent had obtained any educational qualification since leaving school.

¹ The Government Year Book, 1971 Census, p. 164.

Table 2.2 Educational Qualifications of Population,¹
Census 1971

Highest Level of Qualification Obtained	Males	Females	Persons
No qualification	294,747	376,279	671,026
Trade level	76,688	7,595	84,283
Technician level	13,331	13,439	26,770
Tertiary (excluding degrees)	12,721	12,369	25,090
Bachelor degree, post graduate-diploma or equivalent	9,341	3,063	12,404
Higher degree level or equivalent	1,477	302	1,779
Qualification not classified by level	3,773	8,676	12,449
Inadequately described	33	23	56
Total with qualifications	117,364	45,467	162,831
Total population 15 years of age and over	412,111	421,746	833,857

Other Characteristics

Some census details of occupation, occupational status and industry are set out in Part 7.1.

The following statistics provide an introduction to the question of education in South Australia:-

"Country of Birth

The Australian-born content of the population in South Australia was 85.7 per cent in 1911, 88.3 per cent in 1921, 90.3 per cent in 1933, and 93.3 per cent in 1947. Overseas migration had lowered the proportion of Australian-born persons to 86.1 per cent by 1954, while in 1971 the proportion was down to 76.1 per cent. The proportion of the population born in the United Kingdom, including the Republic of Ireland, fell from 11.0 per cent in 1911 to 5.1 per cent in 1947 and rose to 12.6 per cent in 1971."²

1 The Government Year Book, 1971 Census, p. 164.

2 ibid. p. 161.

Table 2.3 Country of Birth of Population, South Australia¹
Censuses 1966 and 1971

Country of Birth	30/6/66		30/6/71		Increase
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Persons
Australia	849,036	439,365	454,273	893,638	44,602
New Zealand	2,188	1,657	1,569	3,226	1,038
Europe:					
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland.	122,030	74,929	73,091	148,020	25,990
Germany	16,213	7,582	7,828	15,410	(-) 803
Greece	14,660	7,716	7,001	14,717	57
Italy	30,848	17,675	14,753	32,428	1,580
Netherlands	12,443	6,252	5,491	11,743	(-) 700
Poland	7,253	4,271	2,787	7,058	(-) 195
Yugoslavia	6,352	5,269	3,662	8,931	2,579
Other	22,606	12,863	9,952	22,815	209
Total Europe	232,405	136,557	124,565	261,122	28,717
Other countries	11,355	8,472	7,249	15,721	4,366
Total born out- side Australia	254,948	146,686	133,383	280,069	34,121
Total	1,094,984	586,051	587,656	1,173,707	78,723

"Of persons born in Europe, the greatest numerical increase between 1966 and 1971 was in persons born in the United Kingdom, including the Republic of Ireland (25,990 persons). The greatest proportionate increase (40.6 per cent) was recorded for persons born in Yugoslavia. The percentage increase over the period 1966 to 1971 of persons born in the United Kingdom, Greece and Italy was much less than for the period 1961 to 1966."²

"Religion

Information on the religious affiliations of the population is obtained only at population censuses. There is, however, no legal obligation to answer the question on religion and at the 1966 Census respondents representing approximately 10 per cent of the South Australian population chose not to answer. The decline in non-response to this question (from 10 percent in 1966 to 6 per cent in 1971) was partly because of changes in the wording of the question. This is

1-2 The Government Year Book, p. 161.

reflected in the increase, from 0.8 per cent in 1966 to 8.2 per cent in 1971, in the number of persons who stated that they had no religion.

The Church of England has always had the greatest number of adherents, its relative importance having been fairly consistent since 1866 when it accounted for 31.8 per cent of answers compared with 24.4 per cent in 1971.

Changes in the pattern of religious affiliation appear to some extent attributable to migratory movements. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Catholics (i.e. persons described as either Catholics or Roman Catholics) who accounted for only 14.3 per cent of the answers in 1933 compared with 20.6 per cent in 1971, thus reflecting the pattern of post-war migration."¹

Table 2.4 Religious Denomination of Population, South Australia²
Censuses 1966 and 1971

Religious Denomination	30/6/66		30/6/71		Increase Per Cent
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	
Christian:					
Baptist	22,243	10,146	11,864	22,010	(-) 1.1
Brethren	630	573	619	1,192	89.2
Catholic, Roman (a).	74,991	57,861	55,950	113,811	51.8
Catholic (a)	145,624	63,147	65,208	128,355	(-) 11.9
Churches of Christ .	25,362	10,368	12,434	22,802	(-) 10.0
Church of England ..	286,323	138,951	147,803	286,754	0.2
Congregational	18,316	6,929	8,309	15,238	(-) 16.8
Lutheran	59,951	30,702	31,939	62,641	4.5
Methodist	227,717	102,778	112,550	215,328	(-) 5.4
Orthodox	27,754	17,194	15,442	32,636	17.6
Prebyterian	42,778	19,416	20,504	39,920	(-) 6.7
Salvation Army	7,372	3,838	4,349	8,187	11.1
Seventh Day Adventist	3,004	1,271	1,604	2,875	(-) 4.3
Protestant (undefined)	12,979	12,921	13,686	26,607	105.0
Other (including Christian undefined)	14,335	11,342	12,178	23,520	64.1
Total Christian	969,379	487,437	514,439	1,001,876	3.4

¹ The Government Year Book, p. 161.

² ibid. p. 162.

Table 2.4 (contd.)

Religious Denominations	30/6/66		30/6/71		Increase Per Cent
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	
Non-Christian:					
Hebrew	1,249	552	579	1,131	(-) 9.5
Other	1,208	1,199	853	2,052	69.9
Total Non-Christian	2,457	1,751	1,432	3,183	29.6
Indefinite (b)	3,561	2,091	1,660	3,751	(-) 5.3
No religion (b)	8,623	57,868	38,006	95,874	1,011.8
No reply	110,964	36,904	32,119	69,023	(-) 37.8
Total	1,094,984	586,051	587,656	1,173,707	7.2

(a) So described in individual census schedules.

(b) See text on page 161.

"Period of Residence in Australia

The post-war migration flow into Australia is shown by the number of persons who have taken up residence in Australia since the late 1940s."¹

Table 2.5 Period of Residence in Australia of Persons in²
South Australia
Censuses 1966 and 1971

Period of Resi- dence in Australia	30 June 1966			30 June 1971			Visitors Persons
	Males	Females	Persons	Residents			
				Males	Females	Persons	
Under 1 year	12235	11062	23297	7686	7460	15146	2123
1 year & under 2	10332	9742	20074	8309	8034	16343	
2 years, under 3	8834	8262	17096	6950	6724	13674	
3 years, under 4	5961	5757	11718	4962	4721	9683	1103
4 years, under 5	4349	4441	8790	6032	6003	12035	
5 years & over	87919	73586	161505	103438	92166	195604	
Not stated	1935	1533	3468	6887	7005	13892	466
Born outside Australia	131565	114383	245948	144264	132113	276377	3692
Born in Australia	418631	430405	849036	439365	454273	893638	-
Total	550196	544788	1094984	583629	586386	1170015	3692

1-2 The Government Year Book, pp. 162-163.

"For the first time, in 1971, overseas born persons were asked to specify whether they were a resident of Australia or a visitor to Australia, along with details of the period of their residence in Australia. At the 1971 Census, of the 280,069 overseas born residents, 3,692 (1.3 per cent) were visitors to Australia. In 1947 there were 43,552 residents in South Australia (including visitors) who were not born in Australia and only 5 per cent of these had lived in Australia for less than five years. By 1954 the number of such persons had risen to 110,605, of whom 51 per cent had resided in Australia for less than five years. By 1971 the number (excluding visitors) had increased to 276,377, but the proportion of those who had lived in Australia for less than five years had fallen to 24.2 per cent."¹

"Nationality

The nationality (or country of allegiance) of the population of South Australia at June 1966 and 1971 is given in the following table. For purposes of this table, Irish nationality is included with British. Decreases in the number of persons of most nationalities in 1971 are partly because of British naturalisation of former aliens. Persons of British nationality represented 99.7 per cent of the State population in 1947, but this proportion had fallen to 94.9 per cent by 1971."²

1,2 The Government Year Book, pp. 162-164.

Table 2.6 Nationality (e.g. Allegiance) of Population,¹
South Australia
Censuses 1966 and 1971

Nationality	30/6/66	30/6/71		Increase	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Persons
British (a):					
Born in Australia....	849,036	439,365	454,273	893,638	44,602
Born outside Australia.....	193,955	114,961	104,670	219,631	25,676
Total British	1,042,991	554,326	558,943	1,113,269	70,278
Foreign:					
Dutch	6,677	2,391	2,226	4,617	(-) 2,060
German	5,682	2,173	1,996	4,169	(-) 1,513
Greek	9,863	4,400	4,403	8,803	(-) 1,060
Italian	17,762	9,006	8,367	17,373	(-) 389
Polish	1,611	572	497	1,069	(-) 542
US American	816	1,022	731	1,753	937
Yugoslav	2,492	2,007	1,577	3,584	1,092
Other	5,932	5,095	3,964	9,059	3,127
Stateless	1,158	5,059	4,952	10,011	8,853
Total foreign	51,993	31,725	28,713	60,438	8,445
Total	1,094,984	586,051	587,656	1,173,707	78,723

(a) Includes Irish.

In the above statistics, observe the high representation of persons of British nationality, 99.7% in 1947, and the fall to 94.9% by 1971 due to increasing migration of people from other countries. One can see that the likelihood of an Anglo-community core remaining for thirty more years is high.

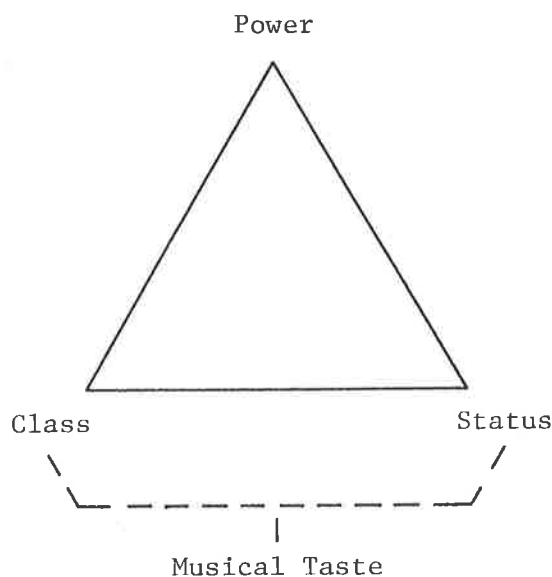
In order to conclude the discussion of social authority, I refer to class and status as power relationships and relate these to musical taste. It can be seen that 'respectability' (as a form of social status tied to class boundaries) is indispensable for making credible claims to authority in society. In Chapter 2 I elaborate the point that social respectability is a

¹ The Government Year Book, p. 164.

key label in social relationships, but for now I wish only to link the concepts, as illustrated below:-

Figure 2.1

An Illustrative Model showing the relationships between Power, Class, Status and Musical Taste



In the diagram, power is at the pinnacle and status and class are two social relationships which lead individuals and groups to hold power. Below, on a different level is musical taste, defined as an expression of social relationships, such as those based on class and status, but involving other variables as well. Musical taste shows class, status, and overall power relationships in operation. One can see a class "in itself"¹ becoming a class "for itself".² This will be illustrated by the case studies of Establishment choices in music in both historical and contemporary contexts.

'Class' refers to the social relationship based on the processes of production, distribution and exchange. It refers to wealth resulting from the distribu-

1,2 Bloch, M. (Ed.) 1975. Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology. ASA Studies. Terray, E. 'Classes and Class Consciousness in the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman.' p. 92. London: Malaby Press.

tion of economic and cultural commodities, and to differences in occupation and income. As a social relationship, class depends on a hereditary factor, a sense of common identity, and on the division of labour. Furthermore, class refers to the social influence given by control over capital and cultural resources. Finally, it rests on the distribution of capital, as to social capital, as expressed in the social label 'respectability', (as discussed in the next chapter).

'Status' refers to relationships of honour and prestige and is distinct from class. However, because the two often operate together in practice the distinction is hard to keep well defined. Status is recognizable by life style including musical taste and the acquisition of consumer goods such as television, radio, cassette, and hi-fi record players. It is style, rather than a strict reference to the amount of income which is relevant here, and life styles are 'part and parcel' of networks of social relationships.

Power consists of both subsidiary categories of class and status variables. It depends on access to capital and cultural resources, together with complementary life styles and therefore claims to 'respectability'.

The relative deprivation of status (rather than class) lies at the root of 'class-consciousness'. One can have equal class and unequal status, or, in some contexts, equal status and different class affiliations. Where a labourer and a 'professional' person receive similar payment for their services they may be viewed in terms of one category. In fact, the division of labour exists and reinforces differences in status. Where there is stratification there will be inequality because structure means boundaries, and boundaries create the sense of inclusiveness or exclusiveness. Thus, the continuity of relationships is broken by structure and layered units

result. Between these layered units, social tensions are created; and therefore one can say that social structure itself creates inequalities. Process and interaction result in networks of relationships, both formal and informal, which cross structural boundaries and result in relationship dynamics.

In this preliminary discussion of the wider socio-historical setting (in Section II), we have only a partial explanation of controls on the choice of music in Adelaide. I aim to show the social model of Adelaide, and to consider class, status, stratification and educational variables in relation to musical choice and taste spectrums. Later, in Section III, class and status categories of musical taste will be taken as problematic rather than given.

Finally, legitimation can best be explained with reference to the three interrelated themes of interaction, process, and structure. E.P. Thompson suggests that "if we stop history at a given point, then there are no classes, but simply a multitude of individuals with a multitude of experiences."¹ This is one point at which one must introduce some sense of levels of emergence of social activities. There must be levels in the form of social analysis which can deal with the levels of social activities. Whilst it is true that at the lowest level of everyday emergence every social experience and situation is different from every other, on a higher level of emergence some similarities can be seen.

In attempting to solve some of the problems of everyday life people construct institutions with rules which govern behaviour. These social structures, once created, influence the future definition of socially constructed images,

1 Thompson, E.P. 1965, The Making of the English Working Class, Victor Gallonez Ltd. First Pub. Nov., 1963. Printed by The Camelot Press Ltd. London. Introduction and Chapter 1.

so that one can hypothesise that society has an existence which is more than the sum of its constituent parts. It has momentum in its own right. Therefore, if history were stopped as Thompson suggests, one would still see structure, created to resolve the problems of everyday social interaction. One would also see some sense of process, but the dynamics of interaction would be lost. One would have, (to use an analogy) a set of slide pictures, frozen, but not a film. The patterns of social relationships would remain but they would be still.

Thus, class as discussed here is a set of dynamic social relationships within everyday experiences. Because norms are defined by the sanctifying agencies of society and the dominant class who controls them, some (not all) status groups tend to have affinity with a central ideological model, and ruling set of norms. Thus, ruling class and ruling culture overlap considerably. The Establishment, or ruling values of a society can be studied by looking at the upper class. I continue by asking questions about how individuals and social groups came to hold particular roles of authority, and how musical organizations developed in Adelaide.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY - TYPIFICATIONS AND BOUNDARIES

OF MUSICAL TASTE

1836 - 1846

Pierre Bourdieu talks about a social 'capital' of 'honourability and respectability'¹ which he claims is "indispensable if one desires to attract clients in socially important positions, and which may serve as currency, in a political career."² In this Chapter I deal with the social definition of the label 'respectability'. It is a term that occurs very often in accounts of early colonial musical performances and I aim to ask questions about its meaning, legitimation and therefore, its application. I begin with the historical definition of 'respectability' in Adelaide, through consideration of the typifications and boundaries of musical taste. In this way the pattern of legitimating the social power of Anglo-conformity, the Anglo-enclave, and the Adelaide Club can be explored with, I think, interesting and useful results.

Early musical activities had no formal and independent settings. In Adelaide, as in the other States, music was first performed in a variety of supporting contexts such as churches, family houses, estates, markets, parks, salons and saloons. Rather quickly though, concert halls and theatres were built in accordance with the aspirations of the Anglo-conformist enclave. Those in control of the capital and cultural resources placed great value on artistic activities as an expression of social status, and of 'civilization'.

Since 1836, when the beginnings of musical activities were marked by the mobilization of music teachers and entrepreneurs, Adelaide has been described as a city of 'churches and taverns'. These two kinds of institution have been supportive of different styles of musical performance. They have fostered different definitions of music, different degrees of professionalism in musical performances, and different routes of mobility for aspiring professional musicians. Let us now examine musical development in relation

1-2 Bourdieu, P. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Papers in the Sociology of Education: 'Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change.' Tavistock. pp. 71-112. p, 93.

to one of these two fields, classical music - in which the move towards independent, specialized contexts for musical performance can be traced.

There were noticeable differences in the musical development of the Australian cities, but all began with a more unified scene than is now the case. In all States, hotel proprietors were prepared to finance entertainment as a means of increasing their clientele, and for this reason many early concerts took place in hotels and in the smaller taverns. At the same time wealthy patrons of the Arts were holding performances of music in their own homes. In both Sydney and Adelaide accounts of musical performances express a concern with 'good order', and 'respectability'. For example, here is an 1838 newspaper account of 'An English Festivity' in Adelaide.

*"... a bower will be erected at the British Tavern, North Adelaide, on Wednesday, 26th December, by R.M. Watts, when a good band will be provided and every accommodation for those who delight in harmony and dance. Everything will be studied for comfort, respectability and good order."*¹

The name Watts is an Establishment one, and North Adelaide was one major area in which members of the Establishment had their wrought-iron decorated, two-storey homes set in gracious gardens. One of Adelaide's major music critics, E. Harold Davies, (writing for 'The Advertiser') suggested that Mr. Watts must have doubted the "good order"², since in a later advertisement

1,2 State Library Archives - Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.2, p. 16. Early Music, by Davies, H.D. 'The Advertiser', (Sept. 30th, 1933 and Oct. 7th, 1933). (The original clipping appeared in a notice of Dec. 15th, 1838 called 'An English Festival'.)

he says, "Police assistance will be provided to help keep order."¹ Thus, one can see that early patrons found that they had to keep strict control of the definition of 'respectability' when the performances were public. Other contemporary accounts illustrate the same concern for respectability, and the recurring reference to police assistance indicates a concern with, if not a need for controls on public behaviour at concerts. In Adelaide, early accounts of music and theatre indicate that the Establishment had a "puritanical dislike"² of public-house entertainment, supposedly because it was not considered to be morally uplifting. They believed that music should instruct, as well as entertain. Music was a means of socialization as well as education, and for these reasons they set about financing venues in which Oratorio and other classical music could be performed.

Interestingly, accounts of performances in other States of Australia also illustrated this 'Victorian' concern with respectability. Here are some illustrations from Sydney newspapers. However, one should remember that in this city, more than in Adelaide, order was a problem due to the many difficulties associated with convict settlements. For example, the following statements occurred in 'The Australian', Sydney, 31st July 1829:-

"A licence having been granted to the proprietor of the Royal Hotel to hold ... Concerts, etc., this house is to be considered an Assembly Room. He therefore solicits such local talent, either with or without pay, to those who may be pleased to step forward and lend their aid to the harmless amusement.

1,2 State Library Journals. The Professional Theatre in Adelaide, 1838 - 1922. By Gerald Fischer. p. 82. South Australian Centenary No. Special Article.

*The public may rest assured that the strictest attention will be paid to preserve good order, and that such entertainment will only be produced as will amuse and instruct."*¹

'The Australian', Sydney, 19th August 1829 is also interesting for several reasons. For example, it indicates the continued concern with order, and behavioural limits set, due to the presence of the Governor at such performances:-

*"Mr. Levey has not spared expense in putting up the Concert Theatre. Tickets are cheap and the bill of fare not ill-selected. Boxes are set for the Governor and Family, the Chief Justice, and Judges and another tier of boxes will be set apart for private families. Sunday milliners and dress-makers have their hands full and the thronged shops promise a gay group."*²

The following statement gives an indication of the concern with order:-

*"Constables in attendance will ensure the presence of the right people - This may have been because His Excellency was at the Concert, (or) also to prevent gate-crashers."*³

These statements are characteristic of early musical performances as described by Sydney newspapers, (in 1838). The expression of faith in the progress of civilization, (supported by Social Darwinism^{*}) was further

1-3 Orchard, W.A. 1952. Music in Australia. Georgian House.

* This was a sociological misapplication of Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution.

represented at the formal presentations of Oratorio selections, which have both church and State patronage. Here is one last example from the Sydney records. It concerns the first Oratorio event of 24th August 1836:-

*"Being the first in the colony - selections from The Messiah and The Creation to be given in the Church of St. Mary. Profits towards defraying cost of organ for that Edifice, now on the way from England. A combined choir will include the Gentlemen of the Choral Association and the Philharmonic Society. The Band of His Majesty's 4th or King's Own Regiment will assist by the kind permission of Major England."*¹

As this newspaper cutting suggests, Oratorio was one of the earliest areas of classical musical development. The first performance in both Sydney and Adelaide consisted of selections from the major classical works, such as 'The Messiah' and the 'St. Matthew Passion'. The second point I wish to make about all of the above quotations is that the promotion of classical music was aimed to uplift the entertainment, and to make music the central focus of activity (rather than a subsidiary one). At the same time attention was given to the social implications of concert attendance, because in moving musical performances from a tavern or saloon context where it was part of the wider social scene, to a context in which music was the primary focus, an audience with distinctive aspirations and musical taste was required.

What was distinctive about this musical taste? Firstly it included a major change in the development of the musical performance, along lines consistent

1 Orchard, W.A. 1952. Music in Australia. Georgian House.

with changes in Britain and Europe.* Music was separated from dance which was seen to prohibit the listeners' ability to comprehend and appreciate the composer's music. Dancing, as part of the concert, became identified with the lower classes; and listening became identifiable with the upper class. Secondly, from the point of view of local musicians, there was a rift between classes and a hierarchy of musical tastes based on educational opportunities. Those with the social background which would support training in classical music had the opportunity to be concert musicians. Those without funds or a supportive cultural background moved into the field of 'pop' music. Of course, there were exceptions but these are not recorded. Thus the first boundary to social mobility was set by educational opportunities, limited by class.

What were the status factors associated with concerts? The hierarchy present at concert performances is indicated by many sources. Boxes were set aside for officials and major public figures, such as the Governor and his family, the Chief Justice, as well as for leading private families. In the last quotation we also note the support of the church, the all-male choir - a tradition in English colleges and in Germany, the Royalist military band, the aim of paying for the organ, together with the choice of works. In addition, 'The Messiah' was very popular in Britain and Europe in Victorian times.

The arrival of eminent musicians (a process disrupted by the two World Wars and the Depression), increased the popularity of classical concerts by the introduction of overseas artists. Sometimes, the new arrivals received greater recognition than local musicians. This caused problems of competition. But let us look at further accounts of the arrival of professional music teachers. Musical records indicate that the crew of H.M.S. Buffalo

* A chapter on the cultural origins of musical performances in Australia has been omitted.

gave concerts of band music in 1836 - the first year of the colony. Another early account in Adelaide is contained in Mary Thomas's diary of 1839, in which she describes a musical performance of that year. "The singing was not very excellent, and the music ... (was) not very excellent either."¹ The standard might not have been high, but the situation was likely to improve with the arrival of music teachers. There are 1837 - 1839 accounts of music teachers, teaching in the bush camps along the River Torrens. Interestingly, we know of a teacher by the name of Mrs. McLeod, who, it is apparent from private records, taught Governor Gawler's daughter Julia.

There were also accounts of other better-known figures who have played a large role in early musical developments in Adelaide. These include Mr. Bennett, who taught organ and piano in Grenfell Street (in the city proper), and Mr. Platts, who played the organ at Adelaide's first church, Holy Trinity Church. Mr. Platts was Adelaide's first professional musician in the classical field. He earned a salary for playing the organ at Holy Trinity Church services. Later, he became musical director of the Victoria Theatre, North Adelaide, a role which was thought by many not to be wholly in accordance with his church position. With regard to the Victoria Theatre one notes again records of a lack of 'respectability'.

Later, Mr. Platts traded musical instruments, although this commercial side of his activities was not successful. The growth of musical specialization, and the theme of status hierarchies at early performances is illustrated by the following account of an early performance at the Victoria Theatre, which opened in 1839.

1 Horner, J. 1960. A Short History of Music in South Australia. Vol.II, No.780. p. 9942. South Australian collection of 'Periodicals and Letters' - 1937-1960.

*"Perhaps not the last proof of the progress of our colony is to be found in the fact that at this early period of our existence we can boast of a respectable place of public amusement. ... The place is neatly fitted up but proper ventilation is much wanted. The Boxes also require to be divided and the greatest care taken as to the persons admitted to them."*¹

At this time, Mr. Bennett and Mr. Platts expressed their interest in joining forces to form "an embryo Conservatorium."² They offered their services as 'Professors' of piano, organ, violin, and vocal rendition. Interestingly, this 'Professional' enterprise was accompanied by an equally strong business enterprise by a Mr. Thomas Hornsby, proprietor of the 'Royal Oak' in Hindley Street. In February 1840 he advertised his intention to hold a 'harmony' meeting at the 'Royal Oak' every Monday evening at 8 o'clock, when "Good musicians"³ would play. February 1840 also brought an announcement in local newspapers of "a professional Concert"⁴ to be given by Mr. Platts and Mr. Bennett at Mr. Solomon's rooms in Currie Street. The tickets sold for seven shillings each, and the programme was diverse and included instrumental and vocal music, such as glees and duets.

"On a spot that three years ago was a desert waste now stands a public assembly room. On a place that not long ago was a howling wilderness is now advertised the first 'Professional Concert'. Where the owl shrieked and the wild dog yelled in emulation of his savage master the strains of art and fancy,

1 Newspaper Cuttings. Vol. 2. p. 16. Early Music by E. Harold Davies. 'The Advertiser.' Sept. 30 1933, Oct. 1933.
2,3,4 ibid.

*the notes of Beethoven, Martini, Bishop, etc., are to sing their varied melody. Success to you Messrs. Platts and Bennett. ... Credit and encouragement be yours for the attempt. A crowded and good natured audience we hope will smile upon your efforts."*¹

A week after this concert, the event was reviewed and once more attention was given to the audience, which is described in terms of 'respectability'; and as for the concert itself:-

*"The concert pieces were the most defective. Instrumental music admits of no mediocrity but the songs (once again) were very respectably given."*²

Apart from the style of the journalist one must note the reference to culture on the one hand, and barrenness on the other. With such ideas in their minds it is no wonder that the early settlers could not understand the life styles of the Aboriginal people. For them civilization only had one definition, and it emphasized culture as they knew it - with Beethoven and Bishop being mentioned in the same breath.

In 1840-1841, Mr. F. Solomon erected a theatre in Currie Street as a rival to the Victoria Theatre. The cost was £10,000, a considerable amount of money in those days. It could seat 1,200 people. This was an ambitious enterprise, but in 1841 the Queen's Theatre was also opened. Clearly, the fostering of culture was very important. Such accounts indicate the aspirations of at least the more affluent sections of the population. However, the expectation was that there would be a considerable proportion of the

1,2 Newspaper Cuttings. Vol.2. p. 16. Early Music. By E. Harold Davies.

'The Advertiser.' Sept. 30th 1933, Oct. 7th 1933.

population interested in attending concerts. Referring back to Chapter 1, one notes that at this very time, 1840-1841, the general community was experiencing great hardship, and the colony was bankrupt. It was only later that the colony 'got on its feet'. So one asks oneself, why was such considerable expenditure going towards the culture of the colony? Consider also the following record of a benefit concert given for Mr. Solomon, just six months after the theatre building of 1841. It indicates expenditure on culture, and refers to the name of Solomon, who figures in Adelaide's history.

*"Those who are aware of the extensive speculations of this gentleman in building such a structure cannot but admire his motive. Many were the complaints that the colony needed such a place of amusement. Mr. Solomon, on this suggestion, single handedly commenced and completed a house capable of containing 12 and 13 hundred people. He thus gave employment for upward of 12 months to nearly 50 mechanics and labourers at an outlay of £100 weekly. We are sorry to add the efforts of the proprietor, manager and actors have not received that patronage they mentioned."*¹

Two years later, the theatre had to be sold in a grand lottery as cultural aspirations had outrun funding. However, from this passage one can learn more about speculators in the community who, due to the initial problems associated with surveying the farm land, had settled in Adelaide. Although employment was offered, the British Government had to step in when the Capitalists faced such difficulties with their projects.

1 Horner, J. 1960. A Short History of Music in South Australia. Vol. II, No. 780. p. 9942 of South Australia collection of 'Periodicals and Letters' 1937-1960.

Meanwhile, Mr. Platts' career was also experiencing difficulties. He had, "on sale - 288 violins and bows, from 10 to 15 guineas each."¹ It is surprising to learn that not more than five years after the colony was settled anyone would have thought of buying, let alone selling, 288 violins and bows. Later, this enterprise was dropped, and Mr. Platts concentrated upon his more profitable stationery and library enterprises in Hindley Street. But the colony's musical scene was experiencing difficulties in other ways, too. Holy Trinity Church had paid part of the price for a new organ, but requested further funds to pay the remaining debt, and thus prevent the sale of the organ. Not more than two years later, the Church also found that it could no longer supply Mr. Platts with a salary as Church Organist. So after three years employment the Church announced, "We regret to hear the congregation has not been able to pay and they are now about to be deprived of his services."²

Difficult times have always had repercussions in the area of finance for musicians and musical activities. Even so, it is amazing to see how much is still allocated to cultural activities; and, in many ways the Arts are essential to social life. Here are further accounts of musical events before the year 1863.

In 1841-42 newspapers contain further records of amateur concerts such as one which reads, "a number of ladies and gentlemen have signified their intention to assist on this occasion, while His Excellency and Lady Grey are also expected to be present."³ "The room was crowded by a highly respectable assembly and the whole concert went off most creditably for a first attempt."⁴ The Governor played an important role at early concerts

1,2 Horner, J. 1960. A Short History of Music in South Australia. Vol. II, No. 780. p. 9942 of South Australia collection of 'Periodicals and Letters' - 1937-1960.

3,4 ibid. A graphic report of an amateur concert.

as a symbol of British patronage and authority. He was also a leader of Establishment interests. When he attended concerts, the Anthem 'God Save the Queen (or King)' was sung by a standing audience as he arrived. As he left, the 'Song of Australia' was sung. As will be shown this tradition is still carried on at some concerts.

The account of the first Oratorio performance in Sydney has already been quoted. Now I refer to a similar account of Adelaide's first Oratorio performance. This account also suggests that in 1843 regularity of performances was still lacking, although attempts had been made to start a series of regular performances. In September 1843, the Wesleyan Chapel in Gawler Place was reopened and on this occasion, "a formidable display of sacred music"¹ was planned. The financial difficulties of the Arts are reflected in the comment concerning this concert: "and should it (the performance) in these hard times have the effect of drawing an attendance and loosening the purse strings, it will not be without its use."² About four to five hundred people attended this performance. In March 1844, 'The Adelaide Choral Society' numbering 23 members, performed selections from works by Handel, Haydn, Mozart and other composers. The critique of this concert was as follows:-

"To a critic good-naturedly disposed, little room was given for censure. The want of trumpets and drums was much felt in the choruses from (the) 'Messiah'. These instruments have been so prodigiously introduced in England, and the noise even in some instances increased by the discharge of pistols, that the effect in some parts

1,2 Horner, J. 1960. A Short History of Music in South Australia. Vol. II, No. 780. p. 9942 of South Australia collection of 'Periodicals and Letters' - 1937-1960. From a Sept. 1843 account.

*of 'For unto us' was weak. Probably, the frequent opening of ginger beer bottles among the more enthusiastic of the singers was intended to supply the place of artillery. If so, we would suggest to them to give the pop in the proper places. It struck us as rather injuring, than impressing the effect of the solo, but this may be a matter of taste."*¹

The Editor ended his comment by expressing the "hope"² that the concerts would become a regular occurrence, "because they reflected much credit on the society."³ In fact, there were no regular performances of Oratorio for some time and the earliest of Adelaide's 'choral societies' disappeared. Even so, the major choruses of 'The Messiah' by Frederick Handel, and 'The Passions' by Johann Sebastian Bach remained popular. Performances of sacred music took place especially at Christmas and Easter, and divided the people's attention between festivities and symbolic expressions of the meanings which these times held for the colonists.

The social function of early rituals is described in the following cutting, which gives an account of a concert given in 1843, in aid of the Trinity Church School. The concert was held at Messrs. Lambert and Sons, New Rooms in Hindley Street.

"The most distinguished persons in the colony were present and the room presented a very pretty appearance from the taste and elegance of the ladies' dresses ... An air of cheerfulness seemed to pervade everyone ... the most august personage in our community threw aside his dignity.

1-3 Horner, J. 1960. A Short History of Music in South Australia. Vol.II, No. 780. p. 9945. South Australia collection of 'Periodicals and Letters' - 1937-1960. (From a notice of March, 1844).

*The gravest here - by virtue of his office - looked as if he had never tried a culprit in his life, all bows and smiles, gracefully handing one lady to a seat, politely yielding his own to another and making amiable to all."*¹

Theatre life suggests more about the essence of artistic activities in early Adelaide. Like music, early theatre was an adjunct to the essential business of socializing. The theatre of the early 19th century was regarded as "wicked",² especially by non-conformist and evangelical Christians who constituted a large sector of the early Adelaide population. This distaste for theatre is shown in the repeated failures to increase audience numbers, and in the Establishment concern with achieving 'respectability'. However, by 1841 the Royal Victoria Theatre had a pit, gallery, dress-circle and boxes. Each of these areas catered for various groupings of people, but those using the boxes wore the standard full evening dress, and this practice excluded a large proportion of the population from taking box seats. The Queen's Theatre had "a convenient association with a tavern".³ Comments were made that "perhaps it is not the creditable resort that its promoters so piously claim it would be."³

*"The appropriately named Shakespeare Tavern was incorporated in the building and patrons of the boxes had their own saloon. The denizens of the pit and gallery, however, had to make a separate entry to the tavern."*³

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- 1 Horner, J. 1960. A Short History of Music in South Australia. Vol.II, No. 780. p. 9945. South Australia collection of 'Periodicals and Letters' - 1937-1960. (From a notice of March, 1844).
- 2 Fischer, G. The Professional Theatre in Adelaide, 1838-1922. South Australian Centenary No. 1836-1936. (Special Article). p. 79.
- 3 ibid. p.81.

In 1842 the theatre was closed, much to the approval of those who thought theatre jokes "improper",¹ and who saw the theatre as a source of disorder. Theatres remained in disrepute until the 1880s. It is recorded* that Francis Dutton (a member of the Establishment) regarded the closure of the Queen's Theatre as the "end to a fruitful source of disorder and dissipation."² So, only certain kinds of theatre and music were regarded with favourable eyes by the Establishment - who only lent their support to these definitions of Art. In 1850 the theatres began to exist apart from the taverns, and at that same time small musical enterprises gave way to larger ones. This new independence pushed the social ills associated with early Theatre into the shadows. However, despite this new found independence and increased specialization in the context, form and content of performance, aspirations forged still further ahead.

In the 1850s, to cater for the diverse tastes of the audiences, early performances at the Queen's Theatre involved equally diverse programmes - since specialization still had a long way to go. Plays often included smatterings of farce, melodrama, skits on local events, vocalists, instrumentalists, jugglers and acrobats. Complete versions of a work were rarely given, and the usual practice was to perform fragments of works, such as Shakespeare plays or oratorio. There were also potted versions of Grand Opera, and even minstrel shows complete with black-faced banjo and tambourine players. Although these variety shows still exist, they assume a lower status than specialized performances of complete works, such as operas, plays and oratorio.

* 1,2 Fischer, G. The Professional Theatre in Adelaide, 1838-1922.
 South Australian Centenary No. 1836-1936. (Special Article).
 1 - p. 82. 2 - 9.82.

In 1855, the theatre was still "a patchwork of entertainment",¹ and it was not uncommon to find trapeze troupes performing during Shakespearian plays. At this time, the theatre was also used for public meetings, but now this role has almost disappeared, except that the final election speeches take place in our present Festival Theatre. The year 1861 brought some further adjustments to entertainment. Mr. E. Solomon altered the Royal Victoria Theatre so as to provide separate entrances for box and gallery audiences.* This segregation kept the upper classes free from, "unpleasant contact with the Junos, Joves, Apollos of the gallery".² In this way, the Establishment felt that they could attend performances and still retain their separate identity. Such actions suggest that the class arteries were beginning to harden, and that the passage of social mobility across class boundaries was therefore reduced. Now, for the first time, the colonial classes were beginning to settle into a local definition, but one which was still based on Gibbon Wakefield's model.

The Adelaide Town Hall was opened in 1866, and it has since become one of the major venues for musical concerts. In this case one can see that history has wrought some curious reversals. For example, the record of an 1868 performance of Shakespearian excerpts tells of the lower classes being in the gallery. Then, it was, "handsomely fitted up as a refreshment saloon and oyster bar."³ Now, "the balcony of the Town Hall ... is given over to cigarette smoke and spurious observations about the last 'andante' movement".⁴ This reversal becomes more interesting in relation to the Adelaide Festival Complex (opened in 1973), because there, once again, the costs are increased because facilities such as the bar and restaurants are provided.

1 Fischer, G. The Professional Theatre in Adelaide, 1838-1922.
South Australian Centenary No. 1836-1936. (Special Article).
p. 86.

* 2-4 ibid. p. 87

The Adelaide Club

The first attempt to form a club was in 1857, but this failed, and it was in 1863 that the Club was finally formed with 79 members.* Membership was (and still is) formally available to men only; however, the wives participate from the 'side lines'. Also, many of these families were inter-married. Of the original members of 1838 there were some who went insolvent during the 1840s, for example, one of the Trustees. Others were more fortunate, for example, the Establishment architects who moulded Adelaide's visual character. It was they who built some of the stately homes in North Adelaide; and many suburbs, buildings, streets and towns were named after them.

The only school to receive repeated reference in the Adelaide Club records is Saint Peter's Boys' Collegiate. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge also receive mention in Establishment documents. In the next chapter we will see that the Public Examinations Board for Music was based on the English system; and later the University Department of Music was planned, initially according to the Cambridge and then according to the York University system. Those educated people such as doctors and lawyers became very influential. They had social capital. They also had an incredible range of interests, jobs and investments. Descendants of these early members have been educated at St. Peter's College and they now form the core of the present day Adelaide Club. The Bagot family is a case in point. Early classical music was patronized by such wealthy people as bank managers, lawyers, landowners, and doctors. Within this educated Establishment the acquisition of land in the city and country was speedy and extensive. It was a very select club. Moreover, scholarships to the educational institutions, like St. Peter's College, were founded by these men (such as Young

* For a list of names and occupations of these Establishment Adelaide Club members refer to the appendix at the end of this chapter.

and Wyatt). Land was also bequeathed to the school, which still owns a considerable amount of valuable land in the centre of Adelaide. This information further illustrates the close relationship between class and educational opportunities, for example, in the sphere of classical music.

Amongst those who were patrons of the Arts were Elder, (who provided the initial funding for the Conservatorium of Music), and Solomon. Both were pastoralists. Others like the Bonython family, (responsible for the University of Adelaide Bonython Hall), claim that their influence came not only from land, but also from their work on the boards of major organizations, such as mining, banking and newspapers like 'The Advertiser'. Land, education and business enterprise seem to sum up the essential characteristics of the Establishment. Others who were patrons include Barr-Smith who was responsible for the University Library; Hughes, Irwin, and Hopkins who contributed to venues for the Arts; and Rymill, who had a park named after him.

The Adelaide Club is a visible core of Establishment families and power. What is commonly referred to as the Adelaide Establishment consists of a core of interlocking families who form a network, and who hold some common interests in finance, media, business, and in the fostering of education and the Arts. Throughout Adelaide's short history members of the Establishment have expressed their views on the choice of Art performed at the major venues. However, little is known of the extent of Establishment control in business enterprises. If the general community did know, there would probably be a public outcry. Therefore, the Adelaide Club is a restricted social group with controlled membership based on hereditary privileges. The joint and individual extent of resources is kept secret, since it is a private club and its activities do not have to be made public.

The exclusiveness of this group is clearly seen when one considers the positions held by individual members. For example, Sir A. Rymill has been Chairman of the Bank of Adelaide, Director of the A.M.P. Society in Sydney, Lord Mayor of Adelaide, the Founder and President of the National Trust in Sydney, and also a member of the Foundation Board of the Festival of Arts. Another member of the Festival of Arts Foundation Board is Sir James Irwin. He has been President and Chairman of this Board, and has also been Lord Mayor, although his profession is that of architecture. Many of these Establishment Adelaide Club members have been knighted, and they support Royalist Liberal-Conservatism in politics. Many have also served as Lord Mayors, and as members of the City Council. They are sometimes referred to as 'The City Fathers.' As members of the city council they had influence over building plans for the city, and access to State tax resources and their allocation. In this 'political' capacity members of the Adelaide Club could make proposals to the electorate about the allocation of resources, for example, to finance the Festival Hall, (now known as the Festival Theatre). However, when the Centralist-Labour Government came to power, they claimed that the Festival Theatre Complex was their own cultural project. The growth of competition between the Conservative-Liberal Government and the Labour Government in the field of government patronage of the Arts is evident. This is because, despite Establishment patronage, the Arts have always relied heavily on government subsidies.

I have given a general definition of the Establishment, but how do the members view this categorization? For Sir James Irwin the Establishment means "the people who do all the work - amongst the high 'echelon' of Adelaide people."¹ John Bonython, now 72 years of age, is another member of the Establishment, which for him means "a group whose opinion influences the power structure."²

1,2 From interviews conducted by 5UV, the University Radio Station, 1977.
Also from collected interview-conversation data, and indirect sources.

He considers that the term 'Establishment' thus defined did not develop until the 1930s, when the Labour Party used it to "belittle the Opposition in the Legislative Council."¹ However, John Bonython states that there always was an Establishment in South Australia, and that this is "not a bad thing"², especially when two or three elements in the Establishment "balance"³ each other. Whilst some Establishment names are connected with the pastoral industry, (for example, Angas, Rymill, Barr Smith, Elder and Hughes), John Bonython refers to a group of Company Directors who are not united, but who from time to time "share the same task."⁴ This seems to be an indirect reference to interlocking, overlapping gentlemen's agreements, which take place behind the closed doors of the Adelaide Club. He also distinguishes members of the Adelaide City Council from politicians, in the sense that he recognises this category of influential people, who are not necessarily themselves politicians, but who may have politicians in the family. From these statements one gains the sense of a source of political power which is not being fully acclaimed.

Respectability

My understanding of the ways in which the label 'respectability' has been used, can be divided into two main parts. Firstly, 'respectability' defines the social behaviour which is appropriate to any given musical context. It can be used to confine behaviour within recognized social boundaries. Thus, a performance of popular or folk music in a tavern context can be described by participants as 'respectable', if it meets their own definition of the label, and if the structure and process of the performance is appropriate to the tavern context. It must first be recognized, then, that various strata of society have different alternative, but often overlapping definitions of

1-4 From interviews conducted by 5UV, the University Radio Station, 1977.

Also from collected interview-conversation data, and indirect sources.

'respectability'. All people have some definition of what is 'proper' or 'improper', but the definitions vary slightly according to class and status.

Secondly, 'respectability' is a label used by the members of the dominant strata to categorize, and to typify the kinds of performances in which they control the leadership roles, the choice of music, and indeed the definition of 'good music' - all in terms of their cultural preferences. The points of variation between the two definitions of 'respectability' given here have caused people to create the labels of 'high' and 'low' culture. These refer to different class and status definitions of 'good' music. The dominant ideology tends to support the claim that 'high' culture is superior and more 'respectable' in form and content than 'low' culture. In fact, this is a highly socially constructed definition of 'respectability', and it should be recognized as such.

At the end of Chapter 3 the characteristics of a traditional concert performance will be summarized, but for the time being I continue with this general discussion of the definition of 'respectability', because it is more central to this part of my argument. Let us first consider the statement that the label of 'respectability' is used to refer to performances of music which are also referred to as 'high' culture by the participants. Examples of 'high' culture may include opera, oratorio, ballet, plays, jazz in certain contexts, and musical performances such as instrumental solos, chamber music, and orchestral concerts. Because access to this 'high' culture requires higher levels of education within Establishment controlled institutions, its appreciation seems to become the prerogative of the dominant strata: first the Establishment, then the Elite, and then the middle class. Thus, the definition of 'respectability' as 'high' culture is class controlled. It should be remembered that due to early colonial difficulties, the Establishment took a few years to consolidate its power, although its claims to power

existed from the start. We see that the Establishment use of the label 'respectability' involves the attempt to encourage other members of the society to conform to its definition of 'good music'. It involves attempts to "reproduce ... the existing structure of relations"¹ between social strata, with reference to the dominant strata.

However, as the first definition of 'respectability' implies, for the sense of Anglo-community to have remained, more than dominant group support was needed to sustain this definition of 'respectability' and culture. 'High' culture is also legitimated by members of society who cannot always participate in it. Instead they share a pride in the cultural achievements of the whole society.

Reference to 'respectability' justifies a social hierarchy in the context of particular performances. From the accounts of early performances recorded above one can see that the boxes were set aside for the Governor, his official party, for the Establishment families, and for representatives of the Elite. The audience was further stratified according to their financial and social status. Within the performance itself the musicians were hierarchically arranged according to professional status. The conductor received high status, as did the soloist; and these were followed by the first violinist, and then the other members of the orchestra.

Here it is necessary to point out that there are those elements in society which do not equate standards of performance or musicianship with 'high' culture, but most members of the dominant strata tend to think of classical music concerts and opera as superior kinds of performance. There is then one overriding social definition of 'respectability'. It is the one held by the

1 Bourdieu, P. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Papers in the Sociology of Education: 'Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change. Tavistock. p. 71.

members of the dominant culture who control cultural and capital resources, and who, through their involvement in the structures of musical fields* and frames,** then control the choice of music performed in the local venues.

Levels of education influence the degree of access to the definitions of culture. In many cases education is necessary to understand the particular form and content of a concert of classical music, and the symbols of ideology behind the performance. Thus, cultural wealth is not equally available to everyone in society.

In musical performances one can see the dominant paradigm, and social metaphors relating to it. So far the examples illustrate the paradigm of Anglo-conformity. But society is more than culture, and many non-conforming musical contexts provide alternatives to society's blue-prints offered by the Establishment.

I have argued that the legitimacy of performances, throughout Adelaide's history, has been gauged in terms of 'respectability'. This narrow traditional definition of culture excludes many other kinds of definition. For example, the influx of migrants has brought different kinds of music to Adelaide, which the local 'culture' is slow to recognize. There are further divisions between 'pop', folk, jazz, and street music. Thus the Anglo-enclave definition of 'culture' has an opposite 'anti-tradition' which can also be identified.

At this stage a peculiar strata-oriented concept of morality creeps into the definition of culture. 'Respectability', with its narrow definition, becomes aligned with order, which is regarded as 'good'. This means that everything

* ** See the Introduction and the final chapter of Section III.

which lies outside this definition is not quite as respectable, and tends towards disorder. By default, it is therefore 'bad', according to the paradigm of Anglo-tradition. This point is very important as it marks the final step by members of society in legitimating and justifying Anglo-conformity in Adelaide. Because alternatives to the paradigm are viewed as illegitimate, it is easier to dismiss their attempts to enter the ideology of the society. Furthermore, in regarding all kinds of non-conformity together, no rational distinctions between different kinds of non-conformity can be made. This in turn gives rise to discrimination and prejudice based on such socially created limits of culture. The consequence of this is that the value of recognizing alternatives is not individually assessed, and reifying processes, instead of transformative processes, take place.

Thus 'respectability' according to its second definition becomes a gauge to the aspirations of the dominant class and ethnic group. Those who control cultural and capital resources define a performance as 'high' culture when it conforms to their definition. Because access to the symbolic code of 'high' culture requires education within Establishment educational systems, this definition of 'respectability' is an affirmation of the correspondence between dominant culture and dominant strata. This controlled definition enables alternative kinds of musical taste to be kept sub-dominant, or to be confined to other non-establishment fields of social mobility. The label 'respectability' seems to imply acceptance of and credibility in the form and content of the musical performance. This definition supports the overriding importance of 'high' culture in the maintenance of the 'status quo'. For the sense of Anglo-community to remain, then, the dominant definition of 'respectability' has had to be supported by more than the dominant strata.

Finally, categories of professional musicians have grown, to cater for both dominant and sub-dominant categories of musical taste. However, the definition of 'respectability' restricts claims to professionalism amongst non-establishment musicians, who then have to make their claims to professionalism through alternative social mobility routes, for example, through the Musicians' Union.

THE APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 2

The Appendix for Chapter 2The Adelaide Club

Source: The Adelaide Club records.

Presidents

1915-1918	Sir Lancelot Stirling
1918-1919	Sir Edward Stirling
1919-1922	Sir Lancelot Stirling
1922-1925	John Barker
1925-1927	E.W. Hawker
1927-1930	T.E. Barr Smith
1930-1933	J.R. Baker
1933-1935	Sir Walter Young
1935-1937	J.G. Duncan-Hughes
1937-1940	M.G. Anderson
1943-1946	Sir Walter Duncan
1946-1948	Sir Arthur Cudmore
1948-1950	W.H. Bagot
1950-1952	R.S. Hawker
1952-1955	Sir Mellis Napier
1955-1957	Sir Stanley Murray
1958-1959	E.W. Williamson
1959-1961	R.F. Angas
1961-1963	Sir Collier Cudmore

The List of Foundation Members

1863-1864 Prepared by Mr. W.H. Bagot in March 1957

Andrews, R.B.	1823-1884	Attorney General and Crown Solicitor
Angas, G.F.	1789-1879	A founder of the State - extensive interests
Angas, J.H.	1823-1904	Pastoralist
Ayers, Sir Henry	1821-1897	Member of the Legislative Council. Founder of the Bank of Adelaide, etc.
Ayers, H.L.	1844-1905	Born here. Educated at 'Saints'. Business interests.
Bagot, J.T.	1818-1870	Barrister and M.P. Attorney General
Baker, Hon. J.	1812-1872	Sheep breeder and Pastoralist
Baker, Sir R.C.	1842-1911	M.P. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge.

Appendix (continued)

Bakewell, W.	-1867	Surgeon
Beck, J.	Not known	Merchant
Blackmore, J.W.	1836-1875	Under Treasurer
Blyth, Sir A.	1823-1891	M.P.
Boothby, G.	1835-1893	Judge
Boothby, M.R.	1829-1903	Sheriff and Controller of Prisons
Browne, J.H.	1817-1904	Doctor (medical) and Pastoralist
Browne, W.J.	1814-1894	Doctor (medical) and Pastoralist
Colley, R.B.	1820-1875	First Mayor of Glenelg
Connor, C.H.T.	1836-1926	Businessman
Cooper, C.D.	1839-1866	Barrister
Cullen, L.M.	1795-1850	Barrister
Daly, J.G.	Not known	Solicitor
Davenport, Sir S.	1817-1906	Vine and Olive Grower
Dearing, S.	Not known	Civil Servant
Duffield, W.	1816-1882	Miller and Pastoralist
Elder, Sir Thomas	1817-1897	Wool Broker. Benefactor to Schools of Music, the Art Gallery and Medicine.
Everard, W.	1819-1889	M.P.
Fisher, Sir J.H.	1790-1875	First Mayor of Adelaide
Fisher, W.D.	-1829	Pastoralist
Fowler, W.	1820-1901	Pastoralist
Gilbert, J.	1800-1881	Pastoralist
Giles, T.	1819-1899	Sheep Farmer
Gosse, W.	1813-1883	Doctor (medical)
Grant, F.A.	Not known	Pastoralist
Green, G.	-1895	Land Agent
Hall, G.	Not known	M.P. Member of the Legislative Council.
Hamilton, E.A.	Not known	Pastoralist and Architect
Hamilton, J.	1813-1871	Business interests and Commissioner of Police.
Hanson, Sir R.D.	1805-1876	Barrister
Hardy, A.	1814-1876	Town Surveyor
Hardy, Arthur	1816-1909	Quarrier and Crown Prosecutor
Hardy, A.M.	1851-1934	Solicitor
Hart, J.	1809-1873	Miller, M.P. Member of the Legislative Council.
Hawker, A.	Not known	Not known
Hawker, G.C.	1819-1895	Sheep Breeder
Hawker, E.W.	1850-1940	Educated at 'Saints' and Cambridge. M.A. Mining and Lawyer.
Hawker, G.C. Jnr.	Died young	
Hayward, J.F.	Not known	Squatter

Appendix (continued)

Hicks, R.	-1865	Colonist and Lawyer
Hope, J.	1808-1880	Pastoralist
Hughes, H.K.	1814-1880	Miller M.P. Member of the Legislative Council.
Hughes, H.B.	1820-1882	First River Transport
Hughes, Sir W.W.	1803-1887	Pastoralist
Hutton, W.S.M.	Not known	Civil Servant
Jamieson, H.	Not known	Gave oil painting to Art Gallery
Knox, N.A.	1797-1880	Owned Town Acre No.1.
Lawrence, W.J.	Not known	Farmer
Levi, P.	1822-1898	Pastoralist and a founder of 'Saints'
Lyon, J.C.	Not known	Not known
Magary, T.	1825-1902	Miller and Pastoralist
Mair, G.	1823-1905	Shipping and Pastoralist
Mair, W.	-1897	Mining and Member of Parliament
Marchant, G.	1820-1905	Pastoralist
Milne, Sir W.	1822-1895	Merchant and Member of Parliament
Moore, R.W.	-1884	Surgeon and Superintendent of the Asylum.
Moorhouse, M.	1813-1876	Protector of Aborigines. M.P. and doctor (med.)
Morphett, Sir J.	1809-1892	M.P. Speaker of the House. Pastoralist. Owned historic "Cummins".
Morphett, J.C.	1844-1936	Educated at 'Saints' and Oxford. Pastoralist and Public Servant.
O'Halloran, W.L.	1805-1885	Secretary to Governor Grey. Auditor General. A founder of 'Saints'.
Peacock, J.	1825-1867	Merchant. Tanner. Banker.
Peake, E.J.	-1876	M.P. Magistrate. A member of the Roman Church who, on a visit to England in 1854, secured the design of St. Francis Xavier's Cathedral.
Phillips, J.R.	1831-1917	Pastoralist
Phillipson, J.M.	Not known	Not known
Reid, R.J.	Not known	Not known
Reid, W.J.	1826-1900	First Gawler Settler
Roe, J.	Not known	Farmer
Scott, A.	1817-1903	Wool merchant and Pastoralist. A founder of 'Saints'.
Scott, E.B.	1822-1909	Accompanied Eyre to Central Australia. Sub-Protector of Aborigines and Superintendent of Yatala Prison.
Seymour, T.D.	1823-1897	Early explorer of the Tatiara District. Land owner.

Appendix (continued)

Short, H.	1843-1903	Educated at 'Saints' and Oxford. Owned and managed Northern leaseholds.
Singleton, F.C.	1812-1887	M.P. and Auditor General
Smith, R. Barr	1824-1915	Joined Elder (later the firm called Elder-Smith). Wool brokers. Pastoralist. Extensive interests. Elder and Smith were brothers-in-law. Founder of Bank of Adelaide. One benefaction was the building of the spires of St. Peter's Cathedral.
Stirling, E.	1809-1873	Pastoralist and Mercantile Businessman. A founder of 'Saints'.
Stirling, Sir E.C.	1848-1919	Doctor (medical). Educated at Saints and Trinity College, Cambridge. M.P. Director of Museum. One of the most distinguished scientists of his day. Explorer and Professor of Physiology.
Stirling, Sir J.L.	1849-1932	Educated at 'Saints' and Trinity College, Cambridge. Pastoralist. Lawyer.
Stokes, F.W.	1823-1889	M.P. and Pastoralist Station Manager
Stow, W.I.	1828-1878	Solicitor. Judge. M.P. Attorney General
Taylor, J.	1823-1865	Mining. Land Owner (large).
Turnbull, J.	1830-1897	Merchant
Turner, F.F.	-1908	Solicitor. M.P. Attorney General
Waterhouse, G.M.	1824-1906	M.P. Chief Secretary. Premier.
Watts, A.	Not known	M.P.
West-Erskine, W.A.E.	-1892	M.P.
Wigley, W.R.	1828-1890	Solicitor. M.P. Mayor of Glenelg.
Williams, G.S.	1824-1902	Pastoralist
Williams, J.	1823-1890	Pastoralist (unsuccessful). M.P. Early Broken Hill Pty. Ltd. shareholder (very successful).
Wright, E.A.	1822-1891	Mining
Wright, W.	1805-1886	Surgeon. Protector of Aborigines. A buyer of the first sale of Town Acres. A founder of Saints. Governor of the Botanic Gardens.
Young, E.M.	Not known	Manager of the National Bank of Australia
Young, G.	Not known	A founder of 'Saints'. M.P. Merchant. Money for "Young" Scholarship (Dux of School).

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL DIFFERENTIATION, SPECIALIZATION, AND
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MUSICAL PERFORMANCE CONTEXTS

1846 - 1980

Introduction

In this chapter attention will be focussed upon the gradual differentiation and institutionalization of distinct, but overlapping musical performance contexts. In the preceding chapter we saw that the Establishment had by 1840-1846 already begun to build specialized contexts and venues, in which music of their choice could be performed. From 1846-1980 they further cultivated the distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture, and the distinction between contexts in which music was the central focus and was played for a listening audience, and those in which music was part of a wider social activity.

In terms of funding, preference was given to classical musical performances. Popular music, jazz, and folk music were funded by tavern and hotel proprietors. Large scale commercial enterprises, (for example, for 'pop' music), were sponsored by radio stations, or by independent entrepreneurs (from the Elite), rather than by the Establishment or the Government, (although the Government often subsidized such ventures).

I begin with a short illustration of Anglo-community boundaries, as experienced by the early German settlers. This is expressed in the description of the German and English Music Societies, which tended to compete with each other.

The Growth of Choral Societies

In general, Adelaide's choral history radiates around the mention of 'names'. As records are limited it is often hard to find out about the background of musical events, and the names of all who were in attendance. However, we do know that in 1848, Carl Linger arrived in Adelaide and identified himself with the musical realm of social activities. In the previous year W.R. Pybus

was born in Adelaide, and later he became a chorister and organist at the Kent Town Methodist Church, at Tynte Street Baptist Church, and at the Flinders Street Presbyterian Church. He was the City Organist in 1891 and took the role of the conductor of the Philharmonic Society and for the Adelaide Liedertafel. Mr. W.R. Pybus^{*} is also known for his composition of an 'Ode to the Sunday School Festival' in 1890.

William Chapman arrived in South Australia in 1849, and conducted a band and played first violin in the Philharmonic Society. Finally, William B. Chinner was born in 1850,^{*} and like his father G.W. Chinner, became a well-known musician. He was organist at the Pirie Street Wesleyan Church from 1873 to 1912, and organist for the Philharmonic Society and Musicians' Union. It was he who wrote a choral arrangement of 'The Song of Australia'. In these and other cases the influence and patronage of the church can be seen. Indeed, many of the musicians had previous experience in British or German choirs. Two major Societies in the colony were the choir of the German Liedertafel, and the English Glee Club.

In 1858, the Liedertafel was founded by German colonists who enjoyed singing the songs of their original homeland. Herr Carl Linger^{*} was the first conductor, and he held this post until his death in 1862. In 1914, the Society went into recess, but by this time several choral societies had amalgamated to form a choir which received the honour of being known as the best choir in the State. In 1908 the Liedertafel joined with other Adelaide choirs, (The Adelaide Choral, the Bach, the Adelaide Orpheus, the Port Adelaide Orpheus, the Glee, and other choirs) for a large competitive choral performance. Competition between choirs is still a major part of the

* The Australian Musical News, Vol. XXVII. No. 3. October 1st 1936 -
 'A Century in a Musical Light - Pioneers and Problems'. Brewster-Jones,
 'South Australia's Musical History'. p. 3.
 Herr Carl Linger wrote the 'Song of Australia'.

Eisteddfods, which were introduced by the Welsh colonists. (Traditionally, the Eisteddfod is a congress of Welsh bands). Finally, the Liedertafel originated in Berlin in 1808, during the depression that followed the rule of Napoleon in Germany. Apart from its nationalistic, religious and folk values, the Liedertafel was a political affirmation of the German colonists' origin, and a form of social protest against the unequal rights they were given in the colony's centre of power.

The Adelaide Glee Club^{*} was founded in 1884 and its first conductor was Mr. H. Evans, who was followed by Mr. A.H. Walmsey, Mr. A. Williamson, Mr. W.H. Foole and Mr. S. Kennedy. The word 'Glee' is Anglo-Saxon for 'Glīg' which means music. Glee, therefore, include a variety of musical moods - cheerfulness, seriousness, and sadness. All-male choral groups have long been common amongst English people, and records of Glee Clubs go back to 1783 when London gentlemen sang motets, madrigals and glees after dining in their homes. In 1787, a society called 'The Glee Club' was formed, and meetings took place in taverns. The hierarchical nature of these Glee Club occasions is suggested by the way in which the first songs were chosen by the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Conductor, with subsequent songs chosen by other members, right down the hierarchy. There was a further tradition that the first Glee sung should be S. Webb's 1790 composition, 'Glorious Apollo'.

Prior to the 1884 start of 'The Adelaide Glee Club', the only formal societies for male singing were the German societies. The lyrics were sung in German, although there is an 1884 account of an event ending with the National Anthem sung in English. This performance brought forward the suggestion that there should be English singing societies in Adelaide,

* Adelaide Glee Club - Annual Smoke Social Notice for Monday, 6th December 1954 - with an Historical Note attached by Mr. J.L. Moten, Hon. Secretary, 1954. (The Patron at this time was the Hon. Sir Mellis Napier, K.C.M.G.).

despite the fact that earlier attempts to begin clubs had not succeeded. Newspaper correspondence suggested a conflict between some members of German and English choral groups. Apparently the English residents also felt that the success of the German Liedertafel belittled the English residents' ability to sing.* This was so even though for the most part the two ethnic groups lived in separate communities.

The first conductor of the Glee Club, Mr. Evans, was also Master at Prince Alfred College, Adelaide's major Methodist private college. He helped with the development of the well-known Glee Annual Smoke Social which began in 1892 and continued until 1905 without any funds apart from those gained through subscription and concert benefits. The early groups met in Wares Exchange Hotel and the group served a variety of purposes. These included the Red Cross and other war charities during the First World War. In the Second World War they worked for various patriotic organizations. Before broadcasting the choir held three concerts at the Town Hall, but in 1924 broadcasting reduced attendance until the concerts were discontinued. Much later the group reformed and won the 1953 Adelaide Eisteddfod. The length of time that this society survived is significant because "Musical Societies in all English-speaking countries are notoriously short lived."¹

Therefore, the endurance of this English choral society indicates the strength of Anglo-conformity in Adelaide. It also accounts for the small emphasis on the music of other ethnic groups, except the strongly unified German ones. Social order, then, is expressed through hierarchy and through musical activities during which the principles of order, thought to be necessary for

*, 1 Adelaide Glee Club - Annual Smoke Social Notice for Monday, 6th December 1954. Historical note by Mr. J.L. Moten, Hon. Secretary, 1954.

social integration, are upheld. We see that the drama of community life is linked with authority structures which govern integration. In musical performances there is an enactment of the struggle for power by both those in power and those searching for it. Both groups wish to control essential cultural symbols that are already powerful. In chapter 5 we will see that new symbols are created to order new relationships and to set them apart from traditional forms and content. In musical performances the official parties with honorary positions in the audience are "community guardians".¹ They are the Establishment, or Elite who are 'respectable'. Such guardians may differ in their individual opinions but together they agree on certain principles of social order. They express community ideals and serve as symbols of personified order. Around such ideals there develops group closure.

In 1839, there were a few references to Irish, Scottish and Welsh folk songs and dances, although these activities do not receive emphasis in the newspapers and journals. The fact that these groups contribute to Adelaide's musical scene is best illustrated by the long-standing success of the Caledonian and other pipe bands, and by the Welsh and Irish names which occur in choral and dance group records. Finally, the Scottish influence is best illustrated by the Highland Games, which still occur annually, and during which dancing, musical entertainment, and athletics take place.

In 1886 the Adelaide Musical Association was formed. (It is now called the Adelaide Choral Society and in 1979 it combined with other choirs). At its peak this Society included 250 singers and an orchestra of 45 players. Mr. J. Stevens (1841), a former chorister of Worcester Cathedral and the Chapel Royal Choir, arrived in Adelaide in 1887 and was the founder of the

1 Duncan, M.D. 1968. Symbols in Society. (Reprint 1972). Oxford, London, New York: Oxford University Press. p. 95.

Adelaide Choral Society. He conducted the 1887 performance of 'The Messiah' and began the Adelaide Orpheus Society in 1888. He was organist for five years at Christ's Church in North Adelaide. The Adelaide Harmony Society was disbanded in 1931 during the years of depression, but it gave its library to the Adelaide Choral Society, and its music to the Adelaide Orpheus Society. In 1881 we also note the initial influence of W. Packer from Eton College Choir. Finally, in 1885 the Adelaide String Quartet Club became active but like many of the musical organizations it was disbanded from 1914-1918, and was only properly reformed in 1922. More recent members have included Reiman, Lasislav Jasek, Lloyd Davies, Harold Fairhurst and James Whitehead. A number of societies also developed from church choirs, for example, E. Davies organized the Adelaide Bach Society in 1901. Three churches have been most influential; St. Peter's (Anglican), Maughan Methodist Church and St. Francis Xavier (Roman Catholic).

Interestingly, opera was also advancing as an Art form at this time. This is notable because opera requires large financial resources, a large number of performers and back-stage people, and the support of a large audience. In 1861 Adelaide's population was 18,000 and companies came from Melbourne and Sydney to perform. Other companies visited in 1866, and in 1872-73 the frequency of visits increased. Then there was a gap until 1901 due to the gold-rush at Bendigo, but after 1901 German Opera Companies visited. In 1954 the Elijah Theatre Trust was formed and since then opera has been performed on frequent occasions.*

* Source - Horner, J. 1960. A Short History of Music in South Australia. Vol. II, 780. p. 9942. State Library Archives Collection of 'Periodicals and Letters' - 1937-1960. p. 98.

Bands

Before moving on to the Society for Professional Musicians I wish to deal with band music, because it has such a wide audience and because it is part of many of the early musical social activities. It was part of the European promenade tradition of having band music for a wide variety of outdoor events. Bands have provided music for social contexts ranging from business picnics, church activities, fetes and festivals, to important national and local openings of buildings, and activities such as the traditional Sunday afternoon concerts in local and city rotundas.

An early musical news journal^{*} included a section called 'Band News' in which local bands gave notice of coming performances. Here are a few examples from 1896. A newly formed Military Band played at a meeting at which bicycle sports were the focal activity. Bands also performed at butchers' and milkmen's picnics. The City Volunteer Band performed at the milkmen's picnic, gardeners' picnic, Simpson and Sons' picnic, (an electrical business) and at the opening of the Yacht Club. So, bands played at lower, middle and upper class events. Other bands performing at this time were the Locomotive Band, and the Holdfast Band which gave a weekly concert at Glenelg. Bands played at the Adelaide Annual Show on the 7th March, 1896. The show was a display of rural products and urban industrial production. Livestock was displayed and auctioned. There was a grand parade of beef cattle, sheep, pigs, and horses. Farm machinery, cars, flowers, cooking, arts and crafts were displayed too. This show now continues with more emphasis on side shows and factory products such as sweets, icecreams, and drinks. The Semaphore Rotunda near the beach was another popular place for band performances, as was the Hindmarsh Rotunda. Other bands performed at the Port

* Music. (A monthly journal dedicated to the interests of the Arts and Trade in South Australia). Vol. 1. 1896. p. 97 - the section called 'Band News'.

rares and a string of local bands developed to provide music, such as the Woodville Band. From these accounts bands seem mostly to be identified with working and lower-middle class activities, but patronage was primarily from the upper class. Specialized bands included the Scottish South Australian Caledonian Society Band, the Military Band, the Police Band, the Fire Brigade Band, the Salvation Army Band and the St. John's Ambulance Band.

The nature of band performances is further illustrated by the record of a band performance on 12th October 1896, by the Sailors and Officers of a warship that was then in port. Significantly, this performance took place in the Town Hall. The journalist comments that it was "certainly somewhat unusual for the Town Hall stage to be taken possession of by a body of Jolly Jack-Tars of a musical turn of mind."¹ The Governor and Lady Buxton were present at this programme, which included a solo by Mr. W.R. Pybus, the City Organist. Within this military social context, and with the sign of approval of the Governor, this band performance became acceptable to the upper classes as well as to other classes. It may be said then, that the Town Hall context of this performance altered the social strata of people involved in an audience capacity.

Whereas high-status concerts had their origin in salons, band events grew from volunteer informal performances amongst the lower classes, and from the organizations of the military, and other service groups such as the Fire Brigade. Bands evolved from tavern, park and dance-hall contexts. The influence of military organizations is also significant. Whilst the church would accept the military and specialist bands it did not accept other forms

1 Music. Vol. 1. 1896, October 12th. p. 3.

of band music which were associated with sets of social attitudes and values not held by the leading religious groups. Band music was very often part of a wider social organization, and, although audiences could be larger than those in attendance at classical concerts, participation was informal. People from the audience could come and go as they pleased. This was not the case at classical traditional concerts from which one could exit only at set intervals. However, some bands were professional: that is, they employed and paid bandsmen as part-time musicians. This is true of the Police Band, discussed in the next few pages.

The hierarchical arrangement of groups, based on class and factors of musical style, is well exemplified by the following joke which occurred in 'Band News' in 1897:-

"Bobbie: Pappy, what is classical music?

*Fond Parent: Classical music, Bobbie, is
music you have never heard,
and never want to hear again."*¹

Thus, whilst the Establishment was tending to develop separate concert venues for orchestra and chamber groups, the other classes were concerned with developing their own musical interests. Indeed, the fact that musical style, such as that of band music, is tied to class and status, often obscures the fact that bandsmen are as likely to be as musical as many of the people who move into the upper-class professional group, where musicianship tends to be measured in academic terms. Despite the bandsmen's aspirations to play in venues where orchestras have played, these venues have often been denied them, (for example, the Town Hall, Elder Hall and now the Festival Theatre). Bands have different audiences from those attending classical concerts, and even when the venue is the same for both kinds of events, the composition of the

1 Music. Vol. 1. 1897. 'Band News'. p. 2.

audience will change. Those people who attend a band concert will not necessarily be the same as those who would attend an orchestral concert in the same venue. This point is well illustrated by the separate programmes given by the South Australian Symphony Orchestra - such as, free concerts of popular music, and A.B.C. Subscription Concerts covering the range from classical to avant-garde music. In these cases, people are organized according to musical style, which is one aspect of class consciousness.

In accordance with the promenade tradition, bands still perform most often at outdoor events. Now, within the Festival Theatre Complex an amphitheatre is the most common place for band activities; and this allocation of venues marks the secondary status of band music allotted by those with control over the resources.

The South Australian Police Band

In 1880, a volunteer Police Band was formed, but through the years the Band has become institutionalized and has become a specialized part of the total Police Force hierarchy. In its early days the Police Band led the traditional parade from South Terrace to Victoria Square where the police received their pay on the last day of the calendar month. In 1886, 'The Observer' refers to a performance by three brass bands - the Volunteer Military Force Band, the Eastern Suburban Rifle Company Band and the Police Band - who played at the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the Adelaide Exhibition Building in North Terrace. Here is a recent account of the formation of the South Australian Police Band:-

"This band, a volunteer Band, continued for some 48 years before it was eventually disbanded in about 1928. It was reformed in 1936 as a Junior Constable Band and continued to operate as a part-time unit, consisting of Junior Constables in training until it was disbanded again in 1942. In 1944, the then Secretary of the South Australian Police Association, Mr. Bob Fenwick, was successful in convincing the Commissioner of Police of the day, Mr. W.F. Johns, that the South Australian Police Band should reform, and, on the 16th January 1945, the first practice was held by the newly-formed band - all volunteers in their own time - in an upstairs room of the Police Recreation Rooms, which occupied the present site of the Police Headquarters Building. One original attender at that first practice was the present Band Administrator, Sgt. Noel T. Northcott. The Bandmaster was Sgt. Alec Radcliffe, and the Band Manager was the then Secretary of the Police Association, Sgt. L.B. Fenwick (Dcd.). None of the original members of the Band, on that first night, are now playing in the Band. The Band was formed as an all-brass Ensemble with about 15 instrumentalists, and with the assistance of members of the Hindmarsh Municipal Band, were able within six months, to perform at their first engagement - a passing-out parade of the Thebarton Police Barracks, under the Drum Majorship of Constable John Radcliffe, the brother of the Bandmaster. The Band made its first public appearance at the Burra Centenary Celebrations in 1947 with a repertoire of two marches, three hymns, two elections, and approximately 25 instrumentalists."

The Band was formed into a separate Branch of the Police Department as a full-time Band in June 1958. On 13th March 1974, it was approved that the

1 Prepared by Noel T. Northcott and staff, (Admin. Sgt.) of the Police Band in 1976 for this thesis.

Band change from an all-brass combination to a concert (military) formation which includes the woodwinds, saxaphones, flutes, etc., giving the Band greater versatility in musical presentations. The Band performed its first engagement as a concert band on the 19th October 1974, at the Yatala Labour Prison Toymakers' Fair. The Band performed at 140 engagements during the year 1975-6. It is now employed on four days of the week at Band duties, and every Thursday the bandsmen are employed on driving-testing duties and pay-roll escorts. Thus we see the Band as a subsidiary part of a larger institutional framework. The rank of bandsman is Senior Constable and below - thereby preventing movement of bandsmen to higher positions within the police hierarchy. The Band is also used to further public relations. The Band has not been given the degree of professionalism, or equal status with the musical groups of educational institutions, such as the Conservatorium of Music. Many other bands have remained volunteer organizations in the Scottish, Irish, English, or German traditions.

Finally, the South Australian Band Association was formed in 1908 and gained a financial allowance of \$6,000. It does not have concerts but contests at which local or interstate bands compete, (22 or 23 at a time). They are judged on street marching, inspections, diagram marching, slow marching, test pieces and a free-choice piece.*

Street Musicians

The control of music can be illustrated by the case of street musicians**
 In 1838 there were only 18 "recognized"¹ street musicians in the city area with a concentration in Rundle Street, (now Rundle Mall). Then the members

* From conversations with the Secretary of the Association, 1976.

**¹ Prepared after conversation with the City Council employees. Plus, Hooper, F. 1938. 'Music in the Streets of Adelaide'. State Archives 'Newscuttings', Vol. 2. p. 94. 'The Advertiser'. 1938.

of the "little community"¹ knew each other and although there were rivalries a "sense of fair play exists which prevents one man taking the bread from another."² These eighteen musicians were from Australia, Asia, England, Scotland, Greece and Italy. The first step in the career of a kerbside musician, (officially speaking, but not necessarily in practice), is to attain a permit to play in the streets. These are issued by the Town Hall. (However, the system has changed since this thesis was begun, and now they have some test of their musicianship). In 1838 no fee was charged and licences were only issued for streets in the city proper. Further regulations for street musicians have been as follows and only after much protest have changes begun to take place.

Firstly, permits had to be produced at the request of police or corporation officials. Secondly, the permit holders could not solicit or accost members of the public for contributions. Thirdly, as the permit only covered streets or pavements, the corporation had no authority over the musicians once they entered a building. Fourthly, playing for longer than 15-20 minutes in one place was not permitted, and once the recital had been given, the musicians must not play within 100 yards of this original spot for two hours. Fifthly, the musicians must move if requested to do so by the occupants of nearby properties.

The rules were such that street musicians could not exist for long, and they must find other employment, or convince tavern proprietors that their music would increase customer numbers. Only then would the musicians have the protection of the Musicians' Union. Street musicians have, until recently, not been considered professional, since they have not been required to satisfy any formal requirement before becoming a street musician. It has been recorded:-

1,2 Hooper, F. ('The Advertiser', 1938), Music in the Streets of Adelaide. State Archives 'Newspaper Cuttings', Vol. 2, p. 94.

*"There is no board of musical experts at the Town Hall to whom applicants are required to give auditions. Usually a permit is issued as long as the applicant professes to play. Public opinion is the final arbiter on the musicians' skill. One complaint is noted; several are acted upon and the permit is cancelled."*¹

Thus many permits are cancelled, and the numbers of street musicians have not been allowed to grow, since they have been considered an undesirable element, and a route to loitering and begging. In 1938 of 230 permits issued, "quite a number have been cancelled"² - but the writer does not give exact numbers. However, there is a record of the case history of one street musician which explains the situation:-

*"This (inventive genius) took to the streets with a Flute-like instrument constructed on the pianola principle. He knew not a note of music, but the mere action of blowing revolved a perforated strip and the result was - well, a tune. For four days that tune was 'plugged' in Adelaide as a tune has never been 'plugged' before. Then retribution fell. The permit was cancelled towards dusk on the fourth day."*³

The repertoire of the 18 musicians mentioned here varied from 'pop' to grand opera. They lasted in the profession from seven to eight years, and the careers of some of the members dated from the premiere of 'talkies' and the start of 'canned' music. But, in 1930 the outlook for street musicians was dark. The 'talkies' and the depression left street musicians without work, but the 18 original street musicians continued. Street musicians usually formed small groups who were known to each other. They

1-3 Hooper, F. ('The Advertiser', 1938), Music in the Streets of Adelaide. State Archives 'Newspaper Cuttings', Vol. 2. p. 94.

worked in pairs, groups, or played individually. The most popular instruments were the piano accordion, guitar, flute and violin. Regarding finances in the hat, F. Hooper records* that sixpence in ten minutes and three shillings in one hour were average rates in 1938. There were five playing hours a day, partly due to the fact that once a good audience had gathered the permit regulations insisted that the street musicians move on. In 1938 the individual street musicians would have been fortunate to have earned £2 per week. In the same year 'orchestras' of three to five persons began to appear. These groups foreshadowed the modern 'pop' groups, and in this 'game' financial gain was a great incentive. Such musicians agreed that:-

*"The coppers and three-penny bits matter. But it is the free advertising ... that really brings the dividend."*¹

Today government run Arts advertising programmes of music are played in the central city 'Rundle Mall'. Once again street musicians as free agents tend to be cut out of the picture.

For the purpose of understanding the breadth of musical activities let us consider an account of the evolution of the early 'pop' music groups:-

*"The idea evolved more or less of itself. Some years ago, one of them told me, two or three young musicians thrown out of work, banded together - more for the sake of company and the confidence they derived from each other than from any set policy."*²

**1,2 Hooper, F. ('The Advertiser', 1938), Music in the Streets of Adelaide. State Archives 'Newspaper Cuttings', Vol. 2. p. 94.

Being much in need of finance, such groups accepted offers to play at suburban dances. In much the same way today's groups advertise contemporary folk and 'pop' music. However, they must compete with the formal organization of street music for advertising circuses, activities at the Festival Theatre Complex, overseas artists, ethnic groups, professional entertainers, and formally organized community projects. Street musicians are still fighting a losing battle in the process of legitimating their value to the community.

A Society of Professional Musicians

With more of the background information, the sense of Adelaide as a living community develops. Another major development in Adelaide's musical history was the organization of a society for professional musicians. The question which arose was, 'Which people were to be defined as professional musicians?' As indicated above, street musicians were not considered. Despite the fact that there had been an earlier attempt to begin a society of professional musicians the attempt was only repeated after an article in the 1897 journal, Music. In this journal it was suggested that a society revival was needed to give structure to a 'Society of Teachers' or 'Professional Musicians'. The major reason given for the delay in forming this institution was said to be that "musicians will never agree"¹ but the journal goes on to suggest that "there is at least the common ground of the protection of their livelihood which is now being seriously menaced."² In this informative article, Mr. W.T. Bednall frames the nature of the problems which faced musicians in the late 1890s and which, as will be shown, still face them today:-

1,2 Music. Journal. March, 1897.

"It seems to us that such a Society must of necessity partake somewhat of the nature of a trade union, that is, regulate, and if possible raise the teaching fees, and also deal with the general questions of examinations and their regulations, church appointments and any other important subject that might arise. While the power of such an organization would, if necessary, be limited, and, such a thing as a general 'strike' of musicians is too ridiculous to be seriously entertained, still the collective action of the whole of the musical profession of Adelaide would be sure to carry some weight and be treated with a certain amount of respect.

This Society should have for its principal aim useful rather than ornamental objects, and the subscription should be as low as possible, for musicians, like their famous predecessors are not usually overburdened with the riches of this world. Once a fortnight, or perhaps once a month, could be quite often enough to come together for the meetings which must be of an evening, which is usually the most valuable part of a professional man's time. Such a Society could also by their influence lend very indirect aid to any worthy concert enterprise which was undertaken in the colony, and so might prevent a recurrence of the financial failures which bothered some of the ventures of 1896. This periodic meeting together should do a good deal towards wearing away any little friction between various members of the profession, and would afford an excellent opportunity for the various teachers of art to thoroughly know one another, and so bring about a state of things that we fear does not exist at present. An important question would naturally be the singling out of those who were eligible for membership. Music teachers embrace a very wide and much mixed assortment of humanity. There is the man who is a 'bona fide' musician,

that is, who spends the whole of his time in either teaching or studying the art, about whom there would be no difficulty. But what to do with the man, who, for instance, is engaged in some business during the day and merely gives a few lessons in the evening, or the man who combines in an extraordinary fashion the duties of teacher, piano-tuner and repairer, watch-cleaner and bicycle-mender, would no doubt, be a puzzle for the committee. However, we think there is quite enough of the first-named 'bona fide' musician to be found in Adelaide to constitute a respectable Society. Then the question of lady teachers would have to be considered. It appears to us that all teachers absolutely engaged in the art be admitted, for it is very important that such a Society should be as large and all-embracing as possible, so that it may have the maximum influence on local musical matters. Finally, it may be said that as doctors, lawyers, and artists have their various associations which have always proved beneficial to the craft, there is not the slightest reason why musicians should not go and do likewise."¹

Thus we see the beginnings of several kinds of musical societies and associations. The definition of professionalism now comes into the open, and we note the reference to a "respectable"² society. The organization of musicians into a society of professionals gave strength to those with access to formal education in music, but tended to exclude, once again, musicians with claims to professionalism whose style did not meet the committee's approval. Now let us look at the Professional Musicians' Union which developed later, in conjunction with the other unions: the other two major unions being the Journalists' Union and the Staff Union.

1,2 Music. Journal, March 1897.

The Professional Musicians' Union of Australia

This Union^{*} is a national organization with state branches, and it was registered under the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1904-1909. This Act was first revised and consolidated by the Federal Council at a conference in Brisbane in November 1925, and has been revised since. By definition the Union "shall consist of an unlimited number of members, who are professional instrumental performers, and any other persons who receive remuneration for musical services."¹ However, not all of Adelaide's musicians find the Union rules acceptable to them, and infringements occur. For example, the Union aims to protect professional musicians' incomes by preventing Union members from playing with non-unionists. In this way, professionals are to be separated from amateurs. This definition of 'professionalism' involves those employed and registered as musicians, and includes night club and tavern musicians, television musicians, and, now, Australian Broadcasting Commission musicians, and teachers. However, university musicians have their own professional groupings supporting their claims within the university institution, such as the Music Society. Orchestral players have a Guild of Orchestral Musicians, which involves A.B.C. musicians in particular because the A.B.C. supports this Musicians' Union as part of its whole organization. Also, professionals should not, according to Union rules, play with amateurs without first obtaining permission from the Union. This rule is often broken,^{**} as is the one concerning the rewriting of parts. Because of the rule that says amateurs are not to play in professional groups, opportunities for young musicians to gain experience may become limited, and therefore this rule is also relaxed from time to time. That is, professionals do work with amateur

^{*},1 From the Professional Musicians' Union of Australia Rule Book (1972), (and from interviews).

^{**} Knowledge gained through participant observation in several different musical groups.

groups. Another rule has until recently prevented employment in any orchestra being offered to large proportions of 'foreigners'. They were, simply, not to be employed. The number of jobs available to one person is restricted by a ruling that no musician shall play two or more dissimilar instruments in the one orchestra without permission. As university training has involved learning to play two dissimilar instruments, for example, piano and an orchestral instrument, this rule has also caused problems.

The Growth of Professional Institutions

Here we deal with one field, the field of classical professionalism in music, which grew in specialization from the Establishment pursuit of professionalism amongst a privileged group in society. This concern with 'professionalism' which has been indicated in historical documents led to the creation of higher level educational institutions. The University of Adelaide was created to educate, for example, musicians who wished to pursue the cultural aspirations of the upper class. Entry was restricted to those who had the financial means to pay fees, although there were a few prestigious scholarships, which went to the privileged class anyway. So, gradually there developed a 'musical oligarchy'. This gave the Establishment a 'monopolistic' control over classical music concerts and venues, such as Elder Hall. Later, these interests became part of the Festival of Arts, and then the Festival Trust.

Before outlining the history of classical music at Adelaide University, I briefly refer to the University Council which stands at the top of the University hierarchy. Despite the initial aim of giving control to the graduates of the University, the Council developed its own power. Parliamentary representatives, often from the Establishment circles, were

represented on the Council, and there were other categories of representation, and for those not employed at the University. Under this Council, headed by the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, were the Faculties and Departments such as the Music Department described here. The leaders of these Departments also had a liberal degree of power to use in consultation with members of their Departments. As an institution the University has been conservative and resistant to change. The University and Colleges have had benefactors who influenced their governing. The State and Church have also influenced their development by controlling the funds donated to the institutions.

Now I continue with the history of music at Adelaide University by beginning with two examples which illustrate Establishment control over this musical field. We notice that there were controls on the contexts in which University musicians could perform. Firstly, in 1901 when the University Council expressed dissatisfaction with Professor Ives, the matter was brought before Parliament where the University stand against Ives was further upheld. Secondly, when Mr. Heinicke was made a member of the University staff in 1898, he was prevented from continuing in his role as conductor of an "outside orchestra".¹ On other occasions, groups such as the Police Band have been discouraged from performing in Elder Hall, and the best independent teachers have been taken into the Conservatorium structure, or into the Examiners' Board - and sometimes both.

Musical 'professionalism' and mobility into the classical field was controlled by people like T. Elder, despite claims that all talented people could be educated at the Elder Conservatorium: indeed, there were social mechanisms which worked against this situation ever occurring. For example, the

1 Cawthornes Ltd. 1925. Music in the 'Nineties'. State Library Archives. 'Periodicals and Letters'. pp. 1-5.

recruitment procedures for professional educational institutions show that the educational system worked along the lines of existing class divisions.

The growth of societies indicates a growing formalization of musical interests. In 1883 there were major developments in musical educational institutions. Herr G. Reimann returned from study in Germany and founded the 'Adelaide College of Music'. With the help of Cecil Sharp,¹ (the organist of St. Peter's Cathedral) and Mr. Otto Fischer, he then developed this institution, which, in 1896 had 250 students on the roll. Teachers at the College of Music included Herr Volmer (cello), Herr Heinicke (violin), Herr van der Leye (cello), and Herr Noesseil (vocalist). Herr Reimann also taught at the Elder Conservatorium and was organist at the Lutheran Church, Flinders Street. In 1889, the Adelaide College of Music became subordinate to the emerging University Music Department and the Elder Conservatorium, but, despite this change, the College still survived.

In 1883 a three-year 'Overseas Scholarship' was begun by Sir Thomas Elder, (a member of the Establishment). It was available to South Australian students. Sir Thomas Elder then worked with His Excellency Sir William Robinson, (known as the 'musical Governor'), to start a Chair of Music at the Adelaide University. The £3,000 given by Sir William Robinson, and the £20,000 donated by Sir Thomas Elder were used to found the Conservatorium of Music which was opened in 1898. The Chair of Music was founded in 1885, and Professor Joshua Ives became the Head of the new Department. Later Professors of this Department were Professors M. Ennis, E.A. Davies, J. Bishop and D. Galliver. Each of these people has contributed to the growth of music in Adelaide as the following summary will indicate.

1 Brewster-Jones, H. 1936. South Australia's Musical History.
State Library Archives - Letters section. p. 29.

However, before proceeding one must be aware that historical accounts of music in Adelaide tend to focus upon monumental musical figures, and upon the traditional concert framework. Concerning this limitation one can make the following comment:-

*"As long as so-called 'great performers' are regarded as towering musical figures ... the situation won't change. The University has contributed to this, as well, creating a caste system."*¹

Given that my sources do contain such a bias I shall continue to comment on the reasons for this. Here the term 'caste system' refers to the tight hierarchy within the University institution.

But to continue - under the Directorship of Professor Ives, the early Music Department taught composition and included in the programme was a small amount of history, instrumentation and acoustics. The institution developed using the Cambridge plan, as Professor Ives had just graduated from that University. At this stage, the music course did not include musicology, and musical performance was subordinate to gaining such skills as sight-reading and the composition of figured bases. The early assessment system consisted of a composition lasting 20 minutes, and the students were expected to show skill in part, canon, and fugue writing. This form of assessment lasted until 1945. Whilst holding the posts of City Organist, Composer, Professor of the Music Department and the Director of the Conservatorium, Professor Ives still continued to give private lessons, and the system was altered to accommodate this activity. Enrolment was influenced by the policy of non-compulsory levels at senior public examinations, which resulted in the Music Department having more students than any other University course. In 1890,

1 Cope, D. 1973. New Directions in Music. W.C. Brown and Company.

27 students out of 34 were women, and interestingly, between 1885 and 1901 there were only seven graduates. The low graduation level may have been the result of lack of enthusiasm, or the result of the female portion of the group abandoning their studies before finalizing their degrees.

Professor Ives was also responsible for instituting the system of public examinations in music,^{*} which was the system common in Victorian England. Even more importantly, the University and Conservatorium were recognized as closely connected institutions in 1897. This amalgamation was seen by independent music teachers as a direct threat to their livelihood, and Harold Davies, (one of the graduates, and a leader in the professional teachers group), wrote his complaints in a letter to the Council. In this letter he suggested that if the aim of the Conservatorium was to promote higher education, they were taking no steps in this direction, but were encouraging popular support through low standards of entrance and through holding popular concerts of limited educational value. Harold Davies also claimed that the teaching given at the Conservatorium could equally well be achieved by independent music teachers. The close links between the University and the Conservatorium encouraged a process of drawing the best musicians, and this made it difficult for independent teachers or musical groups to compete with these two musical educational institutions. As mentioned earlier, in 1901 the Council expressed clear dissatisfaction with Professor Ives, and in 1902 declared the position open for new leadership. In the tussle between the University Council and Professor Ives, the latter accused the Chancellor of using, "All those subtleties of argument and persuasion of which he is so crafty a master",¹ and of obtaining favourable

^{*},1 Miscellaneous Musicologia: Adelaide Studies in Musicology. 'The University of Adelaide: A Retrospective View', Bridges, D. Vol. 8. Adelaide, 1975. p. 2. (Quotations from 'The Adelaide Observer', 21st December 1901. p. 6).

treatment for a relative as well as handing over the role of "encouraging the study of music by means of its already established system of examinations."¹ In the following statement, Professor Ives makes a strong point which does reflect some of the squabbling that took place within the University power structure:-

*"... So vindictively and maliciously has the Chancellor pursued his purposeful course that my students also have at recent exams. been made to feel the man's awful power. Of Dr. Barlow, the Vice-chancellor I need say little. His old-fashioned mind has not been able to contrive original methods of torturing me, so he had to rely on his wily chief, and be a faithful jackal to the lion."*²

In 1902, Dr. M. Ennis took Ives's place as Professor of the Music Department and Director of the Conservatorium. Dr. Ennis was a graduate of London University, and was a pianist and organist who came to Australia to take up an appointment at Christ Church, Lawrence Street in Sydney. In 1911 he became the Conductor of the Adelaide Choral Society. In his graduate course, Dr. Ennis placed emphasis on the history and literature of music, oral training and on performance, whereas Professor Ives had emphasized composition exercises. The task of running the University Department and Conservatorium (the latter as a self-supporting institution), and the combination of practical and theory in the course, was made possible because of the existence of the Conservatorium as part of the University. In terms of the total University, music students have been, and are still to a lesser extent, separated from this wider context. Only after the 1930s did the music students take part in a wider spectrum of University

1,2 Miscellaneous Musicologia: Adelaide Studies in Musicology. 'The University of Adelaide: A Restrospective View', Bridges, D. Vol. 8. Adelaide, 1975. p. 2. (Quotations from 'The Adelaide Observer', 21st December 1901. p. 6).

activities. Now the University Choral Society and the Conservatorium Bach Choir share the same conductor, some of the same members, and performance programmes.

Further changes in the constitution of these musical institutions occurred when Professor Ennis¹ proposed that the Board of Musical Studies be replaced by the Faculty of Music. He also took the initiative in negotiating with Melbourne University to inaugurate a joint system of University Public Examinations. The present Australian Music Examinations Board began with this Adelaide-Melbourne agreement. The emphasis came back to piano and chamber concerts too.

During the following years, Harold Davies became more influential, especially after 1902 when he became the first Doctor of Music from Adelaide. Professor Ennis placed him in charge of the new Faculty of Music, and Harold Davies also took a leading role in the Music Examinations Board. In 1918, Harold Davies² became the new Professor, and he had the task of rejuvenating the institution after the break occurring during the 1914-1918 World War. At this time, competition between Adelaide and Melbourne became more evident. Also, in 1918 the 'Australian Musical News' of 1st June published an article on 'Adelaide's Musical Lethargy',³ and, clearly, Adelaide was behind the Melbourne Conservatorium in terms of the achievement of similar aims. At this stage Adelaide did not have a Conservatorium orchestra and teachers did not perform very often. When Professor Davies received his appointment, he in turn appointed new teachers, and instituted the system of concerts which were to be given by staff and students. These were to take place on a regular basis at Elder Hall. Then a Conservatorium orchestra was formed,

1-3 Miscellaneous Musicologia: Adelaide Studies in Musicology. 'The University of Adelaide: A Retrospective View', Bridges, D. Vol. 8. Adelaide, 1975, pp. 6-8.

and the Elder String Quartet began, and continued for 40 years with the help of the cellist, Harold Parsons. Concerts were also given by the University Organist, and teacher of piano and organ, John Horner. He gave weekly organ recitals during the lunch-hour break. John Horner also conducted the choral group called the Lydian Singers, who introduced a number of new works to the Adelaide public.

'New Music' did not become important in University musical studies until the 1960s. "Piano students performed music by Debussy, Ravel and Rachmaninoff and salon pieces by modern British composers, while the staff and students chamber music groups occasionally played more substantial works by these composers."¹ Doreen Bridges suggests that Professor Davies did not move toward anything more recent than Elgar, and his courses of historical lectures stopped with Wagner. It was only after the Second World War that students gained knowledge of works by Schoenberg, Bartok and Stravinsky. For this reason, the possibility of new works was reduced. Given this limitation, Professor Davies worked to increase musical appreciation and tried to encourage the Australian Music Examinations' Board to adopt a syllabus in Musical Perception. (This course has not become available until recent years). Professor Davies was interested in schools, in ethnomusicology, and he recognized the possibilities of radio. Nevertheless the music course remained much the same from 1910-1947.

On the other hand, Professor Davies wished to increase entrance standards and Conservatorium fees, but in 1909 the Conservatorium faced financial difficulties, and instead of stopping practical teaching except for degree and diploma students as the Council suggested, the staff worked on a fee-less

1 Miscellaneous Musicologia: Adelaide Studies in Musicology. 'The University of Adelaide: A Retrospective View', Bridges, D. Vol. 8. Adelaide, 1975, pp. 7-8.

commission basis. Had the fees and entrance standards been increased, the numbers necessary for the continuation of the Conservatorium would have been insufficient. At this stage the Conservatorium still taught unmatriculated school students, but its status within the University was increased by its performance standards. Professor Davies remained in charge during the 1939-1945 War, but in 1947 he died at the age of 80, and his successor was Professor John Bishop. Professor Bishop reconstructed The School of Music so as to place it on an equal footing with other University disciplines. This process has been continued by the present occupant of the Chair, Professor David Galliver. Now the University does not involve itself in sub-tertiary teaching, although the Conservatorium does still teach a number of young people. The degree to which the Conservatorium exists as a separate entity from the Music Department varies. Although Doreen Bridges argues that they are one^{*}, in 1976 the Conservatorium had a separate Director, Clemens Leske. However, it is true to say that enrolment at the Conservatorium may involve compulsory participation in Music Department activities, such as Friday Master Classes and Monday night choir practices. The University aims to recognise the joint necessity for practice and theory and sees performance as "not simply an end in itself, but as a vital educational component of all tertiary music studies."¹ The Music Department now has a number of sub-sections including the Bach Choir, Conservatorium Orchestra, Chamber Group, String and Wind Quintets, Brass Ensemble, New Music, Musicology, Ethnomusicology, Musical Education and Composition groups.

*,¹ Miscellaneous Musicologia: Adelaide Studies in Musicology.

'The University of Adelaide: A Retrospective View', Bridges, D.
Vol. 8. Adelaide, 1975, pp. 8-9.

Model of a Classical Musical Performance, and Conclusions

As a conclusion to this chapter I give a model for a classical performance, or concert. This will be useful when considering anti-tradition in Chapter 5. In this ideal/typical model only the essential aspects of the performance can be considered. I concentrate on the stylization of social relationships which take place in the performance framework. (See Figure 2.2 on page 148).

Firstly, there is the division between performers and their audience in spatial terms, and of course in terms of function. Performers are usually on a stage and they enter the hall from back-stage in a set hierarchical order. First come the performers with least status - the choristers. They are followed by the mass of the orchestra and by the orchestral leaders such as the first violinist. Then come the soloists and last of all the conductor. The choristers and mass of the orchestra usually lead the audience in standing to greet the orchestral leaders, soloists and the conductor as they arrive on stage. The audience may also applaud.

Secondly, the audience is also subdivided according to the cost of the tickets, family and friendship groups. For a classical performance the middle stalls, and the first balcony are the best seats for sound and vision respectively. The front and back of the hall contains the less expensive seats.

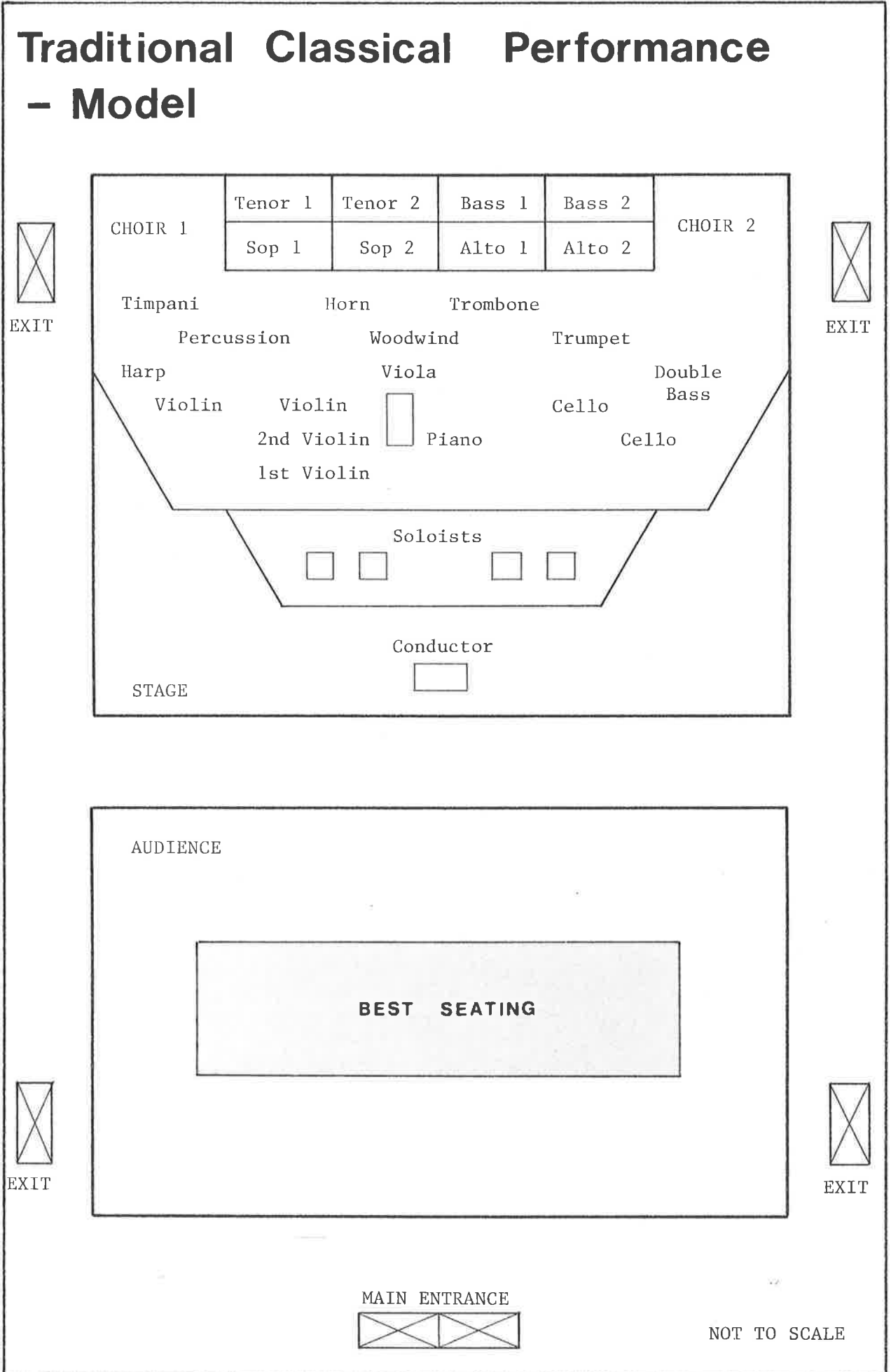
It is essential to refer to the performance framework, which is the term referring to the boundaries which are set up to focus attention on the performance and performers. Once the orchestra is on stage they begin to tune, during which time members of the choir, orchestra and members of the audience continue to talk in discursive fashion about their expectations

concerning the performance and about 'what they have been doing lately'. However, once the soloists arrive the talking begins to subside, and when the conductor arrives attention is focussed ready for the performance. Most conductors will wait to hear 'silence' from the performers and the audience before beginning.

Each performance, unless it is very short, will have at least one interval of ten minutes or so during which time members of the performance group may leave the stage in hierarchical order and go back-stage. In the meantime, members of the audience can move about too, and the focus of the performance, (the presentationalism), gives way to discursive interaction once again. Because this is such a well established pattern, role expectations are clear. The main areas of doubt in a classical performance are whether to applaud between movements, and whether to applaud at the end of a performance of 'Passion' music such as is heard during Easter.

This model serves to summarise a performance, in terms of the organization of performers and the audience which one would expect to find within the performance framework of behavioural rules and boundaries.

Figure 2.2



CHAPTER 4

'THE YEARS OF BROKEN SONG'

During the First and Second World Wars, the professional musical activities gave way to the more pressing problems of organizing war resources. But, although music was further subordinated to other activities it still played a most significant and essential role in the crises of war. Whether such wars welded Australia into a nation or not, is a question which shall not be dealt with here. However, it is true to say that these years left an unmistakeable mark on the lives of people whose involvement was either direct, or indirect. The Broken Years by Bill Gammage, is a book about the suffering caused by war. It is written from the point of view of Australians, and it deals with the human relationships developed during war crises and the human reaction to the sudden death of comrades, friends and family members. Bill Gammage begins with the following poem:-

*"Adieu. The years are a broken song
And the right grows weak in the strife with wrong
The lilies of love have a crimson stain,
And the old days never will come again."*¹

This is how one unknown trooper expresses his war experiences. On the home fronts, indirect reports in the newspapers and on radio, and direct reports from the wounded who had returned home, continually brought to public notice the reality of war. Because Australia was still quite isolated from the centres of the war efforts (geographically speaking), people were unprepared for the horror and frequency of deaths amongst those whom they knew. Whilst stories associated with 'mateship' and heroism were being made, some myths were being shattered. Faced with the horror of war which impinged on every aspect of normal daily life, the myth of the undaunted pioneer 'Aussie spirit' was put to the test.

1 Gammage, B. 1975. The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War. Penguin Books Australia. p. 109.

The forms of fatalism, and devotion, which were developed in response to the war situation were expressed clearly in the music of these times, and in the rituals involving this music. Through sharing the daily experiences of war, people at home and abroad developed tight-knit groups. They purposefully tended their daily routine and tried to place out of mind the close presence of death. Within this context the remembrance of the fallen, especially on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day, has been one way in which both troops and civilians could protect the continuity of their daily lives. They could participate in rituals of symbolic communication involving beliefs about life and death. Bill Gammage summarizes these feelings exactly:-

*"those who remained walked perpetually along the edge of a great shadow, separated only by time from those who had already passed into darkness. They hallowed the memories of dead mates, especially if they had died well, because (for the soldiers in battle) at any moment death might be their own destiny, and only the memories they left would survive their passing."*¹

Within such statements one can see the environment that gave rise to both formal and informal Remembrance activities. Some of the happier moments during the wars were also captured in song, and these are still replayed to recapture some of the atmosphere of comradeship. But, these years of 'broken song' were also a prologue to the creation of 'New Music'. The war brought advancements in electronics and these could be used to make music based on a sound continuum, rather than on a sound scale.

1 Gammage, B. 1975. The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War. Penguin Books Australia. p. 109.

There are two main aspects of Anzac Day which are considered here. They are Duty, which encourages men and women to become involved in war efforts, and Sacrifice which is like the other side of the same coin. The kind of sacrifice a person will make depends on his definition of duty, or more simply his feelings about duty. The duty of going to war involves a sacrifice of human life and all the suffering that accompanies this. Both of these themes have clusters of symbols around them and both are present in the physical structure of the War Memorial Cenotaph, in the themes of the march music, and, most important, they are present in the lives of people today. They are values which are taught to children who will later shape world events.

Only a small amount of the data resulting from five years research on Anzac Day has been presented here. Also, the role music plays in the Anzac Dawn Service is considered separately in Section IV as a transcendental ritual, whereas the march music described here concentrates much more on the partial reconstruction of the impressions which war left on human lives.

The Music of the Anzac March

The music used for the Anzac Day March does not consist of marches in the strictest sense of formal military music. Many of the pieces are songs which were sung by people during war times, to lift morale. They consist of Army, Navy, and Air Force songs, songs of national heritage and of farewells to homes and loved ones. The kinds of themes expressed in the music underline the major collective themes of Duty and Sacrifice.

Loyalty to one's Sovereign, Nation, fellow comrades and families is expressed in song. Pride in the national glory war might have brought is juxtaposed to the sadness of leaving home. Thus we have songs such as 'We are the Boys of the Old Brigade', a Boer War song, or 'It's All for Britain's Glory, Lads ... Because we're Soldiers of the Queen', or even 'Goodbye, Dolly Grey I am leaving, although it breaks my heart to go'.

There are other songs about leaving familiar places for the unknown, such as, 'It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary ... Goodbye Piccadilly, Farewell Leicester Square'; 'Waltzing Matilda'; and 'Along the Road to Gundagai ... There's a Track Winding Back to an Oldfashioned Shack, Along the Road to Gundagai'. There are also songs which stress the importance of a cheerful attitude in the face of hardship. For example, 'Pack up your Troubles in your old Kitbag and Smile, Smile, Smile'. In fact, one well-known song involves a statement which reverses the picture in order to stress the need for cheerfulness in a bleak situation, that is, 'Keep the Home Fires Burning ... Turn the Dark Clouds Inside Out/Till the Boys Come Home'.

Still others tell of social relationships, some of which were created, and others which broke down because of the stresses of war. For example, 'Who's your Lady Friend', or, on a completely different note, 'Roll out the Barrel, We've got the Blues on the Run/Now's the Time to Roll out the Barrel for the Gang's all here'. The bonds of comradeship between friends serving together are evident in this song and in many other songs.

There are only a few examples of the songs used during the March, but their importance cannot be doubted by any generation. Their role was to bridge all manner of difficult circumstances and to help people to survive them. Such songs were as relevant after the war as they were during it, and they

reappear as morale lifters in times of economic depression right to the present day. Such songs have a symbolic power to guide one's feelings.

The State National War Memorial

The Anzac Day Services take place around the State National War Memorial in the centre of the city near Government buildings such as Government House, Parliament House, the Library, Museum and Art Gallery. One of its sides faces North Terrace and Adelaide's central business district, and the other side faces into a tranquil garden of evergreen shrubs, and red and white flowers. It was designed as an expression of "deep-seated human emotion"¹ and the two sides collectively represent the duty, loyalty, courage and sacrifice of men and women in the Great War 1914-1918, and the 1939-1945 War and Korea and Malaya. It now also represents the fallen of the Vietnam War.

The North Terrace side of the Memorial represents the time before war when men and women prepared to take up arms as a prelude to the war. The focus is on Duty and Sacrifice as seen in the light of this prelude. Three figures are depicted, a student, a farmer and a girl. They represent the spirit of youths who rose to the crisis of the generation by renouncing self and turning to defend the cause of country, home, friends and family.

The three figures see a miracle in the form of a vision of a "great-winged Spirit of Duty"² which is carried in marble stone carved above the Altar of the Shrine of Sacrifice. In the Spirit's hands is a sword in the shape of a cross and together they symbolise battle and sacrifice. The sword is

1,2 The Architect's Note given in R.S.L. Information Booklets.

offered to the three figures who kneel, so unprepared for war, before the Spirit. The Spirit of Duty also offers them the inspiration to uphold "the safety and honour of their native land".¹

The other side of the Monument represents the tragedy of war. We see an image of a dying soldier and we are reminded of the fallen. The pity of sacrifice outweighs the feelings of duty. We see the loss of life and of peace. Another winged Spirit is depicted who represents, "womanhood, maternal compassion, and the sacrifice of sons and lovers",² The accompanying words are as follows:-

*"They died that we might live
Hail and Farewell!
All honour give to those who,
Nobly striving nobly fell
That we might live."*³

A fountain is part of this side of the Cenotaph and it represents compassion, as the murmur of water typifies a constant stream of memories.

Focus and Multifocal Symbols

In these two short paragraphs I have tried to illustrate the significance of the two themes of Duty and Sacrifice. They are not totally separable from each other, and both are part of Impression Management. If people did not feel any sense of duty they would not go to war. So it is an essential lever in recruitment advertisements. Duty does form part of a blue-print for social action, but not necessarily an Anglo blue-print. Duty is tied to the more general feeling of the need for defence, common to all people.

1-3 The Architect's Note given in R.S.L. Information Booklets.

However, some people feel it is their duty to object to war, and they stress the sacrifice of war - the wastage and the shame of it. So duty may, in some cases, work against national feeling that war is necessary. Thus we have conscientious objection. These two aspects of duty show that symbols are multi-focal, and that the focal emphasis is important in stressing one aspect or the other. Sacrifice, too, can cause people either to go to war or to abstain from it. But once some lives are lost, most people feel the need, all the more, to see those lives as having been lost for a good cause.

War music is more varied than illustrated here. There are songs of social protest about war, which do not actually occur in this Anzac ritual. There are others which describe the status changes that came about during and after war. For example, 'I've got my Sergeant Major Working for me Now'. People usually wish to hold on to their higher military rank and the R.S.L. (Returned Services League) is a means whereby they can retain this status. It is relevant to note that the Institution mirrors the Anglo paradigm and it is only recently that Anzac Day marches have included members of migrant populations. Also, the troops returned from Vietnam have at times received a cold shoulder, as their war was not seen by R.S.L. members, and other members of the community, as a 'real war'.

Finally, after the Second World War electronic music developed as a result of the invention of radar and other improvements in communication. It can be seen that although the formal concert experienced a lack of interest during the war, other kinds of music were directly meeting human needs. I therefore conclude this chapter with a quotation from The Broken Years by Bill Gammage:-

"Australian soldiers remained to a degree responsive to their civilian backgrounds. But they knew another world in which the cause of their fighting was less important than the manner of their daily lives. From long experience in a cruel war they derived a new outlook, which confirmed the worth of their old attitudes towards mateship and discipline, but which included a host of new values. Before the fighting ended they regulated their cause by processes alien to civilians, and adopted standards which later set them apart from those who had not fought in the war." ¹

1 Gammage, B. 1975. The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War. Penguin Books Australia. p. 109.

CHAPTER 5

TRADITION AND ANTI-TRADITION

So far I have concentrated almost exclusively on showing the tradition of music in Adelaide, but this is by no means the whole story. The root paradigm emphasizes a particular cultural framework for social action, but as suggested in the Introduction^{*}, society contains much more than culture. Society also contains social interaction which contradicts the mainstream of culture. Songs of protest, especially in the context of social protest, express alternative interpretations of mainstream culture. There have been songs of protest about the wars, and about other ethnic and class/status groups. In fact, songs have arisen to express all forms of social inequality. This opposition can result in the creation of alternative fields and frames of social activity. I continue with a description of the historical backdrop of music in Adelaide and concentrate on showing the historical development of anti-tradition in music.

This anti-tradition has, as its central tenet, the aim of questioning the social value placed on the formal concert-hall performance of traditional classical music. The social concepts of a classical performance which people retain in their minds and culture, tend to exclude any kind of music which does not conform to these expectations. This makes it very difficult for musicians to explore alternative compositional and performance contexts, frameworks, form and content. For this reason, 'New Music' has to go through a phase of re-educating audiences and performers to accept alternative 'images' of music. One form of re-education has involved attempts to confound audience expectations by direct reversals of accepted concert procedures, and by introducing ambiguity into the form and content of the performance. There are many varied examples of this. The music may be atonal (rather than tonal), or arhythmic (rather than rhythmic). The audience may be required to react to the music or its content in uncon-

1 Introduction, pp. 19-20, and following.

ventional ways too. For example, an audience usually claps at the end of the performance, but a composer may decide that this applause will be a cue for the performance to begin again. Consequently, the performance will end when the audience leaves, or when they no longer applaud. From these examples one can see that this kind of anti-tradition depends on a knowledge of the existing tradition, although its aims are to become distinct from it. This kind of anti-tradition can pave the way for the acceptance of New Music; but this may be the only sense in which it is creative. Now I turn to the history of this anti-tradition.

After the 1914-18 war, 'purist' artists such as 'constructivists' "tried to create a new art of clarity and order;"¹ elsewhere other attitudes toward the times led to a basically destructive artistic expression. In 1916-17 artists in Zurich and New York created 'non-art', and although this tradition did not reach Australia until the late 1940s, its influence is seen in the 1960s avant-garde movement and in New Music.* Let us take a brief look at the 'Dada' movement in Art, which was paralleled by Art movements with similar aims in Adelaide.

The movement was called 'Dada', which is a nonsensical term indicating the attitude that European culture (and especially the world of Victorianism) had lost its meaning. How could the traditional restrictive Art form remain the only focus, when the brutality of war was quite other than a tea party or a concert performed in the comfort of wealthy company and refined settings? Therefore "the artists, refugees from the war, set out ... to mock all the values of what they believed to be a culture gone mad."² Dada has been described by Art historians as "born from what it hated",³ and

1,* Gardner, H.L. 1959. Art through the Ages. London: Bell. 4th Ed. p. 705.

2,3 ibid. p. 706.

"difficult to interpret and therefore best described as against everything, even Dada".¹ More particularly, Dadaism was protesting about everything that had become organized, or formalized. The typical Dada avoidance of conventional Art forms, and the search for different mediums of expression, spread from Europe, especially from France and Germany, and came to Australia along with migrants from war-torn countries. The development of radar and communication in the Second World War resulted in the beginnings of electronic music in 1948. The Dada movement emphasized the connection between life and Art, rather than striving for an organized form which was highly formalized; and it allowed for the chance factor, which was a most evident part of the war efforts. There was more to life than could be expressed in the traditional harmonious Art forms, and romanticism gave way to a realist expressionist perspective which was at the time harsh - in recognition of the events of war.

Dadaism and the other 'isms' - symbolism, expressionism, abstractism, futurism and realism - aimed to reveal the essence of the subject, and to introduce chance material, 'patches', which had disjointed relationships with the whole work. By the 1950s there was a return to traditional Art forms, but 'New Art' continued to develop into abstract expressionism, and 'pop' Art. In 'pop' Art natural life forms were contrasted with the commercial artificial culture symbolized by drink cans, bottle tops, and other examples of advertising. On the other hand, expressionism remained 'subject-ive' and personal, and therefore distinct from the hard forms of Art in 'object-ive' 'pop' Art. To accommodate these 'new' forms of Art and Music, the boundaries of the 'old' Art had to be reassessed. In some cases, the boundaries were weakened to include New Art interpretations, but in other cases the traditional boundaries were hardened against what was seen by some

1 Gardner, H.L. 1959. Art through the Ages. London: Bell. 4th Ed. p. 706.

to be a threatening form of disorder. In the second case the adherents of the traditional boundaries felt that the 'New Music' threatened the dominance of all that was a part of the tradition, such as the dominance of the Establishment. As I have already suggested the control of the Arts gives control of the definition of dominant culture. This in turn provides the symbolic means whereby the existing structure of social relationships between the three stratas can be reinforced, rather than reinterpreted or changed.

In Australia, although overseas 'New Art' trends were known, there was no background for this definition of the 'avant-garde'. Thus, Adelaide's idea of what constituted 'avant-garde' works was based on the limits of extremism which had already developed in the field of the Arts. Its definition was further controlled by the highly conservative definition of culture held by the Establishment. Therefore, Adelaide's avant-garde was moderate by overseas standards; and, it was not even then acceptable in educational institutions, even in a marginal role, until the 1960s. John Murdoch summarizes the Australian branch of avant-garde-ism in the following way:-

*"Serialism, for instance, was not present at all in Australian music until the 1950s, and not generally taught until the 1960s, by which time it was already a waning influence. When the young composers appeared in the 1960s, they could pick and choose freely between many styles at will, without being in awe of any one of them from weight of fashion. The influence of Cage, Stockhausen and Boulez were absorbed, and became only a part of the contemporary idiom."*¹

1 Murdoch, J. 1972. Australia's Contemporary Composers. Melbourne: MacMillan. Introduction. p. (xi).

The Australian Broadcasting Commission

The major field of support for 'New Music' was provided by 'The Australian Broadcasting Commission'. This institution included programmes of new music on radio schedules, thus giving the music an audience. In 1950 the 'L.P.' (long playing record) allowed further access to 'New Music' which was performed in post-war Europe. As a result of improved communications systems, International Societies for Contemporary Music were begun. Gradually the World Record Club, and E.M.I. became interested in Australian compositions, including some from Adelaide. Therefore, Australian record companies played a large part in taking Australian music to other countries, and in bringing overseas trends to Australia more quickly.

'The Australian Broadcasting Commission', then, provided the key to the development of 'New Music' by introducing programmes of Contemporary music, and by bringing post-war 1950s music from overseas. With the improvement of organized communications, Sydney, and then Melbourne, began International Societies for Contemporary music. In addition, several Sydney music critics supported the 'new musicians' in their claims to success, and the World Record Club took particular interest in Australian composers such as Messrs. Meale, Sculthorpe and Dreyfus. The 'Australian Performing Rights' provided funds to assist composers in the copyright of publishing music.

Finally, the Government formed two bodies, the 'Commonwealth Assistance to Australian Composers' and 'The Australian Council for the Arts'. All of these changes affected the cultural life of Adelaide. James Murdoch^{*} describes these changes as follows:-

* Murdoch, J. 1972. Australia's Contemporary Composers. Melbourne: MacMillan. Introduction. p. (xi).

*(They) "interacted on each other over the period of a decade", and, "have contributed to make what must be regarded as an unparalleled and unique sociological and cultural revolution. Within a decade, or so, Australian music has progressed from an uneasy provincialism to a precarious internationalism, not only in quality but also in recognition."*¹

Even so, of all the Arts, creative music has taken the longest to be recognised. A 1946 performance of John Antill's 'Corroboree' was significant, as was the blooming of avant-garde music in the 1960s. This was a time of upheaval and excitement. The potential for new discoveries in music was beginning to be realized both in the fields of communication between composers, audiences and performers, and in the form and content of the music itself.

Let us now consider some of the aims of New Music, by linking overseas trends with local performances of New Music. John Cage (from America) has been described as the musical equivalent of a 'pop' artist. He puts before the public an extreme philosophy of anti-music, which is at times completely uncompromising. His performances defy previous organizations of audience and performer interaction and musical form, and at times, this results in both musicians and audiences experiencing a sense of alienation through their mutual lack of understanding of the new situation.

Experimentation has been pursued because musicians feel it is "our future".² Enthusiasts claim that it is a valuable activity despite the threat to traditional ways felt by some traditionalists. In the face of traditions

1 Murdoch, J. 1972. Australia's Contemporary Composers. Melbourne: MacMillan. Introduction. p. (xi).

2 From interviews and conversations in 1976.

which new musicians see as stultifying, work is carried out to extend the definition of music to include new forms:-

*"To eradicate ... that categorisation which enables us to think and listen not to sound, but to a concept of sound ... imprisoning senses within the framework of historical and social limitations."*¹

Obviously it is not possible to break out of the social frame completely, especially where the performance involves a non-technical audience. Whilst the aim of new musicians has been to release the concert-hall performance from all of its inherent ritual content, they have nevertheless returned to historic musical origins in order to redefine essential musical concepts. Varese phrases the challenge as he sees it:-

*"My fight for the liberation of sound and for my right to make music with any and all sounds has sometimes been construed as a desire to disparage and even to discard the great musical past. But that is where my roots are. No matter how original, how different a composer may seem, he has only grafted a little bit of himself on the old plant. But this he should be allowed to do without being accused of wanting to kill the plant. He only wants to produce a new flower."*²

Notice the form of the accusation. The composer is accused of destroying something which everyone knows has been good. Therefore, change can more easily be discouraged.

Now let us consider reactions to John Cage's performance in Adelaide, which took place at the 1976 Adelaide Festival of Arts. In the 1950s

1,2 Cope, D. 1973. New Directions in Music. W.C. Brown and Company.

John Cage wrote a 'Silent Sonata' for the piano called 'Four Minutes', and in this time the pianist 'plays' 'silence'. The concept of music without formal organized sound has never been so pointedly demonstrated. The composer hoped, in this performance, to make people aware of the noise which may take place behind the usual performance framework. Therefore, he focussed attention on 'background noise' as music. In order to increase an audience's awareness of different sounds, John Cage used a range of 'instruments' including whistles, clocks and even electric mixers. The audience reaction to this philosophical demonstration, in 1976, included disappointment, anger, bemusement, annoyance, and misunderstanding.* In response to criticisms of his music John Cage said, "Their ears are just prejudiced".¹ For John Cage avant-garde music has a wide definition and includes chance sounds and noise. Not only is his music defined by opposing traditional concepts, but he also gives conscious attention to silence as the opposite of sound. Duration as a means of relating the concepts of space and time is given emphasis in John Cage's scheme of sound ... duration ... 'silence'.

Commenting on the reactions to the particular performance mentioned above John Cage says, "The audience missed the point. There's no such thing as silence. What they thought was silence, because they didn't know how to listen, was full of incidental sounds."² Thus, some avant-garde music is concerned with "The attention to the activity of sounds",³ and during the University avant-garde workshops there were events involving the preparation of and listening to sounds - such as broken cups, glass, or bamboo.

In 1949 John Cage received an award from the National Academy of Arts and Letters for inventing the 'prepared piano', which changes the traditional

* From interviews.

1-3 'The Advertiser' newspaper article, March/April 1976.

note intervals on the piano and the quality of the notes - by inserting rubbers, or wood, to make some notes percussive, or dull etc. He has received credit, at least from some quarters of the professional musicians for "extending the boundaries of Art."¹

Serialism involves different concepts of hierarchy from those of traditional musical forms. Let us now consider the concept of hierarchy in the two musical systems. In the 19th century it would not have occurred to musicians to define a note by pitch, duration and intensity. Notes were mainly understood in a progression, or set of relations with other notes, and by their relationship to levels of resolution within the chord structure. People would discuss the function of a note, but not ask questions about its definition. Function in music meant that one musical event was related to another, and the functional relationship between them was realized by 'cues' to the probable progression of melody, chord sequences, and cadences.

In serialism, functionalism is deemphasized and musical forms with multi-level hierarchies are slighted. Instead, the discontinuities in hierarchies are emphasized. Also the step-by-step scale sequence is seen to occur in a continuum range of sounds, all of which may be used in any musical composition. Redundancy, (the exact repetition of a musical event in sequence), is reduced in 'non-functional' music. Furthermore, hierarchical disjunctions on one level or between levels, and disjunctions in pitch and time are emphasized.

If one looks at a musical performance in terms of a progression through the stages at which particular symbolic focusses are emphasized; and if one then

1 'The Advertiser' newspaper article, March/April 1976.

recognises that every event has a frame with a beginning, middle and end, one can then say that relationships in the performance can be understood as functional within this framework. This is true in spite of the absence of traditional norms and rules of action. Every structure has an ordering of its parts, in terms of both sequence and level, (that is, in terms of the 'syntagmatic' and 'paradigmatic' axes respectively).^{*} By aiming at music which is without order or any resemblance to traditional forms, composers try to avoid the functional purpose of music.

Now let us consider the meaning of the statement that in serialism only local, low-level hierarchies have been developed, because the principles of developing high order hierarchies are different. The functional relationship between the two like sequentially repeated events (A and A') occurs on a higher hierarchical level than that of the repetition itself. For example, A and A' may be subsumed under the heading B, rather than B and B'. Furthermore, if there is any pattern to musical events it will mean that proximity, continuity, and closure operate as functions of hierarchy - even in the absence of traditional syntactical norms. The possibility of functional differentiation without traditional tonality is important. For in this way, hierarchy is possible, and a greater complexity of musical forms can be created. From the series '12 - 1' the musical permutations can be ordered according to their role.

Function and hierarchy, then, are two ways of looking at one process of structuring music. Structure, then, is created by relationships between like or unlike parts. Leonard Meyer suggests:-

* See Section V

*"If musical stimuli (pitches, durations, timbres) did not produce brief, but partially complete events (motives, themes, etc.), and if these did not, in turn, combine with one another to form more extended, higher-order patterns (phrases, sections, etc.), all relationships would necessarily be transient and purely local."*¹

This is not to say that there is no complexity without hierarchy, but rather there is a tendency for the parts of a musical structure to be ordered in terms of 'levels of emergence.' Here hierarchy includes the idea that one level does not necessarily have power or dominance over the ones below. It is a general definition of hierarchy. Thus, in this case, levels of emergence are distinct from the ordering of dominance and sub-dominance within the hierarchy - which is itself socially defined. Hierarchies vary too, and it is then important to describe the nature of relationships between them, as well as hindrances to these relationships.

Hierarchies are discontinuous - as mentioned in the discussion of 'structure' in the Introduction. This means that any single unit of music on one level of emergence may combine with others to form organisations, or higher levels. Here is a summary of the relationships between various levels of emergence:-

1. The hierarchical ordering of functional (syntactical) structures produces enclosure - because the degrees of stability and incorporation of separate units differ at each level of emergence. Otherwise low-level patterns would not combine to form longer ones. In music, pitch and time operate at the lowest level; harmony, dynamics and timbre support this level; and harmonic progression shapes the formation of larger units.

¹ Meyer, L.B. 1967. Music the Arts and Ideas: Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London. Third impression, (1970). p. 305.

2. Hierarchies are discontinuous and operate differently on various levels.
3. Bifurcation between the levels can take place.

Now I continue by explaining these ideas - beginning with Leonard Meyer's observations:-

*"The interaction between the formal and the syntactical, progressive modes of organization is as a rule both simultaneous - in the sense of being hierarchic - and successive. Usually in a complex musical work the highest level - that which characterizes the form as a whole - is both formal (in that established and relatively stable themes are repeated) and syntactical (in that such stable events are functionally related to less stable parts). But there are musical structures that are almost purely one or the other."*¹

Formal and syntactical modes of organization are not always congruent; in some social structures these modes of organization act independently of one another on the same hierarchical level. Bifurcation can occur, so that the formal and syntactical modes of musical organization act independently of one another for a time, but become congruent again when the next theme appears. Such relationships between modes may play a significant role in the articulation of the structure. Or, as Leonard Meyer states:-

1 Meyer, L.B. 1967. Music the Arts and Ideas: Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London. Third impression, (1970). p. 308.

*"non-congruence may create an instability" (in the central ambiguous section of the music which affects a higher hierarchical level). "the return to congruence of syntax and form creates a kind of structural resolution which, because it re-establishes stability, both permits and emphasizes closure."*¹

Notice that this comment hints at the horizontal and vertical axes which frame the interaction, process, and structure of events in space/time dimensions. (Refer to Section V).

There is a further distinction to be made: between flat hierarchies - consisting of like units which are layered; and arched hierarchies - which consist of unlike units which are layered. Both musical and social hierarchies consist of such layering processes. Moreover, the degree of congruence between levels of unlike units varies, and makes the articulation of the total structure complex and interesting in form and content. In both musical and social structures contrasting ideas can be unified, by subsuming them on a higher level of emergence. That is, A and A' become part of B on another level.

In society, flat hierarchies result from the layering of themes or social situations consistent with the 'paradigm', Arched hierarchies result from the layering of unlike themes or social situations which are not consistent with the dominant paradigm. These are cases of 'social metaphor'. Both kinds of hierarchy operate in the research area of Adelaide.

1 Meyer, L.B. 1967. Music the Arts and Ideas: Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London. Third impression, (1970). p. 310.

In traditional forms of music the repetition of ideas is important to the continuity of the whole structure. However, repetition is not the only way of building structures. Non-redundancy in experimental music is the result of functional hierarchies becoming less relevant and interesting to composers, who want to see what more they can discover about music and its social definitions.

Contrast these statements with John Cage's comment that "Music accomplishes nothing, it is just attention to the activity of sounds".¹ Even John Cage does not constantly assert this. In fact, his invention of the prepared piano depends on the historical tradition of the piano. Even the most disjointed music is still interpreted with some reference to function, even if it is the lack of function which receives focus. Function is not entirely avoided in atonal music, serial composition, electronic music, soundscapes, or even bio-music. For it plays a role in the balancing of phases of stability and instability which occur in all examples of music. Tonality may be avoided, but dissonance and consonance, resolution and irresolution still take place. However, in New Music multidimensional rather than unidirectional functions may be emphasized. Inversions and retrograde inversions also become more important in New Music.

From Babbitt to A. Webern we move from a combinational tradition to a greater emphasis on permutations in serial music. The nature of the ordering processes in traditional music are described by the terms: 'primary theme, transition, secondary theme, repetition, recapitulation, coda' - and these terms describe different functions in the musical whole. A similar set of terms exists in the analysis of New Music. These also describe

1 Cage, J. 1973. (reprint) Silence: Lectures and Writings. London: Calder and Boyars. pp. 7-18.

functions: 'echo, reverberation, wave generation, modulation, attack and decay, reverse echo, inversion, retrograde inversion, synthesis, distortion, frequency response, sprechstimme, oscillation, vibrato, clusters, tone rows, micro-intervals, free-time, random duration, filtering, waveform, intersection, stress and accent.' Some of the terms which are used in traditional music receive a different definition in the analysis of New Music. Let us then consider some of the rule-making involved in serial composition:-

1. Accent

The emphasis is on the relative position of notes in space and time. "It's not just where the accent comes, but where it comes in relation to accented, and non-accented notes."¹

2. Meter

This is used as a characteristic of the progression from accent to non-accent. For conducting purposes the meter was used to indicate the phrases of the accented part of the music. But, whereas traditional music consists of occurrences in bar time, in New Music occurrence may continue across the time bar.

3. Rhythm

"Pulls the small accented characteristics together."² In structural terms the concept of pattern has been divorced from the concept of rhythm, which allows increased movement in the piece. There is a new emphasis on the visual pattern (i.e. spatial notation forms) along the stave structure. Spatial patterns indicate approximate time allotments, the pitch of notes, the duration, and the overall shape of the music.

1 Brindle, R.S. 1966. Serial Composition. London: Oxford University Press.

2 ibid.

4. Tempo

This refers to the speed of pulses - accents. It is not rhythm, but it affects rhythm.

5. Duration

Duration mediates between space and time. It is the length of time, or the amount of space taken by an event. It refers to the length of a phrase or any other musical unit, for example, the length of a semi-quaver group. It is concerned with propositions, not rhythms.

These definitions led to an awareness of the reciprocity of space/time axes, and their complementarity within the structure of New Music. The reinterpretation of traditional concepts of harmonic composition, and their replacement by concepts of aharmonic writing in twelve note serial composition, gives space a greater emphasis and wider scope. In New Music, the vertical and horizontal aspects of notation have a high degree of complementarity, such that the 'syntagmatic chain' can be transferred through metaphor into a 'paradigmatic ladder'. Through metonymy the paradigmatic ladder can be converted into a syntagmatic chain.*

What about the rules of composition formed with reference to traditional concepts? Here are some examples:-

1. Avoid melodic progressions which are too traditional in character. For example, scale patterns, and movements in triads.
2. Avoid the use of too many equal intervals, as this will cause melodic monotony.

* Leach, E. 1976. Culture and Communication: the logic by which symbols are connected. Cambridge University Press. p. 26.

3. Avoid note groupings which include major or minor triads, or more than three adjacent notes in whole-tone relationships. However, this rule may be relaxed if the notes comprising these 'non-tonal' and whole-tone formations are contradicted at a brief distance.
4. Avoid note sequences which belong exclusively to one diatonic scale.
5. Avoid note sequences which, in spite of obeying the previous rules, have some hidden cadential quality. (New symbols include inversion - I; base-set - O; retrograde - R; retrograde inversion - RI).^{*}

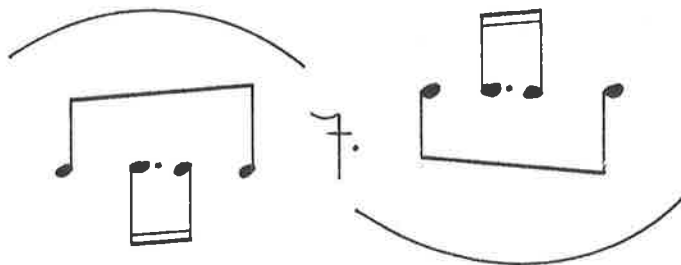
Brindle's book on Serial Composition^{**} is used at universities to show students the nature of serial composition. He makes further suggestions about the ways in which New Music should develop. For example, he says that "If melody is written in traditional rhythmic configurations, it tends to retain its traditional character, even when the note-patterns are derived from the series."¹ Moreover, he notes a reversal, which is to say that "In classical music the rhythmic patterns remain constant. Diversity is achieved by different notes. In serial music it is the notes which remain the same. Diversity (- D) is achieved by using different rhythms."²

Where music has accompanying 'lyrics', the text is part of the musical whole. In New Music words may be taken apart and the syllables are then reformed to create words with a different sound. This technique occurs in the case of 'sprechtime'. Words and music may be interwoven on different levels.

^{*}, ^{**} Brindle, R.S. 1966. Serial Composition. London: Oxford University Press.

1,2 ibid.

Anton Webern calls this a 'braided hierarchy', in which contrasting units of music are dramatically juxtaposed, and the levels are brought into a coherent whole by the overlapping relationships between them. This woven effect, which also involves space/time concepts, can be illustrated in the following way:-



The phrasing lines, and the style of notation illustrate the lace effect. The focus is maintained by the symbolic hierarchy of musical accents at lower levels, and stresses at higher levels.

Where the hierarchies are flat, the monumental gives way to the momentary, because contrasts can only be local. Thus, serialism, which involves row forms, segmentation and permutations of sets, does not preclude the possibility of ordering musical thought; - although the organizational forms are different because they are formed in relation to different goals. In the braided, additive form we see the combination of simplicity and complexity, or the combination of free expression and strict form. However, the higher levels of inclusiveness are insufficiently coordinated and developed. The music is performed for a specialized audience, and thus it lacks inclusiveness in this way too.

Conclusion

The definition of tradition also defines anti-tradition, which is based on opposition to such traditions. We have discussed the problems associated with functionalism and hierarchy in music. We have also noted the essential significance of levels of emergence in music, as well as in society. Such problems have led some people to return to the traditional fold and to re-emphasize traditional forms, whilst others continue the search for new musical forms - making the necessary definitions along the way. Some composers (such as Schoenberg) admit that they have gone as far as possible along the twelve-tone road, and they are looking for alternative ways of composing and performing music.

Even though some of these composers are returning to the mainstream tradition, the transitional movement towards New Music takes its place in history as a period of significant change. By definition, there can be no 'post avant-garde' movement. Avant-garde trends were at the forefront of the changes in the period between 1935-1970. 'Post avant-garde' implies that no longer can anything be new. The term 'New Music' is now seen by new musicians to be the logical extension to the term avant-garde.

As indicated by Dadaism, disorganization leading to reinterpretation may first appear as a negation of the traditional concert form in that the anti-focus becomes the focus. Subdominant forms become dominant because of shifts in the arrangement of symbols. Reinterpretation appears to the majority of the public as reduction of order to chaos. This is partly due to the manipulation of symbolic associations by the dominant groups, so that changes become aligned with disorder and undesirable behaviour. Because of this process reinterpretation does not seem to be a viable alternative to the old system.

Two ways of legitimating the new form are: firstly, to call it 'experimental' and to place it on the fringe of larger traditional institutions; or, secondly, to present the new form of music in a traditional concert venue as part of a traditional concert programme. Such cultural legitimation emphasizes the importance of obtaining some Establishment support, as well as a significant supportive audience. Then the sub-community can work to gain wider social support for the production of the New Art form. We have seen how the formation of rules provides a means whereby the New Music can receive definition, and at the same time provide a focal point for further definitions. Based on a common set of attitudes, further sets of values and attitudes are organized to form an alternative 'tradition'. Thus, despite discrepancies at a lower level of emergence, continuity is maintained on a higher level.

With regard to social mobility through New Music as distinct from traditional classical routes, one can say that there is a tendency for those skilled in the traditional fields to complete their training by participating in some modern performances. However, social mobility is much harder for musicians with only avant-garde experience. One would probably have to 'prove' one's worth in the classical field in order to receive recognition in one's own original area.

Both of the two mobility routes mentioned above are recognised within the university educational system. However, in Adelaide there is also an alternative organization which supports 'new' artists and musicians. It was formed in 1974 and is called 'The Experimental Art Foundation'. It has a venue in a large old jam factory where performances or more informal events now take place. The 'Jam Factory' has attracted 'refugee' musicians and artists from the formal institutions. University groups arrange to perform in the Jam Factory where they can do as they like. This solves the problem of the

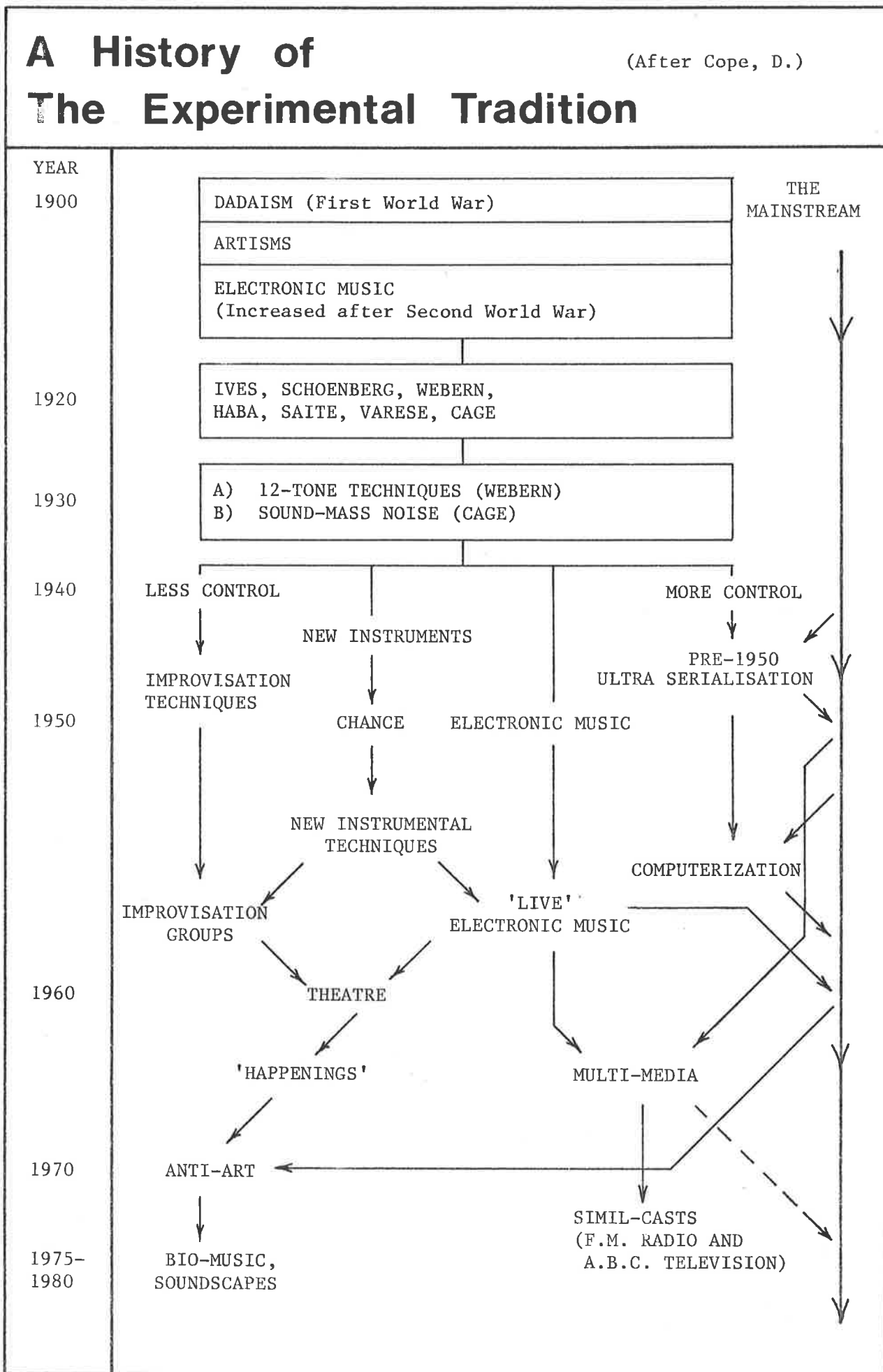
University taking direct responsibility for works to which the public might object. The University keeps its 'respectability', and the Jam Factory and Experimental Art Foundation encounter their first problem - inherited public disapproval.

Although the Director of the Experimental Art Foundation notes the significant presence of 'refugees' from the traditional institutions, and the backstage presence of staff from the Music or Art Departments of Adelaide's two universities, he aims to make the facilities of the Foundation available to all people with creative ideas - whether they be part of the fringe in traditional circles, or separate. The Jam Factory performance context is also flexible for the audience, whose members can move around during the performance, and in fact become part of the overall presentation.

Finally, figure 2.3 on page 178 provides a summary of the fields of Experimental music. On the left is music with 'freedom' built into it. On the right is music of a more controlled nature. Down the left hand side are the approximate dates at which particular forms of contemporary music began. And, down the right hand side is a line indicating mainstream culture. Arrows dart off to the left indicating points at which musicians left the mainstream, and points at which some returned. Otherwise the diagram is self-explanatory, and it ends with simulcastes for which F.M. Radio and Television combine to record live musical performances.

Chapter 6 forms the conclusion to Section II, and contains a diagram which is a pictorial summary of music in Adelaide. It is hoped that this diagram will enable the reader to see the range of influences which control the choice of music for performances.

Figure 2.3



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION -

THE RELATIONAL SPHERES OF REFERENCE SUMMARIZED

An Overview; the Macro-Perspective

In Section II I have discussed 'Relational spheres of reference'. This label describes the Extended Context in which musical activities are set. I have already introduced the idea that Impression Management is important in the maintenance of a Social Image, such as Adelaide's image as a planned cultural city with Anglo-conformist tendencies. Together with 'Fields of Interaction' and 'Frames of Interaction', Sections III and IV respectively, the way is paved for the conclusions of the Grounded Theory in Section V, called 'Impression Management'. In this last Section, reification or transformation with reference to symbols are reviewed.

In this historical account I have illustrated the ways in which definitions of classical professionalism, and institutions supporting this kind of professionalism, have developed in relation to the ideology of the dominant 'high' culture led by the Establishment. Establishment influences, as we have seen, were furthered by the pattern of Government allocation of funds to the Arts. Classical professionalism was supported by the Church, and by the creation of educational institutions initially based on the English public school system, and on the Cambridge University system of teaching music. As the history of Adelaide's music teachers clearly indicates, many came from English public schools and universities; and then, their pupils came from Adelaide's similar private schools.

The historical account began with a discussion of the model of Adelaide, which had definitions of culture built into it, as well as a general concern with Anglo-conformity. From a consideration of political and social stratas in the early colony, I moved into a discussion of musical accounts of this period (1836-1845). In so doing, I was able to show how classical music

became identified with the upper strata. Furthermore, it was possible to show that the financing of specialized venues for concert music was an important goal for the upper strata. I have also dealt with the creation of the University of Adelaide as one institution involved in the definition of classical professionalism. The historical chapters then concentrated on the continual recurrence of the label 'respectability' in the accounts of early musical events; and I have attempted a definition which indicates the ways in which this label was generally understood. 'Respectability' was used in a specific sense to typify and to sustain the ideological aspirations of the dominant strata. Members of this strata aimed to control the definition of 'good music'. Then, because all groups of people have views concerning the boundaries of acceptable behaviour for specific performances, 'respectability' is also a means of social control. This was true even though different classes varied in their precise definitions of 'respectability'. Thus, lower classes also recognized the distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture. Some people without the resources to participate in 'high' culture still identified with it as if it were some desirable but unattainable goal. Others have protested about this distinction which they felt was based on class/status factors which did not necessarily reflect the quality of musicianship. However, in all cases the Establishment and the Elite control over resources was sustained, thus giving them the power to define musical culture in their own terms.

Having dealt with questions of legitimacy and respectability with regard to musical performances, I then turned to the historical period of 1846-1980. I have shown how a musical institution, a 'field', such as the Conservatorium, developed from cultural interests which took shape in wider spheres of political activity. The development of such institutions was, for all social stratas, a measure of the value and progress of society. All stratas took pride in the existence of cultural institutions, even though participation was restricted.

During the war years musical concerts were interrupted, but in their place came music reflecting the circumstances surrounding battle. Music played the role of supporting the troops by boosting their morale and by sanctifying funeral rites which took place under difficult circumstances. Finally, I considered the development of post-war music. My aim has been to discuss New Music and its anti-tradition in the form of rule-making and supportive philosophies. The processes whereby new fields grow in the extended context constitutes one of the most important areas of discussion within this thesis, that is, the use of symbols plays a major role in the processes of reification or transformation.

This historical Section concludes with the following discussion of the different areas of musical professionalism in Adelaide, with the hierarchy of their arrangement, with an overview of the extended context summarized by a diagram and a cartoon.

Professionalism

Already one can begin to see the dynamic social processes of selection behind musical activities. Here one must be reminded that the presence of the Anglo-paradigm does not imply complete uniformity of musical taste. There are variations both within and outside the Anglo-paradigm. Since the Second World War, variations from outside have increased in relation to the presence and increasing influence of migrant peoples. From within there are variations between kinds of classical, 'pop', folk and jazz music based on class and status differences. The social context largely determines the acceptability of the kind of musical form and content for a given social group. We have also noted the division between tradition and anti-tradition with regard to classical music, but a similar division also exists in the 'pop' scene. For example, in the protest songs of the 1960s, and in later 'punk

rock' music elements of social protest are expressed for those who identify with various social situations of trial, such as war or poverty. Members of counter-cultures have developed various ways of distinguishing themselves from the core tradition of mainstream culture. Sometimes the validity of these branch traditions may be supported by their claims that they have a more accurate interpretation of the root beliefs of the culture. This can be a powerful form of legitimation. Now I examine some of the various legitimate forms of professionalism within the areas of classical, 'pop' and intermediate forms of music.

Not all kinds of professionalism are acknowledged by the members of each of the different professional groups. For instance, although the Musicians' Union aims to cover all professional musicians, there are distinct sub-groups within it. Classical musicians have an alternative professional group to which they can belong, because their interests are distinct from those of musicians in the commercial business world. There is also a division between part-time and full-time musicians. The range of musicians covered by the Union include teachers and performers of music in educational institutions, members of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, part-time music teachers employed in shops, and tavern and disco performers. Of these the A.B.C. membership is a powerful force because of the high proportion of members employed there. Musicians in the business world certainly require Union support in order to prevent exploitation. Within the Union the term 'professional' is used to refer to those people who are employed as musicians, and who receive payment for this service according to Union rates and regulations regarding employment. Significantly, some internal tension in the Union results from members of the tertiary educational institutions claiming that other members of the Union are insufficiently qualified for membership.

On the other hand, amateurs include potential professionals in any field, who are learning the skills used in performance. It also includes musicians who cannot attain the degree of musicianship and the technical skill required for professionalism, but who are nevertheless the backbone of musical performances. People may remain amateur because of their involvement in another profession which reduces their times for practice, or performance. Amateurs play for little or no payment.

For all fields of professionalism one can construct paths of mobility from low to high pay, and from low to high professional status, (which is not necessarily the same). The hierarchy is such that, for example, classical musicians can move into the field of 'pop' more easily than 'pop' musicians can move into the classical field. Educational requirements and opportunities to satisfy these requirements tend to restrict 'pop' musicians from entering the classical world. Also a lack of knowledge of communication networks amongst 'pop' musicians tends to prevent classical musicians from entering that field. Thus there are recognisable paths of social mobility, in the different forms of musical professionalism. These paths operate on both horizontal and vertical axes of mobility. Where there are obstacles to vertical mobility, a period of horizontal mobility - that is, a period of diversification rather than specialization - may create an opening for vertical mobility once again. For those wishing to change from one musical field to another, vertical mobility and professional status in one field may be an aid.

At the bottom of the scale are the musicians, called 'buskers', who play in the streets or outside taverns. These musicians may not have any formal claim to professionalism, because there have been no selection procedures to assess their skills. (However, recently these procedures have been introduced.) Street musicians can advertise their music to passers-by, and

may find work in this way. They may be employed to play at dances or at taverns. Street musicians can move up the ladder, and be employed in other contexts. The conflict between individual street musicians and the formal organization of music by the Rundle Mall Committee has been considerable. Until recently street musicians have been fighting a losing battle for their independence as musicians. If they are not institutionalized they are associated with social disorder, but if they are institutionalized they lose their independent identity. The political campaigning of street musicians has begun to alter their circumstances, but at the expense of their independence. They have begun to be controlled by the Art bureaucracy programmes, by for example 'The Rundle Mall Committee' with its Festival Centre, Trust, Festival, and Government links.

Next on the scale are those musicians who play irregularly at small taverns and discos. These people benefit from the protection offered by the Musicians' Union, (which is limited by the fact that its office staff numbers only three). Some of the benefits offered by the Musicians' Union include wage controls and rules concerning the number of continuous hours a musician is permitted to work. New bands in search of employment report to the Union about fees not paid by employers. Some 'pop' musicians have a formal music qualification, for example those who have dropped out of 'culture' into 'counter-culture', or into 'fringe' music. Then, there are those musicians with regular jobs in less expensive taverns. These musicians play at semi-peak hours, for example on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, or on Fridays and Saturdays from 6.00 to 8.00 p.m. Others play in night clubs and 'joints' where the pay is low, and attention is not specifically focussed on the musicians - that is, where they provide background music for other activities. In addition, new groups and soloists give free promotional concerts at open-air venues or at the Festival Space. These are organized

by the Festival Trust and Festival Committee. Still others perform at school dances for reasonable fees. In so doing they gain a local audience which can be valuable for their careers.

Later on in their careers, these so-called 'musos' move more into the night clubs and discos. They begin to play at peak hours from 8.00 p.m. onwards on Friday and Saturday nights, and at independent concerts at major venues. At this stage, hotels will advertise their entertainment on radio, television, and in the newspapers. 'Pop' groups therefore aim to earn reputations as audience 'draw-cards'. Hotels wishing to gain a larger clientele pay well for a 'name' artist who will draw audiences. For example, the Arkaba Hotel employs various forms of entertainers including disco and cabaret artists who perform for separate audiences in specially designed parts of the hotel. Occasionally a group entering the public eye will change its name and be 'discovered'. For those who succeed in this commercial business, current 'hit' records and original compositions increase their opportunities for employment, and musicians 'work the circuit' to gain further employment and audience support. Television appearances, composing activities and radio interviews improve a group's chances of success. Radio stations promote specific concerts in association with record companies and entrepreneurs. By this stage, bands have local recognition and their aim is for wider acknowledgement, both interstate and overseas.

A different commercial route is for some 'pop' musicians to move into teaching fields. Most music shops employ teachers to teach the instruments which are sold, or else they have the names of teachers which they recommend to customers. Music shops also employ part-time musicians to serve in the shops because they know the compositions in stock, and can attend promotional parties for 'pop', classical, folk, and jazz music.

'Up-and-coming' groups often perform as 'second on the bill' with more experienced artists. In this way, some internal support systems exist. Success may depend on ability and connections, often with the emphasis falling on the latter. Folk and jazz musicians may follow similar routes through tavern scenes, although some 'musos' in this group have classical training. In all cases jobs are acquired through communication networks between the musicians themselves. Musicians earn a reputation amongst their kind, and it is often a case of 'not only what you know, but who you know' when looking for 'breaks'. Friends recommend each other to potential employers, and to be unknown is to reduce the likelihood of being employed. Thus, reputation is established amongst colleagues, as well as by audience support. Cliques develop amongst all categories of musicians. However the pressure to please the audience is ever present, and often results in favourite pieces of music being repeated at audience request. This redundancy (or repetition) results in the reinforcement of musical styles with which musicians and audiences alike identify.

The route to classical professionalism has already been examined. It is dependent on educational qualifications, and upon cultural and capital resources. However, the Public Examination Board systems for all schools, especially in the last ten years, have given a wider sector of the public the chance to study classical music. However, all the restrictions already mentioned still operate, although less visibly. Early school and family influences (class and status variables) are still significant in the selection procedures. We still see the University's control over performing students, in that it imposes restrictions on their accepting outside engagements. Consider the following:-

"At the meeting of the Department Committee held on 9th April, 1976, the serious problems which have arisen through the acceptance by students of outside engagements which conflict with University commitments were discussed at length, and the following decisions are brought to your attention.

Most students will be familiar with our present procedure whereby leave to accept outside engagements is approved subject to the recommendation of the practical teachers, endorsed by the Chairman. This procedure will continue: but in future will only apply to engagements which do not interfere with any kinds of Departmental commitment.

For all other cases a new policy has been defined by the Department Committee.

- a. That substantial or continuous engagements are approved by the Department Committee.
- b. That all other engagements are formally approved by the instrumental/vocal teachers, the members of staff running the particular course, the students' course supervisor, and endorsed by the Chairman of the Department.

Reasonable notice is expected; in special cases, at short notice, the Chairman after consultation with staff members involved, may give approval.

That in all cases students will be expected to complete additional work in lieu of course work or other commitments missed."¹

1 From the Students' Information on Music Courses booklet, 1976.

This statement was issued to students at the beginning of the year along with details of courses.

The Church still provides facilities for musicians, such as employment as church organists, the more general use of the organ, a venue and an audience. Some members of the Conservatorium have formed groups at churches; for example, Maughan Church has a youth group and service after the traditional service. During this meeting people sit in a circle and sing modern Gospel songs. Other churches have similar groups. The Cathedrals are also used for performances for professional and amateur groups, and Gospel singers have started their careers in such contexts.

Societies of amateur musicians do not often become commercial, since this is financially difficult without large audience support. Like the secondary 'pop' groups many folk and jazz musicians fall between successful professionalism and completely informal amateurism.

From this Overview based on historical data and Case Studies, one can begin to define the operation of boundaries which limit social mobility in the music scene. Firstly, the status of a musician is defined by two groups: musicians and their audiences. Both of these groups have mechanisms which restrict mobility on either horizontal or vertical planes. With some overlaps, 'pop' and classical music scenes can be thought of as alternative mobility routes. Both fields are highly competitive, and both are financially rewarding for only a few. Once 'pop' musicians reach 'the top' they can compete with the Elite concepts of professionalism, but their mobility within the Establishment frame work is still limited.

The vertical mobility route can be illustrated by comparing and contrasting two avant-garde groups in relation to the tradition of classical music. One of these avant-garde groups is supported by the traditional University system. The other is an independent group of musicians, artists and craftsmen who present their works at the Experimental Art Foundation, and the separate Craft Society next door. Having reached the top of the local classical field, some soloists have diversified, and enhanced their status and their employment opportunities by increasing their knowledge of New Music. Members of the avant-garde University group provide some leadership at the Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.). Thus, their horizontal mobility is significant. However, other members of the E.A.F., including musicians, artists, potters, and photographers, have less horizontal mobility within the field of music. Factors which prevent vertical mobility, such as finance and education, knowledge of leaders and communication networks, can also restrict horizontal mobility. Audience support is an important factor in increasing opportunities for mobility amongst musicians at the E.A.F.

Thus, horizontal and vertical mobility routes have restrictive boundaries which define different types of professionalism. A musician who is accepted in one field is not necessarily accepted in another. For example, Elder Hall is used for University musicians, and the Hall is not generally available to 'pop', jazz or folk musicians, or to musicians from the wide variety of ethnic communities - except on an experimental basis. Aboriginal music is treated as 'exotic', and music from South-East Asia never makes an appearance, despite the richness this would add to musical knowledge. Adelaide's musical focus is indeed unquestionably restricted, and restrictive.

In Figure 2.4, 'An Overview of Music in Adelaide', I have attempted to create an illustrative model to summarise some of the musical scenes in Adelaide. So far I have written about the Establishment, the Elite, and the commercial fields. I have discussed the extended context in which Establishment patronage of the Arts developed. I have mentioned Family and Church influences on the choice of music. I have talked about the Adelaide Club and its definition of 'high' culture, and about the University music field. Avant-garde music has also been placed in its wider context, both historically and with reference to its definition.

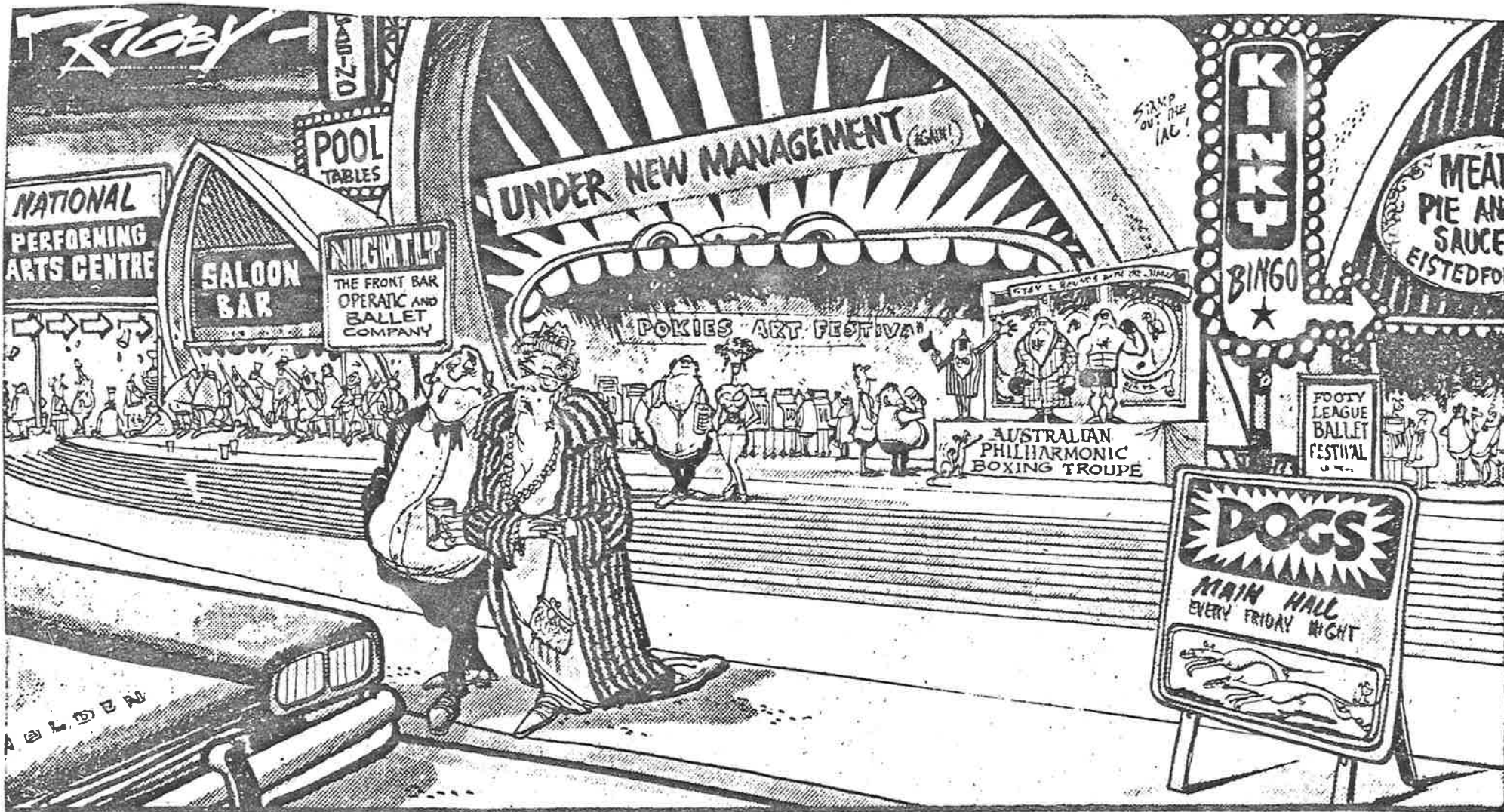
Moreover, I have discussed the Elite, and the independent organisation, the Australian Broadcasting Commission, (with its three main Unions: the Musicians' Union, the Journalists' Union, and the Newsreaders' Union). The development of the Musicians' Union, and the various definitions of professionalism associated with it have also received attention. Then I discussed 'low' culture, (as defined by the Elite and the Establishment). Street music and 'pop' music have also been placed in their contexts. However, 'pop' music of the counter-culture has only been discussed briefly. Bands with their universal audience appeal have been mentioned. This background will be useful as we look at a Stage Band's claims to recognition in the traditional framework of the educational system, in Section IV. This involves a change of definition, as in the case of the street musicians.

Finally, the centre of the diagram, Figure 2.4, shows the machinery behind Government Art Policy. It shows the controlling bureaucracy such as 'The Australian Council for The Arts' at the Federal level, and State funding through 'The Premier's Department'. We also note organizations linked with one another to form a powerful core to Adelaide's music. There is the 'Festival Trust', which coordinates Elite, Establishment, Overseas and

local performance interests; 'The Adelaide City Council, Rundle Mall Committee', which controls the music played in the central city area; and 'The Festival of Arts Board of Governors' with its long history of association with University and Establishment interests, backed by Government funding. In these fields we see structures designed to control the form and content of Arts performances, and networks of communication between the Committees which enable the units to function with respect to each other's interests or programmes.

I conclude this Section on the 'Relational Spheres of Reference' with a cartoon (Figure 2.5) which, though applicable to all Australia, has specific meaning for Sydney and Adelaide, with their Opera and Festival Centres respectively. In it we see the social implications of musical taste. The cartoon is based on the reversal of the expected content of an artistic institution such as the Opera House in Sydney. It assumes an understanding of definitions of 'high' and 'low' culture which are shared, if not believed or supported by all members of the public. We see the meaning of the cartoon through an understanding of the Anglo-paradigm, and through the power of social metaphor, which reveals the subjective ideas at the core of Adelaide 'culture'.

The left of the cartoon shows a Holden (an Australian car), and the National Performing Arts Centre with arrow pointing to a saloon bar. The building in the cartoon is shaped like the Sydney Opera House, and it is also reminiscent of Adelaide's Festival Centre. We see 'Pool Tables' at the back of the saloon bar, and at 'The Front Bar', instead of folk, 'pop', or light jazz music being advertised, we see a sign saying that 'Operatic and Ballet' companies are performing. This is indeed a pertinent comment on the structure of Arts and the segregation of performing contexts. In the foreground there is a couple, middle-aged and wearing full evening dress,



"Who said we'd lose all our culture? I thought the community singing with the gumleaf band was a bloody ripper!"

From 'The Sunday Mail', October 17th 1976.

albeit rather sloppy. The gentleman has a can of beer in his hand. Behind them is another couple, middle-aged 'trendies', dressed casually and with a slight touch of the disco scene of a few years ago. They stand in front of poker machines in the context of the Opera House, now converted into the mouth of an amusement park and 'Under New Management'. To the right of this, we have boxing advertised under the heading of 'The Australian Philharmonic Boxing Troupe'. Then there is the bingo hall, and the clash of 'Footy League' with 'Ballet Festival'. The cartoon also shows an advertisement for Greyhound Racing in the 'Main Hall', and an advertisement for the 'Meat Pies and Sauce Eistedfodd'.

The point of this cartoon can clearly be seen in relation to the material so far presented, and it will be even more evident by the end of this thesis. The caption of the cartoon is self explanatory. It is a comment on the different tastes and expectations of sectors of the Australian public. The definition of 'culture', and the boundaries between 'high' and 'low' culture are brought home in a critical and amusing way. The cartoonist indeed has an intensely scrutinizing eye.

This cartoon serves not only to conclude this Section, but also to introduce Section III, which deals with 'Art Bureaucracy' and the definition of 'high' and 'low' culture. We see the social construction of reality in progress, as alternative points of view are juxtaposed so as to reveal the controls on the choice of music for performance in Adelaide.

SECTION III

FIELDS OF INTERACTION

CHAPTER 1

ART POLICY AND BUREAUCRACY

Introduction

In this chapter I ask the question, 'Who are the people with the power to choose which artistic projects will be financed?' The answer to this question moves the discussion away from historical analysis and into the analysis of the Art Policy machinery behind a particular performance, or set of performances. Here I am concerned with the ways in which people "construct order across their social situations."¹ This analysis adds the next stage in this study of music as a social activity. We now begin to focus attention on the contemporary scene and on direct rather than indirect accounts of the ways in which Art Policy affects particular groups of people.

This whole section is entitled 'Fields of Interaction' and it adds the third stage in which the form and content of this thesis is coordinated with the Grounded Theory. The term 'field' will be defined in detail in Chapter 3 of this Section,^{*} but it refers to a bounded institutional structure or, in the case of bureaucracy, to a set of bounded institutional structures. We are now dealing with the central part of the diagram/model, 'An Overview of Music in Adelaide', given in Chapter 6 of Section II.^{**} All of these fields influence the definition of Art Policy in Adelaide.

Firstly I discuss the structure of controlling groups, and then I clarify the degree of liaison between them, and variations in attitudes toward them. In general terms, decisions regarding Art Policy are made in relation to institutional goals, individual career paths, and available resources.

1 Douglas, J. (Ed.). 1974. Paperback reprint. Understanding Everyday Life: Toward the reconstruction of sociological knowledge. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 12.

* p. 263.

** Figure 2,4, p. 191.

First one needs information concerning the ways in which particular performances, (as discussed in Section IV) are related, or, why they are not. Then, before turning away from art bureaucracy, I clarify and illustrate my Grounded Theory, which is based on the core Case Studies in Section IV and on the understanding of the workings of bureaucracy given here. One will then be able to see the implications of dealing with levels of emergence of social construction in society and culture.

Several decision-making groups will be examined, including the City Council 'Rundle Mall Committee' (begun in 1973), the Premier's Department 'Arts Development Division', (begun in 1971), the 'Festival Board of Governors', (begun in 1958 with reference to 'The Adelaide Club' which was formed in 1863), and 'The Experimental Art Foundation', (begun in 1974). The appraisal of perspectives given here is based on information gained through interviews with members of the various institutions; on newspaper articles; on participant observation where possible; and on tapes made by 'The Experimental Art Foundation' whilst I was a member. The information was then sifted to reveal the structure of the various institutions and the links between them.

This section is divided into three main chapters. Chapter 1 on the bureaucracy of Art Policy making; Chapter 2 on counter-culture views about the bureaucracy; and Chapter 3 on the Grounded Theory necessary for assessing the implications of the case studies in Section IV. The Ethnography of this Section is reported in the form of a recorded dialogue.

The Control and Organization of the Adelaide Festival of Arts^{*}

In 1958 the first plans for an Adelaide Festival of Arts were proposed by Sir Lloyd Davies and Professor John Bishop, (Director of the Elder

* Appendix, Items 6, 7, 8, 9

Conservatorium and the Music Department at Adelaide University). Both men looked forward to the first Festival, to be held in 1960, followed by other festivals in every second year. Early in the development of the Festival, George Farwell* records Sir Lloyd Dumas's ('The Advertiser' Managing Director) mention of J. Bishop's proposal:-

*"He took it to the address where all the South Australian decisions were made - the Adelaide Club."*¹

Following discussions in the Adelaide Club, Major-General R.N.L. Hopkins was asked by George Farwell to promote the venture which needed international, national, and local support to survive. In 1960 the Lord Mayor of Adelaide recorded the financial arrangement of the Festival:-

*"With the subsequent backing of twenty South Australian firms and individuals to an amount of 15,000, we decided to go ahead immediately. Professor John Bishop was then appointed Artistic Director; we sought the aid of Mr. Ian Hunter, the London impresario, who had wide experience in Edinburgh Festivals; the various committees were appointed and the Festival began to develop. The response to appeals for further guarantees was most encouraging. The fact that these now total 45,000, that the Commonwealth Government of its own volition has granted us 7,000, that the South Australian Government offered another 5,000 towards publicity, all gave us confidence to set about arranging a comprehensive programme..."*²

* 1 'The News', 27th October, 1976. p. 28.

2 The Government Year Book, 1975. p. 249.

From the start the emphasis was on overseas artists and there were conscious attempts to prevent local artists from being featured. For example:-

*"We conspired together to thwart the intervention of amateurs, or concessions to vulgar taste, arguing first principles on a dozen voluntary committees, which for all their eagerness were at times parochially inclined."*¹

This point of conflict over parochial or international perspectives is best illustrated by giving a case in which this interaction is evident. For example, the most "dramatic confrontation"² has been over drama. The other Arts, such as opera, music or the plastic arts have been less controversial. It was because drama included political and social issues that it was subject to pointed criticism, as can be seen in the following newspaper article:-

*"The recommendation of a new Australian play at once spilt an indignant whisky or two at a governor's board meeting, held monthly in the Town Hall's august and chandelier-hung council chambers."*³

In this case, the reporter, G. Farwell, admits that he was also not in favour of a play called "One Day of the Year"^{*} written by Alan Seymour. Apparently he also felt that:-

1-3 'The News', Wednesday, 27th October, 1976. 'How the Festival was Born'.
p. 28.

* ibid.

*"This broadside against Anzac Day sentimentalities was crudely written, gauche and could only have been divisive in so conservative a city."*¹

But the story does not end here. Even more interestingly, the play was re-written by the author during a period of eight weeks while on the payroll of the Elizabethan Theatre Trust. The play then had a successful tour of Australia in its "more convincing form".² (Perhaps 'acceptable form' was really meant). The political leanings of this early organizing group is indicated in this account.

Artists were supported by patron-client relationships, and I make further reference to the patronage of the Arts by the Establishment, which has already been discussed in earlier Sections. I give an example which is specifically related to the beginnings of the Festival of Arts Festival Complex. Apparently the financing of a Festival Hall, now called the Festival Theatre Complex, was an Establishment proposal. Firstly, in speaking about the origins of the Festival, Sir James Irwin says:-

"It started really at the same time in the minds of two people - Professor John Bishop of the Conservatorium of Music at the University, and Sir Lloyd Dumas - Chairman of 'The Advertiser' newspaper. Professor Bishop had been recently to the Edinburgh Festival, and he thought that it would be a good thing for South Australia to have a National Festival - not a South Australian Festival, but a national one; and Sir Lloyd

1,2 'The News', Wednesday, 27th October, 1976. 'How the Festival was Born'.
p. 28.

had been thinking along the same lines, and when he approached Sir Lloyd, he said, 'Right!' 'I will get together some public spirited people of Adelaide.... and we'll see if we can get it going.... they (the public spirited people) were the leaders of the community.'"¹

Three of these people were Hopkins, Haywood and Rymill. Now, as Sir James Irwin relates, in 1961 it was clear that the Festival of Arts would continue. It was necessary to build a venue appropriate for this bi-ennial event, and so Sir Lloyd wrote to Sir James Irwin to look at overseas venues whilst he was travelling. He did so, and having visited London, Paris, Rome, Istanbul and Milan, he returned to Adelaide where he became Lord Mayor.* In this capacity Sir James Irwin proposed that there be a public meeting at which the issue of a Festival Hall could be discussed. An investigating committee was set up, but Sir James Irwin felt that if the bid for a hall was to be successful, the City Council would have to contribute. He approached them, and after "a good few battles"² they accepted responsibility for desiging and constructing the Festival Hall, which was later called the Festival Theatre Complex.

The Premier of South Australia at that time was a Labour/Centralist politician. He claimed for his Government credit for the idea for the Festival Theatre Complex. He led the move in the development of a new Labour Elite, whose members had cultural interests and who, through Government Departments (such as the Premier's Department) fostered their definition of Art.

1,2 SUV University Radio tape, 1978 - On Establishment Power.

* Remember that Establishment members have often become Lord Mayors.

The Labour Party cultural policy did not please the Establishment. Sir James Irwin emphasizes the Establishment disapproval of the Labour Party's claim to cultural recognition. Concerning the Premier's involvement in the Festival Complex issue James Irwin says:-

*"He didn't come into the picture, except by being sympathetic to our request for money, until the Festival Theatre, the first part of the big complex, was finished and handed over. The City Council was the constructing authority, and it was responsible for the design and financing of the project."*¹

Here again the City Council, with its Establishment interests, is distinguished from just being part of the council machinery available to any Government. There are then clear boundaries between the old Liberal Establishment and the relatively new patronage of the Arts by the Labour Elite.

The first Festival brought many overseas artists to Adelaide, whose names are too numerous to mention here. At the 1978 Festival, 38,000 people listened to symphony concerts and recitals, over 80,000 watched opera, drama and puppet shows, and 230,000 people visited over 28 exhibitions.* A total of 298,000 people were present - and this compares with a local Adelaide population of only 600,000 residents. These figures thus give some indication of the numbers of visitors (from other states and overseas) who came to the Festival.

1 5UV University Radio tape.

* The Government Year Book figures, 1975.

The Control and Organization of the Adelaide Festival Centre

Secondly, the Adelaide Festival Centre Trust was begun in 1971, "under the Adelaide Festival Centre Trust Act. It is responsible for financing, construction and administration of the Centre and also for the encouragement of artistic, cultural and performing arts' activities throughout South Australia."¹ The first plans for the Adelaide Festival Centre were mainly centred around the auditorium of the Festival Theatre. This theatre was financed by public donations amounting to \$100,000, and an Australian Government grant of \$200,000, with the remainder of the sum being raised by the Adelaide City Council, (1/3) and the South Australian Government, (2/3). The site for the Centre was chosen in 1969; final architectural sketch plans were prepared that year and work commenced on the site in March, 1970. A year later, the South Australian Government decided to enlarge the Centre to include three smaller auditoriums and their surroundings. This was financed by Government-guaranteed loans to the Adelaide Festival Centre Trust Act 1971-1974. The entire complex was scheduled for completion late in 1976. In fact it was completed by March 1977.

The construction of the Festival Theatre was the responsibility of the Corporation of the City of Adelaide, and the construction of the Drama Complex with its associated facilities was the responsibility of the Trust. We will see how the City Council fits into the picture shortly, but remember that Establishment members were often leaders in the City Council, and could suggest how funds should be allocated. The responsibility for financing the Festival Theatre, which was officially opened on 2nd June 1973, had not been vested in the Trust by 30th June 1974. But then, with the consent of the South Australian Treasurer, the Trust was empowered to borrow money for the exercise of its functions. The repayment of such money was guaranteed by

1 The Government Year Book, 1975.

the Treasury. During 1973-74, the Trust borrowed \$2.8 million for capital purposes from various lending institutions, (mainly in the form of bonds and insurance companies), and a total of \$7.3 million had been borrowed from these institutions by the 30th June 1974; of this amount \$5,773,000 had been paid to the South Australian Public Buildings Department, the constructing authority for the Centre. In 1973-74, the State Government provided funds for several purposes including interest on borrowings, catering, plant and equipment and works of Art. A special grant of \$15,000 was made through the Minister of Education to encourage performances for schools at the Centre.

Let us now look more closely at the way in which the Government takes an interest in the Arts.

The City Council - 'The Rundle Mall Committee'

The City Council controls the financing and initiation of many major Art projects. In 1973, the Council set up a 'Rundle Mall Committee' which is instrumental in controlling the performance activities taking place in the heart of the city. The discussion of the part played by 'street musicians' (Section II) revealed the fact that individual musicians were not supported, but minor street performances designed to advertise and to promote the main performances at the Festival Complex were encouraged. Thus, most of Adelaide's street music is organized and programmed by 'The Rundle Mall Committee' which has liaison with the Festival Trust. This liaison takes place through the Premier's Department. The programme suggestions are then put before the Council whose members adjust the programme according to available funds.

The composition of 'The Rundle Mall Committee' indicates some of the major non-musical interest of those involved in funding decisions:-

Chairman: Lord Mayor

Retailers: David Jones and D. Judell Fashion

Hindmarsh Council Representative

Government Representatives: State Planning
and Premier's Department

(See 'An Overview of Music in Adelaide', Figure 4.1, p. 191.)

There are six members in all. I draw your attention to the Business, Government, Council and Establishment involvement. Mr. Roche is another member of the Establishment who is now a former Lord Mayor but a present member of the Festival Trust. Business interests are also indicated in the major city annual events such as 'Anzac Day', 'John Martin's Christmas Pageant' and 'Carols by Candlelight'. However through business sponsored events, Art Policy and funding is heavily controlled by the Premier's Department. Interestingly, John Martin's is an Establishment store belonging to St. Peter's College. Many country farming people visit it when in town, as was indicated by interviews collected for a computer analysis. I now turn to the power of the Premier's Department as this Department controls a large proportion of capital and cultural resources relating to the Arts. Significantly, by 1981, a change in government policy regarding the importance of the Arts had brought cutbacks in expenditure, especially for new works.

The Premier's Department

At the head of this system is the Premier (1975) who, at the time of my most concentrated research was Don Dunstan, the Labour Premier and Minister of the Arts. The general hierarchy of boards, committees, and councils is listed in the Appendix.* In October 1970, a post was created for a

* Appendix p. 219

Development Officer who combined an interest in Tourism and the Arts. In November 1970, Mr. L. Amadio* became the Policy Secretary of the Premier's Department. By September 1973, a branch was formed under the heading of 'The Arts Development Branch', and Mr. Amadio became the Arts Development Officer at the head of this Branch. In February 1974, the department moved from the State Administrative Building to Edmund Wright House. This building is itself preserved under the 'National Trust'; but, more significantly, the Arts Development Branch became spatially separated from the rest of Administration. By February 1st 1977, the activities of the department were significant enough to warrant an expansion in staff numbers. The Branch became 'The Arts Development Division'. Mr. L. Amadio was Director of Arts' Development, and the Division had a staff of nine full-time employees. In 1977 the structure of the Division was as follows:-

Director, Private Secretary, Administrative Officer,
Three Clerical Officers, Research Officer, Typist,
Receptionist.**

The Appendix of this chapter is very important because it shows the network of overlapping roles held by a few people. For example, the various roles played by Mr. Amadio are revealed. Thus, through this list one can see the overlapping networks between fields. From these examples the links between field structures can be clearly seen, and this information supports the theory of levels of emergence. Such networks operate to integrate events to form the social 'web'. I also give a list of roles played by Mr. A. Walsh**, (Administrative Officer of 'The Arts Development Division'). The whole point of these illustrations is to show the high degree of overlapping roles

* One of the few non-Anglo people in a senior Government position.
Appendix Item 4, p. 220

** Interview with Research Officer, 1978.

at these upper bureaucratic levels of power. Obviously, a 'hidden' strength will be given to the whole network if the same persons recur on several committees in different fields. It is through the network of relationships which take place on an everyday basis that the fields are linked with one another to form higher emergent levels of social structuring. Thus the reins of power over the distribution of cultural and capital resources are held by comparatively few people.

Having made this point I discuss the major structural units under the control of the Arts Development Division.

The Arts Grants Advisory Committee

This Committee is of central importance in the process of arts funding in South Australia. Because this is the major fund controlling body, the names of the members of the Committee are not public knowledge. The reason given for this control on information was that unsuccessful applicants may 'hound' the Committee members.* However, I was told that the right members were all South Australians, and that annually two members were moved on and replaced. The Committee was established by the South Australian Government in 1974. An official statement about application assessment reads:-

*"The Committee receives applications for financial assistance and recommends appropriate projects to the Government on the basis of artistic merit and community needs."*¹

As in other cases the definition of needs is left somewhat ambiguous. Most decisions are made by Committee members in liaison with other programming

* Interview with Research Officer, 1978.

1 From an interview with the Research Assistant of the Premier's Department Arts Development Division. Additional written information was also provided

and organizational bodies, such as the Festival Trust. Several categories of artistic endeavour are defined by the Committee. They are as follows:-

Community Arts, Crafts, Dance, Drama, Film, Literature,
Music, Opera, Photography, Radio, Television and Visual
Arts.

Four special schemes have been defined in relation to these categories.

These are:-

Artists-in-Residence, Theatre Rental Subsidies, Biannual
Literature Prize (which are discussed here); and Overseas
Study Tours (not discussed).

Each of the special schemes aims to "support innovative projects which will foster the development of promising individuals or organizations primarily in South Australia."¹ (However, by 1981 Government cutbacks in spending reduced the capacity of the Department to provide grants for innovative projects). Members of the Committee are described as constituting an "individually disinterested group, standing between Government and grant recipients."² Grants up to \$15,000 for individuals and organizations may be recommended by the Committee, but usually the funds are spread over a wider range of people. "Over 80% of grants provided are under \$4,000."³ The funds are actually made available to applicants after "Parliamentary approval of the State's estimates of expenditure, usually in October."⁴ The Appendix gives a complete statement of fund allocation in 1976 and 1977, and includes revised figures for 1979/80.

The Arts Grants Advisory Committee is the first group, which controls the choice of artistic projects which will be supported by capital resource

1-4 From an interview with the Research Assistant of the Premier's Department Arts Development Division. Additional written information was also provided.

allocation. The first of the Special Schemes mentioned above relates to 'Artists-in-Residence'. This scheme has a four-fold purpose. Firstly, it "invites prominent artists to take up residence with tertiary and public institutions, community organizations or performing companies."¹ Secondly, it aims "to provide individual artists with salary, travel expenses, and working accommodation within an institutional setting and simultaneously to provide through the institutions opportunities for wide community contracts."² Thirdly, the scheme aims "to give institutions the opportunity to entertain and learn from visiting artists; and to give the community the opportunity to associate with the artists."³ Finally, it is suggested that the scheme gives "artists a period for innovation, experimentation and stimulation outside their normal environment."⁴

All of the above purposes of the scheme emphasize the "institutionalized setting"⁵ and "community"⁶ context of artistic endeavour. The period of residency is a further restriction on continued creativity, as the "continued residency shall not exceed fifty-two weeks in any calendar year,"⁷ and "residencies are tenable for not more than one year and normally for not less than twelve weeks".⁸ The span of eligibility seems wide, but in actual fact there are many levels of control in the local music scene. "Tertiary institutions, public institutions, performing companies and community organizations may apply for assistance to establishment residences for outstanding artists."⁹ The rules continue by stating that either Australian or overseas artists may apply. Furthermore, restrictions on the choice of applicants by institutions is significant since the applicants must pass a further choice procedure. That is, "The success of the Artists-in-Residence Scheme rests with the host institutions, which should take the initial step in selecting artists of talent and commitment."¹⁰ In this way, selection procedures

1-10 From the interview with the Premier's Department Research Assistant, 1978, including additional written information,

become more complex, because they operate within a number of host selection procedures. There is an educational factor built into the selection, as is indicated by the following example. "The institutions should establish that the artists nominated are well qualified to meet the institution's needs."¹ Once this selection has been accomplished it is a condition of the grants that the Arts Advisory Committee approve the artists nominated."² As with other government grants, it is necessary for some idea of the project form and content to be outlined in the application. Whilst emphasizing the degree of "flexibility"³ the committee maintains that "the responsibilities of host institutions and the duties of resident artists should be agreed on by both parties before the Arts Grants Advisory Committee makes its final recommendation on a particular project."⁴ Under the heading of "mutual obligations"⁵ the Committee outlines four areas of agreement. The host institution should provide working accommodation, equipment and materials. The time the artist gives to teaching, performing, exhibiting, or to related activities should also be decided. Furthermore, assistance with living accommodation, the terms of residency and the artists' "stipends"⁶ should be organized. At the end of the funded term both the artist and the host institution are to provide written reports on the projects which have been undertaken and completed during the period of residency.

The second Special Scheme is the 'Theatre Rental Subsidy Scheme' which aims to increase the "utilization of certain city theatres".⁷ Like the other two schemes, this one is administered by the Arts Development Division, and applications go to the Arts Grants Advisory Committee for recommendation on the merit of the proposed productions, and on the financial aspect of such productions. Emphasis is given to artistic activities, and youth clubs,

1-7 From the interview with the Premier's Department Research Assistant, 1978, including additional written information.

church clubs, sporting bodies, convention groups and political meetings are included. These groups can apply to the Department of Tourism, Recreation and Sport, or to the Department for Community Welfare for assistance. Six major theatres are made available for rental as venues. For a list of these, refer to the Appendix. The leasing of the venue includes "bare walls"¹ and the basic staff normally provided by a theatre management. The rental subsidy is limited to a maximum of three-quarters of those basic charges for the period of use, up to a maximum of \$3,000 per week. There are further restrictions aimed at controlling the limits of the application.

The third Special Scheme is the one for the South Australian Government Bi-ennial Literature Prizes. The scheme includes a Literature Prize for Regional History or Biography, and a Literature Prize for published Poetry, Fiction or Drama.

As a result of the resignation in 1978 of Mr. A. Steel, a major Trust and Festival organizer, the Premier's Department expected their liaison with the Festival Complex to increase. Also, the Arts Development Division aimed to cut down the number of Boards represented by its members, and to emphasize its role as a coordinator of arts activities, so that costly duplication in programming could be avoided. Increased liaison was a chief objective and the whole project aimed at a "rationalization of resources."² It hoped to encourage artists to work together through the Arts Development Division. Obviously, the "rationalization of resources"³ would also increase the control over the Arts, which would be in the hands of this Government Department. The whole area of ethnic music was now in the care of a specialized Government Department set up for the purpose of supporting ethnic radio and other forms of artistic endeavour. At present, no direct

1-3 From the interview with the Premier's Department Research Assistant, 1978, including additional written information.

attention is being given by this Department to support Aboriginal art and artists. Attention is, however, being given to liaison with the A.B.C. and commercial television. Even so, fringe Art is not emphasized owing to difficulties in ticket sales. Rather, emphasis is given to International Artists who present their work at local venues. It is thought that local Art will benefit from interaction with overseas influences. Finally, the question of levels of public participation is to receive attention in programmes concentrating on Art in public places (for example, children's street paintings).

Having discussed the influence of Establishment families, the control exerted by the City Council, (which links the areas of 'cultural' and 'capital' resource allocation together) and the Art Policy of the Arts Development Division of the Premier's Department, I now discuss the Adelaide Festival Centre Trust. The Festival Centre Trust links Artists, Entrepreneurs and Government Policy, whereas the Festival of Arts Board of Governors links influential Establishment and Elite influences with entrepreneurial activities. These two groups share the same 250 staff members at the Centre, thus linking Council, Establishment, Government and Entrepreneurial roles. In this way greater control over capital and cultural resources can be maintained.

The Adelaide Festival Centre Trust

The structure of the Festival Centre Trust, (begun in 1971), suggests the nature of its controlling influences. The Trust is a statutory body set up by an Act of Parliament to foster the development of the Arts in South Australia. It is, therefore, directly answerable in its policies to the Premier's Department and to The Premier, Don Dunstan, who was then also Minister of the Arts. Five of the six members of the Trust are appointed by the Premier, including the Chairman. One member, who has so far always

been an Alderman, is appointed by the City Council. As noted in the Appendix,^{*} Mr. Bailey was a Chairman, and was also a major figure in the Hajek Issue. In addition, he has been Director of the Art Gallery. Thus, some of the network overlapping between the Trust and the Board can be seen. Mr. D. Wynn is on the Board of Governors of the Festival Committee. Mr. D.E. Bright's wife is on the 'Friends of the Festival Committee'. Mr. D.E. Bright's wife is on the same Committee as Mr. S.V. Brown's wife. Mrs. R.B. Litchfield is a member of the Board of Governors of the Festival, and she is also a member of the Programme Planning Advisory Committee. Mr. Roche is President of the Board of Governors for the Festival. As a previous Lord Mayor he also had influence on the City Council. Thus, we note some of the extensive repetitions of names.

This ends the first part of the chapter in which the network of interrelationships has been revealed, making a tightly controlled bureaucracy on the highest level of emergence of social interaction. Now I begin the dialogue which contrasts two approaches to the Arts. First, Mr. A. Steel reveals his points of view concerning the Festival of Arts and Festival Trust. Having outlined the structure of the Trust, I wish to turn to the choice of works presented at the Festival Complex as seen by Mr. A. Steel. In the next chapter I will set this perspective against comments on this set of attitudes made by members of the E.A.F.^{**} Both interviews have been recorded on tape and are held at the E.A.F. Thus we can see two Directors' opposed views.

* pp. 220-225

** Appendix, Items 10, 11. pp. 225-226

Mr. A. Steel Discusses the Festival Trust

Mr. Steel suggests that there are two ways of looking at the "choice"¹ of performance material. Firstly, the Trust lets the venue to Art groups who have the funds necessary to hire the Theatre. "One idea was kept right in mind from the start,"² says Mr. Steel, "that is, as far as is possible in the isolated Adelaide situation - the things that were presented here should be 'professional' - whatever that may mean."³ Also the presentation of like performances at the same time was to be controlled. For example, ballet was not to be presented in two venues of the complex at the same time. Secondly, Mr. Steel continues by stating that during the last twelve months (1976-77), the Trust has moved from a role of landlord of the building complex to one of entrepreneurship. In the first place, the Trust filled in the "black nights"⁴ when no performances were otherwise taking place. Then, they changed their policy to one in which 50% of the yearly performances, (rated at 1,000 per year) were the result of Trust entrepreneurship. Representatives were sent overseas to bring back "acts"⁵ and in this way the Trust aimed to reduce its reliance on entrepreneurship in the Eastern States.

This entrepreneurial activity was given a supporting Government "guarantee"⁶ in order to increase overall entrepreneurship. The aim of entrepreneurship had now reached such a peak that the Press Secretary, Mr. G. Heyne,* said that the Trust would eventually like to be independent of Government support. This aim is at present unrealistic, as indicated by the total funding given to this institution. However, there is a sub-group within the institutional framework, called by Mr. Steel the "Entrepreneurial Committee".⁷ This

1-7 From an interview with Mr. A. Steel, taped in 1978 by the Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.).

* From an interview with the Press Secretary carried out in 1978.

committee consists of the four major office holders in the Trust:-

1. The Director
2. The General Manager
3. The Programming Manager
4. The Administrator

At meetings these committee members discuss various programme arrangements and outline the necessary budgets. Proposals are then presented to the Trust at their general meetings.

So far in the discussion, Mr. Steel has avoided dealing directly with the question regarding the choice of music actually performed at the Centre. He also avoids the question in the next section of the interview, but is more specific in the third part. In this further discussion of programme choice Mr. Steel reveals that there is a continual attempt to "balance"¹ the promotion of "a particularly good production of something that the Adelaide public should have the opportunity to see, even though we've got a pretty good suspicion that it won't be terribly popular at the box office,"² or "something that has been proven interstate to be an enormous box office success".³ For Mr. Steel these are the "negative"⁴ aspects of programming, in the sense that the programmes "fill gaps"⁵ in the already programmed material. The "positive"⁶ side of the Trust activities, according to Mr. Steel is shown in the cases of entrepreneurship. For example, during Christmas 1976, commercial entrepreneurs were not interested in promoting activities, because of the holiday exodus from the city. On the other hand, the members of the Trust thought that there were people in the city who might be interested in going to a performance. So, in preference to leaving the theatre empty, the Trust decided to promote programmes which were designed to capture "a wide audience, and, specifically, a 'middle brow' holiday

1-6 From an Interview with Mr. A. Steel, taped in 1978 by the Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.).

audience."¹ Three programmes which "contrasted"² with one another were chosen, so that together they would attract wider audience support for the theatre. The first was a season of Gilbert and Sullivan performances at the Festival Theatre, the second was the West End comedy 'My Fat Friend', which was performed at the Playhouse, and the third was a Cabaret which was performed at the Space. Half a million dollars was "at risk"³ due to the promotion of these activities, and not all of it was recovered. The book-keeping accounts describe the financial picture. For example, Mr. Steel explains how in the above cases the Trust charges itself the normal venue rent fee. Thus, as Mr. Steel suggests, the money goes "from one pocket to another".⁴ The interesting point is that at the end of the financial year the Trust "will be seen to have 'made money'".⁵ By this statement, Mr. Steel means that by keeping the theatre open the Trust "lost less"⁶ than if the theatre had been closed. The two hundred permanent staff make this strategy necessary as the salary overheads are considerable.

But more specifically then, 'What role does Mr. Steel play in the choice of presentation?' Mr. Steel admitted that some of the presentations were his own choice. When asked how the choices had been made, he replied that during the year the Trust aimed to "cover as large a cross-section of the performing arts as possible".⁷ However, various statements made by Mr. Steel gave further definition to the range of performers and audiences most often involved in Festival Centre activities. He went on to distinguish between 'professional' and 'semi-professional' performers, who were catered for in different programmes. He also distinguished between "high, middle and low brow"⁸ audiences. Because the Trust involves the use of public money the community tastes must be an important consideration in programming decisions. This statement was made by the interviewer who then asked Mr. Steel to

1-8 From an Interview with Mr. A. Steel, taped in 1978 by the Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.).

comment on it. In response to this enquiry, Mr. Steel replied that some members of the public would rather go to a football match than attend a performance of the Arts. He said that given this consideration of selecting something relevant to a wide cross-section of the Adelaide population, he still considered that the programmes already chosen have brought a higher proportion of the population to performances than any other "complex"¹ in the world.

During the above interview some questions remained unanswered. How, for example, was the 'balanced diet' of Arts selected? And, indeed, how balanced was it in relation to the total population of Adelaide, including the so-called 'footy crowd', who seemed to be low on the priority list of possible audiences, according to Mr. Steel's comments. Let us continue with the interview, whilst paying particular attention to programme choice in relation to some undefined category of 'professionalism' - which keeps appearing in Mr. Steel's comments.

Mr. Steel begins the answers to these questions with a restatement of the general policy concerning programming. "We do want to give local people the opportunity to perform in their own Centre."² He adds that this takes time "to put into practice."³ His reasons for this attitude are that apart from the South Australian Theatre Company, the State Opera (which has its own theatre), and the Australian Dance Company (which does not always find the Centre an appropriate venue), "there's not much in Adelaide that falls under the heading of 'professional' - whatever 'professional' may mean."⁴ The seasons of 'the Community Theatre' cater for "the semi-professional groups around town, who are interested in coming here - and we take all expenses, I mean we take all the risks on those."⁵ "And so, bit by bit,

1-5 From an Interview with Mr. A. Steel, taped in 1978 by the Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.).

slightly tentatively in some people's opinion, we are involving more of the local performing groups in the Centre."¹ At this point note the significance of the distinction between 'taking costs' and 'taking risks'.

Having distinguished between 'professional' and 'semi-professional' groups, Mr. Steel returns to the question of financing, and suggests that the Trust should be "responsible for the funds under its control."² By this, Mr. Steel means that "these groups (local semi-professional ones) just don't have any money, and whilst we have money behind us, and also have a brief, act to endeavour to involve them.... to further cultural activities in the State or some very vague plan of that kind.... we do want to try and maintain the standards as far as is reasonable."³ Thus, the Trust is consciously selecting those artists with the greatest sources of capital and cultural resources. Only some are "allowed to perform given the situation we are in in Adelaide."⁴ These comments are followed by further discussion which reveals the way in which statements of policy are tailored around the attitudes of office holders (such as Mr. Steel), who in turn seem to reflect attitudes held by the Establishment or the Elite. (Later, after leaving his office, Mr. Steel commented that the Trust did allow the Arts to be controlled by a few people). In this interview he says, "I think we are broadening our attitudes and more local groups are performing, possibly as a result of the existence of this place."⁵ When asked if he chose the programmes, Mr. Steel replied, "I don't think so. Ninety-nine times out of one hundred I would not choose something for the Festival Centre which suited me. On the other hand, for the Festival of Arts, I quite uncompromisingly choose a programme which I think is of the highest possible artistic standard, and if the audience doesn't like it, they can lump it. But I certainly don't take that attitude to the programming of the Festival Centre."⁶

1-6 From an Interview with Mr. A. Steel, taped in 1978 by the Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.).

At this point the Experimental Art Foundation interviewer suggested that Mr. Steel's attitude was similar to that expressed by some members of the University "who claim the right to be able to indoctrinate other people into their culture, because their culture is far superior."¹ The interview ends with Mr. Steel repeating his response that "I would confess to taking that attitude to the programming of the Festival of Arts, but not the programming of the Festival Centre."² The variations in attitudes expressed by Mr. Steel seem to reflect the financial risks involved in the case of the Trust. It is an on-going concern whereas the Festival is bi-annual. This perspective is given weight by the final statement made by Mr. Steel that "that taxpayers' money must be used for some commercial success so that the back-up money is not all used up (\$150-200 thousand)."³

I conclude this Chapter by referring to the Committee Organization Chart for the Festival of Arts, which shows the structure of Committees, the hierarchy, and the linking in the system. This can be found in Item 7 of the Appendix, p. 220. The expenditure on the Arts varies from budget to budget according to other State and National commitments. But the 1975-76 statement of major and minor grants to the Arts is included here in the Appendix. The more detailed breakdown of expenditure indicates the Government control over capital resource allocation to each institution or field. Note also the distinction made by Mr. Steel between 'low, middle, and high brow' audiences, and between professional and semi-professional artists.

In Chapter 2 I review the Experimental Art Foundation perspectives on Art Policy in Adelaide. This will provide further background to the 'Jural Model' of Art choice given in Section IV.

1-3 From an Interview with Mr. A. Steel, taped in 1978 by the Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.).

THE APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1

The Appendix for Chapter 1Item 1 (Refer to p. 204 of Chapter 1)The Premier's Department

Premier

Permanent Head (was Bob Bakewell now G. Inns)

Administrative Director

Classification of Publications Board

Committee/Secretariat

Economic Intelligence Unit

Parliamentary Council

Policy

Publicity

Item 2 (p. 205)The Arts Development Division

Director Mr. L. Amadio (music)

Private Secretary

Administrative Officer Mr. Anthony Walsh (finance, budget)
(community arts)

Three Clerical Officers Mr. R. White

Mr. David Brown (Literature and theatre)

Mr. T. Hobart (Acting Secretary of Arts Council)

Research Officer Ms. Caroline Rankine (Artists in Residence)
(Information - Film Training Enquiries -
Art Advisory Committee)

Typist

Receptionist

Item 3 (p. 205)

Mr. Anthony Walsh is also associated with the following groups:-

1. Financial Advisor for the Arts Grants Advisory Committee.
2. Member of the Board for the Adelaide International Film Festival.
3. Finance for the working party for the Australia Council and State's Arts Official Conference. (This meeting is held every two years in November and May).
4. Branch/Division member of the Trade Convention (Sporting and Entertainment Centre working party).
5. Government member for the Rundle Street Mall Activities sub-committee.
6. Member of the Arts Council Reconstruction Work Committee.
7. Member of the Committee to look at the use of space (a working party).

Appendix (continued)

Item 4 (p. 205)

What roles do other members play? Mr. Amadio has a number of roles held in 1977 up until the 18th April. These are listed below:-

1. Adelaide Festival of Arts: (a) Board of Governors
(b) Programme Planning - Advertising Committee
2. Arts Council of South Australia - A working party member
3. South Australian Theatre Company - Board of Governors
4. South Australian Film Corporation - Film Advisory Board
5. Arts Grant Advisory Committee - Executive Officer
6. Edmund Wright House - Chairman of the Management Committee
7. Government Film Committee - Chairman
8. Her Majesty's Theatre - Member of the Interim Management Committee
9. Australian Opera - On the Board of Directors
10. Adelaide Festival Centre Trust - A member of the working party on the use of space
11. Joint Consultative Council Staff - Management Representative
12. Committee to Enquire into Film Training in South Australia - Member of the Committee

Item 5 (p. 207)

Six major theatres are made available for rental as venues:-

Adelaide Festival Centre	(all venues, with preference to bookings at The Space)
Union Theatre	(Adelaide University)
Little Theatre	(Adelaide University)
The Opera Theatre	(formerly Her Majesty's Theatre)
The Scott Theatre	(Adelaide C.A.E.)
Shedley Theatre	(Elizabeth Town Centre)

Item 6 (p. 196)

The Festival Board of Governors consists of the following members:-

- Mr. L. Amadio
- Mr. G.D. Ashton (Establishment architect)
- Mr. A. Brookman (Establishment, St. Peter's School)
- Mr. E.H. Burgess (Dept. Chairman)
- Mr. R.D. Hastwell (Hon. Secretary/Treasurer)
- Mr. T.A. Hodgson
- Maj. Gen. R.N.L. Hopkins, C.B.E.

Appendix (continued)

The Festival Board of Governors (contd.)

Sir James Irwin, O.B.E. (Establishment, St. Peter's School,
former Lord Mayor and North Adelaide architect)

Mrs. R.B. Litchfield, O.B.E. (Establishment, involved with theatre)

Mr. B.R. Macklin, O.B.E. (Chairman, Establishment, St. Peter's
School and Adelaide businessman)

Mr. A.G. McGregor

Mr. R.E. Porter (former Lord Mayor)

Mr. G.C. Prior

Mr. J.J. Roche (former Lord Mayor - President)

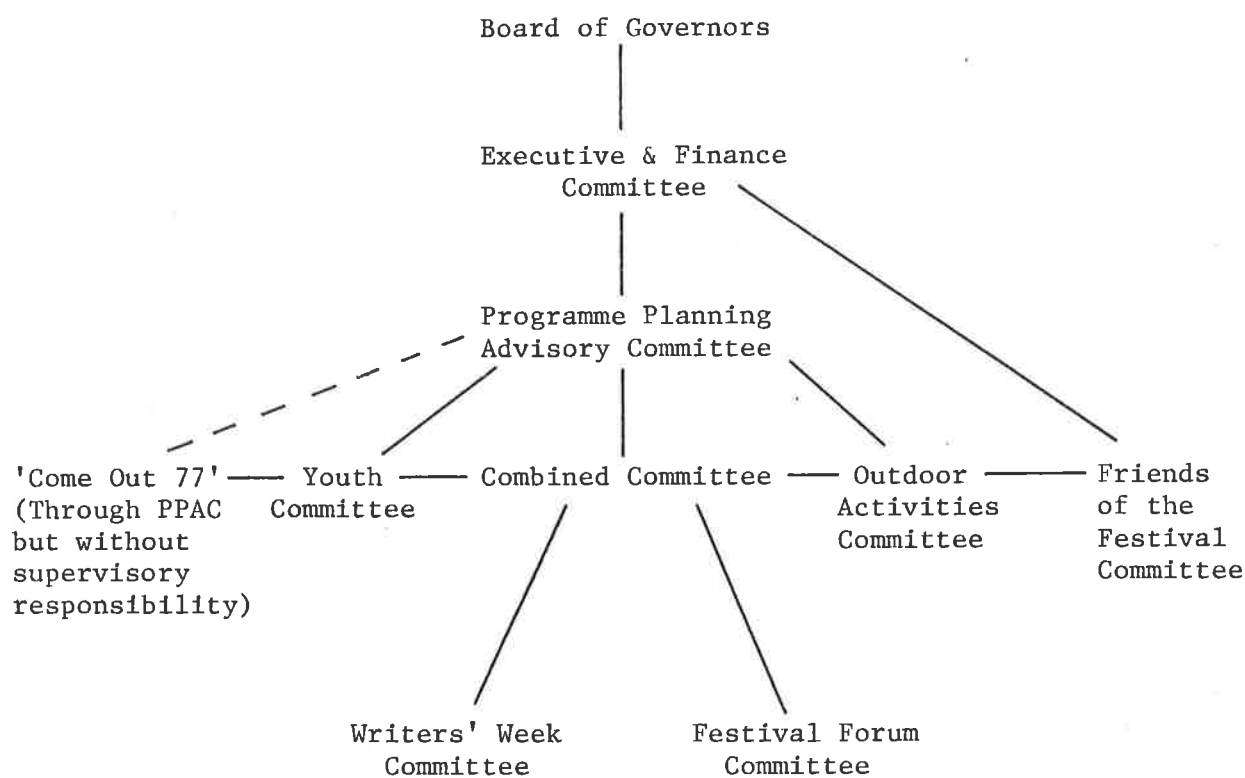
Councillor A.J. Watson

Mr. D. Wynn

Item 7 (p. 218)

The Adelaide Festival of Arts Committee Organization Chart

(Source: Festival Centre, Press Section)



Appendix (continued)

Item 8 (p. 196) - Members of Adelaide Festival of Arts Committees (1975/76)

Source: Festival Centre, Press Section

Executive and Finance Committee

Mr. A. Brookman
 Mr. E.H. Burgess (Chairman)
 Mr. R.D. Hastwell (Hon. Secretary/Treasurer)
 Maj. Gen. R.N.L. Hopkins, C.B.E. (writer of the history of the
 Adelaide Club)
 Sir James Irwin, O.B.E. ED.
 Mr. B.R. Macklin, O.B.E.
 Mr. R.E. Porter

Programme Planning Advisory Committee

Mr. L. Amadio
 Dr. A. Brissenden (Flautist)
 Mr. T.A. Hodgson (Premier's Department)
 Prof. C. Horne (English Department)
 Mrs. R.B. Litchfield, O.B.E.
 Mr. A.G. McGregor
 Mr. A.G. Steel (Chairman)
 Miss E. Sweeting
 Mr. G. Taylor
 Mr. D. Thomas

Youth Committee

Mrs. Caroline Ainslie (Establishment)
 Ms. Sue Averay
 Mr. M.E.S. Bray (University Politics)
 Mr. Roger Chapman
 Ms. Greer Druce
 Mr. A. Farwell
 Mr. C. Gunn
 Mrs. R.B. Litchfield, O.B.E. (Chairman)
 Mr. Bob Lott
 Ms. Wendy Mead
 Miss E. Sweeting
 Mrs. Pauline Thomas
 Ms. Chris Westwood

Appendix (continued)

Outdoor Activities Committee

Mr. Robert Bath
 Mr. Brian Bergin
 Mr. Ian Brown
 Mrs. Silver Harris Ewell (E.A.F.)
 Mr. A.G. McGregor (Chairman)
 Mr. Peter Noble

Writers' Week/Forum Committees

Mr. Ian Brown
 Prof. Wal Cherry (Flinders University, Drama Department)
 Mr. David Dolan
 Mrs. Ninette Dutton (Chairman - Forum. Angry Penguin Group)
 Prof. Colin Horne (Chairman - Combined Committee)
 Miss Paula Nagel
 Mr. Maurice O'Brien
 Mr. Anthony Steel
 Mr. Andrew Taylor (University English Department - Adelaide)
 Mr. Peter Ward
 Mrs. Rosemary Wighton (Chairman - Writers' Week)

'Come Out 77'

Ms. Penny Chapman
 Mr. Roger Chapman
 Mr. Michael Coad
 Ms. Julia Cotton
 Ms. Greer Druce
 Mr. A. Farwell
 Mr. Malcolm Fox (University of Adelaide Music Department)
 Mr. Tony Frewin
 Mr. Jim Giles (Chairman)
 Ms. Brenda Idell
 Mr. John Jones
 Ms. Morna Jones
 Mrs. Ruby Litchfield, O.B.E.
 Mr. Bob Lott
 Mr. John McKenzie
 Mr. John Pryzabilla
 Ms. Barbara Pullan
 Mr. Tony Ryan
 Mr. Tony Strachan (Acting Secretary)
 Mr. Greg Temple
 Ms. Chris Westwood

Appendix (continued)

Friends of the Festival Committee

Mrs. J.V.S. Bowen
 Mrs. D. Bright
 Mr. A. Brookman
 Mr. R. Cohen (Establishment)
 Mrs. E. Davis (Chairman)
 Mrs. W.S. Horwood
 Mrs. J. Litt
 Mrs. H. MacLachlan
 Mrs. M.E. Nancarrow
 Dr. B. Young
 Mrs. D. Wynn

Item 9 (p. 201)The Establishment Appeal (e.g. for The Queen's Silver Jubilee)

Patron-in-Chief	His Excellency, Sir D. Nicholls, O.B.E. Governor of South Australia
Patrons	W.R. Crocker, Esq., C.B.E., Lieutenant Governor of South Australia The Hon. D. Dunstan, Q.C., M.P., Premier of South Australia Dr. D.O. Tonkin, M.P., Leader of the Opposition in South Australia
Chairman	The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Adelaide - Mr. J.J. Roche

Appeal Committee

T.E. Barr Smith (Patron of the Adelaide University Library)
 D.J. Barrett
 L. Barrett
 Ald. J.V.S. Bowen (Politician)
 D.F. Bright
 E.H. Burgess
 J.P. Burnside
 D.L. Elix, A.M.
 J.S. Foreman
 Dr. M. Gribble
 Dr. B.S. Hanson, C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E.
 C.L. Hargrave
 Dr. J.F. Harley
 F.C. Hassell
 F.D. Hay

Appendix (continued)

Appeal Committee (contd.)

G. Hines, O.B.E.
 Maj. Gen. R.N.L. Hopkins, C.B.E.
 R.R. Johnson, A.M.
 Hon. D.H. Laidlaw
 K. Lidums
 Dr. R. Lipman
 Mrs. R.B. Litchfield, O.B.E. (Festival issues)
 M.R. Lodge
 B. Macklin, O.B.E.
 R. Meale, M.B.E. (Composer)
 G.H. Michell
 B.H. MacLachlan
 R.F. Paley
 I. Poland
 R.E. Porter
 Judge J.H. Roder
 F.W. Schroeder, A.O.
 R.L. Seppelt (Wines)
 A.G. Shepherd
 A.M. Simpson, C.M.C. (Industry)
 M. Solomon
 Dr. B.H. Souter
 R.S. Turner, C.B.E.
 J.W.A. Weinert
 P.B. Wells
 K.D. Williams
 J.N. Winter
 D. Wynn

Item 10 (p. 217)The Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.) Committee

D. Brooks (Founder - Professor of Visual Arts at Flinders University)
 N. Sheridan (Director)
 L. Hobba
 I. de Gruchy
 B. Flugelman
 Prith (Chairman)

The Foundation has 180 members (1977), and the aim of the Foundation Committee is to reduce categories of members.

Appendix (continued)

Item 11 (p. 218)E.A.F. Suggestions for the Widening of Artistic Opportunities

- "1. The establishment of rent-free work spaces.
2. The arrangements to allow and encourage accessibility to equipment that is too expensive for artists to afford."

Further suggestions include allowing artists to use vacant city buildings, (controlled by the City Council), rent free and with an agreement on conditions for use. Then, State schools could allow artists to use dark rooms, video equipment, tape recordings and film equipment.

"As ex-teachers, we believe that it is possible to come to some arrangement with heads of schools, in return, perhaps, for some special tutoring for students." (Statement by E.A.F. member).

Appendix (continued)

1975/6 LINE "GRANTS & PROVISIONS FOR THE ARTS"

Source: The Premier's Department
(Refer to p. 203)

Attached is a list of all grants paid from this Line during the last financial year. Expenditure is summarised as follows:-

Major Continuing Projects		1,522,280.50
Minor Grants		
Community Arts	48,364	
Aboriginal Arts	3,500	
Literature	14,240	
Visual Arts and Crafts	21,212.50	
Film, T.V. and Photography	5,476	
Music	60,434.50	
Theatre and Dance	<u>31,550</u>	<u>184,777.00</u>
		1,707,057.50
Leaving an unallotted balance of		<u>20,342.50</u>
	1975/6 Line Total:	<u>\$1,727,400.00</u>

Mr. Tucker's Summary Statement of Departmental Expenditure for the period ended 30th June 1976 shows an expenditure of \$1,701,562 for the Line: "Grants & Provisions for the Arts". The figure of \$1,707,057.50, as shown above, is correct according to our records.

It is RECOMMENDED that details of these grants be released by the Premier at an appropriate time, particularly to publicise Community Arts and other minor grant activities supported by the Government.

(LEONARD L. AMADIO)
ARTS DEVELOPMENT OFFICER

2nd August 1976
ART

ARTS DEVELOPMENT BRANCH

Total Major: \$1,522,280.50
 Total: \$1,707,057.50
 Section I (Page 1)

ACTUAL GRANTS TO MAJOR CONTINUING PROJECTS REVISED 30/6/76
 FOR 1975/6 FINANCIAL PERIOD

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
ADELAIDE FESTIVAL OF ARTS	105,000	198,000		198,000	(FAC) for administrative and artistic costs associated with 1976 Festival.
ADELAIDE SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA	65,000	80,000		80,000	Paid to ABC under terms of agreement between Adelaide City Council, State Government and ABC.
ADELAIDE INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL	15,000	(a)11784 debts (b)18216 operating grant		6,686.90	Paid towards outstanding debts to S.A. Film Corporation - balance of debt to be paid by association from Federal grants. No Festival subsidy paid as no Festival operated in period.
ARTS COUNCIL OF S.A.	128,600	195,000		194,680.68	Towards administrative expenses and subsidy of half touring costs of S.A. arts companies, aimed at increasing availability of arts to country residents
AUSTRALIAN DANCE THEATRE	70,000	90,000		90,000	Paid to maintain basic Company structure until appointment of new Artistic Director (Nov. 1976) and new General Manager (Sept. 1976)
AUSTRALIAN ELIZABETHAN THEATRE TRUST	15,000	16,500		16,500	To assist with office rentals and costs of minor entrepreneurial activity in S.A.
AUSTRALIAN BALLET	NIL (No visit)	41,700		41,700	Subsidy towards variable costs of December 1975 Adelaide Season.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section I (Page 2)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
AUSTRALIAN OPERA	40,000	52,500		52,500	Subsidy towards variable costs of November 1975 and AFA March 1976, Adelaide Seasons.
ALTERNATE ORCHESTRA DEVELOPMENT SCHEME	-	30,000		NIL	Project deferred until Australia Council report on orchestral resources completed.
CARCLEW ARTS CENTRE	17,700	40,000		40,000	(FAC) Increase approved by Cabinet following major assessment report on redevelopment of Centre.
<u>FELLOWSHIPS:</u>					
1. RICHARD MEALE	18,185	27,500		9,941.66	Balance of 1975/6 costs to be paid in next period on receipt of Adelaide University account (estimated \$12,500).
2. BARRY TUCKWELL	-	9,500		5,079.20	Towards expenses associated with Adelaide concert/master class visit April/May 1976
NEW OPERA, SOUTH AUSTRALIA	104,500	226,000		226,000	(FAC) Includes \$180,000 basic operating grant, \$6,000 orchestra assistance and \$40,000 advance for prepayments necessary for 1976/7 Seasons.
THEATRE RENTALS SUBSIDY SCHEME	-	15,000		10,787	To subsidise use of A.F.C.T., Union Theatre and Adelaide Repertory Theatre by drama groups.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section I (Page 3)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
REGIONAL ARTS CENTRES	69,038	48,000		49,605.15	<p><u>Paid as follows for -</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>WHYALLA</u> - Proposed Regional Arts Centre: \$10,915 for architect's fees and costs associated with ongoing planning. 2. <u>MOUNT GAMBIER</u> - Proposed Regional Arts Centre: \$15,000 for architect's fees and initiation of new City studies to assess best long-term site. 3. <u>PORT LINCOLN</u>: \$3,000 to assist Council with studies aimed at improving local arts facilities in Council premises. 4. <u>KINGSCOTE</u>: \$5,690.15 towards costs of improving Town Hall to enable continued use by artistic groups and visiting tours. 5. <u>ANDAMOOKA</u>: \$5,000 approved by Premier to enable upgrading of local Community Hall. 6. <u>COOBER PEDY</u>: \$10,000 approved by Premier to enable upgrading of local Community Hall.
S.A. THEATRE COMPANY	466,800	500,800		500,800	(FAC) to subsidise administrative and artistic activities.

ARTS DEVELOPMENT BRANCH 1975/76

ACTUAL GRANTS TO MISCELLANEOUS GRANT APPLICANTS REVISED 30/6/76

Total: \$184,777.00

(M) indicates minor continuous applicant

(N) indicates new (1976/77) applicant

Section II (Page 1)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
COMMUNITY ARTS (\$48,364)			PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE		
1. ARTS TRAINING PROJECT (M)	2,000	4,884		4,884	Towards costs of 1975 Arts Train Tour to country regions (administered through Arts Council of SA).
2. ARTS INFORMATION PRESS (M)	1,000	1,200		1,200	To subsidise publishing costs of "Get Out" Magazine (now defunct).
3. COMMUNITY ARTS OFFICERS (N)	-	3,500		3,500	To subsidise employment of Community Arts Officers for activities based on AFCT and Rundle St. Mall.
4. M. COAD (N)	-	2,800		2,800	To fund overseas study tour (to Europe, May 1976) to work with Youth and Community Festivals and gain experience.
5. COUNCIL OF THE HUNGARIAN ASSOCIATION OF S.A. (N)	-	1,000		1,000	Towards costs of cultural convention. Dec. 1975/Jan. 1976.
6. ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF S.A. INC. (N)	-	600		600	Towards costs of national costumes and dancing instructors.
7. ITALIAN FESTIVAL (N)	-	3,000	3,000	Towards planning costs incurred in organising 1976 Festival.	

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 2)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
COMMUNITY ARTS (contd.)			PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE		
8. INSEA 1978 WORLD CONGRESS (M)	2,100	2,550		2,550	To support planning of 1978 World Congress to be held in Adelaide.
9. "JANDALIN" LATVIAN DANCERS (N)	-	1,000		1,000	Towards costs of new costumes.
10. MITCHAM VILLAGE ARTS & CRAFTS ASSOCIATION (N)	-	3,000		3,000	To assist with tutors' fees, rents and equipment for craft classes.
11. RUNDLE STREET MALL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE (N)	-	5,000		5,000	To subsidise planning etc. for opening programme and assist with commission of street works of art.
12. S.A. YOUTH PERFORMING ARTS ASSOCIATION (N)	-	230		230	To subsidise "open days" for child arts activity.
13. TRADES & LABOUR COUNCIL ARTS SUB-COMMITTEE (N)	-	4,000		4,000	To subsidise arts activities in factories etc. - jointly funded by Community Arts Fund of Australia Council.
14. UKRAINIAN ASSOCIATION (S.A.)	-	600		600	Towards costs of recording and broadcasting folk music, and new library.
15. YOUTH AND FRINGE FESTIVALS (M)	10,000	15,000		15,000	1. <u>Focus Fringe Festival</u> \$10,000 towards 1976 Fringe activities and administration. 2. <u>Come Out 77 Youth Festival</u> \$5,000 towards planning costs.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 3)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
ABORIGINAL ARTS \$3,500			PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE		
1. ABORIGINAL YOUTH ORCHESTRA (N)	-	1,000		1,000	Towards costs of instrument repairs.
2. PURCHASE OF 8 ARANDA TJURINGAS (N)	-	2,500		2,500	To enable purchase of tjuringas - price of \$6,000 shared with Aborig- inal Arts Board and S.A. Brewing Company - to enable return of these sacred relics to suitable tribal custodians.
LITERATURE \$14,240					
1. ADELAIDE POETRY WORKSHOPS (N)	-	250		250	Towards publicity costs.
2. A.B.C. 24 HOURS MAGAZINE CRITIC SUPPLEMENT (N)	-	2,000		2,000	To assist with improvement of Critic Supplement issues.
3. ADELAIDE FESTIVAL OF ARTS (N)	-	2,000		2,000	To subsidise production of Festival books and retain supplies for Arts Development promotional purposes.
4. AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL PLAYWRIGHTS' CONF. (M)	350	740		740	To enable 2 young S.A. Playwrights to visit May 1976 Conference.
5. AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY OF AUTHORS (M)	2,000	2,000		2,000	To enable representatives to attend interstate meetings of the Society.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 4)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
LITERATURE (contd.)			PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE		
6. BIENNIAL LITERATURE PRIZE	-	6,750		6,750	\$6000 towards two prizes for S.A. regional histories/biographies: \$750 judges fees. Prizes announced during Writers' Week of 1976 Festival of Arts.
7. C.J. DENNIS CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS (AUBURN)	-	500		500	To subsidise administration and activities during Centenary Celebrations.
VISUAL ARTS & CRAFTS \$21,212.50					
1. ART GALLERY OF S.A. (N)	-	4,500		4,500	"Once only" contribution towards costs of purchase of one "street sculpture".
2. ARTS SOCIETY FOR THE HANDICAPPED INC. (N)	-	358		358	For costs of studio lighting and publicity associated with Exhibition.
3. DIANA BOYNES (N)	-	300		300	For jewellery-making materials.
4. CLIFTON PUGH EXHIBITION (N)	-	169.50		169.50	Towards costs of mounting this exhibition during 1976 Festival.
5. CONTEMPORARY ARTS SOCIETY (M)	9,500	575		575	To purchase flexible exhibition screens.
6. CRAFTS ASSOCIATION (S.A) (N)	-	1,500		1,500	Contribution towards purchase of mobile workshop for country tours.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 5)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
VISUAL ARTS & CRAFTS (contd.)			PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE		
7. WLADYSLAV DUTKIEWICZ (N)	-	2,000		2,000	Towards preparation costs of one Exhibition.
8. EYRE PENINSULA CRAFT ASSOCIATION (N)	-	140		140	For craft activities.
9. EYRE PENINSULA GROUP - EMBROIDERERS' GUILD OF S.A. (M)	-	250		250	For embroidery activities.
10. EXPERIMENTAL ART FOUNDATION (M)	2,500	3,000		3,000	\$1,000 - rental subsidy. \$1,000 - towards overheads. \$1,000 - towards new library.
11. ROBERT JONES (N)	-	2,000		2,000	To subsidise studies in printmaking techniques overseas.
12. ANTHONY KIRKMAN (N)	-	1,420		1,420	Towards printing costs of three visual arts books.
13. LUCY McDONALD (N)	-	2,000		2,000	Allowance for living expenses etc. while studying handweaving in London.
14. MILTON MOON	-	2,000		2,000	Towards Exhibition materials and equipment.
15. NARACOORTE ART GALLERY (M)	500	500		500	Towards administrative costs.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 6)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
VISUAL ARTS & CRAFTS (contd.) 16. PRINT COUNCIL OF AUST. (N)	-	500	PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE	500	Towards costs of touring print exhibition to S.A.
FILM, RADIO, T.V. AND PHOTOGRAPHY \$5,476 1. INSTITUTE OF AUST. PHOTOGRAPHY S.A. DIVISION (N)	-	500		500	Towards costs of a professional photographic exhibition.
2. G. REID (N)	-	3,000		3,000	Towards initial preparation costs pf 1977 Photographic Calendar.
3. S.A. MEDIA RESOURCE CENTRE (N)	-	1,976		1,976	To enable purchase of video equipment.
MUSIC \$60,434.50 1. ADELAIDE BRASS QUINTET (N)	-	3,440		3,440	Towards concert costs.
2. ADELAIDE EISTEDDFOD (M)	3,000	6,000		6,000	Alternate year provision for nation- al competition, prizes, etc.
3. ADELAIDE PHILHARMONIC CHOIR (N)	-	831		831	Assistance with musicians' fees.
4. ADELAIDE STRING QUARTET (M)	5,210	5,316		5,316	Assistance with concert costs.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 7)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
MUSIC (contd.)			PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE		
5. ROBYN ARCHER (N)	-	1,000		1,000	To enable continuation of music studies in Adelaide.
6. S.J. BULMER (N)	-	620		620	To enable continuation of music studies in Sydney.
7. CHURCH OF EPIPHANY CRAFERS CONCERT SERIES	850	4,500		4,500	\$2,500 for 1975 concert costs. \$2,000 advance for costs of 1976 concert.
8. CRAFERS BOYS' CHOIR	-	200		200	Towards costs of robes, music library and interstate visit.
9. GILBERT & SULLIVAN SOCIETY (N)	-	1,000		1,000	Towards costs of orchestras, sets and costumes.
10. ITALIAN CHORAL AND ARTS SOCIETY (N)	-	1,000		1,000	Towards costs of rehearsals, classes and instruments.
11. JAZZ ACTION SOCIETY (N)	-	1,000		1,000	For costs of Jazz Workshops.
12. LATVIAN MIXED CHOIR (N)	-	1,000		1,000	Towards costs of programmes and orchestras.
13. MUSICA ANTIQUA (N)	-	684		684	Assistance with instrument purchases.
14. MUSIC ROSTRUM (M)	1,000	9,000		9,000	To fund visits to S.A. by leading overseas musicians for concert activities.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 8)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
MUSIC (contd.)			PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE		
15. NATIONAL MUSIC CAMP ASSOCIATION (M)	750	2,994		2993.50	\$1,074 for orchestras and concert costs. \$1,919.50 for Youth Orchestra overseas tour.
16. NURIOOTPA SCHOOLS BAND COMPETITION (M)	1,500	1,500		1,500	To support costs of annual competitions.
17. NEW MUSIC (S.A.) (N)	-	750		750	To provide fees for guest conductors.
18. ORGAN MUSIC SOCIETY (M)	2,000	4,000		4,000	\$2,500 for 1975 Organ Music Week. \$1,500 advance for planning costs of 1976 Organ Music Week.
19. S.A. BANDS ASSOCIATION (M)	7,300	6,500		6,500	To support Brass Band activities throughout S.A.
20. SINPHONIA S.A. (N)	-	750		750	To assist with performance costs.
21. MICHELLE WALSH (N)	-	7,000		7,000	To support this student's second year of advanced violin studies in London.
22. ANNE WHELAN (M)	2,000	1,350		1,350	To enable second year of music study in Basle, Switzerland.

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 9)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
THEATRE & DANCE \$31,550			PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE		
1. ADELAIDE REPERTORY THEATRE (M)	2,000	2,000		2,000	For instalments due on mortgage.
2. ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY THEATRES (N)	-	3,500		3,500	For rental and furnishing of central office.
3. ASSOC. OF STAGE AND THEATRE TECHNICIANS (M)	8,000	3,000		3,000	To assist with technical developments, meetings and training.
4. WAYNE ANTHONY (M)	2,400	750		750	For costs of street-clown activities during 1976 Festival.
5. AUSTRALIAN BALLET SCHOOL (M)	2,000	3,000		3,000	To provide living allowances for S.A. students.
6. CIRCLE THEATRE CO. (M)	-	4,650		4,650	To subsidise one country tour.
7. CLARE STAGE AND IMPROVEMENTS SOCIETY (N)	-	1,000		1,000	To purchase new spotlights and dimmers.
8. ROB GEORGE (N)	-	4,500		4,500	Living allowance whilst writing new play.
9. ICON THEATRE GROUP (N)	-	1,600	1,600	To subsidise production expenses.	

Arts Development Branch 1975/76 - Table, continued
Section II (Page 10)

Recipient	Actual 1974/5	Previous 1975/6 Proposal	Recommended Level / /7	Recommended and paid at 30/6/76	Comments
THEATRE & DANCE (contd.)					
10. MOSHE KEDEM AND E- MOTION DANCE TEAM (M)	3,300	3,500	PROVIDED FROM FUNDS RESERVED FOR AGAC PROJECTS AND SAVINGS MADE IN OTHER AREAS ON LINE	3,500	To subsidise costs of activities.
11. N.I.D.A. (M)	1,300	3,500		3,500	To subsidise costs of activites.
12. ROGER PAHL (N)	-	550		550	For minor expenses of overseas tour to study child drama.
13. PAPER BAG THEATRE (M)	1,000	1,000		1,000	Operating expenses for school puppet tours.
14. NEW CIRCUS (N)	-	500		500	To subsidise costs of activities.

Appendix (continued)

ESTIMATES OF PAYMENTS FROM REVENUE ACCOUNT FOR YEAR
ENDING 30TH JUNE 1980

Source: The Premier's Department

	1978-79		1979-80
	Voted	Actual Payments	Proposed
ART GALLERY DEPARTMENT			
<i>Contingencies:-</i>			
Transfer to Art Gallery Board for—			
Art Gallery.....	153,000	153,000	186,000
Purchase of art for public places.....	-	-	15,000
Purchase of historical items	18,000	18,000	25,000
Purchase of works of art	137,000	137,000	180,000
Overseas visits of officers	1,500	1,500	5,500
Purchase of motor vehicles	17,500	13,557	11,500
Total Art Gallery Department	904,000	916,579	1,062,000
MISCELLANEOUS			
Fees and expenses of Committees—			
Arts Grants Advisory Committee	-*	5,567	6,000
Regional Arts Facilities Committee	-*	2,350	3,000
Carclew Restoration Expenses	-*	10,000	-
Grants—			
Adelaide Festival Centre Trust	-*	2,358,400	2,312,000
Advancement of Science Handbooks C'ttee	-**	-**	1,000
Contribution towards Birdwood Mill Museum for—			
Capital costs	+*	13,650	-
Operating expenses	+*	31,600	20,000
Craft Industries Assistance	-	-	44,000
Development of Regional Arts Facilities Venues			
	-*	114,784	115,000
Grants and Provisions for the Arts	-*	1,751,608	2,187,000
Jam Factory Workshops	-*	-*	310,000
Performing Arts Advisory Council	-**	-**	44,000
Progressive Music Broadcasting Assoc. .	-	37,250	30,000
Restoration of Museum Archives	-	1,516	36,000
South Australian Film Corporation	-*	-*	1,133,000
State Opera of South Australia	-*	585,000	695,000
State Theatre Company of South Aust. ..	-*	903,400	972,900
Tea Tree Gully Hall for Arts - Preliminary expenses	-	-	5,000
Torrens bank development - Consultant's fees	-*	-*	3,100
Total Miscellaneous	-	5,815,125	7,917,000

* Previously provided under II - Premier, Minister of State Development and Minister of Ethnic Affairs - Miscellaneous.

** Previously provided under X - Minister of Education and Minister of Aboriginal Affairs - Miscellaneous.

+ Previously provided under XXIII - Minister of Tourism - Miscellaneous.

Appendix (continued)

GRANTS & PROVISIONS FOR THE ARTS 1979/80

Adelaide Symphony Orchestra	150,000
Australian Opera	70,000
Fellowships (Music)	20,000
Orchestra/Music Development	30,000
Aboriginal Music (Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music)	37,000
Progressive Music Broadcasting Association	30,000
Adelaide Festival Centre Trust	2,312,000
State Opera of S.A.	695,000
Arts Grants Advisory Committee (A.G.A.C.)	300,754

These amounts are taken from the Miscellaneous column called "Grants and Provisions for the Arts" (Total: \$1,751,608) on the previous page.

A.G.A.C. 1979/80

Community Arts	20,345
Crafts	25,064
Theatre	72,244
Film, Radio, T.V.	17,196
Literature	30,005
Music/Opera	48,910
Visual Arts	44,970
Overseas Study	28,280
Artists in Residence	<u>13,740</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$300,754</u>

CHAPTER 2

ANTI-BUREAUCRACY AND ALIGNED PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined Art Policy in Adelaide and its bureaucratic machinery. Now I turn to the second part of the dialogue, between the member of the Experimental Art Foundation (E.A.F.) who interviewed Mr. Steel, and the Director of the E.A.F. Having first listened to the tape, the Director of the E.A.F. and the E.A.F. member discussed the perspectives recorded and put these on to a second tape. But first I outline the structure of the Experimental Art Foundation.

This Foundation is funded by the Visual Arts Board of the Australia Council, and it also receives a small amount of capital from the State Government through the Arts Development Division of the Premier's Department.* More specifically, the E.A.F. is funded after recommending itself or individual members to the State Arts Grants Advisory Board, which is part of the State Arts Development Division of the Premier's Department (now called the Department for the Arts). There is also an information flow between the Festival Centre Media and Woodville Access Centre in relation to the E.A.F.

The Foundation caters for the 'new' Visual Arts and music. The E.A.F. consists of a committee of six members (1977). They include a Chairman, the Director, and the Founder - the Professor of Visual Arts at Flinders University.** The Foundation had 180 members (1977), and the aim of the Foundation Committee was concentrated on reducing categories of membership. That is, student rates have disappeared now. The Foundation is also supportive of the 'Art Movement'*** and women artists and musicians. Women's meetings have been held at the Foundation due to lack of an alternative venue.

* See the Appendix at the end of Chapter 1.

** ibid. p. 225

*** Another modern Art group in Adelaide.

In August 1977, women were involved in Women's Week at the Foundation. Students from the University of Adelaide Music Department also use the Foundation as a venue for experimental music performances, but overall the Foundation aims to reach a wider public and range of artists than are normally involved in performances there. Efforts to encourage public involvement resulted in 1977 being a year in which the social role of Art was examined. Arguing against Establishment approaches to fostering the Arts and against Elitism, the Director of the E.A.F., Noel Sheridan, made the following statement:-

*"It is a very deep structural change that is needed, also the whole policy of just sending out the one expert to get the one genius, to bring in the one masterpiece, is a policy that I think works against art penetrating very deeply into the society."*¹

Here we have evidence of quite a different viewpoint from those reviewed in Chapter 1 of this Section. The structure of Art Policy, and bureaucracy is brought into question, as to the value of selective individual Art patronage. The concern here is with Art and Society, rather than with Art and Culture, and, by and large, the works contain metaphor, rather than statements of agreement with the cultural paradigm. As I have shown, such institutions with alternative perspectives also have structural controls and interaction. That is, they make rules which focus on radical perspectives concerning Art Policy at the Foundation, despite the fact that the E.A.F. has claimed not to have a specific policy. The following statement made by the Director^{*} reflects a change in the attitude of members:-

1 Interview on tape at the E.A.F., 1977. Director, Mr. N. Sheridan.

* The Hajek issue (see p. 249) brought protest and contradiction between Foundation and Government groups concerned with the policy regarding the choice of Art for decorating the Festival Centre.

*"This Foundation does not have that kind of articulated policy where one can immediately check the manifesto of policy to say 'Yes! This is where we stand.' I think this may be a fault with the Foundation and this year we are attempting to get together to forge a policy and a statement which will give everyone a clear idea of where we are, and give the artists working within it a footing. Now, what form finally that will take is still to be determined by the membership."*¹

I draw your attention to the statement about the need to give members a "footing"² This means that without some statement about policy it is harder for the members to gain funding, because the funding institutions will not redirect resources to the Foundation without clear proposals concerning projects under way at the Foundation, and about their nature and aims. Also, due to the lack of stated policy, it has fallen more heavily on the Director to act as a spokesman for performers, and proposed activities. However, he has been backed by the founder of the E.A.F. and by members who have volunteered advice on how activities should be organized, and on how to approach the funding authorities for project support. The Director's leadership role in this situation is acknowledged in the following statement:-

*"there is one person who represents the Foundation - I think for the past two years I would - I still do in fact."*³

1-3 Interview tape, E.A.F. 1977.

The Director then continued his comment, indicating the problem of not having a stated policy on principle. For without a definite policy and despite ideological commitment to majority decisions, the Director must become the spokesman for the members. Thus, the Foundation looks as if it has only a few leaders who influence all decisions, in contrast to its aims.

However, all groups of people have the tendency to foster a few leaders, and so structure develops around them despite antagonism towards this process. Thus, although members do have some say in the decisions made at the Foundation, there are leaders such as members of the Foundation Council of six, leaders of the women's movement, and artists who most often use the Foundation facilities. Despite the difficulties mentioned above, the Foundation tries to maintain an 'open' definition of Art and E.A.F. membership:

*"We are not running a kind of camp where everyone is filtered and processed before anything that they say in this Foundation automatically carries as policy for this Foundation - it just isn't true."*¹

However, dissatisfied members still maintain that a few do lead the decision making processes.

Now I refer the reader to the Director's response to Mr. A. Steel's comment on the "petit bourgeoisie."² "Immediately (this) buys you into a highly complicated back tacit."³ This means that such terms occur within a more widely understood set of theory and terminology, which the Director feels is best avoided. He continues, "It is assumed that there is a tacit, in this case a Marxist back-up for everything that goes through."⁴ Despite this

1-4 Interview tape, E.A.F. 1977.

avoidance of terminology, the political issue is not avoided, and the Director adds that he thinks one could accurately say that members of the Foundation "are about Socialism."¹ If this was stated policy or even general knowledge the backlash from the Establishment and the wider public would be unfavourable for the Foundation. Socialism tends to be feared in this conservative city, although few people are aware of its varying definitions. Even so, the Director goes on to say that a few Foundation people might disagree with this statement of political 'leanings'. He adds that there are also different "shades"² of Socialism, and he considered that D. Dunstan, the Premier, was "about Socialism".³ In fact, the change in Government^{*} in 1979-81 resulted in specific clampdowns on the funds given to the Foundation - along with the more general cut-backs in the budget.

With regard to a political stance becoming part of Foundation policy, the Director suggested that, "we would like to see the ideology there deliberate, in a clear way."⁴ However, he also acknowledged the fact that the present lack of political statement meant that the Foundation was less threatened by a change of Government.

As Director, Noel Sheridan tends to lead discussions and to add his perspective to the opinions expressed by members of the Foundation. His views on the role of Art are significant. He says that "It isn't the role of Art, in my view, to go through that comfortably. There should be something interrogative about Art."⁵ During the following discussion, reference is made by the E.A.F. interviewer to Adelaide's history during which little support was given to 'fringe' artistic activities. This was, he says, especially true before 1970. Local artists now say that before the appointment of the Director, they fought hard to gain the necessary facilities. And so they

1-5 Interview tape, E.A.F. 1977.

* From the Labour Party to the Liberal (Conservative) Party.

tell the Director, "don't rock the boat - you've no idea what it used to be like."¹ Even so, the Director continues to state his support for the more ultra-experimental Art forms, and is prepared to continue to speak with the media about it:-

*"I represent my own view about what Art should be doing, I certainly never see it in the position of not stating its case.... certainly not on the basis of behave yourself.... I don't think Art is there to behave itself like that. I think it should ask questions so that.... (we) progress."*²

He continues this argument concerning the wider definition of Art with reference to his views on the Festival Trust, and on the choice of the Hajek installation at the Centre. His perspective is that "the process of decision making should be more democratic."³ He suggests that during the heated discussions over the Hajek issue it was "unfortunate that one individual became involved."^{4*} That is, "the high focus came on J. Bailey as if he was totally responsible. I think he made the decision that he thought was right."⁵ Noel Sheridan is against the continued development of an "oligarchy".⁶ He views the Festival Centre as "a show case"⁷ for high-quality imports - in a "museum fashion".⁸ He argues that this "objectification of Art"⁹ in a "hierarchical structure"¹⁰ works against it spreading into the community. Information about Art should be "communicated"¹¹ to the wider community, and this includes the "football-going public too."¹² This section of the public, argues the Director, should be included because, in fact, "football has aesthetics, it's not Art but it does have aesthetic qualities. People are not blind to these. You can see it as theatre.... I do fight against 'high' and 'low' culture."¹³

1-13 Interview tape, E.A.F. 1977.

* J. Bailey is a member of the Establishment.

At this point I insert an explanation of the Hajek issue. J. Bailey, an Establishment member, went overseas to investigate the possibilities for decorating the Festival Complex. He chose to employ Mr. Hajek to create an outdoor sculpture, as he had done in Germany. At great expense this work was then flown, along with the artist and his assistants, to Adelaide. Local artists were dissatisfied and disappointed in the choice of the Art work, because they felt that some of them could have done as well. Thus, a protest was begun and the Trust and Festival Board of Governors met with Government officials, and members of the public and the E.A.F. to discuss this issue and Art Policy in general.

Thus, the fight to remove the distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture continues. Yet the E.A.F. interviewer is convinced that in fighting this 'high' culture the Director of the Foundation is "banging his head against a brick wall."¹ In response to this comment the Director makes an observation on the nature of protest:-

"The people who have tried", (to express an opinion distinct from the Establishment one), "are now actually part of - it's - a very paradoxical thing that happens. The people who have tried, eventually get absorbed as 'high' culture."²

In Section II it was shown that some of the best independent music teachers have been absorbed by the Conservatorium of Music. Such evidence tends to support the statement that the limited social mobility of a few into high culture enables the system to legitimate its existence. Note also the interesting sentence construction, that is, "it's"³ being used to join two separate statements. (This is itself an example of 'new' Art form).

1-3 Interview tape, E.A.F. 1977.

Noel Sheridan argues for greater flexibility in the acceptance of different Art forms, because, he says, "anything can become 'high' Art."¹ "History will decide."² The Foundation therefore aims to support 'fringe' categories of Art, and to help artists to gain the resources necessary to carry on their work.

We have already noted the Establishment opposition to "provincialism"³ in Art, but now the Director adds his own definition, based on his Dublin experiences. He says, "For me, provincialism means that the parish priest tells you what's right and everyone goes out and does it."⁴ However, he goes on to suggest that in any case, "most of the great Art of the world has been made by provincials."⁵ He says that the provincial filter, operating under the influence of international information, produces Art. With oblique reference to the Hajek work being flown into Adelaide, he argues that, "you can't live in some kind of jet world suspended nowhere. ... The regional thing is important. ... I think the power and strength of Art is going to be in this provincial thing."⁶

As a summary then, the Director says of the Foundation:-

*"In all honesty, I've got to say that this Foundation has done work which has been extremely Elite - that wouldn't perhaps appeal to everyone in the street."*⁷

This definition of Elitism refers to Art with a specialized audience. By virtue of the fact that the E.A.F. caters for the fringe culture, it does not involve the mass of the greater public. However, it aims to embrace a wider cross-section of class and status groups than the Elite. For this reason it has here framed its own definition of Elitism.

Interestingly, neither the 'high' culture, nor the 'counter-culture' appeal to the majority of the public, and the above statement by the Director of the E.A.F. applies equally well to the Establishment and 'counter-culture' performances. The following statement summarizes the plight shared by both groups. They both represent extreme views:-

*"You can't stick on culture. You can have a collection of the best things in the world, but if people have no way to respond, or interpret these things you are doing more harm than good in many ways."*¹

This comment is made by the Director of the E.A.F., as he speaks about the Festival Centre usage. This statement shows an awareness of the importance of symbols as they work in the whole society, and not just in the focal definition of culture.

Other members of the Foundation also have definite views concerning Art Policy in South Australia. One of the leading women artists^{*} at the Foundation wrote a paper on 'The South Australian Government's Cultural Policy', and this was given at the meeting concerning the Hajek issue, and later at the E.A.F. meeting on Art Policy. The aim of this paper was to open discussion about the possibility of more progressive attitudes towards the Arts. The spokeswoman asks, 'Is South Australia's Art Policy as progressive as the Government suggests?' She says:-

1 Interview tape, E.A.F. 1977.

* Julie Ewington

*"Arts patronage in South Australia depends almost entirely on the Labour Government, on the Premier and Minister of the Arts, Don Dunstan, and is centred in Adelaide."*¹

Private patronage by members of the Establishment is described as "a thing of the past".² Therefore, Julie Ewington says it should not be continued any more as it gives a very narrow definition of Art. Furthermore, she sees the Arts as "a political football"³ over which Labour and Liberal bureaucracy fight. The Government concern with the Arts revolves around the idea "that the Arts are good for the economy".⁴ "No publicity by the South Australian Government Tourist Bureau fails to mention the appeal of the Arts in Adelaide, 'The Festival City', to prospective tourists."⁵ Moreover, a past administrator of the Adelaide Festival of Arts reported in 1970 that "the sum of \$46 million was spent in Adelaide by visitors to the Festival, on entertainment, accommodation, etc., and that the Festival itself induced a local trade-spending estimated in the order of \$2 million."⁶ The market link between Art and commerce will influence Government Art Policy. The concept of 'ownership' is bound up with patronage - "the patron, the purchaser, has always been conceded special rights over the production of an Art work as well as proprietorial rights over the final artifact."⁷ Therefore, there are business and power aspects behind Art patronage and policy.

Art patronage involving only a few members of society is set against wider community involvement in performances. In South Australia, continues the spokeswoman, Art has been described as having the function of providing

1-7 Paper given at E.A.F. by Julie Ewington, 1977.

"models and visions for society of the way life might proceed."¹ The Arts have been viewed as essential in "shaping the ideological structures of our society."² Whilst the role of entertainment has not been neglected, the above role of the Arts has been quoted as a reason for paying heed to artistic performances.

If the Arts do have such an important role to play, the importance of symbols and symbolic processes in social change are accentuated. This idea is borne out by the 1979 Labour Government concern with cultural symbols; and the value of control over symbols suggests one reason why the public is not permitted to have a greater influence over Art Policy decisions. Instead, the Governments have both claimed to have chosen "experts"³ who are qualified to choose for the public; the public is thus relieved of the responsibility for and the means of gaining control over social symbols and power.

This same spokeswoman has further relevant and interesting comments to make about Art Policy. She refers to the "committee proliferation"⁴, (which we have already noted involves the Establishment, the Elite, and the Government bureaucracy in the Arts Development Division of the Premier's Department.) Concerning Establishment committees she says that "generally well-meaning city worthies find themselves pontificating on matters about which they are often very ignorant and more often very conservative."⁵ However, remember that the Premier, Don Dunstan, then aimed to cut down on the number of such committees so as to concentrate power in the Premier's Department. He saw the Art Development Division's aim as one of "co-ordinating"⁶ Arts activities. His recommendation was that "ideal cultural organizations are therefore ones in which the Board looks after the banking and leaves the real

1-5 Paper given at E.A.F. by Julie Ewington, continued.

6 From the interview with the Research Assistant at the Premier's Department Arts Development Division.

decisions to ... a small handful of inspired professionals."¹ So, the Premier advised that the Arts have less Establishment interest, and more professional guidance in choices. He did not consider the role of the general public in making choices about Art funding.

One of the most pertinent statements about Art Policy was made by the spokeswoman when she referred to the problems experienced by independent (rather than institutionally supported) artists, when they tried to "plug into"² the system of funding for the Arts:-

*"Arts patronage here is enmeshed in a relatively inaccessible bureaucracy, composed of professional Arts administrators, and professional artists in an official advisory capacity, as well as in the practice of their Arts. The Arts patronage machinery is actually a remarkable combination of centralization and diffuseness; centralized, because authority depends on Mr. Dunstan, as Minister for the Arts, in a remarkable number of cases. For example, the Minister appoints the artist-members to the Arts Grants Advisory Committee, which works with the Arts Development Branch of the Premier's Department; Mr. Dunstan appoints five out of the six members of the Adelaide Festival Trust. Diffuse, because it can actually be difficult to find funds for Art projects here unless one knows the intricacies of the several Art agencies on funding sources which may be involved and, especially, the many personalities who may have influence to bring to bear upon a project."*³

I have heard similar arguments expressed by other artists, some of whom were members of the E.A.F., and by others who were not. It seems one does have to know the system to be able to "find funds for Art projects."¹

I now summarize Julie Ewington's views concerning Government Art Policy. She argues that it is "by and large, a covert policy, decided upon by very few professionals, and unreflectingly bourgeois in its deductions."²

This point is linked with the recommendation that the "direction of Arts Policy should be a matter for public participation and decision",³ which is put forward as an alternative. Julie Ewington agrees with Professor Donald Brooks' suggestion that the Premier should put forward "a stated policy of the role of the Arts in society and the way in which public patronage relates to that role."⁴ Bureaucrats, cabinet members, Arts organizations, media personnel, and members of the public should be involved in setting out policy. They further suggested that the administrators of the Arts be a few professionals who only carry out already decided policy. Moreover:-

*"In between these poles could be a whole range of decision-making bodies, some of which, of course, already exist, though within what I believe to be the wrong conceptual framework."*⁵

This comment is illustrated with reference to the Adelaide Festival Centre Trust which Julie Ewington argues should not be comprised of appointed members only: "in the interests of avoiding establishing a self-perpetuating artistic oligarchy in South Australia, we need to think about electing to these Government committees people from many different walks of life."⁶

1-6 Paper given at E.A.F. by Julie Ewington, continued.

Suggestions have been made for the inclusion of city and country representatives, Arts administrators, artists, trade unionists, women and children.

In advocating community involvement in the choice of Art, Julie Ewington encourages us to begin with the "assumption that there is no end to our ingenuity, and that as a community, (people) are generally motivated by interest and goodwill."¹ The paper closes with a direct comment on the Hajek issue:-

"Objection to the Hajek sculpture was interpreted by Mr. Dunstan, far too easily, as Philistine-ism.

*Sir James Irwin and others indicated that any response other than complete agreement was unwelcome."*²

Two other members of the Foundation also stressed that any new policy should emphasize the areas which "really need the most support".³ That is, support should initially go to "the development of the artists within their own community rather than solely importing aspects of the cultures of other communities and calling the resultant its own."⁴ They claim that for experimental work federal funds have been more effective than state funds.

The above comments, although not fully recognizing the problems associated with involving the 'Community', do make critical comments about Art Policy as it exists. They also provide alternative suggestions about the way in which decisions concerning Art Policy could be made. These alternatives will be viewed in greater detail in Section IV, where the key Case Studies are described. In each case the style of collecting and reporting data varies, and in this way the accuracy of the results can be cross-checked.

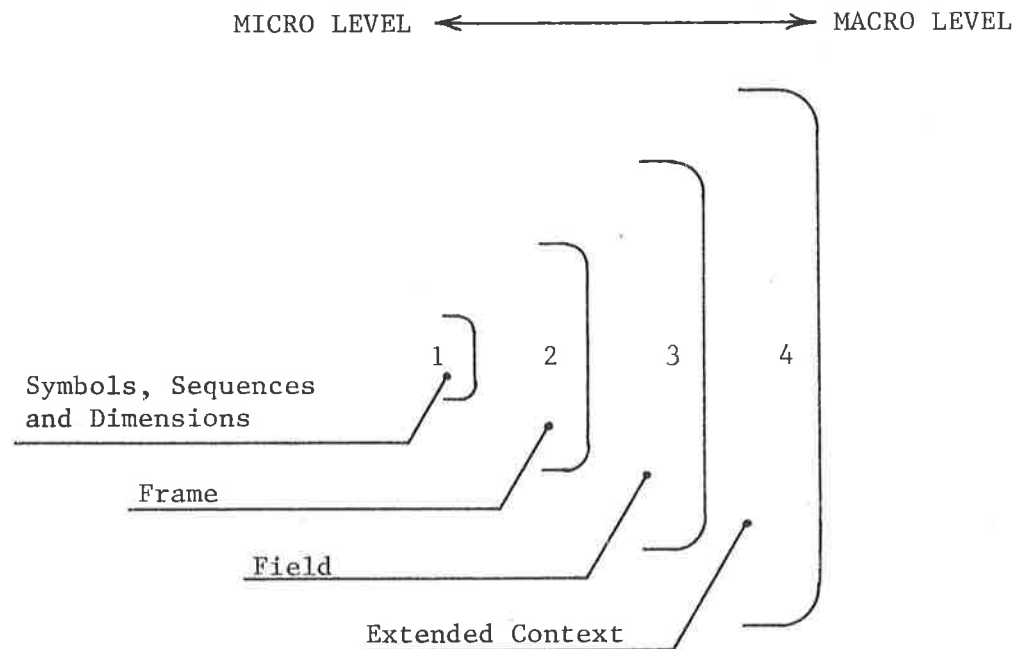
CHAPTER 3

GROUNDED THEORY AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

This chapter is an important one in that I aim to show how symbolic material is used to either maintain the blue-print paradigm, or to sustain social metaphors which may lead to social transformation. I argue that it is the ordering of symbols in terms of a definite focus which allows communication and therefore social relationships to develop. In the Introduction* I suggested that it was possible to create a form of social analysis capable of dealing with the range of social behaviour from micro to macro 'levels of emergence'. This form of social analysis depends on the development and use of a set of 'nested concepts'. That is, one concept is set inside the framework of the next, as the diagram illustrates.

Figure 3.1

The 'Nested Concepts' of the Grounded Theory



* Introduction pp. 13-15

Together these levels of emergence describe the creation of Social Images. The social orderings of symbols to form paradigms or social metaphors can be examined closely to show whether a particular situation confirms or criticises the existing social order. We can also learn whether the social metaphor has the symbolic strength to overthrow the paradigm.

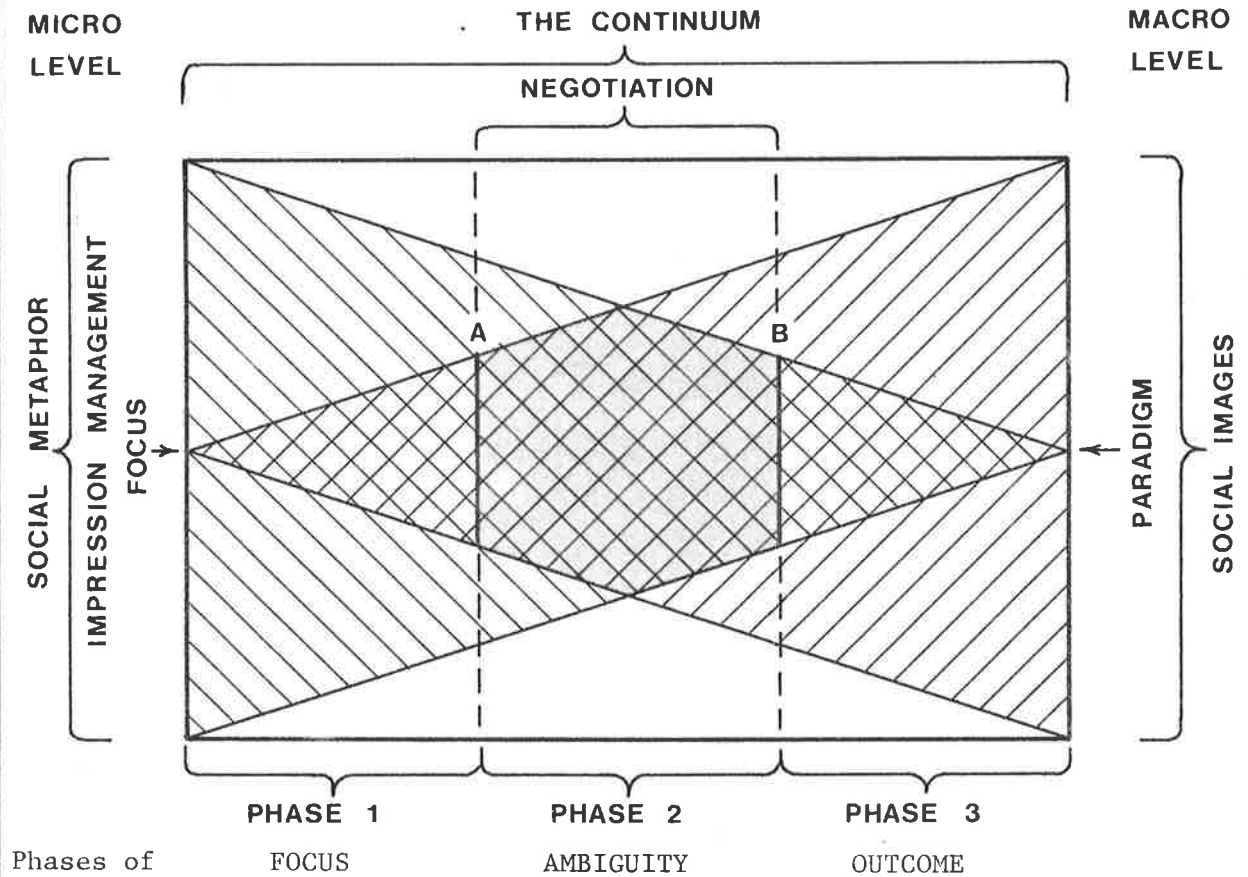
At the lowest level of emergence, sequences and dimensions, one can see how the arrangement of dominant and sub-dominant symbols creates a focus at a higher level - thus illustrating the process of Impression Management. Each 'nested concept' refers to a different level of socially constructed boundaries around specialized groups of people. A boundary may be a frame or a field depending on the level upon which it operates. That is, a field operates on a higher level than a frame, which in turn bounds individual social situations within a field.

The section headings of this thesis describe the kind of information contained in each level. Section I describes 'Social Images', Section II 'Relational Spheres of Reference', Section III 'Fields of Interaction', Section IV 'Frames of Interaction', and in Section V I describe 'Impression Management'. Sections II to IV move from the macro to the micro level of analysis, i.e. from the extended context along the continuum to fields through frames, and finally to sequences and dimensions.

In Figure 3.2 the Grounded Theory and levels of emergence are co-ordinated. I try to show some of the ways in which this theory can be developed. The left-hand end of the diagram represents the micro level, and the right-hand end represents the macro level of the continuum on which social events are structured. The diagram works like a set of binoculars with lenses at A and B. If one looks through the right-hand end, part of the distance is

Figure 3.2

The Grounded Theory – Micro to Macro Perspectives



Phases of the Ritual Frame:

PHASE 1	PHASE 2	PHASE 3
FOCUS	AMBIGUITY	OUTCOME
Dominant symbols	Conflict between dominant and sub-dominant symbols	Re-emphasis of dominant symbols

NOTES

1. Paradigm: Dominant symbols remain dominant. The outcome is to confirm the existing focus.
2. Social Metaphor: Sub-dominant symbols become dominant. The outcome is to transform the existing focus.

enlarged but some of the picture is cut out. Then, if one looks through the left-hand end so that more of the picture is seen, but in less detail, the image is made small. My thesis is structured in such a way as to indicate the connection between Social Images and Impression Management. Social Images are evidence of Impression Management, which is a process whereby events are focussed in terms of paradigm or, to a lesser extent, social metaphor. We see how symbolic processes either reinforce the paradigm or create organized alternatives to it in the form of social metaphor. However, at any point along the continuum paradigm and social metaphor can be seen in action in everyday life. Only when one seeks an exact account of the workings of symbolic processes behind Impression Management is it necessary to concentrate on the micro level where focussing processes begin. In order to gain an overall understanding of interreaction, process and structure as they work in society and culture, one must continually alter one's focus from one level to another and back again, to see which themes are carried through several levels, how, and why.

At this stage it is easiest to discuss each of the 'nested concepts' in turn. The only other point to note here is that network processes of interaction cross-cut these structural levels in a complex web of social relationships. The linking between such networks takes place in terms of paradigm or social metaphor based on it. In the case of Adelaide, since most social power is in the hands of the Establishment, the Government, and the Elite, networks are focussed in terms of the Anglo-paradigm. Change is caused by a reorganization of symbolic processes which focus decision-making procedures concerning the distribution of cultural and capital resources.

The Extended Context

The 'extended context' consists of a backdrop of information which shows the wider context in which particular activities occur. It refers to all spheres of social action, (political, economic, religious etc.), which are the context for, in this case, musical activities. The extended context has historical and contemporary components. For example, the simple structural context is the city of Adelaide; however, one must consider the history of Adelaide as a British colony as well as its contemporary definition in which more recent migrants play a greater part. Both affect the choice of music in Adelaide. Adelaide's links with Britain have been maintained as have its links with the hinterland and with other States. Such links also affect the choice of music. One must be aware then that the extended context can include more than one local area, State or country. Networks of communication thus extend beyond local planned boundaries.

If we say that the extended context is the city of Adelaide and its network links, then we must acknowledge both the planned physical aspects of the city and the socially inherited ones as well. Adelaide was a model city in terms of its physical structure and its ideology. This is an essential feature of the extended context, which influences the musical sphere of interaction.

In order to understand the idea of structure and process in the extended context, the concept of 'structural distance'* in the patterning of human relationships is useful. 'Structural distance' increases with the degree of deviation from the core paradigm. People who share the same extended context have different degrees of structural distance based on ethnicity, class, or status variables. People who are spatially distant may be structurally

* Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1971. The Nuer. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Chapter 3. pp. 108-110.

close. Thus, one must acknowledge the process of 'structural relativity'^{**} where relativity is being measured in terms of the paradigm. Social metaphors, which describe deviation, are constructed in opposition to the paradigm. Although these social metaphors may cross-cut the paradigm, they are structurally distant from it. For example, in Adelaide the sub-community of Greek people is at a greater structural distance from the core community than the sub-community of 'new' British settlers.

Processes of paradigm legitimation run parallel to perceptions of "structural distance."¹ Furthermore, contradictions in the structuring of the society as a whole result from contradictions in the logic of the imperfect "structural relativity"² of separate social segments. This imperfect structural relativity also results in the discontinuity of social hierarchies. This is explained more fully in Section V.

Finally, the extended context also consists of overlapping spheres of interaction such as political, economic and religious structures. Networks between the spheres link the allocation of resources to musical institutions with resources allocated to political or economic spheres of activity. When the resources allocated to economic spheres contract, the resources allocated to musical spheres are likely to contract also, but not necessarily in the same proportion, (as we saw in the year 1840). This process is certainly taking place in 1981, as shown in the Appendix to Chapter 1. Thus, interaction networks link spheres in the extended context with fields and frames, and, through these networks, information passes from one level of emergence to another. Within a diverse extended context there may be several channels of communication on Art Policy and the allocation of resources to

** Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1971. The Nuer. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Chapter 3. pp. 108-110.

1,2 ibid.

the Arts. The content of the extended context, and its structural arrangement around the paradigm, influences the frequency of occurrence and the hierarchical ordering of performances.

Fields

Within the extended context are 'fields', for example, musical 'fields'. 'Field' is defined in terms of structure, that is, a 'field' is a bounded social institution. The boundary of the field structure is usually easily seen, but the networks that link fields to the extended context and to the frame are harder to pinpoint as they are more dynamic. Networks link fields with each other. So, as M. Swartz says, "a field is composed of the actors directly involved in the process being studied."¹ and in this case we are concerned with the process of choice in music for performance. Fields tend to be hierarchically arranged according to the degree of structural distance between them and the root paradigm. Thus, fields support and enclose particular categories of musical professionalism, styles of performance, and routes to social mobility. Fields such as universities and colleges which support Anglo-music receive more funds than fields such as ethnic institutions whose music does not conform to the root paradigm.

A social institution is a visibly bounded social structure. This is what I term a field. The size of the field may range from bureaucracy (a set of fields closely related by cross-cutting networks running between them), to a small society. Fields have physical and social structure, but the physical size (in terms of the accommodating building), is not necessarily an indication of the field's social size. For example, the Musicians' Union has a small office, but great social influence.

¹ Swartz, M.J. 1969. Local-level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives. London: London University Press. p. 6.

Fields of Force

Capital, cultural and social resources are drawn from the extended context to individual music fields. There are two major ways in which forces act. Firstly, persons with power in the extended context recur in the leadership hierarchies of particular fields. They can then influence the flow of resources from one level of the hierarchy to another. Secondly, communication networks across extended context/field boundaries allow directives to pass from the extended context to Government bureaucracy whose members then carry out the funding programmes.

The boundaries of the fields expand according to their ability to increase the flow of funds from the extended context; or contract because the flow of funds from the extended context has been reduced. An indication of field hierarchy with regard to the Government allocation of resources can be seen in the Appendix to Chapter 1, which shows Government spending on various musical fields.

Another hypothesis can now be generated: that is, there are symbolic force fields which support the flow of resources to particular fields. Symbolic force fields are organized hierarchically in relation to the root paradigm in the extended context. Section IV of this thesis elaborates on this idea. Whether one discusses the allocation of capital, cultural, or social resources, one must note the over-arching power structure consisting of the Establishment and the Elite sectors of society in communication with the Government. The degree of interaction between fields is an indication of the force between them. For example, fields such as taverns which support 'pop', jazz and folk music have networks of interaction between them, as do various educational institutions.

An Appraisal of the Terms 'Arena' and 'Field'

Having discussed the definition of two of the 'nested concepts' as they are used in this thesis, it is necessary to make some comment upon those concepts in 'formal theory' which are similar. In other words, how have other people defined such concepts? Firstly, I refer to V. Turner's usage of the terms 'field', 'arena', and 'social dramas', in Dramas, Fields and Metaphors.^{*} In this text Turner says, "'fields' are the abstract cultural domains where paradigms are formulated, established, and come into conflict."¹ On the other hand, "'arenas' are the concrete settings in which paradigms become transformed into metaphors and symbols."² And, finally, "'social dramas' represent the phased process of their contestation."³

In my thesis the concept of 'arena' has not been used owing to the several conflicting definitions it has been given. My use of the term 'frame' most nearly corresponds with 'arena'. The term 'extended context' has been used to describe the 'abstract' cultural area where paradigms emerge as Social Images; although my use of 'extended context' includes a definable symbolic focus.

Whilst 'extended context' refers to "the abstract cultural domains"⁴, it must also include the practical, everyday aspects of society. There are three further areas of clarification. Firstly, 'culture' and 'society' are distinguished and the root paradigm consisting of the model ideology and culture is seen to occur in a wider society. Secondly, there are extended context networks which cross-cut spheres of social activity. Through these networks interaction will influence the definition of musical activities. Thirdly, as mentioned before, we are dealing not only with an abstract context but a context which can be shown to operate in practice.

* 1-4 Turner, V. 1975. Dramas, Fields and Metaphors. London: Cornell University Press. p. 17.

The definition of 'field' used here does not correspond with Turner's use of the term 'arenas' in Dramas, Fields and Metaphors.^{*} In both cases, "concrete settings are referred to"¹ but here, 'field' has the specific definition of being the bounded social structure such as an institution. The term 'force field' then describes the process, (as distinct from the structure), whereby resources are allocated to various musical fields according to criteria established in the networks of the extended context.

M.J. Swartz in Local-level Politics,^{**} refers to Turner's use of the term 'field'. ("A field is composed of the actors directly involved in the process being studied."²) This is the way in which the concept of 'force field' is used here, that is, to label the process of interaction between the field and the extended context. The value of describing 'field' as a bounded institutional structure lies in the fact that one can then look at the way in which fields expand and contract, due to the success rate of network interaction across structural boundaries. The competition between different fields for Government resources is a case in point. Field structure, then, gives "a predetermined basic outcome of that activity"³ being analyzed. Swartz also discusses "Social Structure and Arena."⁴ Here, my aim is to point out some of the ambiguities in Swartz's argument. In order to do this, I begin with the following quotation:-

"Despite the insistence that the study of politics not be bounded by particular structures, there is no attempt to deny the significance of structural commitments in political processes. These processes

* 1 Turner, V. 1975. Drama, Fields and Metaphors. London: Cornell University Press. p. 17.

** 2-4 Swartz, M.J. (Ed.). 1969. Local-level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives. London: London University Press. p. 8.

*do cross structural boundaries ... and the structures concerned may be changing, but the fact remains that actors are affected in their political activity by their commitments in the relationships they maintain. ... to understand this political activity the structures extant at all the various phases in the processes' developments must be considered."*¹

This seems to me to be an unclear statement. Having insisted that "the study of politics not be bounded by particular structures",² Swartz adds, "processes do cross structural boundaries and the structures concerned may be changed."³ As they have been presented, these comments do not make logical sense. How can one tell which processes are crossing what boundaries if the boundaries are not acknowledged in the first place? One needs a clearer separation of structure, process and interaction than is given in this particular discussion. Indeed, the final part of the quotation contradicts the first part. Contrast the comment that, "... the study of politics not be bounded by particular structures",⁴ with, "to understand ... political activity the structures extant at all the various phases ... must be considered."⁵

Swartz states that culture is not a fully integrated system"⁶ as has been shown in Chapters 1 and 2 of this Section. Furthermore, the term 'arena' has been defined in many varying ways. Swartz cites Frederick Bailey (1957), who uses the terms 'arena' and 'field' "interchangeably".⁷

1-6 Swartz, M.J. (Ed.). 1969. Local-level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives. London: London University Press. p. 8.

7 ibid. p. 12. Also, Bailey, F.G. 1957. Caste and Economic Frontiers. Manchester.

However, the next point of difference occurs when Swartz calls "rituals (the field)".¹ As will be shown, fields and rituals are distinct entities in size, form and content, and level of emergence. Fields emerge on a higher level than frames, and frames occur within fields. Again, there is a further confusion in the argument dealing with Max Gluckman's argument. Swartz says, "The arena would consist of the individuals and groups directly involved with the processes in question."² The easiest way to make suggestions about the ambiguity in this statement is to re-write it in the following way. The 'arena' consists of individuals and groups involved, through networks, with the participants in the 'field'. Persons in the 'arena' may not be directly involved in the 'field' interaction, but they may be involved in the process of resource allocation at a higher level of emergence than 'field'. The alterations in meaning should now be indicated. Persons in the arena are involved in the process, even if only indirectly, and they may not be directly involved in the field or frame. This seems to clarify the argument.

This discussion of field and arena concludes with comments on Bruce Kapferer's appraisal of the concepts 'field' and 'arena'.^{*} He adds to Swartz's definition of arena by suggesting that "Resources within an arena are continually being organized and structured in relation to each other in constantly altering and perhaps new ways."³ He also argues that continual reinterpretation of resource allocation in fields will have repercussions in the arena. Whilst I am in agreement with the Interactionist approach to resource allocation, I suggest that Kapferer could have been clearer about the relationships discussed above. That is, he does not recognise the dialectical interaction between levels of emergence in social interaction, process and structure. Furthermore, within the extended context it is useful to distinguish between

1,2 Swartz, M.J. 1969. Local-level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives. London: London University Press. p. 12.

* 3 Kapferer, B. 1972. Strategy and Transaction in an African Factory. Manchester University Press. p. 123.

cultural and capital resources and their allocation. Granted that the distribution of resources in the extended context is structured, this structuring will affect the allocation of resources to the field and frame as well.

Secondly, Kapferer distinguishes "perceptual and action fields"¹ where field refers to "the organization of the elements within an arena into a specific relation to each other."² The concept of "perceptual fields"³ refers "to the particular image an individual or group has of the resources in the arena relevant to the achievement of particular interests. It also includes some idea of the way these resources are likely to be organized in relation to each other."⁴ ... "The action field includes all these resources and the interconnections between them which are actuated in the course of social action."⁵ Now, I argue for a more simplified approach. It seems that perception and action should be viewed as occurring within the one context, whatever the level of emergence. Perception and action occur within fields; they are not themselves fields. Also, one cannot describe perception or action without reference to the creation and maintenance of social boundaries. An alternative to Kapferer's approach would be to refer to perception and action in terms of the negotiated outcome of interaction within a field. Thus, interaction consists of perception and action within the same context. The interaction of the context influences the structure, and vice versa. One needs always to consider interaction, process and structure together. Then one can say that the process of resource distribution takes place with reference to social spheres, social structures such as institutional fields, and frames. The added advantage of this approach is that fields and symbolic force fields can be distinguished.

1-5 Kapferer, B. 1972. Strategy and Transaction in an African Factory. Manchester University Press. p. 123.

I have already mentioned the importance of distinguishing between field and frame. It is first within the form and content of the frame that change occurs - because it is there that the organization of symbolic specifics is at its greatest. The focussed ordering and reordering of symbols gives definition to a situation. Within the frame one can begin to discuss the operation of paradigm and social metaphor in significant detail, and from this discussion comes the information concerning the construction of Social Images and the processes of Impression Management.

Frame

After fields, the next level of emergence is that of the 'frame'. This concept is towards the micro end of the continuum described at the beginning of this chapter, and in the Introduction. 'Frame' refers to the bounded structure of particular social situations, such as rituals and performances. The 'frame' may take a number of steps to be created, as the definition of a boundary depends on this initial focussing of behaviour. In the case of street performances of music, one can see the 'frame' being gradually set up as the musicians prepare to play, attract attention by beginning to play, and then gain an audience. This particular 'frame' is delicate, owing to the fact that the street musicians in Adelaide are controlled by rules governing the length of performance, which lie outside the 'frame'. That is, after twenty minutes playing the musicians must move on, leaving the audience behind. A new frame is then set up at the next place of performance. Now, rituals and performances are described and distinguished.

The analysis of interaction and process within the frame should "be focussed on the interaction between the rules governing ritual procedure and the rules of performance."¹ This comment appeared in an article on Healing Rituals.

1 Kapferer, B. 1976. Article - Entertaining Demons: Comedy, Interaction and Meaning in a Sinhalese Healing Ritual. p. 26. Modern Ceylon Studies.

Healing Rituals have "rules of performance"¹ within them. Here I describe the other side of the coin: performances are not necessarily rituals, although they may involve "rituals procedures"² as well as rules of performance. The following diagram summarizes my argument:-

The Distinction between Performances and Rituals Figure 3.3

<u>The Frame</u>	
<u>Rituals</u>	<u>Performances</u>
1 Ritual Procedures	1 Rules of Performance
2 Rules of Performance	2 Ritual Procedures

The diagram shows that rituals and performances have reversed orderings of the priorities of rules of performance and ritual procedures. In rituals attention is focussed around ritual procedures, and rules of performance operate as vehicles for the rituals' aims. In performances the focus falls on the ritual procedures which support the rules of performance. Both rituals and performances illustrate sets of influences in their interaction, process, and structure. But, whereas rituals have themes which run all the way through, performances have no similar continuity. The further definition of 'ritual' used here is based on my interpretation of A. van Gennep's* V. Turner's,** and B. Kapferer's*** writings on rituals.

Firstly, van Gennep argues that rituals have three phases: (1) ritual separation, (2) transitional or liminal changes, and (3) reincorporation, or unifying reaggregation. These three phases constitute a "scheme"³ which

1,2 Kapferer, B. 1976. Article - Entertaining Demons: Comedy, Interaction and Meaning in a Sinhalese Healing Ritual. p. 26. Modern Ceylon Studies.

* 3 van Gennep, A. The Rites of Passage.

** Turner, V. The Ritual Process.

*** Kapferer, B. ibid. p. 26.

describes the structure of rituals. In phase (1) symbolic meaning is focussed around a statement of ritual themes, and the ritual frame is created to separate the ritual events from everyday ones surrounding them. Phase (2) consists of a presentation of conflicting themes creating temporary ambiguity. However, at the end of (2) and leading into phase (3) symbols are re-ordered into dominant or sub-dominant categories according to the ritual focus. In this way ambiguity is reduced. Phase (3) emphasizes the ordering of dominant symbols in relation to the originally stated themes. A ritual, in the van Gennep sense, consists of interrelated sequences of symbols separated in space and time by internal ritual boundaries, for example, around the three phases. However, this interpretation is static, and gives little fluidity to the creation of the internal boundaries. It is a highly structural argument with the main emphasis on structure, as opposed to interaction or process.

Secondly, Turner has used the basic structure of the ritual as given by van Gennep, but has stressed the ritual processes which are at work. He has aimed to put more emphasis on the dynamic aspects rather than simply the structural bones of the ritual.

Thirdly, Kapferer aims to emphasize the interaction which occurs in a ritual. He proposes a less ordered approach, one which is more participant orientated. The reason for this approach is that it should give increased understanding of the dynamic processes of transformation in social experience.

Thus, I suggest that interaction, process and structure all operate to make a ritual, and argue that each of the previous approaches has emphasized one aspect, but not the interrelations between all three themes. In this way one can appreciate the advantages of all three approaches without losing the specific benefits of each. For example, having defined structure, one

can show the manipulation of symbols across internal ritual boundaries, and between the ritual and outside experiences. Through these processes the dynamics of interaction are defined.

'Transformative' and 'Transcendental' Rituals

In order to develop my theory further, I distinguish between 'transformative' and 'transcendental' rituals. A 'transcendental' ritual presents an additional dimension to everyday perspectives. Religious rituals may be 'transcendental' in that they present an image of action which should be operational in everyday life, but which is not often attained because it is highly idealistic. Also because this image is on a higher plane, such ideals and beliefs are not always seen to be in conflict with everyday definitions of events.

'Reifying' rituals are those in which the dominant socially constructed paradigm is reinforced. It is not reinterpreted, but events are reinterpreted in terms of it. Where religious rituals are associated with the dominant paradigm they are also reifying. If they are not, they may be transformative.

'Transformative' rituals involve change which takes place through interaction emphasizing a social metaphor, rather than the root paradigm. They may, alternatively, emphasize the paradigm of another society, as in the case of migrant groups in Adelaide. My definition of 'transformative' ritual involves not the reification of participant perspectives in relation to the paradigm image, but the recognition of some alternative Social Image. That is, transformative rituals focus on themes which are not in accordance with the social paradigm, nor with dominant symbolic themes in the framework of thought and action. They suggest alternatives which may be formulated in social metaphor.

Transformative rituals express alternatives to the paradigm, some of which are credible, and therefore capable of carrying change outside the ritual frame so that 'revolution' is the result. Furthermore, transformative rituals may involve both changes in the participants' perspective and in the perspective of the surrounding society. In transformative rituals then, societal definitions change as well as participant perspectives. Social metaphor opposition to the paradigm often points to the relativity of social definitions. Through social metaphor attention can be focussed on social experiences which unveil the shortcomings of the paradigm. Sometimes opposition to the paradigm is controlled by a process of 'scape-goating' deviants.

One should also make a distinction between the liminality which occurs at specific points of transition in a ritual, and transformation which describes processes occurring in the ritual as a whole. In a transformative ritual the reversals which occur when sub-dominant symbols become dominant are sustained and the sub-dominant meanings remain dominant. Further discussion of the ways in which change takes place will occur in the analysis of 'Sequences and Dimensions', later in this chapter.

Performances

I have given a lengthy discussion of the meaning of a ritual in order to distinguish performances clearly. A performance is distinct from a ritual in form and content. Performances do not necessarily have three related phases with linked thematic continuity. Whereas in a ritual, one phase cannot be interpreted without reference to the others, performances may have distinct phases with no necessary relation between them. For example, many musical performances consist of a programme of pieces which are chosen by the performers according to, for example, their historical period, their

style of composition, the composers, their key and tonal variation. Obviously, in such cases the degree of thematic integration is not the same as in a ritual. However, some performances are rituals. They have three phases and thematic continuity sustained by the arrangement of dominant and sub-dominant symbols. The internal content and the surrounding ritual practices of, for example, an Oratorio performance make it a ritual. That is, the transitions between themes are carefully integrated in terms of the central focus on particular themes and symbols. As mentioned above, all rituals have rules of performance, and all performances have some ritual procedures. Both have interacting processes and structures in the frame. When music is ritual one can follow the arrangement of symbols into the music and lyrics themselves; as an example, see the analysis of 'Elijah' in Section IV. Thus, the musical aspects become part of the surrounding organization of symbols in society or, more particularly, in the frame. The symbolic themes are linked with social themes. The interpretation of hierarchy amongst the symbols continues into the performance itself.

Performance and Ceremony

Finally, one must distinguish between musical performances and events in which music occurs as part of the wider activities. 'Ceremonies' involve music in important ways but the focus of a ceremony may not be the music but status confirmation. The emphasis is on the status passage, rather than on the presentational aspects of the music. Ceremonies may have musical performances within them to emphasize highlights of the ceremony, for example, fanfares, or anthems. However, a Christmas ceremony of carols is one case where music is an essential focus. In many ceremonies, though, music is a vehicle for conveying a coded social message related to the central focus.

The performance, (as outlined in Chapter 3, Section II) now has forms of anti-performance based on it. So, there are events in which the traditional performance, with the performers on the stage and the audience seated in the auditorium, is changed. Examples will be given in Section IV. Thus, musical events differ in the audience/performer or space/time patterns of social relationships.

Symbols, Sequences and Dimensions

This is the lowest level of emergence in the Grounded Theory. In many ways it is also the most significant, because it is at this level that one can argue in exact terms about the way in which symbolic meanings are defined in relation to each other. Firstly, a 'sequence' occurs within the frame. It gives a sense of horizontal progression through space and time.

'Sequence' is to frame what melody is to musical composition. On the other axis is 'dimension' which describes events that are taking place at the same time. These are related to the one overall social situation.

'Dimension' is likened to the vertical progression of harmony.*

'Sequences and dimensions' together describe the relationships between symbols which can then be seen in operation on a higher level. Through sequences and dimensions, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships** come into being. Within the framework given by sequences and dimensions, symbols can be seen to receive definition as dominant or sub-dominant. One can see further the progression of symbolic meanings as they are coded for particular performances. Once the detail of the symbolic meaning has been established in the sequences and dimensions, one can look at their meanings in the frame, field,

* This term 'dimension' should not be confused with dimensions which are on planes other than the social ones, for they are transcendental.

** Levi-Strauss, C. 1974. (2nd Imp.) The Savage Mind. London: Weidenfelt and Nicholson. pp. 203-208.

and the extended context. In this way the meaning of particular symbols can be traced through different social contexts to the extended context, without there being gaps in the continuity of the sequences and dimensions. It is the emphasis given to the progression of symbolic meaning through different levels of social emergence which is significant. At the end of this theoretical argument I will demonstrate these ideas with reference to paradigm and social metaphor which occur on all levels of emergence. But first, I wish to show more clearly the workings of symbols, sequences and dimensions.

The lowest level of emergence considered here consists of sequences and dimensions within the frame of a performance or a ritual. Now I define a set of analytical tools from Western musical theory which can be employed in the analysis of the symbolic structure and process present in the interaction of a performance. I refer to harmonic analysis in which degrees of the musical scale from 1-8 are defined:-

1. Tonic	M
2. Supertonic	m
3. Mediant	m
4. Sub-dominant	M
5. Dominant	M
6. Sub-mediante or Super-dominant	m
7. Leading Note; Sub-tonic	d
8. Octave	M *

Associated with each of these scale steps is the typical chord built on the scale notes. Major scales are indicated with the 'M' and minor ones

* Harvard Dictionary of Music. (2nd Edition) (Revised and Enlarged)
Willi Apel, Heinemann 'Educational Books' Ltd. London. 1971. p. 754.

with 'm'. The leading note in the key of C Major is diminished, 'd', that is, it is lowered by two semi-tones. However, it is the scale labelling which is of particular interest, as these can be used in the analysis of a ritual as a whole. I argue that symbolic processes influencing the structure of musical activities can be described using music theory, and this symbolic analysis using the diatonic scale is followed by a description of the ordering of symbols within the frame. Because a scale is a step by step arrangement of notes according to pitch, (that is, it is a non-continuous structure), and because central to the concept of scale is the root tonic or tone, we can apply this theory to social symbols such as paradigm and social metaphor. As with symbols in the social world, not all notes in the scale are of equal importance, but all are related to a dominant focus.

Structurally, the most important degrees of the scale are the tonic, dominant, and sub-dominant, and these are best clarified with reference to the definition of each note step of the scale. The 'tonic' is the key note and the root of the scale. The second note, or 'supertonic' can become the root on the ninth degree of the scale. The third note is the 'mediant', for it mediates between the root and the 'dominant'. It has a role in the transition from major to minor keys by being raised or lowered a semi-tone. Fourth comes the 'sub-dominant' which is subordinate to the 'dominant', The 'dominant' is the fifth degree in both major and minor scales. The 'dominant' fifth therefore holds a very important position structurally, due to its dominant role in both the harmony and melody of music. The sixth note supports the 'mediant' or the 'dominant', and is called the 'sub-mediant' or the 'super-dominant'. The seventh note is the 'leading note' and the 'sub-tonic'. This note changes from major to minor scales. Finally, the eighth note is the 'octave', or the root note repeated an 'octave' higher.*

* Harvard Dictionary of Music. (2nd Edition) (Revised and Enlarged)
Willi Apel, Heinemann 'Educational Books' Ltd. London. 1971. p. 754.

Now, having outlined the meaning of scale terminology, the discussion returns to the role of the dominant fifth. Apart from its dominant role in harmony and melody there are several additional points to be noted. In melodies, the fifth is second in importance only to the tonic, or key note. In harmony it may be more important as the 'root' of the dominant triad, (a chord). Thirdly, the dominant triad resolves into the tonic triad - the root. Other chords with dominant roles are the seventh and the ninth. All others, apart from the root may become dominant as accidentals in diatonic music.

If musical harmony and structuralist theory are considered together, the melody is like the syntagmatic theme which runs through ritual sequences. The harmony is like the paradigmatic structure which is built on the vertical axis of a frame. Some of the implications of this analogy are important for symbolic analysis, and will be mentioned briefly. It is the hierarchical arrangement of themes according to scale labels which is of use in the symbolic analysis of interaction, process, and structure. Firstly, the tonic can be viewed as the musical term for the paradigm of Anglo-conformity, which is the key reference point for the arrangement of symbols. The dominant fifth is the paradigm for dominant culture, second only to the whole of the root paradigm in society. In terms of syntagmatic analysis, the dominant culture is second only to the root paradigm; but in terms of levels of emergence, the dominant culture with its political and class implications is symbolically more important in the paradigmatic, hierarchical arrangement of themes.

At the highest level of emergence, that of the extended context, the dominant symbols focus political activity, and influence the distribution of cultural and capital resources according to the root paradigm. As with the musical

dominant note, the dominant symbols resolve into the root paradigm and thereby support it. The sub-dominant fourth contains symbols which are sub-dominant to the dominant, and it includes all symbolic fringe activities such as avant-garde music and jazz. The third note mediates between the more important symbols and consists of symbols of communication across sequences and dimensions. (See the 'Elijah' analysis in Section IV). The sixth is the sub-mediante or super-dominant, which either supports the other mediating symbols, or consists of symbols which in a given context become more important than the dominant symbols associated with the paradigm. The case of the Experimental Art Foundation illustrates this. That is, for the duration of the frame alternative perspectives become super-dominant.

This leaves the second, seventh, and the eighth still to be discussed. The second is the super-tonic, which refers to a social metaphor which could possibly become significant over and above the root paradigm, and thus be formed into a new paradigm. The seventh is the leading note which is responsible for changing the scale from a major to a minor key. It is called the sub-tonic; the significance of this, for social theory, is that the alternative (root) paradigm is kept subverted. The eighth is structurally significant in that it marks the end of the scale and the repetition of the root.

Thus, as in the analogy of music theory, the root paradigm with its associated dominant and sub-dominant symbols is structurally important. (Remember that the sub-dominant symbols are defined in relation to the dominant ones). Actually, to give full scope to social change one must allow for change through accidentals as well. These include sets of notes or symbol themes which become dominant. In the scale analogy, chords seven and nine are examples. The root is not included. The second, third, sixth, and eighth

notes play roles which are supportive to the other notes in the scale. In fact the eighth is a repetition of the root, and it therefore reaffirms the key note on a different level of emergence.

A Summary of the Grounded Theory

Here then, we are dealing with the problem of how the various social levels make a social whole, and the answer lies in the ordering of symbols, which is most easily particularized within the sequences and dimensions of a frame. The concepts defined and distinguished are: 'extended context', 'field', 'force field', 'frame' and 'sequences and dimensions'. The concept of 'extended context' refers to the wider political, economic and social environment in which musical activities take place. More particularly, 'extended context' refers to those activities in the wider context, which impinge on musical events. 'Field' refers to a more visibly bounded social structure, such as musical institutions, or bureaucracy. Within such institutions, decisions concerning the choice of music performed take place. The relationship between the 'extended context' and 'fields' is that the 'field' occurs within the 'extended context'. 'Field' size depends upon the successful manipulation of resources in the 'extended context', so as to increase the flow of resources toward Art institutions and projects. As has been shown, institutional fields may be linked, or they may overlap. There may be a 'force' between fields which adds to the appearance of resource control in the 'extended context'. This 'force' relates symbols in different fields through interaction, process and structural controls. The 'frame' consists of the boundary around the performance itself, and the symbolic organization of focusses to produce contextual themes. Although the frame is different for ceremonies, rituals, performances, and events, one still has the sense of progression from start to finish.

Finally, the 'frame' has 'sequences and dimensions'. Within and between these, symbols receive definition and are hierarchically arranged in terms of dominance or sub-dominance. The definition of notes according to the musical theory of the scale can be applied to the ways in which symbols are arranged in actual social contexts, and to the discussion of this arrangement in social theory. Having established the workings of symbols at one level, one can then see whether this pattern is followed on another level of emergence. Thus, symbols may be related to the paradigm, or to a social metaphor which makes some comment on the paradigm. There are then, not only fields of force which channel capital, social, and cultural resources, but 'symbolic' forces which operate in conjunction with focuses at the various levels of emergence. The degree to which a social situation changes from a dominant to a sub-dominant focus illustrates its capacity for transformation. Transformative processes tend to play on the ability of a frame to sustain a symbolic focus.

Thus, symbols gain specific meanings from the contexts in which they occur. They focus action and thought when one of their multifocal themes is stressed. Symbols tend to cluster to form sets of meanings around dominant and sub-dominant themes. One must make a basic distinction between performance contexts in which the dominant symbols are also those of the extended context, and those in which the dominant symbols are not those of the paradigm in the extended context. In the second case the symbols form a social metaphor. This distinction may be a simple one, but in terms of anthropological and sociological analysis, and for musicology too, the consequences are far reaching.

This distinction enables the anthropologist to refine his understanding of levels of emergence, and the relationships between them, (in terms of the definition of symbolic forces). Both historical and contemporary data can

be analysed using this framework. One can then observe the linking of themes between the different levels of emergence. In this way, a picture of Impression Management - the creation, maintenance, or transformation of social themes, and thus of Social Images, can be seen.

Case Illustrations of the Theory

Firstly, I give an illustration of the case in which the dominant symbols of the performance are those of the extended context. These are called reifying performances because they reinforce the dominant paradigm at all social levels of emergence. In the light of accounts of the construction, development, and present usage of the Festival Centre, one can suggest that the processes involved are sufficiently focussed and stabilized to allow the theme of Anglo-conformity to emerge. Patronage of the Arts, by both the Establishment and the Elite, can be seen, as can the institutionalization of the controlling Board and Trust of the Festival Centre, and the hierarchy implicit in the arrangement of performance and audience interaction.

How does the theme of Anglo-conformity influence the performance context? It does so through the continued dominance of symbols associated with the paradigm. They are kept dominant through the symbolic focus of a performance. Competing themes such as migrant ethnicity or class variations are kept in check in these reifying performances. They become sub-dominant sets of symbols. This is Case A. By reification I mean the repetition of themes which structure a context in dynamic accordance with the central paradigm of the extended context. Through such processes of reification the existing system of symbolic associations, and the distribution of resources can be legitimated.

In the presence of many alternatives to a given system of resource allocation, the Establishment can justify its choice of, for example, music by showing the existing system to be best. It can do this by juxtaposing alternative themes and identifying and aligning them with symbols of disorder. The outcome is the repeated alignment of dominant symbols with the dominant system of resource allocation. Thus, in the Festival Centre, dominant culture in the form of Establishment intervention is aligned with dominant power sources in the Government, educational institutions, and entrepreneurial activity. The artists themselves have less power over the whole pattern of the social choice of Arts performed.

Although social beliefs and the influences of the root paradigm are not absolutes, symbolic devices may give them an appearance of being absolute. Actually, paradigms are provisional, and in the first place dependent upon the particular contexts of interaction.

Case B concerns performances in which the dominant symbols are not those which are dominant in the extended context. In this case the possible transformations take on a number of meanings which are distinct from the result of reifying processes mentioned above. For example, members of the Experimental Art Foundation may not all support the field, or extended context; and migrants may support their own ethnic field through some performance frames, but otherwise be subject to different fields which are closer to the Anglo-paradigm. This is because to move into a context in which their ethnicity is sub-dominant, they must identify with the dominant symbols and the paradigm. There are then many cross-cutting ties, and people continually make choices on "the basis of restricted information and limited perception."¹ Thus, the exchanges occurring between levels of social

1 Garbett, K.G. 1970. 'The Analysis of Social Situations'. Man, Vol. 5, p. 224. (University of Manchester)

organization are subject to imbalances. Such imbalances are produced at the levels of both conceptualization and action during the process of the situational selection of one focus. Symbols operate at the conceptual level, but they also have implications in everyday action. There exists a network of interaction between field and symbolic forces. Here I wish to examine the extent of all such interdependencies and 'bifurcations', at all levels of social construction.

In Case B the dominant symbols in the performance are not those of the extended context. However, some further sub-divisions can be made, in order to clarify this area of possible social change. Here I deal with only three major sub-classes: metaphor, conceit, parody - and the organization of symbols in each of these examples.

The first example involves a discussion of 'metaphor'. I give an illustration of inversion or 'topsy-turvydom'. Every year 'The Folkloric Society of South Australia' presents a concert for the general public. In 1976 and 1977 these annual concerts were held at the Festival Theatre. The concerts have several major features. Firstly, many varied forms of ethnic music and dance occur within the one context. Secondly, each ethnic group performs within the musical frame set up for its presentation; and the beginning of each frame is marked by the name of the country and the flag of the ethnic group presenting the item. When groups perform, applause and other forms of audience participation come from spatially different parts of the auditorium. People are grouped according to ethnic factors, and some performing groups sit together amongst friends and relatives. This spontaneous self-grouping should be distinguished from the grouping imposed by outsiders, and by members of other fields. Thirdly, migrants in this context form an overall group in relation to the core of Anglo-conformity in the extended context. This unity is sustained despite variations within and between ethnic groups. Fourthly,

whilst there is a shared field of organization, that is, 'The Folkloric Society of South Australia', power in the extended context lies in other hands. There are, for example, many people with British names in positions of power within the Government. 'The Folkloric Society' receives funds from the Government, and therefore the Festival Trust offers no additional help in the form of subsidies. The extended context is influenced by the Anglo-enclave, and therefore the themes of Greek, Italian, and Russian ethnicity are in opposition to this power structure. Indeed, the theme of specific migrant ethnicity is controlled by this structure. For example, whilst the dominant theme in the performance is migrant ethnicity, further reference to Anglo-power is symbolized by the context of the Festival Theatre and the way it is used. The Festival Theatre forms the backdrop to these performances within the frame.

From this brief performance analysis comes the idea that the frame and its sub-themes cannot be understood without the recognition of symbolic complexes which operate on various levels of emergence. One can summarize the above points by suggesting that migrants perceive similarity in dissimilarity. They emphasize their group identity as migrants and deemphasize their specific ethnic differences. This is also consistent with the wishes of the dominant group. Migrants balance internal oppositions and suspend some of the mechanisms for further sub-group closure based on differences in language, religion and custom.

This example constitutes a clear case of metaphor, for within the performance frame as a whole there is a temporary reversal of symbolic dominance, so that specific migrant ethnicity becomes the focus. However, the context of the performance and the definition of migrants as a group is a focus framed in relation to the paradigm. Therein lies the metaphor. To summarise then,

the specifics of ethnicity are sub-themes which are controlled by the definition of the group 'migrant'. These sub-themes emerge at a higher structural level, in response to oppression from the dominant Anglo-enclave.

The second example concerns 'conceit'. It is, by definition, an extreme form of metaphor. It is an expression of social conflict. Some protest groups make a political point by ignoring the obvious themes, and by choosing far-fetched examples. Some Experimental Art Foundation performances are like this - they have a 'dadaistic' quality of outlandish protest. An Adelaide example of conceit occurred when tons of pebbles were off-loaded on to the Art Gallery floor. This statement points to the incongruity between the Establishment and more experimental Art forms. The break between these two spheres of perception can be termed 'bifurcation', which means that there is a split in perception so that the two views diverge. The Adelaide Establishment, in the form of the Adelaide Club and Government representation, has significant control over the Art Gallery.

The point of conceit in the above example is that the avant-garde and Establishment alternatives to the definition of culture are juxtaposed in the one context. Symbolic dominance is given to the avant-garde themes, which by pointing to weaknesses in the traditional Art system, (symbolized by the Art Gallery), gain perspective. Whilst Art works such as the pebbles are congruous with the Jam Factory context and field, they are incongruous with the Art Gallery context and field. Their frames are quite different from those of more traditional Art forms. A collection of pebbles is not a work which is contained within a picture frame and hung on a wall. Instead, people can actually move into the frame. They can pick up the pebbles and inspect them. A 'conceit', therefore, is an ambiguous statement, joke, or

cartoon containing social criticism which is not always recognized, or recognizable. Whilst a conceit can be viewed by the Establishment as a threat, avant-garde works are often supported by patrons or conservative institutions, and in such hands any protest can be defused. The fact is that avant-garde protests have few sources of power which will enable them to act directly to change the dominant symbol system. They lack the symbolic credibility, finances and organizational features necessary.

Now I present the third example, that of 'parody', which like conceit ridicules a 'false' convention, and at the same time makes suggestions for an alternative. The 'parody' is more readily understood than the conceit, and it has the credibility which can enable its influence on the existing system to be transformative. By 'false convention' I mean that the existing structure is dominant due to legitimating symbolic processes and resource manipulation by a few. However, some people see that what appears to be objective may simply be shared subjectivity.

Often, a parody involves the use of a dominant symbol in a context which illustrates the absurdity of holding it supreme. That is, the symbol appears in an 'improper' context, according to the perspective of shared subjectivity. To illustrate this point I refer to the first Italian Festival and to a particular float of 'spaghetti-eaters' which occurred in the opening parade. The Festival was organized around the theme of Italians and non-Italians sharing an occasion which was supported by both the Italian community and the Government. It was opened by the Premier of South Australia and speeches were made in English and Italian. As in the case of the migrant concert reviewed as an example of metaphor, the specifics of ethnicity were suspended to allow participation by non-Italians. Group closure was evident but it was not primary. In the case of the spaghetti-eaters, the joke was based on

the popular stereotype of Italian people as consumers of spaghetti! The Italians realized the universality of this stereotype, but in this case they added their own Italian perspective to the interpretation, and thus formed a parody. For example, the grand size of the spoons and forks indicated that the Italians were commenting on the stereotype and holding it up for social comment. Anyone could see that at this festival there was much more to Italian life than spaghetti! Whilst some non-Italians evidently accepted the stereotype at face value, many Italians and non-Italians were able to see its superficiality.

Conclusion

The following list summarises the conclusions drawn:-

Case A The dominant symbols of performance are those of the extended context. They accord with the paradigm and reinforce it. These are therefore called 'reifying performances.'

Case B The dominant symbols of performance are not those of the extended context. They do not accord with the paradigm at the lowest level of emergence.

Examples are: 1. Metaphor.

2. Conceit.

3. Parody.

At this point some of the extensive applications of Grounded Theory can be seen. This last discussion has been only an introduction, and further illustrations and implications of the theory are developed in Sections IV and V.

One can see from the above examples that paradigm and social metaphor occur in the same contexts, but their different, (although related), processes remain distinct. Also the definition of a situation depends on the interaction between space and time; sequence and dimension; paradigm and social metaphor; paradigmatic and syntagmatic processes; melody and harmony. This gives an integrated, overall theoretical view of interrelated themes, but the specific definition of such themes must always first be given in terms of sequences and dimensions, and frames.

Transformations take place as indicated in Sections IV and V. The point is that without the recognition of interrelated levels of emergence, no clear indication of the shape of social transformations, or reifications can be obtained.

SECTION IV

'FRAMES OF INTERACTION'

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the Introduction to this thesis I spoke of the creation of a theory which is based on empirical data, that is, Grounded Theory. Then, in Section III I gave an account of the theory which grew out of my field work. The theory developed from an overall understanding of the ways in which particular performances worked, and how they were related to one another. In this way a system of thought which followed logically from empirical data was constructed. This theory correlates a large number of single observations* and to that extent it contains 'truth'. However, one must always note that 'truth' as we know it is largely subjective, and founded on an incomplete understanding of social experience.

Symbol, Paradigm, Social Metaphor and Social Image

*"A theory is a complicated piece of machinery;
it only needs the displacement of one unit or
part to make it go wrong, or fall to pieces."*¹

With this quotation in mind it is my aim to convey to the reader an understanding of the relationship between the different units of my Grounded Theory: symbol, paradigm, social metaphor and Social Image.

Let us begin at the micro-level or perspective with individual symbols. A symbol such as a crown or a cross has a variety of meanings depending on the further definitions of shape and colour, and the focal context of the symbol. The context will stress some aspects of a given symbol and let others pass almost unnoticed. The stress will make the selection of meaning specific and presentational.

* An indirect reference to Einstein, A. 1979. Reprint. Relativity:-
The Special and the General Theory. Translation by Lawson, R.W.
London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. p. 123

1 Read, H. 1931. The Meaning of Art. London: Faber and Faber. 1977 reprint p. 266.

Now, place that one symbol in the context of a cluster of other symbols, each having one aspect of its multifocality stressed, and one then has an abstract picture. For example, place a cross with the Nazi flag, propaganda, and war slogans and you have one social picture - recognizable, but requiring more particular social definition. Alternatively, place a cross with a goblet of wine and some bread in the context of church worship, and you have 'Communion' associated with the Last Supper before the Crucifixion of the Christ figure. Symbols may condense meaning, but they are also capable of extensive elaborations of a theme, when combined with other selected symbols. Here then we have two very different, (but not entirely unrelated) pictures in which the cross symbol is used. The first shows that the sacrifice of human beings by each other continues. The second stresses the finality of the act of crucifixion, signifying a possible end to the scapegoating of people, (as in the sacrifice of social deviants).

Within each of the two examples there exist coded messages about beliefs and social behaviour. One thus has a system of sanctifying ideas, and a means of Impression Management whereby further human action can be influenced. However, the links between value codes, and actions are not always clear - distortions occur. Therefore people's actions inevitably vary from what they believe they should do, (as expressed in their attitudes).

Paradigm

A paradigm is a dominant set of traditional symbols sanctified by objectification. In this 'sacred' form it can become a traditional blue-print of society and culture. The paradigm of Anglo-conformity in Adelaide is one example. It is a cluster of symbols which are dominant in society and culture - dominant, in the sense that they receive priority when it comes

to the distribution of capital and cultural resources from the political fields of power.

Social Metaphor

A subdominant set of symbols juxtaposed to the accepted pattern or paradigm, is termed a social metaphor. To legitimate a change, a group of people may claim to have a more correct interpretation of traditional values and codes of action. In this way they justify their variation from current traditional interpretations.

Change is made possible by the reinterpretation of focus to emphasise different aspects of the same symbols, or a different set of symbols altogether. For example, war music may stress either Duty or Sacrifice, according to its context.*

Social Image

A Social Image develops from its conception at the micro-level of society. However, we can also see its existence at the macro-level. To look from either direction is valid, but only the view from the micro-level gives a detailed step-by-step account of how society and culture gain their definition from the arrangement of symbols. Images in everyday life and Art consist of symbols in various socially orchestrated combinations.

In the Introduction I also spoke of three dimensions of space, a fourth of time, and a fifth of society. I now wish to continue with the theory by showing exactly how these dimensions operate in particular case studies. For, historical examples and contemporary data, whether they are viewed in terms of their analysis or their synthesis, both add to our understanding of culture and society.

* See Section II, Chapter 4.

Interaction, Process and Structure

Interaction

Symbols can be seen at work in communication or interaction between people. People group symbols to form attitudes - this is the basis of language. There are at the level of attitudes both discursive and presentational combinations of symbols. Discursive symbols are open to reinterpretation, or at least discussion. Presentational symbols are much less open to reinterpretation or discussion in everyday contexts. That is, in this second case the symbols are much narrower in meaning, and can thus be controlled more easily.

I have said that where people do not relate the level of values to everyday attitudes and actions, inconsistencies between them will occur. Thus, to understand the whole of society, one must look at each of the levels of emergence with reference to interaction both within and between them.

Process

In human relationships process as well as interaction is a vital element. Process adds dynamism to the analysis of human relationships. It gives interaction a sense of progression within a frame or historical context. Progression and duration link the horizontal and vertical axes of, for example, space and time, or melody and harmony. Without them the sense of change present in paradigm and social metaphor, and the sense of Impression Management necessary for a Social Image to be created and maintained cannot be fully appreciated.

Structure

Structure is a relatively concrete form of human relationship. It is the mechanism capable of giving shape to interaction. Process can and does cross-cut boundaries, but it tends to move within structural limits.

The Relationships between Interaction, Process and Structure, Ethnographic Examples, and the 'Nested Concepts' of Grounded Theory

Interaction, process and structure are themes which run through the ethnographic accounts, and occur on all levels of the nested hierarchy. They describe the shaping of the social world - of the extended context, field, frame and sequence and dimensions. These are key themes, any one of which by itself gives an inadequate description or analysis of social events. Structure defines the boundaries by which we identify each level of emergence. Process describes the dynamics of interaction which occurs within structures, or across their boundaries. Interaction is communication, and is therefore a basic social element.

The idea of 'nested concepts' creates a theory capable of accounting for the pathways which information follows in a society of culture. We need to view the whole Social Image in terms of the relationships between levels of emergence.

Thus my aim is to trace the development of social and cultural focusses, by an examination of the dominant or sub-dominant symbols in sequences and dimensions, frames, fields, and the extended context. To create a Social Image such as a paradigm, the symbol focus must pass through a number of levels of emergence, so that it becomes a consistently recurring theme on all social levels. We can view this process by using the Grounded Theory suggested here.

How does one trace the symbolic focus through all the levels of emergence? Historical accounts of music in Adelaide enable one to identify recurring symbols and to recognise these as various levels of emergence in the contemporary scene. One is then able to determine whether the focus of the culture or society is changing, by a consideration of whether the traditional paradigm is reinforced or not. One can also discover the opportunities for change created by social metaphor.

Symbols which recur on all levels of emergence first receive focus in particular sequences and dimensions of a performance. Dominant and sub-dominant symbols are organized in the frame, in order to emphasise the paradigm and to deemphasise social metaphor. To aid this process a presentational (narrowing) focus is created and discursive (wider) meanings are controlled. (Some societies have layers which are more complicated than Adelaide's, whose history has been relatively short. For example, in Indonesia the layering is much more complex, but it can still be examined using this step-by-step Grounded Theory.)

Conclusions

This thesis contains both a sociology of music and a musicology of society. The thesis structure involves a progression from a macro-level Social Image as given by the historical and contemporary data, through Grounded Theory, to the key micro-level appreciation of particular performances. Also the section headings of 'Social Images', 'Relational Spheres of Reference', 'Relational Fields of Reference', 'Relational Frames of Reference', and 'Impression Management' correspond to the different levels of emergence, or the 'nested concepts' discussed.

I now proceed to the Case Studies, which were the actual starting point of my research. Together the Case Studies lead to a highly consistent set of research results, which confirm the social patterns of symbol orderings on various levels of emergence, and which show the development of paradigm and social metaphor. It was this consistency that made it possible to construct the Grounded Theory.

A Promenade Concert

The Christmas Festival 'Carols by Candlelight' provides an interesting Case Study for a number of quite specific reasons. 'Carols by Candlelight' is especially significant in the context of this thesis, because it involves the presentation of a variety of musical styles not usually found in the one context. This performance has taken place annually since 1944, with the exception of 1979 when unusually heavy rain damaged the stage and machinery.

'Carols by Candlelight' has many of the characteristics of the earlier traditional promenade concerts at which bands or choirs presented music in the open air. In addition we have an overlay of radio programming, as this concert is directly broadcast. Finally, (popular music is included to involve a wider audience,) and to boost the commercial radio ratings.

Whilst this Festival does not follow the general trend towards more specialized and diversified performance contexts, (discussed in Section II) the (large audience is an indication of its social significance.) Apart from public events such as those of Anzac Day, John Martins' Pageant, or football match Finals, 'Carols by Candlelight' draws one of the largest audiences seen during the year. The size of the audience varies from 40,000 to 100,000 people, and in 1976 the crowd consisted of about 65,000 people.

The Festival requires a permanent Committee which meets regularly to organize the event. The Committee is required for the co-ordination of the choirs which form the massed choir, the charities for whom funds are raised, and everything else necessary for the performance. The programming is very important as the performance goes on air 'live'. The allocation of time for each sub-event is carefully planned and controlled.

CHAPTER 2

'CAROLS BY CANDLELIGHT'

'Carols by Candlelight' is, then, an illustration of an informal open-air style of performance being used for a large-scale community and commercial enterprise. Both the description and analysis of this promenade concert highlight the distinctive arrangement of its form and content. For example, despite the different styles represented, the overall unity of the frame focus is maintained. Also, the separate fields which to varying degrees overlap in the extended context are rarely represented in the one frame. Finally, from this study one learns about the ways in which social styles and different social hierarchies form part of the overall social fabric, and how order is constructed across social situations.

Concerning the programming of the Festival, Mr. Dick Moore said that:-

*"The first meeting of the year is held in February, the second in May, and from then on regularly for the remainder of the year. Meetings are held about monthly until about November when they are stepped up to once per fortnight and then once per week."*¹

Information concerning the sponsorship of the Festival is contained in the Appendix to this chapter. Once again the role of the Establishment can be seen, in the form of patronage by the City Council. The Chairman of the organizing Committee of 'Carols by Candlelight' gave the following account of the origin of this event.

1 From an interview with Mr. D. Moore, 1976. Mr. Moore was the radio Master of Ceremonies, Chairman on the organizing Committee, and a member of 5AD staff until his appointment to 'The Advertiser'.

He said that:-

*"... it was begun because it seemed a very desirable performance for Adelaide, and a means of receiving money for the Adelaide Children's Hospital. The original decision was made by a conference between the Commercial Travellers' Association and Radio 5AD, in South Australia. ... In 1975 'The Advertiser' became a co-organizer in effect, although it had been a very important supporter from the beginning. ... Country areas came into the picture about ten years after the Adelaide performances."*¹

During its early years, 'Carols by Candlelight' "had the patronage of the Lord Mayors"² and "the patronage of the Governor came later".³

During the past ten years, the members of the organizing Committee have remained fairly stable. Members of this Committee meet during the year to organize financial support, the hiring of artists and to establish the format of the programme. Sponsors of the festival have also remained fairly stable in the last ten years, and representation by a military band, a massed choir, and a school choir has remained unchanged in the performance.

(This concert provides entertainment for various age groups and musical tastes.) The performance is held on a Sunday evening, which indicates its earlier connections with local churches. People used to go to church first and then proceed to the festival in groups. However, this aspect has now weakened as the commercial aspect has expanded. Family involvement is still much in evidence, and the festival's (location near the centre of the City

1-3 From an interview with Mr. D. Moore, 1976.

makes it accessible to people from all metropolitan areas.) Country areas such as Mount Gambier, Kadina and Port Augusta have their own celebrations of 'Carols by Candlelight'.

The aim of the occasion as stated on the programme is:- "For sick and handicapped children."¹ Also, the 30th performance was said to be:-

*"evidence of the esteem in which this Christmas Festival is held. In donating these programmes once again 'The Advertiser' warmly supports all that it stands for in our community."*²

So the community Christmas spirit is emphasized on the programmes, and as we shall see later, it is also emphasized in the symbolism.

An Account of the 1976 'Carols by Candlelight' with reference to Past and Future Performances

The 1976 Festival was held in the presence of "His Excellency the Governor of South Australia, Sir Douglas Nicholls, O.B.E."³ Other "invitations to the official area were extended to representatives of the Adelaide City Council, the South Australian Government, Members of the Judiciary and Members of the Consular Corps."⁴ Further invitations went to members of the participating charities and civic identities."⁵

1,2 From the 'Carols by Candlelight' programme, 1973.

3-5 'The Advertiser', 20th December 1976.

The Progression of Programmed Events

'The Advertiser' programme details the following events:-

"The Band of the 4th Military District

(Conductor - Lt. A.H. Head).

Combined Choir of more than 250 voices

(Choral Director - Lewis Dawe).

The Pembroke Girls' Choir

(Conductor - Colin Curtis).

The Corinthian Singers

Special Guest Artists:

Stylus Rock Group

Anna Allwood (a 'middle of the road' singer).

Irene Tirbutt (a popular Aria singer).

Master of Ceremonies:

Mr. Dick Moore " *

The full Programme for 'Carols by Candlelight' 1976 is reproduced in Figure 4.1, p. 303. A Plan of the performance area is given in Figure 4.2, p. 312.

By about 8.00 p.m. many people had already arrived at Elder Park. Some found places to sit on the grass, whilst others moved along the river banks, hired river paddle boats, took refreshments, or went for a cruise on the pleasure boat 'Popeye'. (Other members of the audience arrived "almost an hour and a half after the start of the performance")¹ Some of these people formed part of the 7,000 audience members who settled on the opposite side of the river. In general, (the audience's dress was casual

1 'The Advertiser', 20th December 1976.

* See Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1



Programme

Carols By Candlelight



featuring:

THE BAND OF THE 4th MILITARY DISTRICT—*Conductor:* Lieut. A. H. Head
 CHORISTERS FROM THE ADELAIDE HARMONY CHOIR, THE CORINTHIAN SINGERS, THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST YOUTH CHOIR,
 THE METROPOLITAN MALE VOICE CHOIR, THE PEMBROKE CHORAL SOCIETY, AND SENIOR BOYS OF THE PEMBROKE SCHOOL CHOIR,
Choral Director: LEWIS DAWE

and

THE PEMBROKE GIRLS' CHOIR—*Conductor:* Colin Curtis

with special guests

"STYLUS" ANNA ALLWOOD

and

IRENE TIRBUTT—Soprano
 (Winner of "The Advertiser" Aria Contest 1976)
Accompanist: JOHN HALL

Master of Ceremonies—DICK MOORE

8.15 p.m.

1. "Song of Australia" *Linger (arr. J. V. Peters)*
THE COMBINED CHOIRS
2. "Good King Wenceslas" *Traditional*
3. "O Little Town of Bethlehem" *Holst*
"In Dulci Jubilo" *arr. Holst*
PEMBROKE GIRLS' CHOIR
4. "God rest you merry, Gentlemen" *Traditional*
5. * * * ANNA ALLWOOD * * *
6. "While Shepherds Watched" *Traditional*
7. * * * "STYLUS" * * *
8. "Bandolero" *Osser*
BAND OF THE 4th MILITARY DISTRICT

INTERVAL

Members of Boys' Brigade Australia will approach you with official collection tins. Please assist our cause by donating generously.

9.15 p.m.

9. "Marche Militaire" from "Algerian Suite" *Saint-Saens*
BAND OF THE 4th MILITARY DISTRICT
10. "Christians, Awake!" *Wainwright*
11. * * * THE CORINTHIAN SINGERS * * *
12. "The First Nowell" *Traditional*
13. "Achieved is the Glorious Work" from
"The Creation" *Haydn*
THE COMBINED CHOIRS
14. The Lord Mayor of Adelaide, Mr. J. J. Roche
15. "O Come, All Ye Faithful" *Oakley*
16. * * * IRENE TIRBUTT * * *
17. "Away in a Manger" *Traditional*
18. "To Shepherds Fast Asleep" *Davis*
THE COMBINED CHOIRS
19. "Hark! The Herald Angels Sing" *Mendelssohn*
20. * * * "STYLUS" * * *
21. "Silent Night" *Gruber*
22. "Hallelujah Chorus" from "Messiah" *Handel*
23. "God Save the Queen" *arr. Jacobs*



From the Programme for
 'Carols by Candlelight',
 19th December 1976.

and 'The Advertiser' described the event as, "A shorts and T-shirt affair on a warm evening."¹) Programmes, candles for lighting and refreshments were sold throughout the evening, although some people brought their own candles and their own snacks.

Seating facilities were provided in the 'official area' where people entered by invitation only. (See the Plan, Figure 4.2). Because of this regulation, the movement of official guests was more restricted. On their arrival, the bandsmen and choristers moved on to the stage by passing along the margins of the official seating area. (The official guests and performers were dressed more formally than members of the audience.) Long frocks were worn by the ladies, the bandsmen wore their military dress uniforms, and members of the Pembroke School Choir wore school uniforms. The other choristers wore their choral uniforms, and the Master of Ceremonies commented:-

*"We expect the men to wear white shirts and a black bow tie if the weather is warm, with coats if it is cooler. Women are asked to wear long dresses or skirts, but there is no firm uniform."*²

The Governor arrived in a black official car, and then walked to the front row of the official seating area while the band played a few bars of 'God Save the Queen'. (In 1976 this was no longer the official National Anthem and its appropriateness to this occasion was due to the role of the Governor as The Queen's representative.) During the anthem the choristers stood, as did the official guests and some members of the wider audience.

1 'The Advertiser', 20th December 1976.

2 From an interview with Mr. D. Moore, 1976.

The following day 'The Advertiser' commented: "The crowd stood as 'God Save the Queen' was played, sat, and then stood again as 'The Song of Australia' was sung by the combined choir."¹

After this second anthem everyone sits while the Master of Ceremonies describes the setting of the performance and the weather to radio listeners. A traditional carol follows, and this is sung by the choir (who remain seated for all community carol singing) accompanied by the band. Members of the audience join in the singing of this carol. In 1976 the audience singing was not as audible as usual, because of the depressed economic circumstances. Instead many people sat and listened. This point was also noticed by newspaper reporters who commented that "The crowd was silent most of the night, preferring to listen and watch rather than sing."²

Pembroke Girls' Choir performed next. Whilst they stood to sing the rest of the massed choir including the boys of the Pembroke School choir remained seated. The Conductor stood at front centre of the stage, and conducted the Choir which was arranged in a block in the centre of the massed choir. On other occasions when the Pembroke Girls' Choir joined with the massed choir they sang under the directorship of the Choral Director, or the Conductor of the Band. When the performance had finished the audience applauded, and the Master of Ceremonies introduced another traditional Christmas carol. During this interlude he described the massed choir as "the backbone"³ of the Festival. This role is reflected by the choir's positioning across the back of the stage and its presence through all performances, including the rock music sequence.

1,2 'The Advertiser', 20th December 1976.

3 From the commentary of the Master of Ceremonies.

After introducing Anna Allwood the Master of Ceremonies leaves the stage (as he does after each announcement) and the singer is further introduced by a change of lighting and a round of applause. Anna Allwood sings two numbers: one from 'Jesus Christ Superstar', and the other called 'I'll Never Pass this Way Again'. Her style is that of 'middle of the road pop'. That is, she sings 'pop' songs, but at a slower pace. During her performance greater stage movement is made possible by the use of a mobile microphone. The sequence ends with the singer bowing to further audience applause.

Once again a traditional carol is sung, and, (as one can see from the programme, these carols are distributed throughout the whole evening's entertainment, so as to form a traditional thread of Christmas themes with which everyone is familiar.)

The traditional carol is followed by the special act, 'Stylus', a Rock group. The choristers and bandsmen stay in position at the back of the stage, and the left of the platform is lit to spot-light the popular Rock group as they appear on stage. As usual, to increase the pace of the performance, 'Stylus' runs on stage and gains extra applause and whistling from the younger members of the audience. This style of entrance helps to set the mood of this segment, and is a symbolic cue to the audience that a new sub-frame is about to begin. To make this point more clearly, consider the effect of a choir running on stage. Apart from the impracticalities of this approach it is inappropriate in terms of the traditional style of the choral entries - which are normally slow and orderly. The effect would at least startle members of the audience whose expectations would be confounded!

The introduction of a rock group into the programming of 'Carols by Candlelight' is a recent development, and each year the lighting effects and amplification are improved. Indeed for the rock sequences the amplification is turned up to capture audience attention. 'Stylus' in their usual 'gear' sing 'I Want to Know What's Going On'. The style of singing, drumming and guitar playing is quite distinct from the more traditional style of the other events on the programme.

Then follows the last event in the first part of the programme. As usual it consists of a segment featuring the Band. Suddenly one is entertained by another completely different musical form of presentation, which in this case is semi-military in style. However, the Band plays works which appeal to a wider public, such as arrangements of 'Bandolero' featuring brass, woodwind and percussion. The bandsmen's red uniforms provide a startling contrast to the 'gear' of the 'pop' singers.

The interval lasts for 12½ minutes and it is timed by radio personnel.

(During this time there is increased movement amongst the audience, and amongst the performers too. Some people go to buy refreshments, and others stretch their legs cramped by sitting on the grass.) At this point candle light becomes apparent as daylight fades; and other lighting becomes useful and aesthetically pleasing. Volunteer collectors weave their way among the crowd shaking their tins so that they can be identified easily in the growing darkness. The bandsmen and choristers remain on stage as time does not permit them to go far afield. They talk amongst themselves about the performance, the crowd, and their voices made hoarse by singing to such an extensive open-air audience. Official guests also chat amongst themselves and move within the boundaries of the official area. Also during the interval the Governor is asked his opinion about the occasion, to which he

replies, "I'm enjoying it. It's tremendous, just grand to see so many people."¹

Part Two began with radio station recognition, and with a favourable comment about the Band's playing. The Master of Ceremonies then introduced the second half of the programme with a piece written by Saint-Saens, 'Marche Militaire' from 'Algerian Suite', played by the Band. This performance was followed by participation in the traditional hymn, 'Christians, Awake'. This hymn emphasises the religious aspect of the Festival, which has been subdued by the more commercial aspects.

The smaller, more specialised choir called the 'Corinthian Singers' performed next. This group of trained singers presented early English choral music consisting of three pieces, including a 16th Century carol. The performance takes place on the left side of the stage (from the audience's view-point). Their performance involves very little movement on stage, as they concentrate on vocal production rather than on dramatic movement - as was the case in the rock group sequence.

This item is followed by a traditional segment during which the Master of Ceremonies asks members of the audience to hold lighted candles in the air so that the thousands of flickering lights can be clearly seen by everyone. Members of the 'radio audience' are given a description of this sight. Commenting on the event, 'The Advertiser' critique reports, "As the sun faded the first candles flickered, and from the top of the Festival Theatre the huge crowd looked like a patch-work quilt interwoven with glow worms."²

1,2 'The Advertiser', 20th December 1976.

Another traditional carol is sung, from the 'Carols by Candlelight' book of simple carol arrangements. The Choral Director then leads the massed choir in a special sub-performance of 'Achieved is the Glorious Work' from 'The Creation' by Haydn. Here we have the excerpt of sacred music, which was an important part of the first musical performances in Adelaide. Once again it indicates the Church tradition of this model City. During this segment the Choral Director's contribution to the evening is acknowledged and The Harmony Choir's forthcoming 'Carols Night' is advertised.

During this announcement the Lord Mayor of Adelaide has moved from the official seating area on to the stage to give his Christmas message on behalf of the City Council and others involved in the organization or support of the Festival. The Lord Mayor, (who is a member of the Establishment group of families) says that 'Carols by Candlelight' is a "family night".¹ He also emphasises the Christian message of unity and peace among people on earth. He speaks too of the recognition of both the traditional and commercial aspects of Christmas. The speech is short, and is followed by another Christmas carol.

The next special act was given by the guest singer Irene Tirbutt who won 'The Advertiser' Aria Contest for 1976. Because her voice was rather strong and the style of her singing somewhat formal, certain youngsters on either side of the river humorously imitated the long vibrato notes all through the performance - such acts were audible on stage. Also at this time some youths discovered that they could whistle to each other across the river, and there were sounds of calls and answers all around the area. Irene Tirbutt sang a bracket of songs which included the well known favourite, 'Mary's Boy Child'.

1 From the Lord Mayor's speech recorded during the programme, 1976.

Two short segments then followed. The first was a traditional carol sung by everyone, and the second was a special performance by the massed choirs who sang 'To Shepherds Fast Asleep' by Davis. This was probably one of the most lyrical pieces in the whole Festival, and to emphasise the contrast it was directly followed by the rock group 'Stylus' who ran on stage to perform a longer segment of rock music. In fact it was rather longer than allowed for, and for this reason the next carol for audience participation was cut short by one verse. A carol is always programmed at this point to allow for the frequent over-use of time by Rock groups such as 'Stylus'. In this way the allotted radio time for the whole performance can be maintained. The second number in the sub-performance of 'Stylus' features instrumental 'breaks' in order to introduce by name the various members of the group. Thus 'Stylus' uses this performance to advertise their music to a wider audience. They were reasonably successful in making use of the fact that the higher amplification level also increases the volume of audience applause; nevertheless they could still be said to have "got the loudest applause".¹ This came especially from the younger members of the audience. Interestingly, 'The Advertiser' refers to 'Stylus' as a 'Soul' group, but their music did not really indicate this.

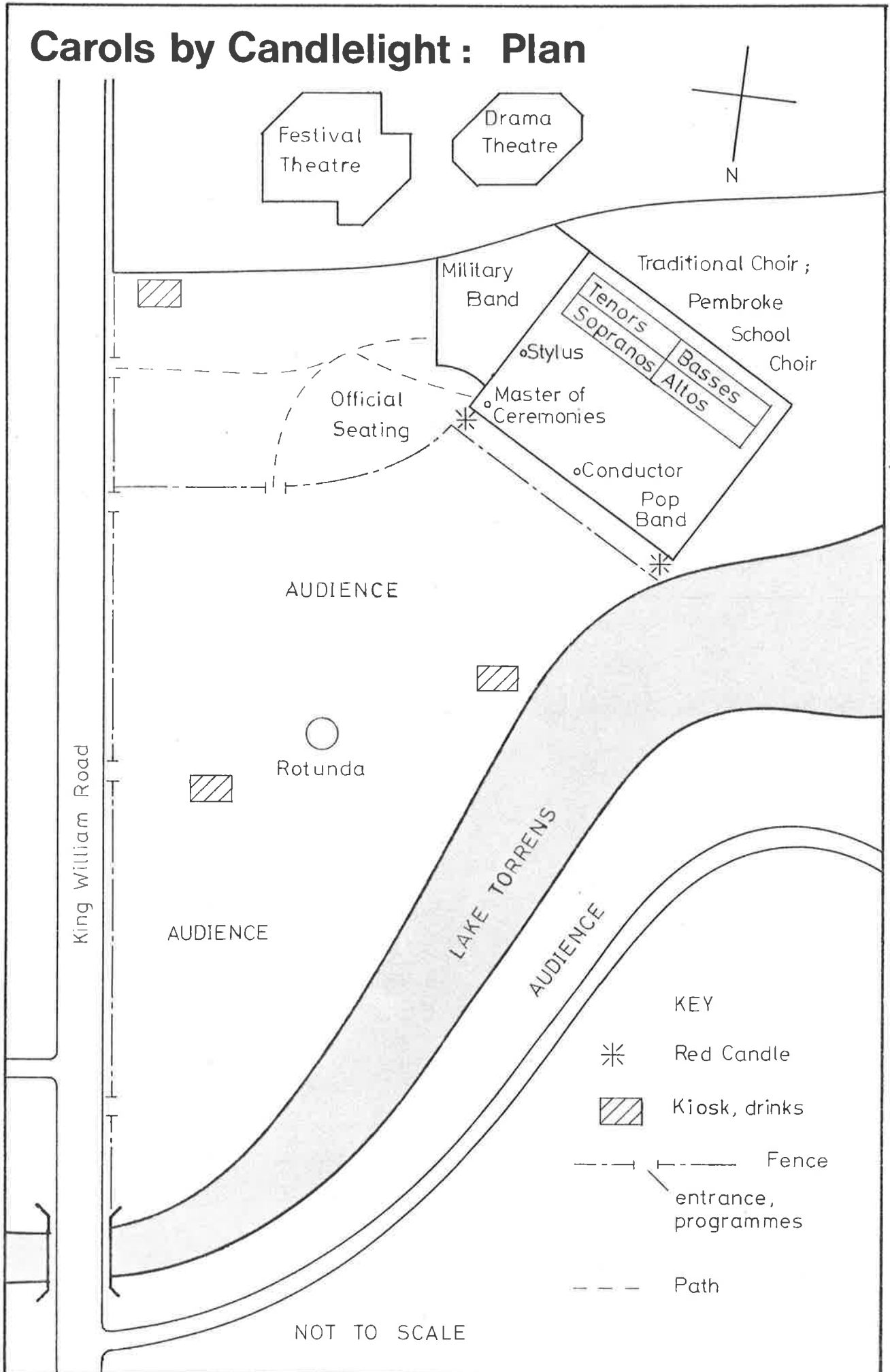
'Silent Night' is usually the last carol sung at 'Carols by Candlelight', and it is followed by the 'Hallelujah Chorus' from Handel's 'Messiah'. This sacred chorus is one of the most popular parts of the Festival each year, and, although it is set as a special item to be sung by the massed choir, many members of the audience join in the singing. Originally this chorus was included when the Symphony Orchestra and the Adelaide Philharmonic Choir became involved in the Festival.*

1,* 'The Advertiser', 20th December 1976.

Having announced the performance of the 'Hallelujah Chorus' the Master of Ceremonies asks the audience to stand, as this was part of the tradition associated with the music. The people do so in large numbers, but some prefer to gather their things ready to go home. Finally, 'God Save the Queen' is introduced by a fanfare from the Band and sung in full by choristers and audience. This marked the formal end of the Festival and the Master of Ceremonies reminded the people about transport facilities. Most of the people moved away very quickly; however the official party and the performers waited for the Governor to leave first.

An Analysis of 'Carols by Candlelight' stressing the Structural Arrangement and the Progression of Events

The overriding feature of this performance is its structural arrangement. The (programmed progression of sequences is organized so as to hold the attention of an audience representing widely varying musical tastes). This was achieved by varying the musical styles represented, and by distributing them throughout the whole evening. The overall effect is of potential discontinuity, which is overcome by overlapping participation of the various performers, and by the (use of a Master of Ceremonies who co-ordinates the changes from one style to another and who keeps the overall focus of the performance in people's minds.) An example of this overlapping participation can be seen by the way in which the choir became involved in the Rock Music by stamping their feet. I also refer to the dominant focus of the performance, which is the celebration of Christmas by participants sharing an evening's entertainment together. Christmas community spirit and good-will is a key theme, which is indicated by the symbols used throughout the performance. This theme is emphasized by the fact that the radio broadcast is co-ordinated with similar performances in other areas of the State, and in other States. The theme is also apparent in the purpose of the Festival, which is to encourage Christmas giving towards the less fortunate members of the community.



The Physical Structuring of the Performance

The physical structuring of the performance assists in the organisation of large numbers of people. There are categories of both audience, and performance members which can be seen in the physical layout shown in Figure 4.2, 'Carols by Candlelight - Plan'.

The whole area is bounded by a fence which has a limited number of entrances through which people pass, on presenting their programmes. They can also buy programmes at these appointed entrances. However, as already noted, one can listen to the music from the opposite side of the river and many people do this. There is also a fenced official area of seating and a further fenced one which separates the stage area from the audience. Access to the Festival Complex is given to performers, but there too a system of priority has been developed. This gives guest soloists priority over group performers, except for the Rock group which has its own room in the Complex. Official members of the audience are given access too.

Secondly, the Military Band in uniform is positioned on a separate side stage. This is a convenient arrangement as the main stage would have been overcrowded if the Band had been on it as well as the choir and other soloists. Remember that throughout the whole performance the traditional massed choir remains at the back of the stage. In front of them to their left is an area where the 'pop' artists set up their instruments and amplification systems. The conductors stand at 'centre front', except for the Band leader who remains on the side stage. The Rock singers use all of the front of the main stage, but others like the Corinthian Singers use only stage right. Finally, this Christmas performance is marked by two large candles standing either side of the stage.

Frames

Each sub-performance also has its own discrete frame which is introduced and closed by the Master of Ceremonies. Where a conductor is involved he is able to further focus audience attention before beginning work, by a gesture of his arms. The Rock artists create their frame by running on stage, increasing the amplification and lighting effects, and using all the available stage space to dance. Thus a frame is the boundary around a sequence which focusses attention on the content of the frame. Each frame begins and ends with audience applause, except for the choral singing with audience participation, which is closed by the Master of Ceremonies.

Dress

The dress of performers illustrates part of the process of erecting the style of each frame. Many of the choristers wear black and white traditional oratorio dress, members of the Pembroke School Choir wear school uniforms, and members of the military Band wear full dress uniform. On the other hand, popular artists wear 'gear' which tends to reflect popular dress fashions among young people. They wear jeans with bright satin or cotton shirts. This colour also adds to the impression of 'fast' style and pace.

The Official Area

The Mayor and the Governor are seated in the official area. The Mayor is the figure head more traditionally associated with this event due to his Establishment involvements with the City Council. He also gives the traditional Christmas message. The Governor acting as the Queen's representative emphasises the traditional English origins of the Festival.

Members of the audience who are not admitted into the official area come early to the performance area to stake their claim to a good viewing position with enough space to spread blankets on the ground, and to arrange their group boundaries. Some people who walk around during the performance to take refreshments and to view the performance from different angles must travel around already seated groups.

Christmas Symbolism

There is much in the way of Christmas symbolism in the musical lyrics of the sequences in the programme, and in the written form of the programme itself. Of these only a few will be considered here.

Light:

Light is the predominant symbol as indicated by the title 'Carols by Candlelight'. Light shines in the darkness. Here it symbolises Christmas celebration. Also light in the world is a symbol of creative energy and spiritual enlightenment. The star symbolism which occurs in Christmas accounts and in the carols emphasizes the struggle of the human spirit against the forces of darkness. In light man and God, heaven and earth are united. Stars guide travellers such as the wise men who came to the stable in the story of the Nativity. They are also used to guide ships, and metaphorically to guide the individual through life. Fire, as in the flame of a candle, is a cleansing and purifying symbol. It is a symbol and source of power and energy. Nature responds to Light to produce ecosystems. That is, Light supports life. Finally, colour and Light influence our impressions of the world around us.

Music and Joy:

Apart from sight, sound influences our impressions of a performance. We depend on musical sounds and language for communication, without which the society would not exist in the same form. Music is a vehicle for expressing many feelings including in this performance context, Joy. The 'Hallelujah Chorus' is primarily an expression of Joy. We hear of the 'King of Kings', a theme which links the religious aspects of the Festival with the aspects of nationalism, and patriotism expressed by the Government and Royal representation. Music and its Social Images enable us to see at a glance a 'truth' which words can only transmit more gradually. The paradigm of Anglo-conformity is seen at work in this promenade concert. The Church of England and Methodist influences are also clearly seen in Establishment interests in the Festival.

Love:

Love is another Christmas theme, as indicated by the carol 'Away in a Manger'. Charity is an associated theme. All in all, a kind of 'communitas' (after V. Turner)* is in operation in this social context, even though status distinctions are still kept. This is another reason why potentially conflicting musical styles can appear in the one context. We have, then, a framework which supports the unity of the whole, and a Christmas ethic which gives further support, in the form of 'Goodwill'.

Conclusions

In this ethnography I have tried to show how the programme progresses through various musical styles, and through both traditional and commercial forms of entertainment. It is unusual to see rock music and traditional oratorio excerpts performed in the one context, together with a military

* Turner, V. 1969. The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure. Chicago: Aldine.

band. The anthems add an air of traditionalism to the whole event. Even the accompaniment for traditional choral works is performed on an electric piano used for rock shows. Normally this would simply not be allowed to happen.

The background traditional carol singing is interrupted by the programming of the Christmas speech and performances using very different styles. For example, the use of strobe lighting for the rock sequences changes a traditional concert stage, or band platform into a rock stage or disco scene in a matter of seconds. Each act has its own symbols for cueing its audience for the kinds of performance to follow. All such techniques are means whereby images are created. However, each sub-performance acknowledges the context of performing with other sub-performances with very different styles. The unity of the whole performance is sustained by participation which crosses sub-performance frames.

Finally one must note the juxtapositioning of the sequences in the performance which are aimed at sustaining each category of musical taste present in the audience. The alternation of traditional and 'pop' works and the deliberate choice of works which have the widest audience appeal make it possible to sustain the attention of the whole audience throughout the Festival. Tradition forms a constant backdrop for the performance of 'Carols by Candlelight'.

Appendix

Sponsors of 'Carols by Candlelight'

The Lord Mayor, a member of the Establishment on The Adelaide City Council, and staff have been involved from the start. They provide financial support, a venue and patronage. The giving of a Christmas message by the Lord Mayor is a tradition which dates back to 1944 and the original 'Carols by Candlelight'.

Other acknowledgements go to 'The Advertiser', again with Establishment members on its Board. Its members give publicity before and after the performance and they also design the programmes. Whilst Mr. D. Moore was early on employed by Radio 5AD he now works for 'The Advertiser'.

Cyclone K-M Products Pty. Ltd. provide the fences for the total performance area, the official seating area and the stage area.

The Authorized Newsagents' Association for South Australia Ltd. help to sell the programmes.

The Band Commander of the 4th Military District is acknowledged for presenting the Band.

Mobil Oil Australia Ltd. provides Air travel for any interstate artists, and for those appearing in country performances.

Of recent years the 'Carols by Candlelight' lighting effects have become more important, and this service is provided by Oliver J. Nilsen and Co. (S.A.) Ltd.

The Commissioner of Police provides policemen for crowd and traffic control, and St. Johns' Ambulance Brigade is involved in providing medical service to members of the audience.

Adelaide's Battalion of Boys' Brigade Australia provides collectors and programme sellers.

Candles are provided by the S.A. Gas Co.

Allans' Music (Australia) Ltd. provides a piano.

Ansett Airlines of S.A. provide air travel for performers, too.

Harlock and Galli (S.A.) Pty. Ltd. Incorporated Insurance Brokers provide all insurance requirements.

Other volunteers include the school choir, members of the massed choir and the Conductor.

One can see from this list that the traditional businesses of South Australia contribute to the Festival as part of advertising procedures. This aspect of the Festival should not be overlooked. It is indeed a large Festival to run efficiently, especially as radio timing is an important requirement.

CHAPTER 3

'ELIJAH' PERFORMED

Introduction to a 'Middle Class Choir'

The history of concert life shows class and status interests at work. We have seen in Section II how there were periods of musical development in Adelaide. I have discussed the movement towards a specialization in musical style and its contexts. We have also looked at the differentiation of various alternative claims to professionalism in music. In Section III we looked at the further institutionalization and bureaucratization of music which influenced the choice of music predominant in particular contexts. There is a close correlation between style of performance and its contexts. Thus, music presents an image of social patterns which also influence other situations. And we can see the boundaries for acceptable behaviour, that is, context-appropriate behaviour.

In this Case Study I do not aim to look at Establishment or Elite music groups, but at a large middle class choir, which has Establishment patronage and leadership from some professional musicians. The chapter on professionalism in music has emphasized a distinction between the three parts of the middle class. There are artisans, a lower middle class and a 'middle' middle class. The lower middle class aspires to become middle middle class, and they in turn aspire to become upper middle class. The artisans identify with the upper class, and Elite values and tastes in music. However, when they are reminded from above of their lower status, they set up their own 'competing' musical events.

The Choir now considered is an 'amateur' one, that is, its members individually receive no payment for their singing. However to the Elite and the Establishment they are sometimes considered 'amateur' in the sense of the

inferiority of their performance quality. In fact, this is not necessarily true. This Choir has gained an audience of its own.

Historically, choirs have made more of a mark in general society than orchestras because, requiring less formal training, they can draw in a wider range of participants. Also, choral activities are social ones in that choral singing is a group activity rather than a more individualistic one. However because choirs lean towards traditional Establishment ideals they tend to direct social energy away from political protest about their members' status. The shared ideals are: firstly, self-improvement through disciplined musical training; secondly, moral uprightness through the performance of religious works; and thirdly, 'respectability' as discussed in earlier chapters of this thesis. Finally, social benevolence is included in all these ideals, as charity performances are regularly given by this Choir.

The Adelaide Harmony Choir

The Adelaide Harmony Choir has been the creation of Lewis Dawe and his supportive choristers. It has provided enjoyment for many people, but, despite its success the Choir still has the definition of 'amateur'; and it has not received the same credit for good performances as 'professional' Establishment choirs. Given the stability and local popularity of this Choir, which has had many soloists performing in its ranks, why has credit from Establishment/professional musical quarters been so ungraciously given? The answer lies partly in class relationships. Because it has been seen as middle class and 'amateur', the Choir has not had the same orchestral facilities as the Adelaide Philharmonic Choir, which has been supported by the Australian Broadcasting Commission, (although due to Government cut-backs in spending it has now been disbanded, 1979). The

following two quotations indicate the different nature of the Philharmonic and Harmony Choirs as seen by the public in Adelaide. These comments came from programmes prepared by members of each of the respective Choirs. Firstly, the Philharmonic Choir:-

"On 5th April, 1937, eight singers, who had already been culled from a much greater number of applicants, assembled in Adelaide to begin the first rehearsal of the Adelaide Philharmonic Choir. 'Well, what of it?' you may ask. 'In a city which has always had its share of good, competent choral societies, what significance is there in the beginning of yet another one?' That would be a pertinent question deserving a considered answer, and, if you will take the trouble to read what follows, I think you will realise that, on that April evening, something of real importance for the musical population of Adelaide was happening.

You see, until that time choirs had performed, at more or less regular intervals, most of the well-known and well-worn choral masterpieces, but no choir could or would take the financial risk of presenting modern or lesser known works. Therefore, in order to fill this notable gap in our musical life, the Australian Broadcasting Commission took an initiative and called for applications from singers to join a choir, which was to be known as the Adelaide Philharmonic Choir, and which then began to carry out its task with the late John Dempster as chorus master.

Rehearsals were (and still are) held each Monday night, and, to begin with, the A.B.C., which controlled the Choir, paid members 10/6d per quarter to cover travelling expenses."¹

1 The Story of the Choir, Clifford Harrop - Chairman, The Adelaide Philharmonic Choir, 1937-1952.

The history of the Adelaide Harmony Choir was different. It developed and began with a small membership and was an independent Choir which had its roots in church choirs.

*"Founded by its Conductor, Lewis Dawe, in 1947, with an original membership of eight, the choir has grown steadily in numerical strength and musical ability. Over the years the Harmony Choir has assisted to raise many thousands of dollars for various churches and charities. In addition to seventeen interstate trips the choir has also given many concerts in country towns."*¹

Whereas the Adelaide Philharmonic Choir had the support of the A.B.C., the Adelaide Harmony Choir gained support through its patrons and audiences.

*"Our first Patron was Mr. A.L. Dawe, followed by Mr. Frank Cawthorne, and Sir John Philips. We regret that early this year we had to record the death of Sir Geoffrey Reed who served with distinction as Patron for many years. We have since been most fortunate to gain the services of Senator Gordon S. Davidson for this position and we extend to him a warm welcome."*²

Mr. Frank Cawthorne ran a local music business, but also had associations with the Conservatorium and Music Department at the University of Adelaide. The class and professional claims of these two Choirs has caused conflict amongst the audiences who patronise each choir. There was rivalry between them. This was increased at times when the Philharmonic Choir gained access to International conductors and performers who came out to work with the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra. By contrast, the Harmony Choir has had more stable leadership which is perhaps the major reason why it has outlasted the other. It has also had family support.

1,2 Programme of 1971, the 25th Anniversary Year of the Choir.

Although The Harmony Choir first developed as a means of involving the middle classes in performance, the Choir has lost the visible aspect of this 'political' role. This has been partly due to the change in stress from popular pieces to large-scale sacred works, as the Choir grew in numbers and was therefore able to divide into six parts. An example of dress indicates at one and the same time the emulation of the upper classes and dissociation with the lower classes. Whereas the upper class including patrons would arrive formally dressed by car or taxi, the middle class would come formally dressed but would use public transport. The working class would use public transport and be less formally dressed, by upper class standards.

Despite upper class patronage, leadership of the actual performance in this case was in the hands of the middle class. The close knit social organization of this Choir allowed its members to express, in an organized way (especially at weekly Tuesday night rehearsals), distaste for the modish status-seeking tendencies amongst the Elite. Formal rules of behaviour regarding Choir uniforms and performance interaction were made, and rules regarding attendance at practices were recorded but were not formally or rigidly applied. Attendance at a performance without attendance at practices was frowned upon.

The stability of behavioural 'mores' is well illustrated by the recent proposal by some of the younger members of the Choir to alter the uniform. After some discussion at committee meetings, it was decided that the black and white colour scheme should be retained, and that the only alteration would be a change in the cut and fabric of the ladies' white blouses. In fact this change was never made. Men were allowed to wear coloured shirts only at the most informal occasions. Recruitment for the Choir is carried

out through local church choirs and church schools. In this way new life comes to the Choir, thus encouraging its continuation.

The Performance of 'Elijah'

I begin this account of The Adelaide Harmony Choir performance of 'Elijah' with a statement about the aim of the performance. On Tuesday 19th April 1975, Mendelssohn's 'Elijah' was performed at the Kent Town Methodist Church. This performance was given in aid of the Christian Medical College and Hospital at Vellore, in South India - as the Adelaide Harmony Choir performs for charity. The performance is thus a non profit-making enterprise. The Choir is also closely associated with the Methodist and Baptist churches, but it does also perform for The Church of England. For these reasons, and because the cost of finding a venue for performance can be a problem the Choir often performs in churches.

My aim in the analysis of this performance is to examine the ritual in terms of the surrounding framework, and in terms of the framework of the ritual itself. Although I examine audience and performer interaction, I concentrate on the ordering of symbols within the ritual context. The symbolic analysis shows how dominant and sub-dominant themes are juxtaposed in the sequences and dimensions of the frame, so that they form and maintain a particular religious image. One can see how the religious imagery extends from the internal structure of the work itself into the social organization of the performance as a whole.

Already the reader will have noticed that this performance is described as a 'ritual', and this is because there is a continuity of themes and symbolic organization which runs throughout the entire performance. In accordance with models of rituals, this also has three parts, consisting of a focussing

exposition; a development in which ambiguities and conflicts are sorted according to the dominant focus stated in the first part; and a coda or summarizing conclusion, in which the focus is reasserted in summary form in the light of the second part. I now propose to show how the symbols are juxtaposed, and how the performance operates to reinforce traditionally held religious beliefs and social values.

The Audience Composition

Having stated the performance aim from the view point of participants and my aim in the analysis of the performance, I turn to the issue of audience composition. Because this performance was given for the 'Friends of Vellore', there were members of this group who would not normally attend Harmony Choir choral activities. Secondly, members of the Kent Town Methodist Church attended this performance. Finally, ticket sales were made to the formal group of 'Friends of Vellore'; but even so there were significant numbers of people in the audience who were the friends and families of the choristers and soloists.

The Ritual surrounding the performance of 'Elijah'

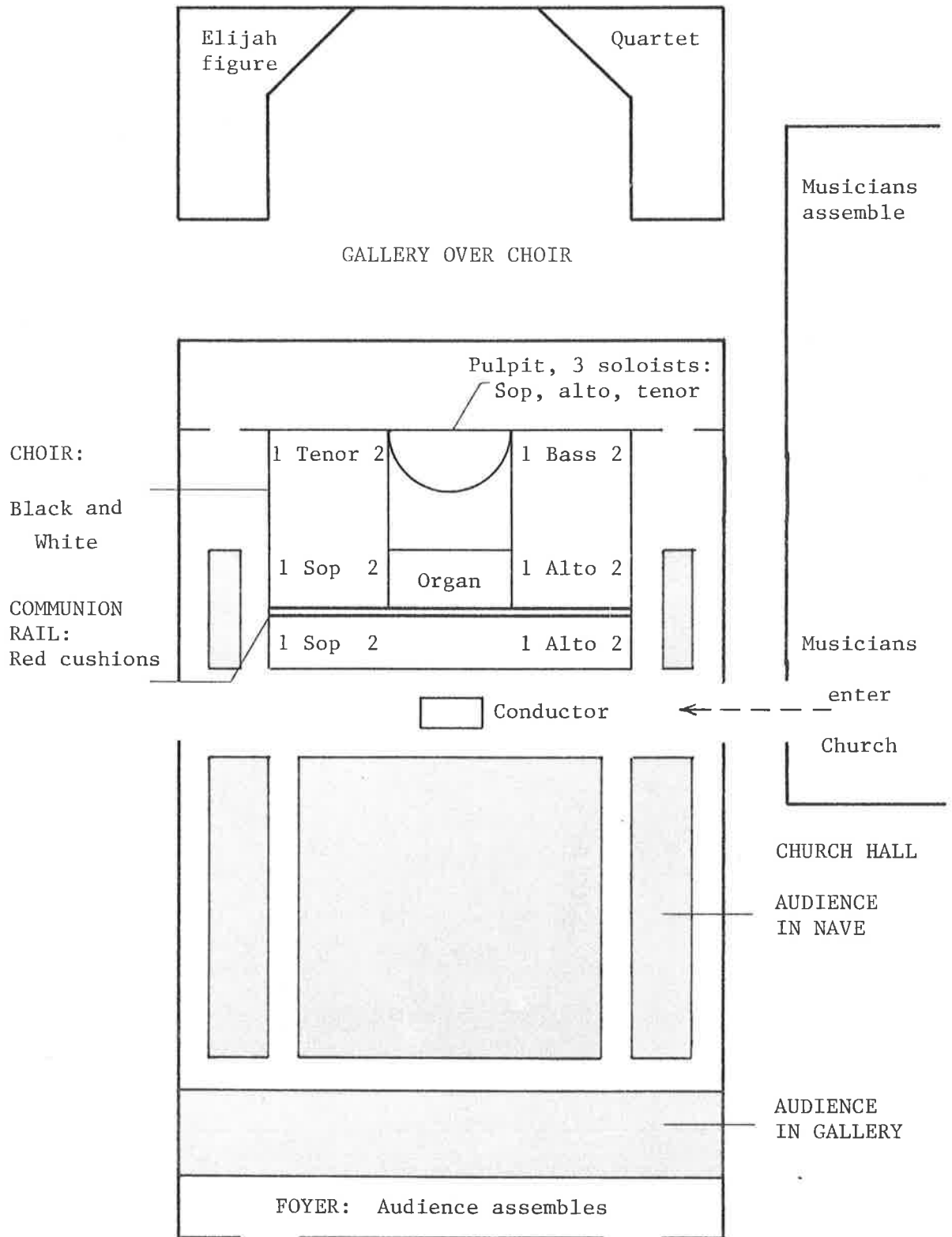
Figure 4.3 shows in plan form the physical organization of this ritual performance. One of the most notable aspects of the ritual surrounding the performance was the traditional dress for Oratorio worn by choristers and soloists. The choristers' uniform is black and white, and books were covered in white material too. Because this performance was less formal than some oratorio performances the soloists wore colour.

Secondly the audience and musicians had different entrances. Members of the audience entered from the front of the church, whereas the musicians entered from the back. So, immediately one is aware of the different and

Figure 4.3

Elijah : Plan

Schematic only:
NOT TO SCALE



KENT TOWN METHODIST CHURCH

somewhat separate roles played by each group. The third point concerns the temporary social organization of the performance. Before the performance there was some informal chatter in the audience and performer areas of assembly. During the performance the audience and performers were clearly separated groups, who interacted by means of a common focus on the music, its accompanying lyrics, and through the wider social situation. The intermission was a point at which the frame of the performance temporarily gave way to the frame surrounding it. This breakdown from presentational to discursive form occurred when the music stopped and the soloists and choristers moved to their assembly area at the back of the church. Some returned to the church for a short chat with members of the audience. However, only a small degree of social interaction between audience and Choir members took place, due to the short time-span of the interval, and the need to prepare for the second part of the performance. After the performance members of both the performing Choir and the audience met at the front of the church. This was an opportunity for more social interaction between these groups.

What has taken place then is a kind of ritual separation according to one's social function in the performance. Without this focus and clarification of roles, the frame boundaries and ritual progression would be quite different.

Now let us take a closer look at the ritual organization with specific reference to ritual separation. The solist playing 'Elijah' was positioned in the church gallery above the Choir and the audience. In this case the separation signifies Elijah's 'superiority' or leadership role as a prophet and mouth-piece of God. Also, this ritual separation reinforces the significance of Elijah's separation in Part 2 of the text. We see that prophets are distinct from priests, in that the role of the latter is more institutionalized.

The trio of Angels sang from the gallery too. This episode consisted of choristers who moved to the gallery during the music directly preceding their chorus, and who then moved back to their chorus positions immediately afterwards. The three soloists were also separated in that they sang from the pulpit, which was in the centre of the Choir but above it. The Choir sang around the pulpit, because of the problem of space associated with the need to fit the Choir parts across the church so that they could sing as a group. The soloists were set above the choir and audience, midway between the Youth, Elijah and the Angels. This structure was acknowledged by the conductor to be "intentional"¹ and "very effective"². The organist was seated in the centre of the Choir, but once again this was due to the position of the organ rather than to created ritual structure. Of the other parts the soprano who sang the part of the Youth stayed in the Choir which was at the time singing the comments made by 'The People'. We notice that the women only sang one chorus without the men, which was the 'Chorus of Angels'.

There is a further definition of performer/performance status in terms of the structure surrounding the performance. On this occasion the church was used partly as a concert hall, as indicated by the fact that the audience acknowledged the performers by applause. (By contrast, Easter performances of 'The Passion' are not applauded even in a concert hall setting.)

When the audience was seated for the start of the performance, the musicians entered in order of their status with the lower status performers entering first. Thus, the internal hierarchy amongst the performers was displayed, as follows: Firstly there were the choristers who entered from both sides

1,2 A direct quotation occurring at practices for the performance.

of the performance area and who stood to acknowledge the later arrival of the three soloists and the organist. All stood for the major soloist playing the role of Elijah. Finally, the conductor entered and silence fell as the applause died away and all attention became focussed on the Conductor's directing of the start of the music.

The soloist playing Elijah was the conductor's son and this was emphasized by the fact that the conductor himself sang one small part to give Elijah his entrance. Conductors do not usually sing whilst conducting. Although this interaction was outside the normal ritual framework, the interaction between father and son is consistent with the interaction between God and Elijah suggested by this work. The Conductor marked the 'lesser' formality of this occasion (as compared with a performance of 'The Passion' at Easter), by wearing a black velvet bow-tie instead of the traditional white shirt front and white neck tie. Regarding colour symbolism the colours red, black and white surrounded the performance (red being the colour of the communion cushions). These colours are identified, respectively, with sacrifice, death and purity.

A Discussion of the Lyrics of 'Elijah'

Part 1 - The Thirst of the Land

I have called this part 'the thirst of the land' because this heading suggests the ritual concern with life giving forces necessary for the physical survival of people. Firstly, in this part Elijah states the problem which is infertility in the land of Israel. This statement precedes the Overture, and gives the focus of the work. That is, "there shall not be dew nor rain these years."¹ The problem of infertility is seen as a

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p.1 (1903 Ed.)

punishment invoked by Elijah, the prophet, because the people believed in the prophets of Baal, (Baal was a Pagan God). The following Overture is tempestuous, turbulent and fast-moving. In this way the music sets the tone for the following action.

The first Chorus represents the plight of the people, and in this and following choruses the public opinion contemporary to the setting of the lyrics is expressed. However, the chorus is also used to focus, to summarize, and to comment upon the action taking place. The people fear destruction due to famine - the result of the god's displeasure. "The harvest now is over, the summer days are gone, and yet no power cometh to help us."¹ (Here the connection between winter and barrenness is given.) But which Gods or God should be propitiated: The old Gods or the new God?

Thus, the problem (at one level) is infertility - its cause and its cure. The implicit conflict is (at the second level) between Pagan polytheism as represented by the prophets of Baal, and 'Christian' (i.e. Jewish) monotheism as represented by the prophet Elijah. The aim of this first part of the work is then to show the ineffectiveness of animistic religions and ceremonies, against the effectiveness of 'Christian' worship. In respect of the attempt in this ritual to incorporate naturalistic symbolism into the 'Christian' ritual, one can argue: (1) that animistic ceremonies have an important social function; (2) that some fusion of Christian and non-Christian beliefs takes place; and (3) that some naturalistic aspects of the rituals are not as distinct as they would first seem. For example, the practice of sacrifice was taken over by 'Christians' at this time in history.

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 6.

The Recitative Chrous reinforces the focus of this problem. That is, "The deeps afford us no water; And the rivers are exhausted! The suckling's tongue now cleaveth for thirst to his mouth: the infant children ask for bread, and there is no one breaketh it to feed them!"¹ Now we have the theme of innocent suffering together with the possible symbolism associated with 'water'. That is, because there is no 'water' (a purifying agent), the symbolic consequence taken up in the work is that there is no 'purity'. The Recitative by Obediah contains the theme of the ritual, restated. He tells of how the Israelites must "Forsake your idols, return to God."² We learn that during this 'water shortage crisis' the people return to the worship of the Gods they feel are most likely to give help - natural Gods concerned with the land and what grows out of it. Then follows the Air in which there is a statement of faith in the 'One God'. The Chorus of the people then follows in which they reaffirm the curse which has fallen upon them. "His wrath will pursue us, till He destroy us,"³ and, "He is a jealous God; and He visiteth all the fathers' sins on the children to the third and fourth generation of them that hate Him."⁴ "His mercies on thousands fall - fall on all them that love Him, and keep His commandments."⁵

The above quotations are full of traditional interpretations and symbols which create the Christ Image. They are full of other traditions too: for example, notice the tradition of the curse which falls on many generations of kin (which is common in many societies), and the idea of a jealous God (a belief also held by the Ancient Greeks and their Olympian Gods). At this point in the ritual one can also see the conflict which is built

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 12.

2 ibid. p. 17.

4 ibid. pp. 24, 25.

3 ibid. p. 21.

5 ibid. pp. 25, 26.

into the folk conception of God, who is at once merciful and vengeful, depending on the status of man as believer, or non-believer. This fear of vengeance by an angry God, or Gods also predates Christianity. A second point is that in it we have a strong motivation for belief. In this sense religion acts as a social control on behaviour channelling people towards believing - in this case, in one God.

Again in a Recitative we hear of an Angel who now appears in the form of 'protector'. Elijah is singled out and told where to find 'water' (symbolic of life given to him) in an otherwise barren land. The Angel also brings the good message that "the ravens ... feed thee these."¹ Here we have the rite of separating Elijah from the crowd. In a further Recitative an Angel brings a report to Elijah telling him where to find food and water, this time at the house of a widow with a sick child.

The First Miracle of Resurrection after Ritual Separation

In the next Recitative and Air we hear that the widow asks that her son be saved. In this section of the work the dialogue form becomes very important. Dialogue indicates that communication is taking place. Elijah calls on God's power to grant a miracle of resurrection. (Widows in many societies are seen as marginal or even outcast.) Therefore Elijah's identification with her at this point in the work indicates his growing 'outcast' position with regard to the main beliefs in society. The child to be saved may be seen as the innocent saved by the faith of earlier generations. The dialogue ends with the Chorus which summarizes the above action, "Through darkness riseth light ..."² Now we add to the symbols of purity and impurity,

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 29.

2 ibid. p. 50.

sacrifice and pilgrimage, the symbols of light associated with right beliefs, and darkness associated with old beliefs.

In the next Recitative Elijah and Ahab (the King of Israel) confront each other. Here the chorus interrupts the dialogue, in order to clarify the plot. The singing is in dialogue form and it progresses as follows. The focus is on the question, 'Which God is supreme?' Actual proof is demanded. Elijah claims that Ahab is causing Israel trouble through encouraging pagan beliefs, and Ahab claims that it is Elijah who is the trouble maker because he is encouraging 'Christian' beliefs. Who is right - that is, according to the focus of the ritual? (Notice that Ahab is only given a few lines in order to justify his accusations, whereas Elijah is given much greater space in which to gather support for his case). Elijah makes the following suggestions: "gather to me the whole of Israel unto Mount Carmel; there summon the prophets of Baal, and also the prophets of the groves, who are feasted at Jezebel's table. Then, then we shall see whose God is the Lord".¹ The last line is important in the development of the performance and it is repeated by the chorus.

The Second Miracle of Fire

a. The Pagan Ceremony

Elijah challenges Ahab to prove the merit of the Pagan Gods through the second miracle of Fire: "Rise then, ye priests of Baal: select and slay a bullock, and put no fire under it: uplift your voices and call the god ye worship; and I then will call on the Lord Jehovah: and the God who by fire shall answer, let him be God".² (Note that Fire is a source of energy, a sign of power, and a symbol of cleansing. It is also destructive if not

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. pp. 56,57.

2 ibid. p. 57.

used wisely). The chorus then repeats the theme, "and the God who by fire shall answer, let him be God".¹ Then the Prophets of the Groves and of Baal call on specific Gods of the forests and mountains, as the site of the test is a mountain.

Sub-climax

This section in which the prophets of Baal call on their Gods is the sub-climax of the first part of the work. What is to happen next? The chorus then takes up the role of the Priests of Baal. This is one of the central Choruses because it represents a chance for the Pagan belief to be fulfilled. The action is a sub-climax in the context of the entire work because in this ritual, these Pagan beliefs are secondary to the focus of 'Christian' beliefs.

One of the work's central structural points is the prominence of the dialogue form. Here is part of the dialogue between the Priests of Baal and Baal:- "Baal ... hear and answer us! Heed the sacrifice we offer!"² The idea of 'hear and answer' is repeated many times. Finally, the Priests of Baal say, "Baal, let thy flames fall and extirpate the foe!"³ At this point Elijah says that the priests must call louder as there is no answer from Baal. So, the chorus representing the Priests of Baal sings more loudly. Once more Elijah interrupts in a Recitative saying they must call louder still. In this sub-climax the musical tension rises and the 'Christians' become more dispassionate and mocking of the Priests of Baal. Elijah says to the Priests of Baal, "With knives and lancets cut yourselves after your manner: leap upon the altar ye have made: ... Not a voice will answer you; none will listen, none heed you".⁴ So, the confidence in the

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 58.

2 ibid. pp. 59, 60.

4 ibid. p. 69.

3 ibid. p. 63.

Priests and their God is undermined. (Historically, if one refers to The City of God,* by Saint Augustine, one can see how the Christian cut the ground from under the Pagans, who become more afraid of the consequences of not believing in the Christian God, than of the consequences of ignoring parts of their own traditional religion). In a Chorus the Priests of Baal say, "how the scorner derideth us!"¹ - but the answer is a stony silence.

b. The Christian Ceremony

Now, Elijah in the following Recitative and Air requests his God to light the fire with flames, and prove himself to be the God of Gods. This is the only occasion in which a Quartet is used in this work. Note its position in the physical structure of the performance, that is, above the choir and audience. The aim of this Chorus is to reinforce faith in God. Directly following the Quartet of Angels is a Recitative in which Elijah says, "O Thou, who makest Thine angels spirits; Thou, whose ministers are flaming fires, let them now descend!"²

The Climax of Part 1

The Miracle of Fire confirms Elijah's stand

The climax of Part 1 and the second miracle comes when the chorus representing the people says, "The fire descends from heaven, ... Before Him upon your faces fall!"³ At this point the Fire symbolism takes on a purging aspect rather than that of utter destruction. However, the Prophets of Baal are "slain"⁴ as part of the purging. Interestingly, by contrast, this

* St. Augustine. The City of God Ed: V.J. Bourke 1958, New York: Image Books.

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 71.

2 ibid. p. 79, 4. ibid. p. 84.

3 ibid. pp. 79-83.

is the point in the St. John Passion* at which the Christ figure is slain.

Then, the new religious prophet is in turn victimized by the people and religious authorities for blasphemy. However, in this ritual it is the old religion which is in question, and Elijah ends this miracle with an Air. Notice that much emphasis falls on Elijah at this point. He has been proven right, so he is now a threat to 'State security'. Such a strong religious leader is seen to pose a threat to the power of State Kingship.

The summary of Part 1: The Codetta

This summary is heavy with symbolism. It begins with an Air in which Elijah points out the ramifications of the miracle episode:- "Is not His word like a fire; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock into pieces? ...the Lord will whet His sword; and He hath bent His bow."¹ We see that the 'fire' becomes the symbol of the confirmation of Elijah's words, that is, the 'fire' came and therefore everything else Elijah says is true. This legitimation works through an extension argument. The power of God is expressed in the underlined symbols of word, hammer, fire, sword and bow. Thus, this Air aims to encourage people to believe fully in the miracle. Then again in an alto Arioso, those who still hesitate to believe are not told of the good that comes with believing; instead they are told of the destruction which could come if they do not believe. Thus, the dire consequences of non-belief are played upon to encourage conformity.

* From Bach, J.S. The Passion of our Lord according to St. John.

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. pp. 85-87 (Symbols underlined)

The dialogue leading up to the Third Miracle of the First Storm

This consists of an Air and Chorus. Firstly, Obadiah emphasizes the idea that Elijah's God is the only God to cause miracles or to command the natural forces. We now return to the focus of Part 1, that is, the drought. Only the new God can make the forces act to give rain.

Elijah then asks for a further miracle of rain. This is symbolic of fertility and renewed life in the land. The people also ask God to: "Open the heavens and send us relief".¹ Elijah commands a youth to look at the sea to see if rain is coming. Youth here is again symbolic of relative innocence. (The youth is sung by a soprano voice). The youth reports: "There is nothing. The heavens are as brass, they are brass above me".² (Note that 'brass' is characteristically solid, immovable and impenetrable.) Elijah initiates more prayers asking for forgiveness of sins. The people pray for forgiveness, as they repent. Elijah then repeats the request for the Youth to "look toward the sea".³ The Youth reports, "There is nothing. The earth is as iron under me!"⁴ (Another metal is used to symbolize the impenetrability of the earth.)

The First Storm and an end to the physical Thirst of the Land and People

Elijah prays for help and calls the Lord, "my rock".⁵ Now the 'rock' is a symbol of steadfastness. It contains some association with the hardness of 'iron' and 'brass'; yet water springs from rock. This symbolism of water coming from rock occurs in other biblical stories.

Then, the Youth who is looking out to sea says, "Behold, a little cloud ariseth now from the waters: it is like a man's hand! The heavens are

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p.93.

2-4 ibid. p. 95.

5 ibid. p. 96.

black with cloud and with wind: the storm rusheth loud and louder!"¹

Here the movement of events and symbolism associated with the coming of rain is very concentrated. Note the imagery of God scooping up the ocean waters in his hand - like a 'man's hand', as man is made in God's image. Notice also the colour symbolism of black for the threatening storm. This storm is symbolic of a great change in events. Disorder is changed to order; and the unnatural drought and consequent famine are relieved by rain, which will bring renewed life. The people have repented and believed, and so they are rewarded.

Then the People give thanks for the mercy shown to them. Elijah also gives thanks. (This is significant because although his credibility as a prophet is saved, his problems are increased. For he has stood apart from the crowds and has successfully led them. Therefore, the powers of State will fear him. However, Part 1 ends with the People giving more thanks for a solution to the problem of drought and the question of which God they should follow. "Thanks be to God,"² is the final Chorus. We hear "He loveth the thirsty land! The waters gather, they rush along; they are lifting their voices! ... The stormy billows are high, their fury is mighty. ... But the Lord is above them, and Almighty!"³

Now one must emphasize that at this point in the work the natural elements are seen as, 'mighty' but 'the Lord is above them', and 'Almighty'. God is now seen as being in control of such natural forces as rain and wind, but He is above them and not in them. This theme recurs throughout the rest of the work.

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 97 (Symbols underlined).

2 ibid. p. 99.

3 ibid. pp. 99-104.

Intermission

The interaction during the intermission has been mentioned earlier, but the focus of the performance is temporarily lost as members of the audience, and performer groups chat informally. It is the Conductor who once again establishes focus on the work by signalling the start of the second part of the performance. The music begins...

Part 2 - The Thirst of the Soul

Whilst the 'thirst of the land' has been satisfied the 'thirst of the soul' continues. Thus, the focus in Part 2 is an extension and the consequence of the action presented in Part 1. Now we hear about Elijah versus State power, whereas in Part 1 we heard about Elijah and his God versus the Prophets of Baal and their Gods.

The first Air is concerned with promoting religious confidence in general, and it contains a particular reference to Elijah, who has become an outcast from mainstream society and culture due to his belief in one God, and because he presumed to speak out in the name of God. The focus is on the words: "Be not afraid! ... thy help is near."¹ (The Christ figure is similarly accused of speaking in the name of God.)* Then the chorus repeats the lines:- "Be not afraid, saith God the Lord".² A recurring theme here is that God will protect believers.

In the next Recitative Elijah attacks Ahab for having abused his role as King of Israel by worshipping the old Gods like Baal. From this point onwards Elijah is treading on dangerous ground, for he has associated 'good'

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. pp.116,117

2 ibid. p. 116.

* From Bach, J.S. The Passion of our Lord according to St. John.

with the new God, and 'bad' with Ahab who worshipped the old Gods. Elijah's prophecy is as follows: "Thou (meaning Ahab) hast made a grave altar to Baal, and served him and worshipped him ... And the Lord shall smite all Israel, as a reed is shaken in the water; and He shall give Israel up, and thou shalt know He is the Lord."¹

Elijah challenges Ahab to become a 'Christian', yet public figures do not like losing face by changing their standpoint, and so the stage is set for further conflict.

This section is similar to the dialogue in which Pilate accuses Christ of abusing the old State religions, of blasphemy, and of undermining the authority of both Jewish law and Roman law.* Once again the conflict between State and Religion is being unveiled.

A Summary of the Acts Elijah has performed now phrased as Accusations

The dialogue form continues once more. In the Recitative and Chorus The Queen (Jezebel) repeats the idea that Elijah has "prophesied against all Israel."² The Chorus now representing the People affirms "We heard it with our ears".³ The symbols of 'ears' and 'hearing' also evident in Part 1 are emphasized in this section. Then The Queen elaborates on the consequence of the prophecy:- "Hath he not prophesied against the King of Israel?"⁴ Again the chorus repeats, "We heard it with our ears."⁵ The Queen continues, "Why hath he spoken in the Name of the Lord? Doth Ahab govern the kingdom of Israel while Elijah's power is greater than the king's?"⁶

* From Bach, J.S. The Passion of our Lord according to St. John.

1,2 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 125.

3-5 ibid. p. 126.

6 ibid. p. 127.

Thus, the nature of the conflict in Part 2 is stated by the Queen, and it concerns the power relationships between political leaders and religious leaders. The conflict between Pagan and Christian beliefs, the theme of Part 1, is now of secondary importance. The Queen concludes that Elijah should be sacrificed: firstly, because, according to their views, he had sacrificed the prophets of Baal in whom the King believed, and secondly, because he presumed to set himself in an ambiguous position in relation to the rest of the social system, by claiming power as a prophet of God. The Chorus representing the crowd then repeats, "He shall perish!"¹ The Queen repeats that Elijah has destroyed the prophets of Baal and the chorus repeats, "He shall perish."² The musical excitement is growing as the repetitions emphasize the hostility of State and the crowd toward Elijah. The Queen elaborates on the accusation, "Yea, by sword he destroy'd them all!"³ (Note the symbolic identification of Elijah with the sword of God. In Part 1 God was the holder of the sword; now it is emphasized that Elijah also holds the sword, and is therefore responsible and accountable for his actions. The sword is a symbol of power.) The chorus once again repeats, "He destroy'd them all!"⁴ Now the Queen adds, "He also closed the heavens!"⁵ The chorus then repeats this accusation, "He also closed the heavens!"⁶ The accusations continue to mount up. The Queen says of Elijah, "(He) called down a famine upon the land."⁷ The chorus repeats it, "And called down a famine upon the land."⁸ Then "Let the guilty prophet perish!"⁹ A message then goes forth for Elijah to be killed. (In the St. John Passion,* a chorus says of Christ, "he worthy is of death",¹⁰ which the Conductor changed to, "he guilty is of death"¹¹

1,2 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London" Novello. p. 128.

3,4 ibid. p. 129 5-8 ibid. p. 130. 9 ibid. p. 133.

* From Bach, J.S. The Passion of our Lord according to St. John.

10-11 ibid.

to emphasize the State/legal element rather than the moral element.) The Chorus then repeats, "Woe to him, he shall perish; he closed the heavens! And why hath he spoken in the Name of the Lord?"¹ This chorus summarises the action and the problem of power relationships. It is an ambiguous section in that the dominant focus on Christian beliefs seems to be under threat. This corresponds to the stage of conflict described by A. van Gennep which rituals exhibit. It corresponds to Part 2 of the St. John Passion. The range of meanings is great, and the level of disorder is at a maximum.

Now, in a Recitative Obadiah warns Elijah to flee for his life into the wilderness where God will nevertheless protect him. Elijah comments of the people, "Though stricken, they have not grieved!"² He says of his life in the following Air, "take it away"³, for he is the last prophet to be sacrificed. Elijah then goes into the wilderness where he is protected by angels who are camped around him.

The sub-climax of the work sung by the Angels

The sub-climax comes when Elijah decides to die for his beliefs. The Angels mediate between Elijah and God, and the section begins with a Trio sung by Angels. (This is the only Chorus in the work sung solely by women, with the effect of creating a lighter ethereal sound from the gallery). Elijah is on the mountain, (traditionally seen as nearer to God in many religions). The next Chorus includes men as well. They tell of God, the protector of Israel. In the next Recitative, the Angels instruct Elijah to go to the Mount of God, Mount Horeb. Elijah does this with ever lowering spirits.

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. pp. 131-134.

2 ibid. p. 137.

3 ibid. p. 141.

Trust and rites of protection are emphasised by the Angels in an Air, and the Chorus sings of the saving aspect of 'Christian' beliefs. There follows a Recitative sung by Elijah, in which he describes night-fall. This is symbolic of the dark moment in which Elijah finds himself. Once again the symbolism of water is introduced as Elijah says, "my soul is thirsting for Thee, as a thirsty land."¹ Thus, the theme of the thirst of the land explored in Part 1 is linked with the thirst of the soul described in Part 2. The Angels then sing again, and the darkness of night is contrasted with the light of God's glory: "stand on the mount before the Lord; for there His glory will appear and shine on thee!"²

The Climax of the work comes as God's Power is revealed to Elijah on the Mountain

Separated from society on the mountain Elijah feels the presence of God.

The third miracle: The second Storm - Coda

The third miracle is expressed in highly condensed, highly symbolic Coda form. The natural elements are disturbed as God passes by. This is symbolized by the second Storm, (the first Storm having occurred in the Codetta of Part 1). "Behold! God the Lord passed by! And a mighty wind rent the mountains around, brake in pieces the rocks, brake them before the Lord: but yet the Lord was not in the tempest. Behold! God the Lord passed by! And the sea was upheaved, and the earth was shaken: but yet the Lord was not in the earthquake. And after the earthquake there came a fire: but yet the Lord was not in the fire. And after the fire there came a still small voice; and in that still voice, onward came the Lord."³

1,2 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 157.

3 ibid. pp. 158-168 (key symbols underlined).

So, this new God is not part of the natural forces, rather He controls them. God is in the 'voice' by which we understand the religious message of being created in the image of God. Let us follow this argument through from Part 1.

Firstly, the tempest is a symbol of upheaval in both Parts 1 and 2. The first Storm signifies the renewal of the thirsty land, and the second Storm symbolizes the revitalization of the thirsty soul. In Part 1 Elijah's separation from the world begins; and in this Coda it is completed as he passes out of the world completely in body and soul. In both Parts 'water' is a dominant symbol of birth and rebirth.

Secondly, I have already commented that God is seen to be at once merciful and vengeful, depending on the status of man as believer or non-believer; the degree to which man is held accountable for his sins; and on his confession and mercy thus shown to him. In the Codetta the power of the 'word' is emphasized - "Is not His word like fire; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock into pieces?"¹ The 'word' is seen as a powerful symbol.

Thirdly, in Part 1 the tension is between the worship of old Gods and the new God; in Part 2 tension arises over the degree of power held by prophets and State leaders. We see in both Parts that natural forces are "mighty"², but that God is "almighty"³; and that God is not in the natural forces but He controls them.

(In the ancient religions of Greece and Rome the association between a natural object containing power (mana) and the power itself was very close.

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 85 (symbols underlined). 2,3 ibid. pp. 104-105.

The object itself was seen as secondary, and was treated accordingly, Now, in this 'Christian' ritual, some conscious attempt has been made to integrate the power of the natural forces into the new religious framework. Therefore, God is seen as supreme, over and above the natural forces. The Lord was not in the fire, or the tempest, or the earthquake.)

The new God appears in an image closer to man himself, that is, "in that still voice, onward came the Lord."¹ We can add to this 'human' symbolism the symbols of the 'hand' and the 'rain cloud' which symbolise God's intervention to cause the storm in the Codetta of Part 1. Finally, this part ends with a clear affirmation of the dominant focus, so that there is no doubt as to the outcome of the conflicts expressed in the central part of the ritual. In a Recitative, Chorus and Quartet we hear that God's glory, "filled all the earth",² just as Elijah had originally prophesied. However, Elijah is 'scapegoated' by his society and culture for stepping outside their behavioural boundaries. Elijah was seen as a source of disorder in society, because he threatened the existing power structure.

Part 3 - The Conclusion

Part 3 begins with a Recitative by Elijah who resolves to "suffer for Thy sake"³. Here we have the image of the 'Christian martyr', and the end of Elijah's work. "My heart is therefore glad, my glory rejoiceth, and my flesh shall also rest in hope."⁴ In the following Arioso Elijah declares his faith is strengthened.

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. p. 168.

2 ibid. p. 170.

3,4 ibid. p. 175.

A Chorus follows in which Elijah is described in the same terms as 'The Lord' at the end of Part 1. "Then did Elijah the prophet break forth like a fire; his words appeared like burning torches. Mighty kings by him were overthrown. He stood on the mount of Sinai and heard the judgments of the future; and in Hareb, its vengeance. And when the Lord would take him away to heaven, lo! there came a fiery chariot, with fiery, fiery horses; and he went by a whirlwind to heaven."¹

The symbols further come together in the next Air and Chorus. The symbols of 'light', 'righteousness', 'sun' and 'heaven' are also presented. 'Joy' is added to the meaning of 'light', and, as in the St. John Passion^{*}, there is a final promise of life everlasting after suffering. 'Light' is extended to include 'the blessed' and 'the morning'. The final Chorus of 'Elijah' ends in almost the way in which the 'St. John Passion'^{*} begins: "Lord and Master ... thou are the true eternal Son. Lord and Master ... in all nations".² In 'Elijah' we conclude with "Lord, our Creator, how excellent Thy Name is in all the nations! Thou fillest heaven with Thy glory. Amen".³

The Symbolic Analysis of 'Elijah'

The arrangement of symbols in this ritual is highly significant in determining the form and focus of events. The terms used here, such as 'tonic', 'dominant', 'sub-dominant', and so on, help to amplify these ordering processes so that they can be seen at work within the symbolic interaction and structure of the ritual, 'Elijah'. These terms describe symbol clusters within the stage by stage sequences and dimensions of the frame of the ritual.

1 Mendelssohn, 1903. Elijah: An oratorio for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soli, SATB, orchestra and organ. Opus 70. London: Novello. pp. 178-185. (key symbols underlined). 3 ibid. pp. 205, 206.

^{*},2 From Bach, J.S. The Passion of our Lord according to St. John.

Like other rituals, 'Elijah' has three distinct phases. In the first phase, action is focussed in the terms of a dominant theme. In the second phase, ambiguities are created when conflicting themes are juxtaposed within the one context. In the third and final phase, the original focus is restated in the light of the intervening phase so that the ambiguities are explained in terms of the focus. Symbols play a vital part in the interaction, process and structure of these three phases of a ritual.

In Phase 1 of the ritual 'Elijah', symbols cluster to form a tonic (or root) focus which recurs in subsequent phases. There are also sub-tonic symbols which may vary from phase to phase, but which are elaborative of the tonic symbols. Furthermore, symbols operate throughout the ritual to summarise and condense meaning on the one hand, or to elaborate and expand meaning on the other. While symbols may summarise meaning on one level of emergence, on a different level they may help to elaborate meaning. ('Levels of emergence' are layers of symbolic form and content within the frame, field, or extended context. These levels have a horizontal syntagmatic axis and a vertical paradigmatic axis. For a further explanation refer to Section III, Chapter 3.)

Finally, a ritual may have several dimensions, that is, it may be 'transcendental'. In this case, symbols are organised in clusters to enable a transition between worlds; that is, between one dimension and another. These transitions are called liminal phases.* The Case Study of the Anzac Codetta illustrates this process. But there are also distinct variations in the social perceptions of space and time between the two dimensions of the ritual. Thus, symbols help to create ritual worlds, and to facilitate

* Turner, V. 1969. The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure. Chicago: Aldine.

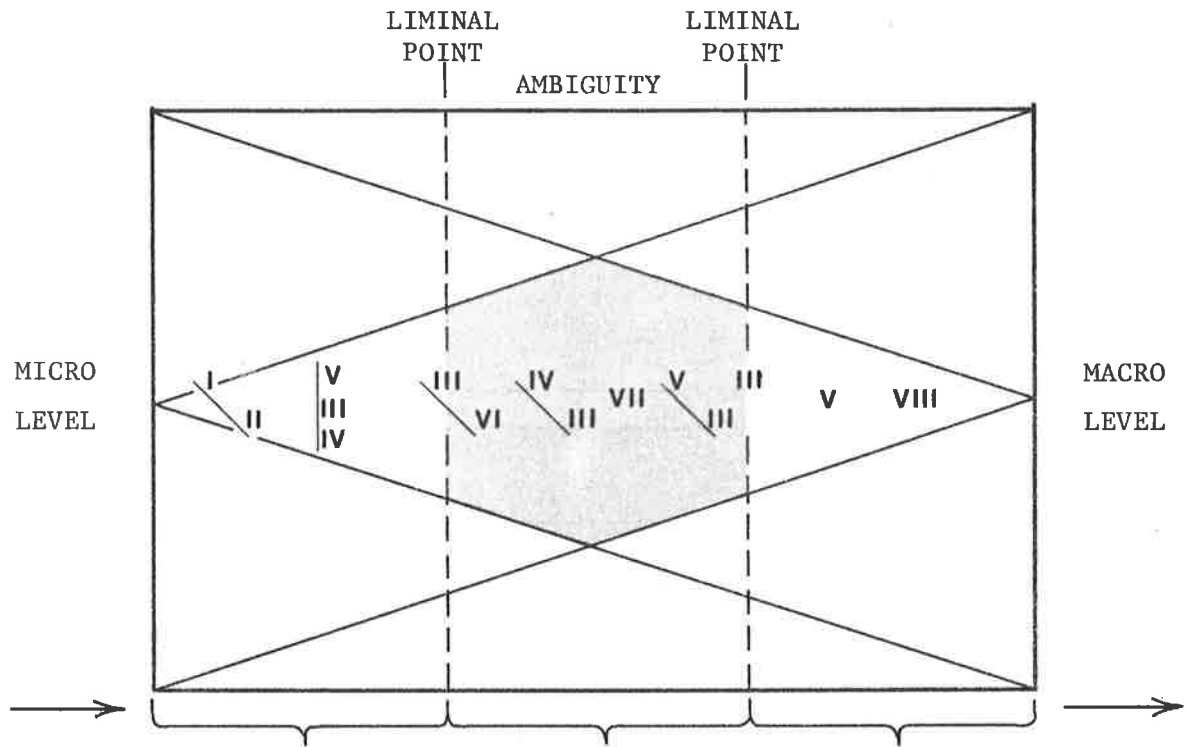
communication between them. This point is most clearly seen in rites associated with mediation between man and God, and between the living and the dead. Other rituals which are supportive of change are called 'transformative' rituals, but 'Elijah' is not one of these. The following discussion of 'Elijah' divides into theoretical and case illustrations, so as to emphasise the many implications of symbolic clusters of themes within a ritual.

In the discussion of Grounded Theory, in Section III, Chapter 3, I constructed a diagram (Figure 3.2) to illustrate the progression from micro to macro levels of society through three phases, corresponding to the three-phase structure of a ritual. I now elaborate on this diagram by showing its implications for this analysis of 'Elijah', in Figure 4.4.

By viewing the diagram from the micro perspective, one can see that the ritual frame is first defined when the participants' attention becomes focussed on the themes selected from a range of alternatives. In this ritual, the focal dominant symbols are first presented in the ritual surrounding the performance. We saw how the arrival of the musicians on stage began to focus attention to form a frame boundary. Then, as the Conductor began the work, silence fell on the audience. From the opening bar of the performance, we learned the theme of the work, that is, Elijah the prophet aims to do something about the problem of infertility in the land of Israel. So, for the purposes of this narrative, the audience is transported to a different time and place. This statement of the theme is followed by the Overture, in which the same theme is supported by musical expression.

Figure 4.4

Elijah : Ordering of Symbols



PHASE 1		PHASE 2		PHASE 3	
Thirst of the Land		Thirst of the Soul		Summary	
Focus:	I			Reemphasis of Focus: VIII	
God versus pagan gods		Prophet versus State power			
Conflict between IV and V					

Once the audience's attention is focussed on the ritual theme, additional information is provided. The Israelites fear death due to crop failures and famine. They therefore seek to appease their Gods. But which God or Gods? Elijah tells the people to seek only the one God. But the prophets of Baal claim that their Gods will bring relief. Thus, at this early stage in the work, two sides of the issue have been presented by symbolic clusters associated with each theme. By the close of the first part of the work, Elijah is seen to have received an answer from his God, whereas the prophets of Baal have not been heard by their Gods. By this stage in the performance, the dominant focus on one God has been established and is being reinforced. Symbols are being sorted, according to their dominance or sub-dominance. Symbols associated with the prophets of Baal are given a sub-dominant role. There are also sub-tonic and mediating symbols to aid the progression of the work. (Refer to Section III, Chapter 3.)

Thus, in Phase 1 of the ritual, the dominant focus and sub-dominant symbols are stated. The focus is on the, 'Thirst of the Land', which comes to a climax in Part 1 through the miracle of Fire in which Elijah and the prophets of Baal test their Gods. A symbolic 'Storm' is part of the Codetta of Part 1. (A Codetta is a summary in which the essential meaning of, for example, Part 1, is condensed and given emphasis.)

The construction of the frame in Part 1 involves the maintenance of a symbolic focus by keeping its meanings presentational in form. That is, the definition of meaning is narrow. Symbols are selected for emphasis, and are specifically defined so that there is no room for question.

In Part 2 of this ritual, the battle between the advocates of the old God and the new God continues, even though the main focus has already been partially confirmed in the miracle of fire. Part 2 is called the 'Thirst of the Soul', and deals with spiritual rather than physical battle. There is a dialogue between Elijah and the authorities holding State power. A sub-climax for the whole work is reached when the Angels protect Elijah in the wilderness. His power as a prophet has increasingly separated him from society. The climax of the work then comes when God appears to Elijah, and there follows the second Storm.

Part 2 contains greater ambiguity in symbolic emphasis than either Part 1 or Part 3. This is in order to re-create the battle between two Gods, two sets of prophets, two sets of beliefs, and between representatives of religious and State power. The dialogue form, which is a major feature of Part 2, indicates that the symbolism is more discursive. That is, it is more open to various interpretations, questioning and debate. Only at the end of Part 2 is the dominant focus on Elijah, the prophet of God, reinforced. It is reinforced in a summary, or Coda, at the end of Part 3. In this way, ambiguities occurring within the central Phase are controlled, and kept in a sub-dominant position within the overall symbolic framework of the work.

So far, we have concentrated on the micro view of the work, but symbolic selection also takes place along networks joining the ritual frame to a field, and to the extended context. The field for this performance of 'Elijah' is, of course, the independently run Choir. The influence of this level of emergence is to create a core audience support from friends and families of the choristers.

The pattern of selecting and maintaining the symbolic focus described here is called 'Impression Management', and the created perspective is called a 'Social Image'. In the extended context, information is also given stress, and in so doing one particular Social Image is presented as dominant, and its blue-print is maintained in the form of a paradigm. Alternatives to the paradigm are presented in social metaphor. The central part of this ritual is open to some re-interpretation, but overall, sub-dominant themes in the form of social metaphor have no opportunity to become dominant, and thus to move outside the frame. This is due to the power of a focus.

The Arrangement of Dominant and Sub-Dominant Symbols in 'Elijah'

The terms 'dominant' and 'sub-dominant', used to describe the focussing of meaning in particular phases of the ritual, also help to explain how symbol clusters gather to form focuses on higher levels of emergence. Here, I list the symbols used in this ritual, and indicate their grouping in terms of their role as root, dominant, sub-dominant, or mediating symbols. The list is as follows:-

I Basic (Tonic key note symbols)

- 1 Water (dew, rain, etc.) for the thirsty land and body. (The colour white symbolises purity).
- 2 Bread to feed the hungry children and the body.
- 3 Fire to destroy and to purge.

II Super tonic (Symbols supportive of I)

- 1 Ravens to feed Elijah.
- 2 The widow who helps Elijah.
- 3 The oil for fuel in the widow's house.
- 4 The juniper tree under which Elijah shelters in the wilderness.
- 5 The closed heavens symbolised by the solidness of brass and iron.

III Mediant (Bridging, mediating, transitional, and communicating symbols)

- 1 The word is like a fire and like a hammer which breaks rock.
- 2 The voice.
- 3 The mouth.
- 4 The ears (hearing and loudness).
- 5 The servants (prophets).
- 6 The Angels and Seraphim - note the circle of Angels who are 'ministers of flaming fire'. (The messengers mediate between heaven and earth - between Elijah (the 'mouthpiece') and God.)
- 7 The wilderness, as a liminal area.
- 8 The mountains are indicative of religious ritual separation between heaven and earth.
- 9 Obadiah is Elijah's friend and a messenger of warning.
- 10 The prayers.
- 11 Fiery chariots and fiery horses take Elijah on a whirlwind to heaven.
- 12 The dialogue form, of Part 2.
- 13 Sacrifice.

IV Sub-Dominant (Symbols opposed to V)

- 1 Darkness, silence, closed heavens, despair, infertility.
- 2 King Ahab and The Queen of Israel (State power).
- 3 The prophets of Baal.
- 4 Sacrifice of bullocks to Baal.
- 5 Baal (Pagan religion).
- 6 Lancets (knives to 'cut' themselves).
- 7 Famine.

V Dominant (Focal symbols)

- 1 Light, answers to prayer, open heavens, joy, hope, fertility.
- 2 Elijah, the Prophet of God.
- 3 God, homage to God.
- 4 Sacrifice to God.
- 5 Miracles including:
 - a. The resurrection of the widow's son.
 - b. Lighting the Fire.
 - c. The Storm.
 - d. The appearance of the Angels.
 - e. God's appearance before Elijah.
- 6 Youth and innocence.
- 7 The Lord, the rock.
- 8 The sword and bow as symbols of power.
- 9 The thirst of the soul.
- 10 The cloud as a symbol of hope.
- 11 Natural symbols including fire, earthquake, tempest, sun, wind, air, earth, sea and rain.

VI Sub-Mediant (Symbols supportive of III)

- 1 Elijah travels East from the start of the ritual, and he travels into the sunrise and toward the light of illumination.

VII Leading Note (As typified by variations from major to minor themes, or emphases)

- 1 In Part 1, the symbolism focusses around the Pagan and 'Christian' religions.
- 2 In Part 2, the symbolism focusses around political and religious power.
- 3 In the conclusion, God is the Lord of all nations.

VIII Octave (This is the same as I - equidistant above and below I)

The introduction includes a statement of the problem which is the focus of work, followed by the Overture.

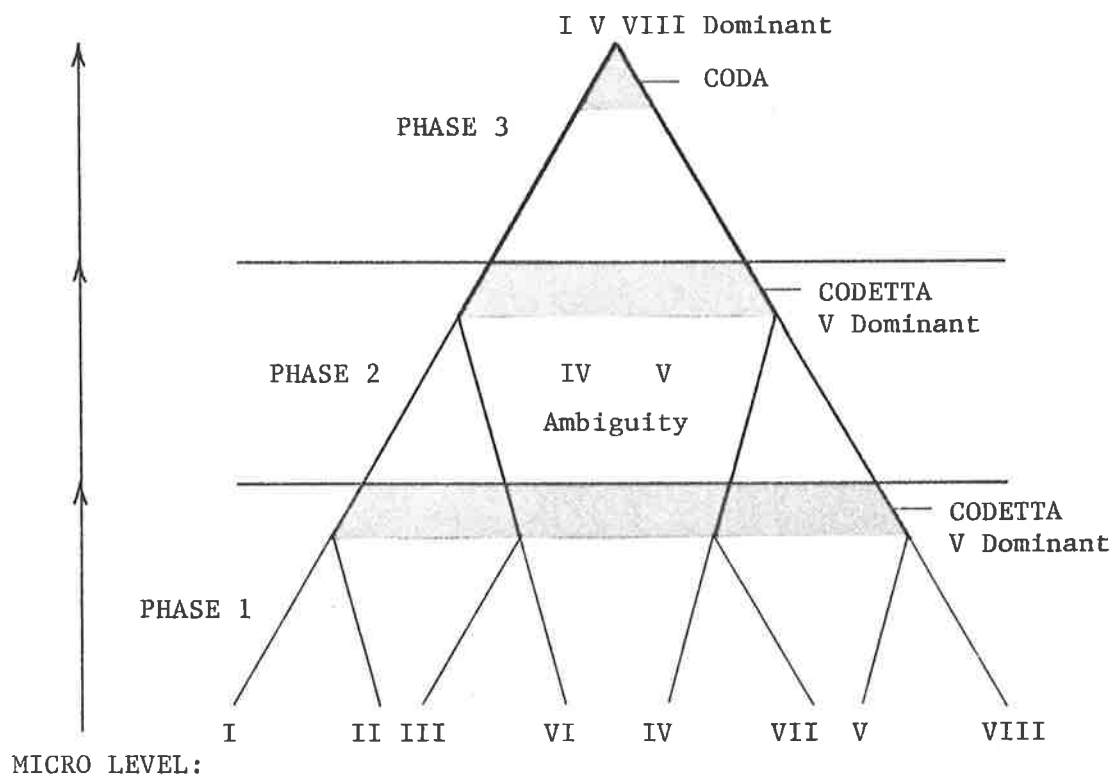
- 1 The 'Codetta' (the first summary) occurs towards the end of Part I and it marks a climax in the work. The climax includes the first Storm which brings rain to feed the land and body. The Pagan ceremony marks the sub-climax of Part I.
- 2 The 'Coda' occurs at the end of Part 2. This climax is marked by the second Storm, during which God appears to Elijah. The thirsty soul received nourishment. The appearance of the Angels marks the sub-climax of Part 2.
- 3 The conclusion reinforces the focus which is presented in the introduction, and praises to God are sung.
- 4 Other important symbols are - the black cloud, which is in the shape of a man's hand and a symbol of hope; the small voice, symbolic of mankind; and natural symbols such as the earthquake, fire, tempest, sun, wind, air, earth, sea and rain.
- 5 'Elijah' thus falls into three phases according to the van Gennep model:
 - Phase 1: The exposition with its narrow focus.
 - Phase 2: The central section which contains many ambiguities.
 - Phase 3: The conclusion which returns the work to a narrower focus. The conclusion also adds to the focus which is presented in the introduction.

The following diagram, Figure 4.5, illustrates the principle behind the ordering of symbols within the frame, to form a focus. This diagram should be read in conjunction with Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.5 'Elijah': Model of Symbol Groupings

MACRO LEVEL:

Focal point of Social Image



Ordering of symbols for Impression Management

In Figures 4.4 and 4.5 the Roman numerals I - VIII refer to the symbol groupings listed above. We see that on the lowest micro level, there are individual symbols with a high degree of discursiveness due to their multi-focal properties. Once the focus has been stated at the beginning of Phase 1 of the ritual, the symbols start to be sorted according to their role in the whole ritual. The list shows their dominance or sub-dominance. Gradually, by means of increased selectivity, symbols are grouped still further until they are highly presentational. In Figure 4.4 the possible positioning of the eight symbol categories is shown. Key symbols (I) are selected, and others (II) are supportive. Dominant symbols (V) are juxtaposed with sub-dominant symbols (IV). By the close of Phase 1,

the dominant symbols have been emphasised. Mediating symbols (III) occur in all parts of the ritual, but are especially evident in the miracles at the end of Phase 1 and Phase 2. In Phase 2, ambiguity is at its greatest, and sub-dominant symbols are at their most powerful. Thus, the possibility for a change in focus is increased. Supportive symbols (VI) can facilitate the change, but do not do so in this ritual. Leading notes (VII) become most evident. Finally, in Phase 3 summary symbols (VIII) are in operation, to reinforce the key symbolic focus (I).

In this ritual, the following symbols can be grouped together: I, II and VIII; III and VI; VII; V; IV. Alternatively, V may be included with I, II and VIII; and IV grouped with VII. If for some unforeseen reason, a disruption occurs during Phase 2 of the ritual, the paradigm may be weakened and the social metaphor strengthened; that is, IV may gain strength through the weakness of V.

Finally, Codas are summaries of preceding symbolic events. Within them meaning is highly condensed and presentational. Symbols are most elaborative during the discursive sections of the ritual, for example, during the dialogues in Phase 2 of 'Elijah'. In this analysis, I have indicated the importance of recognising the phases of the ritual, and the ordering of symbols in terms of the focus. Symbol dominance, or sub-dominance within the frame, is related to other levels of emergence, such as fields or the extended context, by networks of communication. In this way, one can trace the dominant and sub-dominant patterning of symbols from sequences and dimensions within the frame, through to macro definitions of paradigm and social metaphor, in the extended context.

CHAPTER 4

'THE ANZAC CODA'

Introduction

In Section II of this thesis I introduced this traditional Memorial Service and stressed the role music played in the ritual proceedings. Now I deal with just one unit of symbolic expression within the whole ritual - the 'Coda'. This example is most important for seeing the way in which music is used symbolically to mediate between different planes of space and time. In this role music mediates between the living and those who died in war, or as a result of war injuries and experiences. This is an example of a 'transcendental' ritual.

Firstly, whilst one might argue that this ritual unit should not be analysed by itself, it has not been possible to deal with the whole ritual, and yet this Coda helps to show how space and time perceptions are manipulated through symbols.

A Coda is a summarizing musical section that occurs at the end of a piece of music. Here I use this term to refer to the musical section which occurs at the end of the Anzac Day Dawn Service. Its form and content is very condensed, but it conjures up much elaborative thought amongst participants who add their own perceptions to the basic symbolic outline. The Coda therefore has general symbolic content, as well as personal interpretations placed upon it.

The Coda

The form of the Coda of the Dawn Service is as follows:-

The Stand Fast

The Last Post

One Minute's Silence

War Poem

Reveille

'God Save the Queen'

Benediction

The general setting of this event is shown on the Service sheet (for 25th April 1981) reproduced in Figure 4.6.

The sections of 'The Standfast' outlined in this figure consist of a number of distinct but thematically and contextually related events. Within 'The Standfast' are musical segments which may be described as performances, because the music and the musicians are the centre of focus. The musicians move to the central point of the ritual to play, thus signifying the symbolic importance of the music. Finally, note that the definition of Coda depends on whether one sees the ritual ending with the end of the official Service, or after the unofficial events. Here, the Coda begins with the 'Last Post' played on solo bugle or trumpet. This is also customarily played at military funerals, and at police or royal funerals. This is the first sign that music is bridging the gap between the living and the dead.

During the war the dead are often buried at first light, and so this ritual performance of the 'Last Post' is played as the sun rises, or in the case of the later services, just before noon. This music symbolizes a move from the present everyday dimension to one of reverie. The music in this example also acts as a bridge between the past and the present, and creates continuity of space/time perceptions of heaven and earth.

The playing of the 'Last Post' is followed by 'One Minute's Silence' which symbolizes infinite continuity in time and space. 'One Minute' stands for all time, and provides a pause of silence in the context of the musical.

Order of Service

Royal Salute
on arrival of His Royal Highness
The Prince of Wales
Hymn — “God of our Fathers”
The Lord’s Prayer
The Scripture Reading
Prayer of Remembrance
Placing of Wreaths
Hymn — “Lead, Kindly Light”
Stand Fast

Last Post

ONE MINUTE’S SILENCE

Chaplain:
They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old;
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.

Response:
WE WILL REMEMBER THEM.

Reveille

National Anthem (Sung by all present)

Benediction

Chaplain:
May the blessing of God the Father, the Son and the Holy
Spirit descend upon us all this day and remain with us
always. Amen.

God of our Fathers

God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies;
The captains and the kings depart:
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,
A humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.

Lead Kindly Light

Lead, Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom
Lead Thou me on.
The night is dark and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on.
Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to see
The distant scene, one step enough for me.
So long Thy power hath blessed me, sure it still
Will lead me on.
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone;
And with the morn those angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since and lost awhile.

From Anzac Dawn Service, National War Memorial, North Terrace, 25th April 1981.

sound which carries the major symbolic message. At this point, remember that 'duration' is the quality which helps the change from space to time axes. Especially when dealing with music, duration can be shown to link space and time perceptions, and may enable them to be somewhat interchangeable. That is, space duration can be converted into time and vice versa. 'Silence' is a means of passage to another realm of perception. It is a 'liminal' phase between planes of social understanding. It is certainly not 'marginal' to the understanding of the society and culture as a whole.

The 'Silence' is followed by the 'War Poem' which states in words the theme of the remembrance of the fallen. Within this section the social structuring of past, present and future resolves into a recognition of a continuum beyond. The Chaplain says: "They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old: Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun and in the morning - We will remember them."^{*}

Each year the themes of this poem are repeated, and children and others with no experience of war are taught the importance of remembrance. The life of the ritual thus continues, and the occurrence of recent wars brings more people who wish to remember those who were killed.

The 'Reveille' follows. This marks another musical transition from one dimension to another - from timelessness to a link with past and present everyday routines. Within this section the remembrance of the fallen is one way in which both soldiers and civilians protect the continuity of their daily lives - once broken by war. For war has proved a constant threat to the order of their lives. More than this, the 'Reveille' is played on the bugle, and it marks the awakening of the troops in the

* See the Service Sheet, Figure 4.6.

morning and their call to begin everyday routines once more. This call continues no matter what has passed, or what should come that day. Just as the 'Last Post' relieves the dead of their duties in life, so the 'Reveille' calls those remaining to their posts. Music is therefore vital in this Coda. The trumpet or bugle is the chosen instrument because it is the one used in military services, and, it is symbolically associated with calls from heaven. It therefore mediates between the living and the dead. Drums are also used to mark transitions from one dimension to another.

After the 'Reveille', 'God Save The Queen' is sung by all present at the Service. 'The Benediction', or closing blessing follows. Here we have recognition of God and allegiance to The Queen.

This short example illustrates how music and its associated symbolism can transport human perception from one space/time plane to another and back again in the space of a few minutes. It shows how symbolic meanings are compressed in form and content, and how the implications nevertheless encompass the particular experiences of the participants.

The programme shows that there is much symbolism associated with 'light'. Furthermore, it is exciting to see the wealth of social information which can be revealed by a study of music in its social context. If we take into account the whole Anzac ritual and its associated ritual of 'Remembrance Day', the total wealth of symbolism structured around music is enormous. The music of 'The Reunions' supports the feeling of comradeship and celebration, the music of 'The March' recreates the social atmosphere surrounding war. Social issues, such as reversals in social status caused by war,

are evident in the lyrics of war songs. For example, a song about the adjustment from war to peacetime remarks, "I've got my captain working for me now."¹

In this study I have indicated the 'transcendental' properties of the ritual as indicated in the Coda sequence. Within this Coda music plays a vital role in mediating between the past and present.

1 Sheet Music: Allan's Music Shop.

CHAPTER 5

A STAGE BAND

Introduction

As will be shown in this chapter, during the constant transformation of musical style we have attempts to legitimate performances of New Music . At the same time, however, there is a movement toward the legitimation of older forms of music which have been introduced into a new context, thus making them available to different audiences not usually associated with these musical styles. This Case Study of a Stage Band illustrates the elevation of jazz dance music and band music to a place in Concert Hall performance repertoires. This Band is amateur, as it consists of students and other unpaid musicians. However it also includes some professional musicians who play without a fee. The Band is professionally conducted by an employee of the Educational Institution 'The Department of Further Education'. Like the University this Institution provides a stable basis for organizing amateur activities.

The Concert Band

Like the avant-garde music groups to be discussed later, the Stage Band tends to strain against the confines of the traditional institutional structure, which tempers the amount of jazz to be found in its programmes. This 'Concert Band', 'Wind Band', or 'Symphonic Band', as it is variously called, was formed in 1975. In its second year it moved from holding status as part of the training programme of the Institution, to one in which the conductor and institutional organizers were planning concerts at the Town Hall. It was suggested that at such concerts the Band would supply the whole programme.

The Band plays a wide range of music, from Bach Chorales and Marches to popular Jazz pieces. The aim is for the Band to cultivate the 'Big Band' sound, and to play "Good music"¹ - but not necessarily only from the category of classical music. The Band's aim is also "to entertain".² The instrumental composition of the Band consists of clarinets (instead of violins), flutes, trumpets, percussion, oboes, saxaphones, bassoons, and french horns.

Members of the Band have been drawn from a wide variety of social spheres, different occupational categories and musical organizations. For example, the Band included tradesmen, teachers and University students. Also included amongst the musical organizations represented were members of the A.B.C., Teacher's Colleges and the Conservatorium. The Flinders Street School of Music and 'The Brass and Reed Group' from the Waymouth Tavern were also incorporated. In total, the Band consisted of approximately 45 members, although the numbers fluctuated according to term times and other commitments. The age range was wide and included some youngsters of 13 or so, students from about 18 - 27, and others in their 50s. As for the audience, it consisted of other students, parents, friends, and staff members of The Flinders Street School of Music and the Department of Further Education. Most audiences were 'restricted' to these groups who would not all be regular listeners of jazz and band music in other contexts. On the occasion of one out-door performance, at the Festival Amphitheatre, the audience consisted of a wider public, drawn from the Park area. Thus, on this occasion, the Band had both a known public and a general public audience, which included those who were regular listeners, and those who would not normally listen to jazz and band music. (The Stage Band programmes cross-cut the accepted boundaries of what music should be performed within the field of the Flinders Street School of Music.)

1,2 From Concert Band practices, 1976.

The Band programme^{*}

At a performance on Sunday 2nd May 1976 the Stage Band performed as part of the traditional end of term concert system. The music played by the Band included 'Preludium and Fugue', a 'Suite of Old American Dances', and 'Crown Imperial'. The Band repertoire also included 'Music for a Festival', 'Toccata Marziale', 'South Pacific', 'Marche Joyeuse', 'Petite Suite', and 'Jamaican Rumba'.

The organization of the performance and the music performed depended partly upon the skill of the players in each section, and partly on the type of music they played. First let us look at the performance order. The Training Orchestra performed before the Intermediary, Chamber and Symphony Orchestras. The Brass Choir performed fanfares, and was therefore a logical choice for the beginning of the programme. The Concert Band was placed immediately after the Brass Choir, so as to avoid disrupting the flow of classical music performances. Because the music was highly rhythmic and 'foot-tapping', it provided a good start to the performance and a surprise for the members of the audience not well acquainted with jazz.

A new context for Jazz Music involving Legitimation Procedures

As the name 'Stage Band' suggests, the Band performed on stage to a listening audience better acquainted with classical music. For many people, jazz found in this context was unexpected and a new experience of jazz - which, according to 'puritanical' ideas was not considered to be educational or morally uplifting. Thus, the performance of this music in such a context involved some re-education of people's traditional perceptions of an

* See Figure 4.7, pp.368-370.

Figure 4.7



THE DEPARTMENT OF FURTHER EDUCATION

PRESENTS

The Brass Choir
The Concert Band
The Training Orchestra
The Intermediate Orchestra
The Further Education Symphony Orchestra
The Choir
The Chamber Orchestra

from the

SCHOOL OF MUSIC

FLINDERS STREET TECHNICAL COLLEGE

in a

Free Concert

Held at:
The Auditorium
Croydon Park Technical College
Goodall Avenue
CROYDON PARK

Sunday 2nd May, 1976
2.30 - 4.00 p.m.
7.00 - 8.30 p.m.

Programme for The Stage Band Performance

Figure 4.7 (continued)

AFTERNOON CONCERT - 2.30 p.m.THE BRASS CHOIR

Conductor: Glen Madden

A Royal Fanfare	BLISS
Suite from Le Trésor D'Orphee	FRANCISQUE arr. J. BERGER
Canzon Septimi Toni No. 1 for Double Brass Choir	GABRIELI

THE CONCERT BAND

Conductor: Irving Rosenthal

Preludium and Fugue	FRESCOBALDI
Suite of Old American Dances	BENNETT
Crown Imperial	WALTON

THE TRAINING ORCHESTRA

Conductor: Cornelis Dorsman

Water Music	HANDEL
Barcarolle	OFFENBACH
Airs from "The Beggar's Opera"	GAY
Sleigh Ride	ANDERSON

THE INTERMEDIATE ORCHESTRA

Conductor: John Gould

Symphony No. 92 in G major (The Oxford) First Movement and Finale	HAYDN
L'Arlesienne Suite Overture, Minuetto, Intermezzo, Carillon	BIZET

Figure 4.7 (continued)

EVENING CONCERT - 7.00 p.m.

THE FURTHER EDUCATION SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Conductor: Richard Hornung

Overture - The Magic Flute K.V. 620	MOZART
"Sylvia" Ballet Suite	DELIBES

THE CHOIR

Conductor: Neville Hicks

In Praise of Laughter	HANDEL
Super Flumina Babylonis (By the Waters of Babylon)	PALESTRINA
The Boatman's Dance	arr. COPELAND
Yugo-Slav. Folk Songs	SEIBER

THE CHAMBER ORCHESTRA

Conductor: Robertson Collins

Concerto Grosso Op. 6, No. 12	HANDEL
-------------------------------	--------

'educational' concert. After all, jazz was first performed in streets, in taverns, in dance halls and at cabarets.

The other kind of music the Band brought into this Concert Hall was march music. Once again this music was not generally considered to be as 'edifying' as classical music, but, it was part of the tradition of the Services, and for this reason was more acceptable in this context than jazz. However, the Conductor continually stressed the musical listening value of both Jazz and March music. He was often heard to say, "It's not just a march you know. It is very complex."¹ Or, "Jazz is good music".² In every respect the aim of performing this music in such a context was to encourage people to view jazz as a musical form at least equal in value to classical music.

Through association with traditional educational institutions and concert forms Jazz and Band music can gain 'respectability'.

Apart from appearing on stage this Band was accorded its traditional place in the wider Festival Complex programming. That is, it was allotted outdoor performance space and time, according to the tradition of promenade Band playing. The allocation of this particular venue shows how difficult it is to move a musical form from its original context. Even the word 'Band' is a cue for people to adopt a given set of symbolic perceptions. However, the term, 'Symphonic Band' is an attempt to re-orientate people's perceptions so that they think of Jazz and Symphony traditions together. Through such renaming, the two traditional musical forms become associated.

1,2 From Concert Band practices, 1976.

The Conductor further emphasized his dislike of the Concert Band only being thought of as a side activity in social situations. For when discussing the out-door performance programmed by the Festival organizers, he suggested that the performance would probably be followed by a "juggling act".¹ We can sum up the legitimation of the Stage Band within the traditional educational structure as an attempt

"to add dignity to a style of music generally associated with night clubs and dancing. The argument was that although the music sounded like 'swing', it was in reality a new type of concert music since it was presented from a stage (to a formal listening audience)"²

This is the key then to understanding the Stage Band. Through association with an accepted 'classical' tradition, the Concert Band has aimed to legitimate its claims to the same listening audience. The fact that the Band has been supported at the margins of traditional institutions and performance programmes tends to accentuate this point. Thus, we have an example of change or the beginnings of transformation, through the re-alignment of jazz with classical concert traditions, actually visible in progress.

Change in another form is also evident in the Stage Band. Unlike the traditional Jazz Bands or Military or Police Bands, Stage Bands include women performers. To make this point more evident one can record a case in which a woman wished to join the Police Band, and then the Army Band.

1 From Concert Band practices, 1976.

2 Hall, M.E. 1975. 'What's the Score in Jazz Bands Charts?'
Music Educators Journal. Nov. 1975. Vol. 62. Number 3. p. 75.

*"Elizabeth Palmer is fighting mad - and ready to do battle with the Australian Army. 'I'm too small to join the Police Band and I can't see any reason why I can't enlist in the Army Band. ... I've passed all auditions and my medical. ... The Defence Department said there were no facilities for women in the Army's Band Corps.'"*¹

About one third of the players in the Stage Band were women, and most of them played in the woodwind sections (flutes, clarinets and oboes), although a few played instruments such as trumpets and french horns. Thus, we note the presence of women in some bands as representing a change in the scope of the traditional definitions of bands.

Language

I have already mentioned the term 'Symphonic Band' as illustrative of symbolic transformation. But there are other examples. Through participant observation, it was learned that the language used at Stage Band practices varied from the norm, to include not only expressions used at classical orchestral performance practices but also avant-garde and jazz vocabularies. The music was described variously as "funky", "swing", "jazzy",² and the players may be called "gang", or be told to "cool it gang", or to "swing it gang".³ As in other music groups, much joking behaviour resulted from mistakes made, and the way the music then sounded. The instrumental sections of the Band also joked about the competence or incompetence of the other sections. There were jokes associated with each instrument, the way they were played and the way they sounded. Joking

1 'The News', 3rd December 1976.

2-3 From Concert Band practices, 1976.

behaviour was structured to indicate the tensions due to the different abilities of various sections of the Band, between the classical and jazz styles of playing, and in general between the traditional classical and Stage Band concepts of practices and performances. I would like to illustrate the above points by referring to a joke made at one rehearsal of music with an 'Eastern flavour'. The Conductor quickly suggested that the music might be accompanied by a "belly-dancer"¹ at the next concert, and added that "that would surprise the Establishment."² This produced a roar of appreciative laughter.

Innovation requires leadership and support. In this case the Conductor was the major innovator. He was supported in the Band by music teachers and professional musicians who agreed that jazz should have its place in education. To a lesser extent the Institution also supported the incorporation of jazz into the teaching programme. Support also came from those who played in the Band, and their audiences.

One could spend much time examining the tensions between the musical sections of a band or orchestra, and the caricatures of the instruments. However, the aim of this Case Study has been rather to illustrate the change in the social status of the Stage Band, as a result of its association with an accepted classical educational tradition. The realignment of symbols has played an important part in this change. For the innovation to be successful in capturing the 'new' audience, it must be sensitive to the degree of change which is acceptable in any given context. Otherwise the attempt would surely fall short of achieving the goal of providing legitimation for jazz music in the 'classical' context. The failure of this attempt would, by default, reinforce traditional perceptions that jazz music is of limited educational value. Finally, we note that Jazz performed at the Art Gallery

1-2 From Concert Band practices, 1976.

has an Elite audience, but the same jazz group could perform at a tavern with little or no audience overlap. This further illustrates the argument that the context of a musical performance is often of greater social significance than the music itself.

CHAPTER 6

'PECCATA MUNDI' - AN EXAMPLE OF NEW MUSIC

'Peccata Mundi', Saturday 7th August 1976, 8.15 p.m.

This Case Study allows me not only to point out some of the salient features of a New Music performance, but also to place the performance within the context of the wider socio-political system. Firstly, let us consider the central moral and political implications of this work, because the techniques of New Music are used to express these themes.

The role of the 'political spokesman' in this work is played by the Labour Premier, Mr. D. Dunstan. He represents a new political Elite concerned with using the Arts as a means of expressing concern for social issues, as well as for entertainment. Government policy concerning nuclear warfare and environmental pollution influences the image we have of their role in society. This work, 'Peccata Mundi' aims to shake us out of our complacency and attitude that 'it'll be all right mate', so that our consideration of the effects of pollution and nuclear warfare will be more critical - that is, more reflexive.

The moral aspect of the work is best explained by the Composer, Tristram Cary. In the following quotation he outlines why the work was created:-

"I began to evolve the idea of 'Peccata Mundi' several years ago, but I did not at first see the form it had to take. In outline, I am supposing that man nearly destroys himself by nuclear war in the not very distant future, but thereafter does succeed in coming to terms with his problems for a time (perhaps quite a long time). But his fatal defects and his lunatic self-destructive tendencies lead in the end to death by

*total sterilisation of the environment. The religious connotation of the title is quite deliberate, because although this is not really a religious work the intention is to show that by casting off all moral and symbolic props, man has left himself at the mercy of his own inadequacies. We are already very near this situation."*¹

The occurrence of the words 'Peccata Mundi' within the text provides a link between traditional performances of religious works, and 'new' forms of music which use innovative techniques to alter a social emphasis through a parody of its greatest weaknesses. The work almost takes the form of a warning about what might happen if people blindly accept the rising levels of environmental pollution and the inevitability of war.

The Paradigm Image Questioned

In this work the Paradigm Image is questioned, and in the following statement the composer introduces his work:-

*"A party of scientists arrives in our solar system on a routine survey, and report their findings. They begin by being detached observers, but gradually become emotionally involved in the (by now long past) predicament of humankind."*²

The central musical task was, then, to express the scientists' growing emotional involvement in the "predicament of humankind".² Musical skills were used to differentiate the visitors from the ghosts of humankind, and

1-2 From the Performance Programme, 1976 (Figure 4.10).

also to differentiate the past from the present (our future) time. Once again, I quote the composer's explanation of the musical techniques used in this composition:-

*"There are four tracks of tape with the loud-speakers arranged around the audience, as well as instruments, chorus and amplified speaking voice. The music is in several layers, the present (our far future) tending to be represented by live instruments and voices, and the past by the tapes. There are structural unities linking the three situations - the visitors, the dead world they find and the voices from the past, though each has its own independent character."*¹

The plan in Figure 4.8 shows the physical structuring of the performance and the arrangement of performers in relation to each other, and the audience. The 'political spokesman' stands alone in the balcony, above stage right, and the composer co-ordinates the electronic music with a live performance from the balcony, at stage left. The live performance is conducted by another musician at centre stage. His job is to lead the orchestra and choir, at the same time as watching the composer for cues. The quadraphonic effect of the tapes is captured by speakers which are placed so as to encircle the audience with sound.

The Situation Surrounding the Performance

'Peccata Mundi' is performed as the second part of a concert attended by various groups within the Adelaide University and the Conservatorium. The first part of the programme consists of the performance of works by

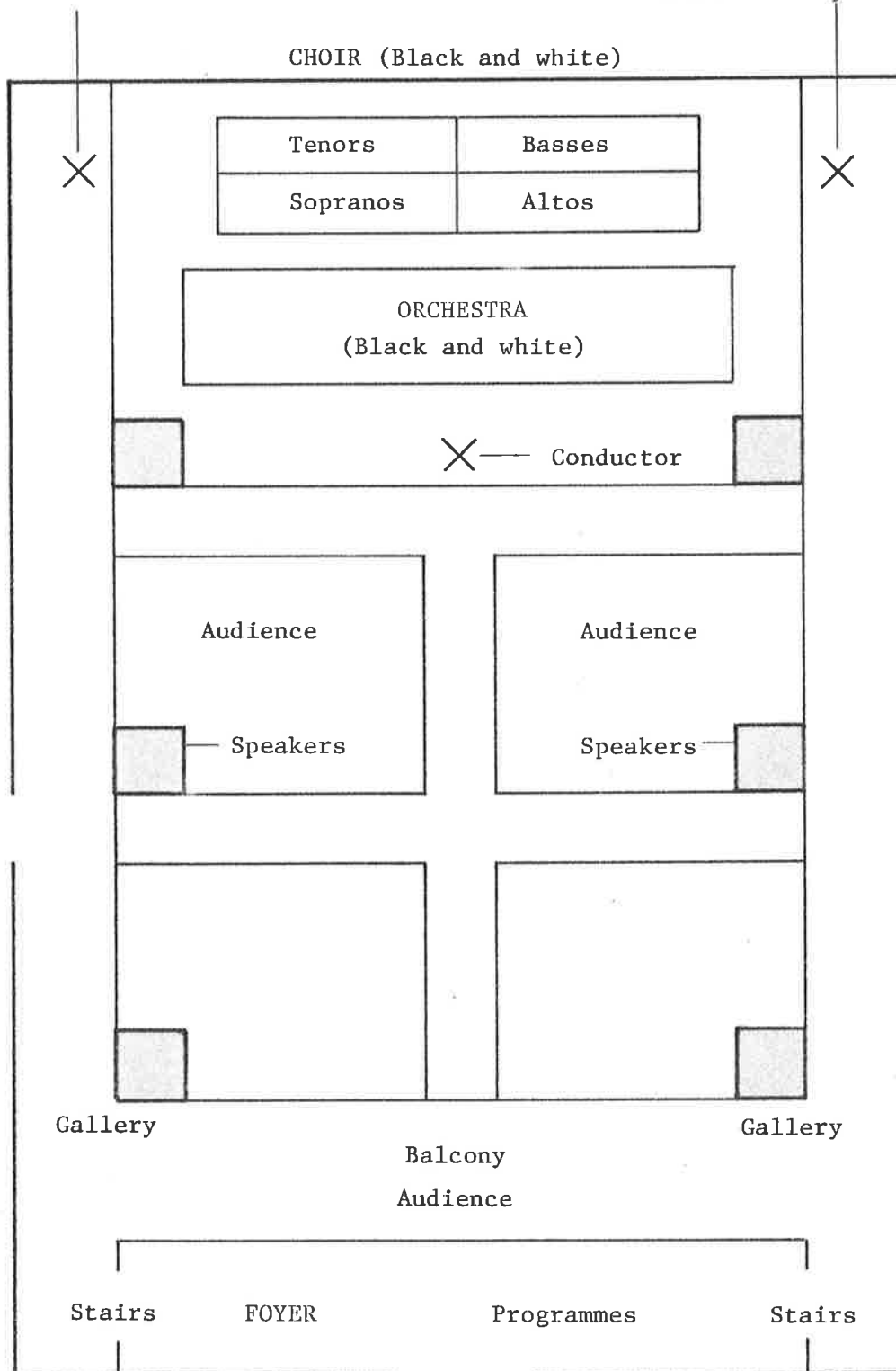
1 From the Performance Programme, 1976 (Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.8

Peccata Mundi : Plan

Spokesman, Don Dunstan
(dressed in white)

Composer and
electronic Controller
Tristram Cary



BONYTHON HALL

NOT TO SCALE

two University music groups, the Elder Conservatorium Chamber Orchestra and the Adelaide University Choral Society.

The context of the performance was the University's Bonython Hall, where, amongst other things, students received their degrees. It is therefore a traditional Establishment venue. The audience gathered, before the performance, in the outer entrance area of the hall, and musicians gathered in the Conservatorium buildings just to the West behind Bonython Hall. As the beginning of the performance drew near, the audience members moved into the hall to select their seats. They were followed by the members of the orchestra entering in hierarchical order. The first violinist arrived after the other members of the orchestra were seated, and took a separate applause. The orchestra then began to tune their instruments, and members of the audience chatted. When the orchestra was in tune, silence fell, and the members of the orchestra stood as the conductor came on to the stage. The 'Fantasia on a theme of Thomas Tallis' by Vaughan Williams was then played. During this performance one noticed the usual divisions of the orchestra into violins, woodwind, basses, etc., and also the leaders of each section. This work ended with applause, and then preparations were made for the second work of the evening, 'Cantata 106 Actus Tragicus' by J.S. Bach,* sung by the Adelaide University Choral Society. Interestingly, the dress for this work consisted of the traditional black skirt, or suit, but with coloured blouses and shirts. I mention this because the Choir changed for the 'Peccata Mundi' into traditional oratorio style of black and white. In fact, the black and white theme was carried on to the design of the programme cover (shown

* For the words, refer to the Performance Programme, 1976 - Figure 4.10. One will see that the theme of the inevitability of death is picked up again in the 'Peccata Mundi' ritual sequence of the performance.

in Figure 4.10), and the advertisements for 'Peccata Mundi'. The programme cover depicted an empty block of high-rise buildings with an empty road leading from it. No human life is otherwise visible.

After the first two works there was an interval, in which the audience talked and moved about in the hall. The people resumed their seats before the choir, the orchestra, orchestral leader, spokesman, composer and conductor, took their places for the second part. They were given due applause as they came on stage.

'Peccata Mundi'

This work begins with a report on the findings of the alien scientists. The following programme sheet reproduced in Figure 4.9 summarises the action.

Figure 4.9

PECCATA MUNDI

A Cantata for Mixed Choir, Instruments and Tapes

(Copyright Tristram Cary 1970, 1972, 1976. Not for publication)

REPORT

To: Headquarters
From: Survey Team 341, Habitable Locations Research Unit
Subject: P334073/Q84/03677, G-type dwarf, near Galactic rim, Sect. 96874
Summary: This very ordinary dwarf in the Outer Rim is rather off the beaten track, and has been missed by previous expeditions. In any case, only Planet 3 is of any real interest, but this one planet did reveal the really extraordinary story which forms the subject of this Report. So far as we could make out, the history of the tragic, short-lived people who inhabited this planet is unique; at least it is not paralleled in any of the 100,000 or so inhabited locations known to us in the Galaxy. In a rather pathetic way, this would have pleased this people, for they loved to think themselves unique.

We found a world entirely devoid of life, but well supplied with moderate solar heat, a good size for development, and in every way a desirable location for habitation. Indeed we also found plenty of evidence (artifacts etc) of a previous development of considerable extent and quite advanced technology. We also detected faint signals from long disused information storage systems, and from these we began to piece together their history.

They seem to have had vague glimpses of the Truth, and at some periods these half formed ideas were personalised, as for instance God, Allah and other names. But for some reason they were never able to develop their moral ideas beyond a very primitive stage, and their technology, which was crude but reasonably effective, was turned in upon themselves. They had no idea how to control their emotions, let alone their machines. Even after a disastrous war which destroyed two-thirds of them and caused widespread environmental damage, they failed to make sense of their situation. The remarkable thing is the sheer amount of slaughter. We investigated their past with our reverse-causation apparatus, and we cannot escape the conclusion that about 8000 million sentient beings committed suicide, believing themselves sane. Furthermore they killed every single living creature and all vegetable life in the entire planet, and managed to produce irreversible chemical changes which effectively ruined this very promising environment for an indefinite period. There are no signs of returning life.

We did not possess enough data to estimate the total slaughter accurately, but it was formidable by any standards. We are of course supposed to be dispassionate observers, but we must admit to being moved by this very distressing story. If only we had arrived earlier we might have been able to do something, and we would like to suggest that automatic surveillance systems could be improved so that these remote byways are more effectively monitored in future. The following Report describes our arrival and subsequent findings.

Figure 4.9 (continued)

- 1** THE VISITORS (Live Chorus) **2** SPOKESMAN OF THE VISITORS (Live amplified Speaking Voice) **3** DEAD VOICES FROM OLD MACHINES (On Tape) **4** VOICES FROM THE PAST RECREATED BY THE VISITORS (On Tape)

NB 3 & 4 are often garbles, even incomprehensible, and in many cases, particularly in 4, overlap and merge.

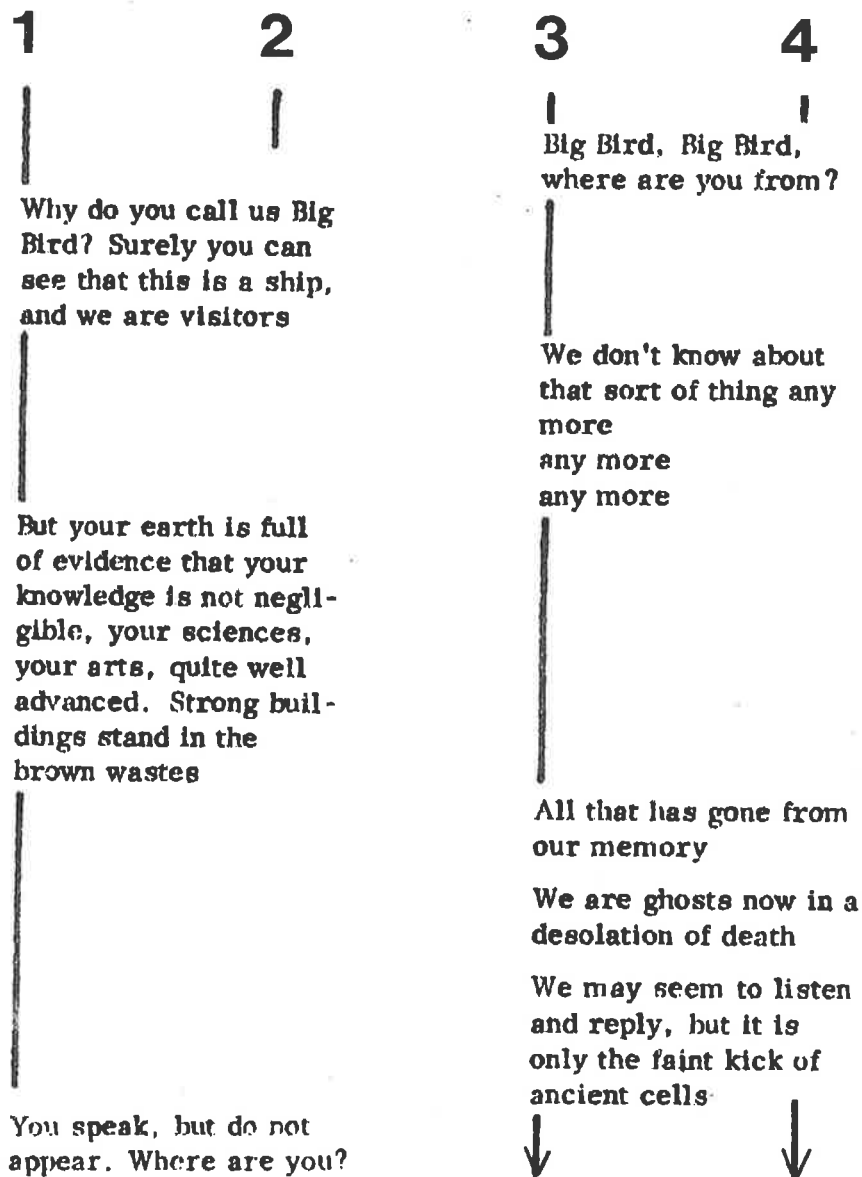


Figure 4.9 (continued)

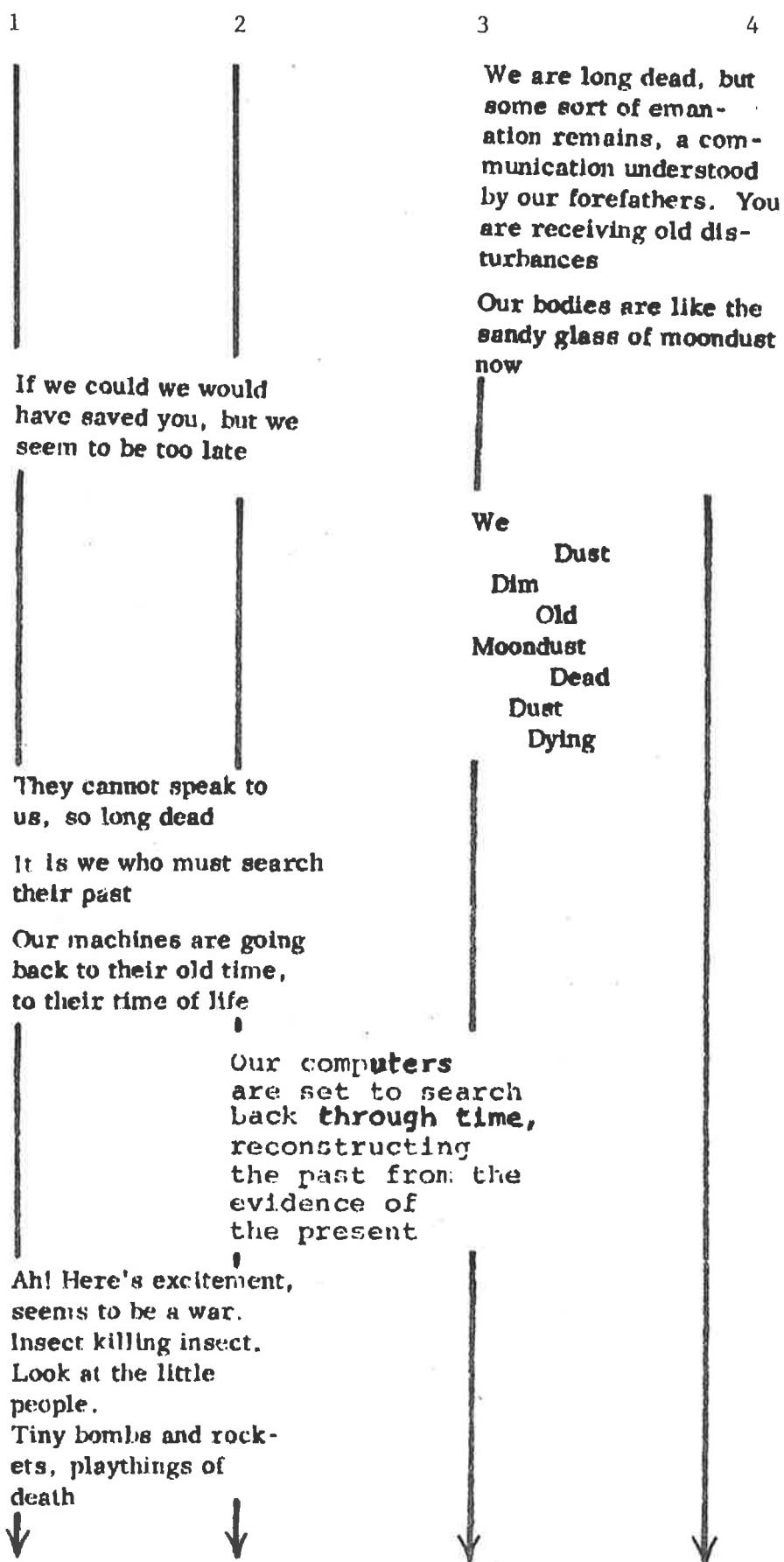


Figure 4.9 (continued)

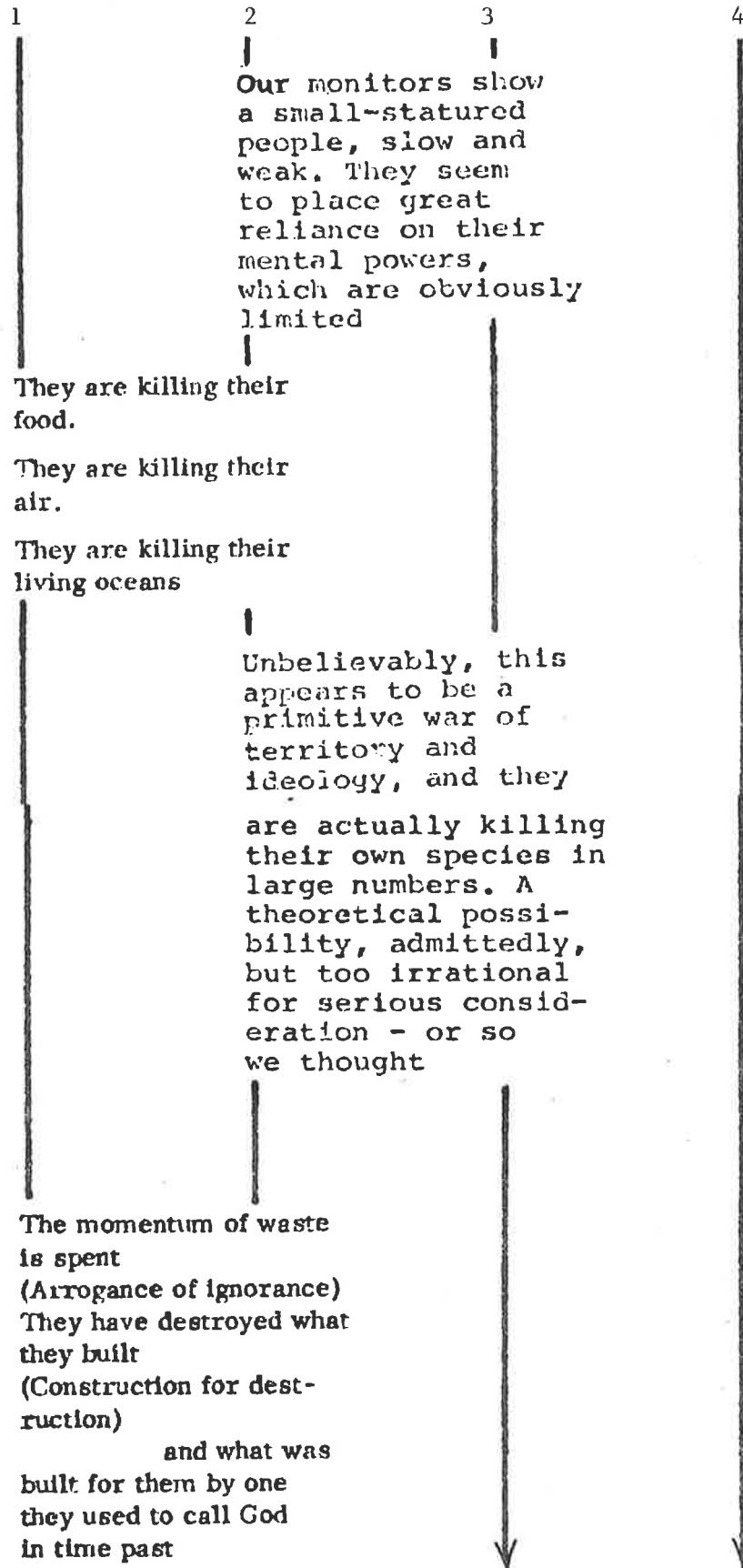


Figure 4.9 (continued)

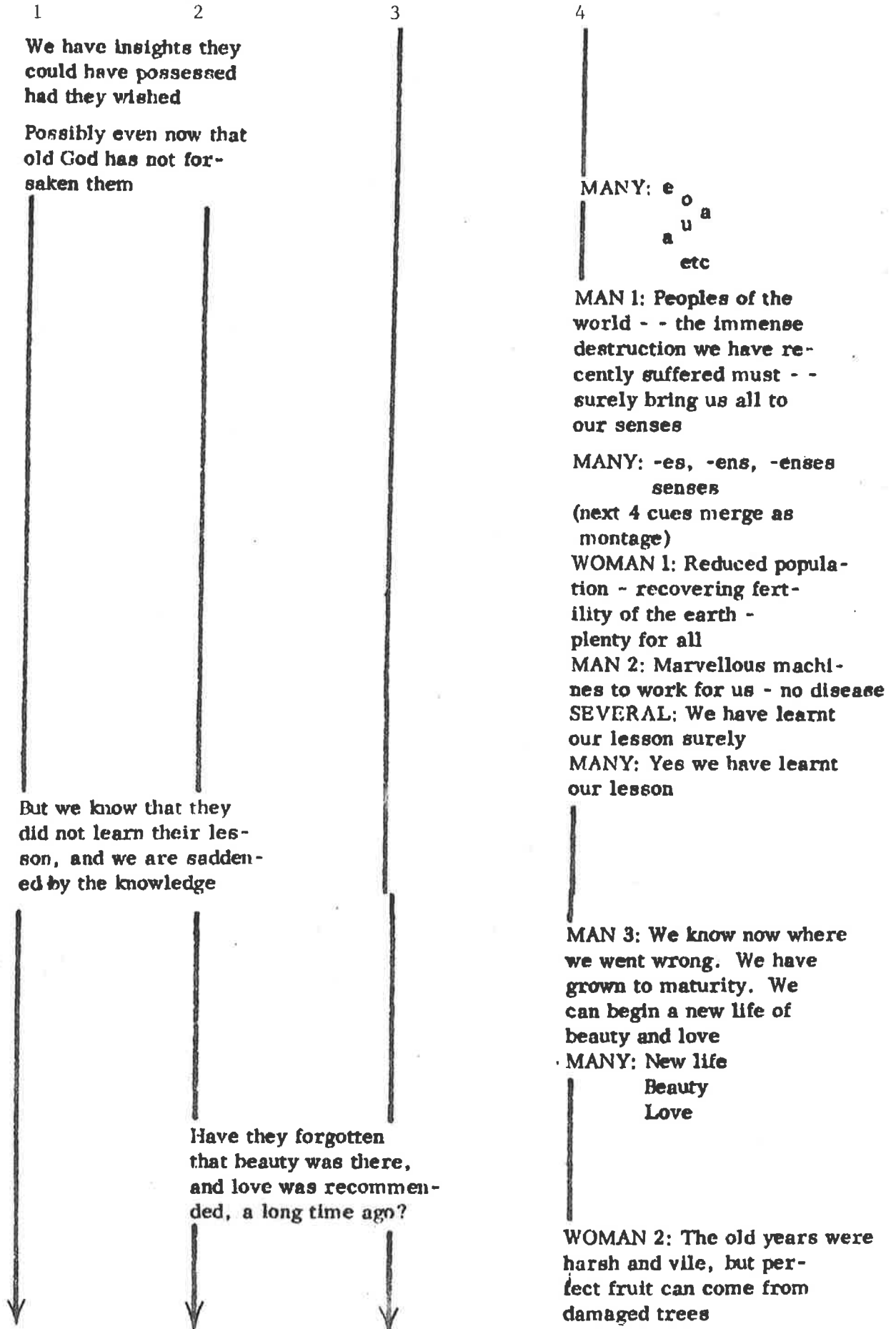


Figure 4.9 (continued)

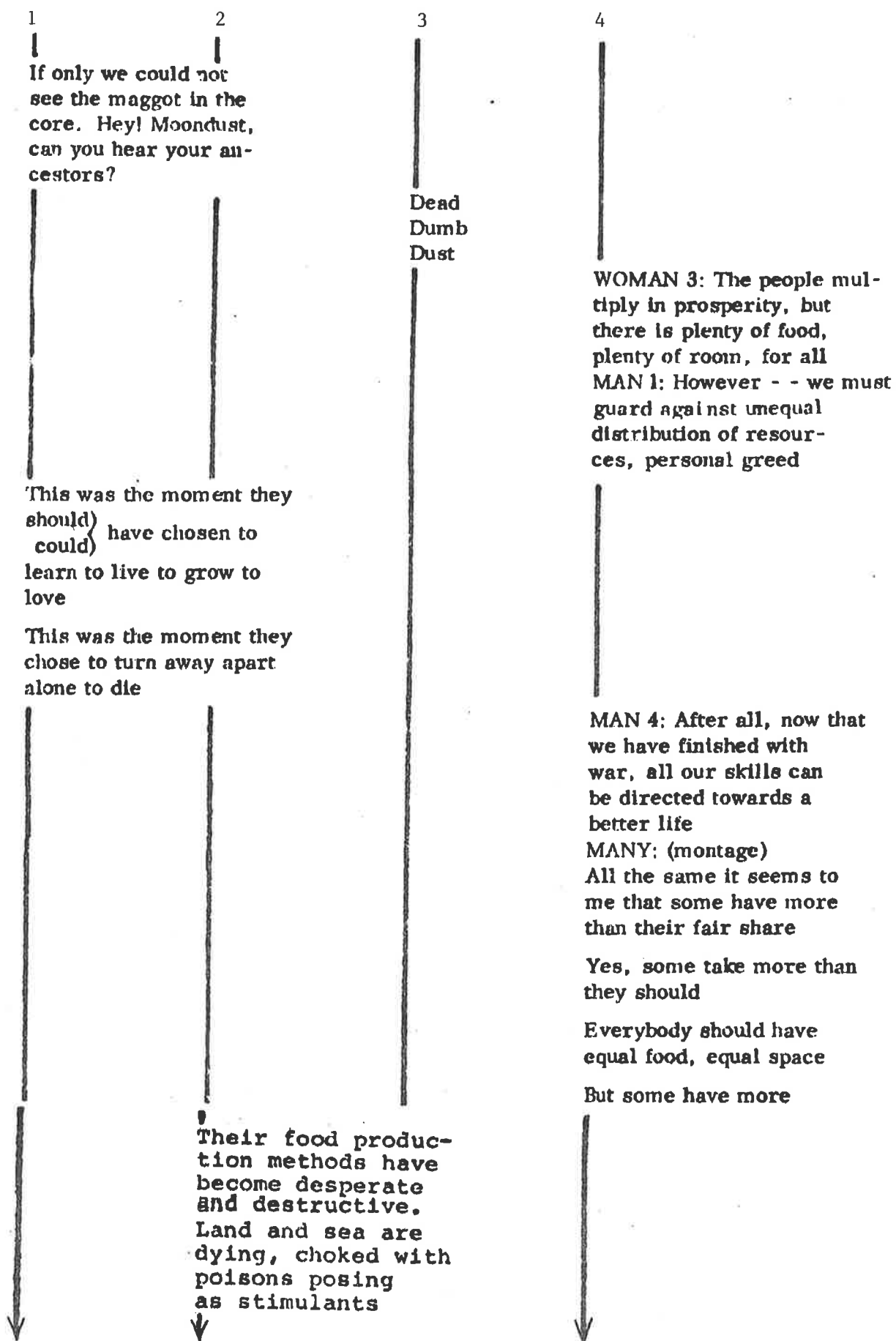


Figure 4.9 (continued)

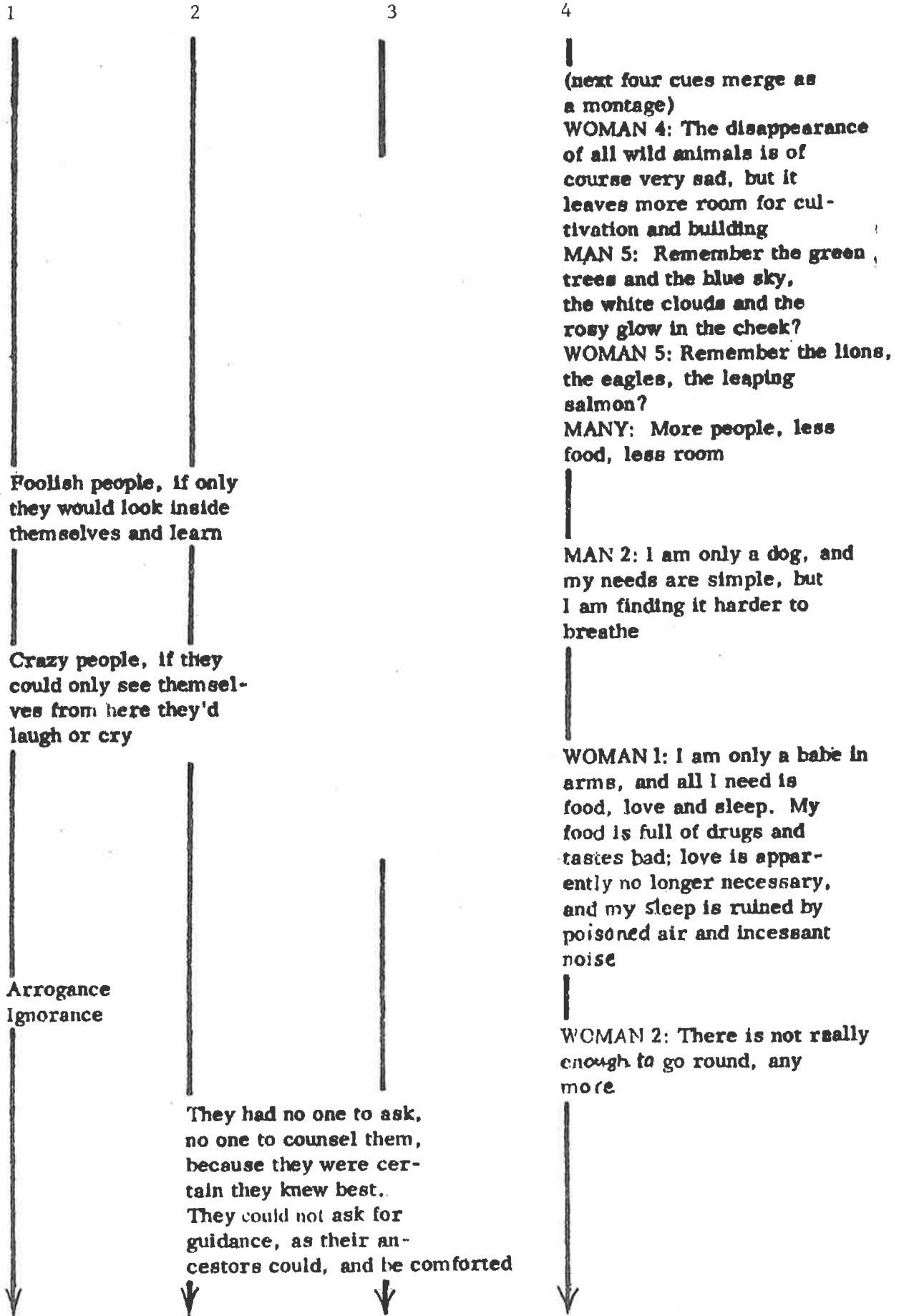


Figure 4.9 (continued)

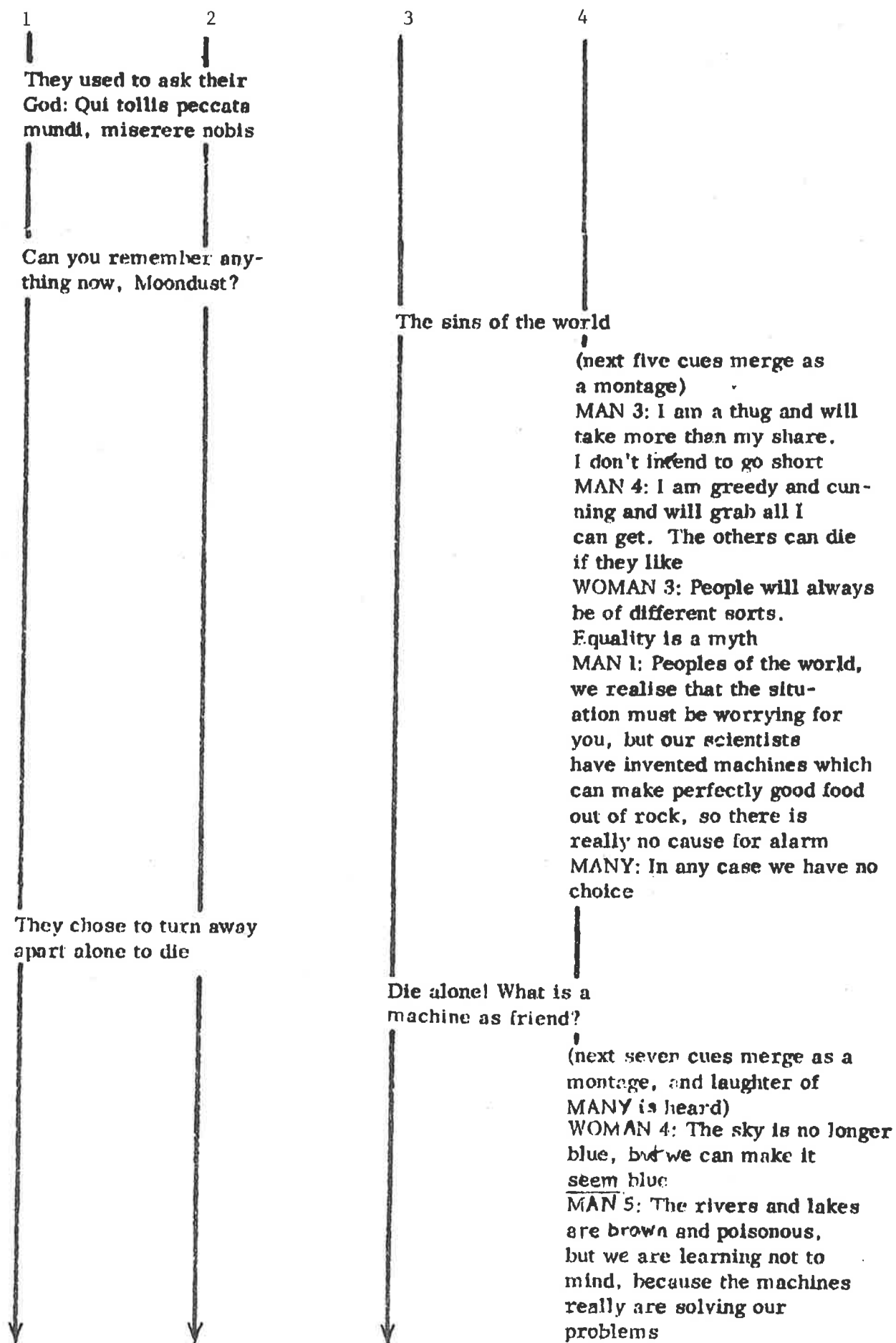


Figure 4.9 (continued)

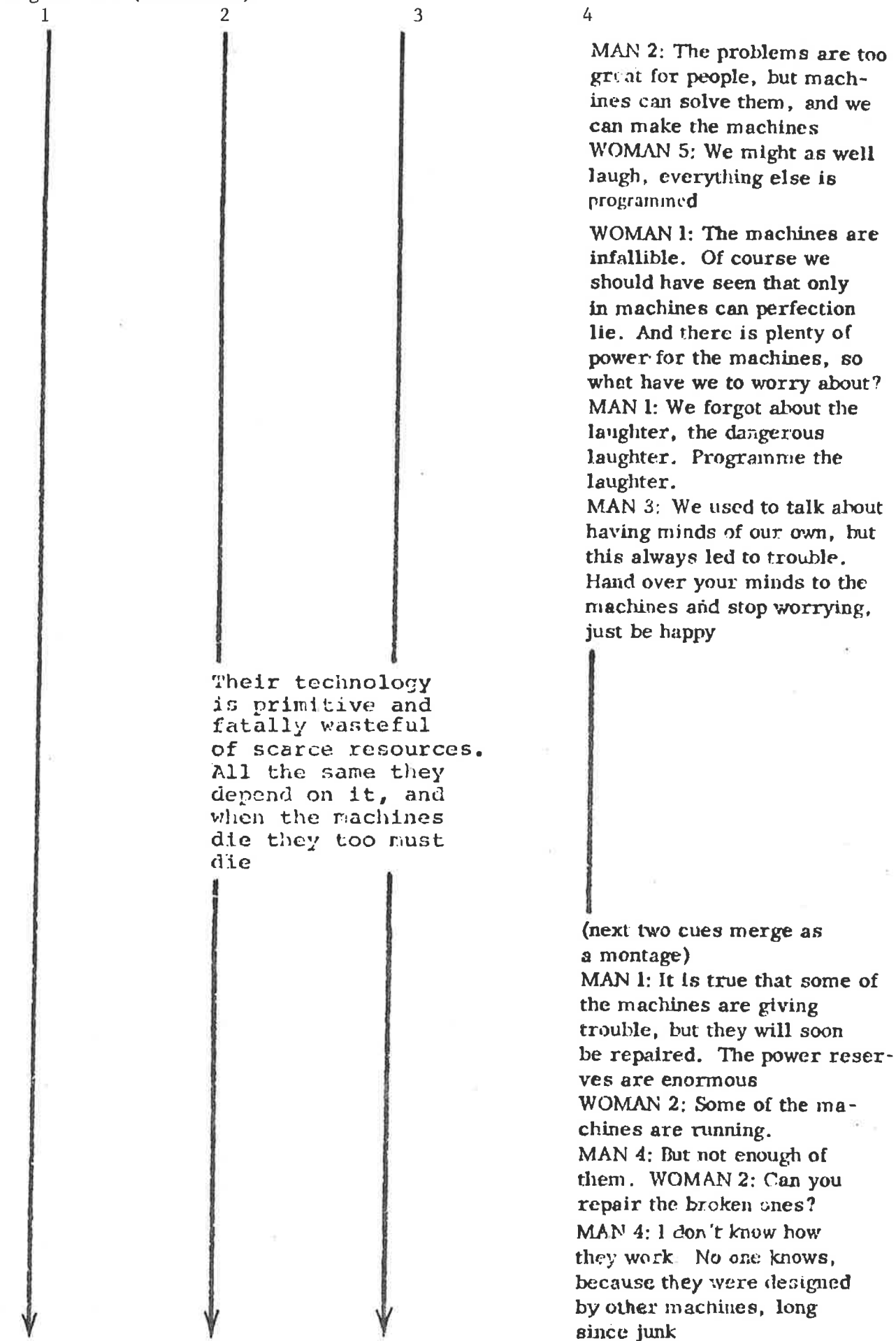
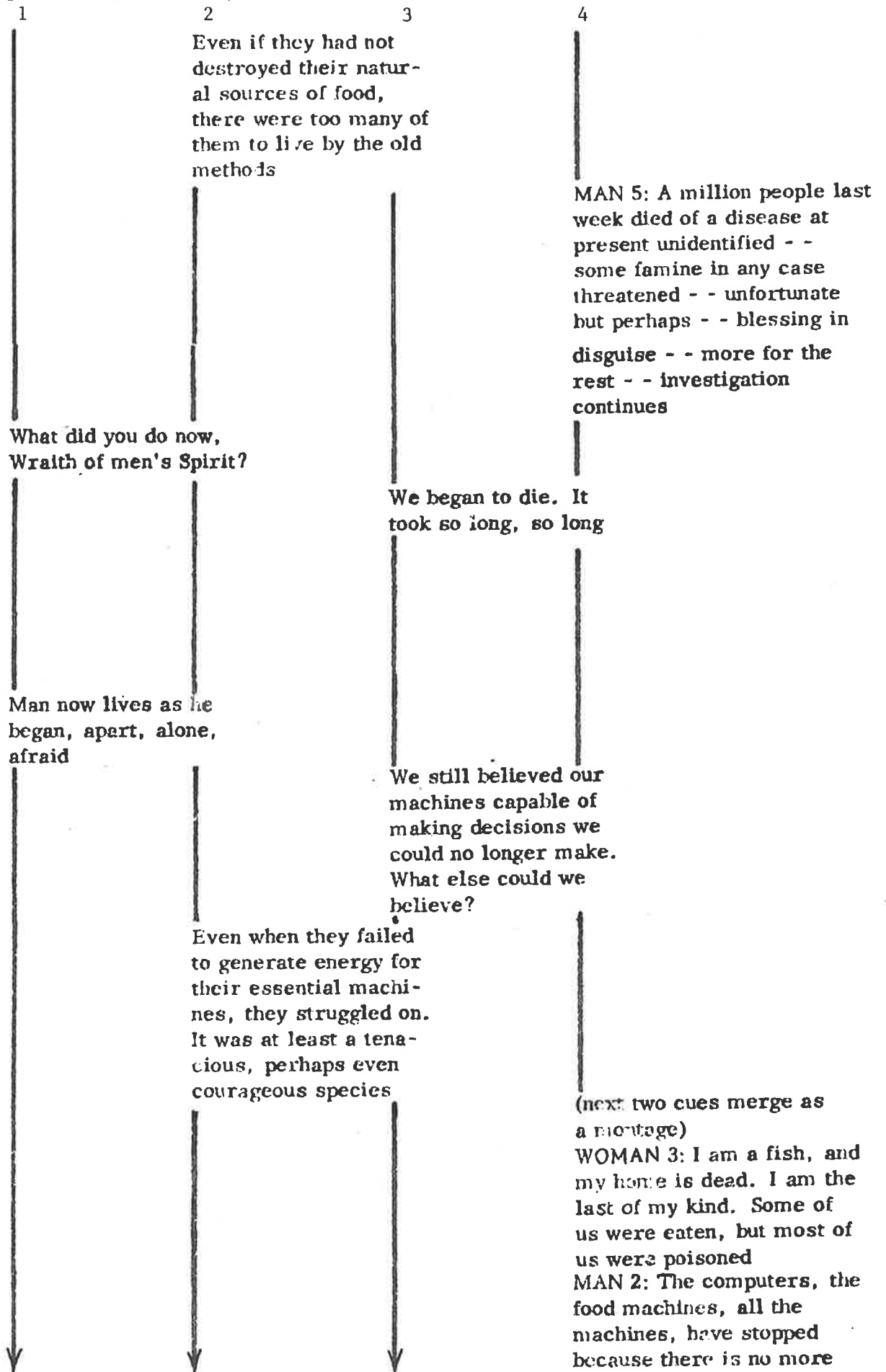


Figure 4.9 (continued)



1

2

3

4

power. There are no commu-
nications, which is perhaps
a good thing. Useless satel-
lites continue, uninterrog-
ated to charge their bat-
teries from the sun

We exist now in shrin-
king pockets, separated
by tracts of poison de-
sert. We killed each
other for shrivelled
roots and the last drops
of clear water

We struggled, even to
the end, to breed
breed
breed

MAN 3:)
WOMAN 4:) The poison rain
falls from green clouds

But one day the last
fertile human egg died
in the womb, the last
live sperm despairing-
ly swam unfulfilled

It is surprising
how long they took
to die. And as we
can see, many of
their artifacts still
survive. They des-
troyed all plant life,
so their buildings
and roads are un-
touched by encroach-
ing forest

They lay where they
fell, and rotted in
the sun

No carrion birds, no
flies for us, we had
killed them all. At
least we were the last

Dust
Dimly
Dumb
Dying
Dust
Deaf
Death
Dead
Dust

We

Were

Too

Late

Figure 4.10



Programme for the Performance of 'Peccata Mundi'

Figure 4.10 (continued)

- PROGRAMME -

Fantasia on a theme of Thomas Tallis.....
.....Vaughan Williams

Elder Conservatorium Chamber Orchestra

Conductor: Ronald Woodcock

Cantata 106 Actus Tragicus.....J.S. Bach

Adelaide University Choral Society

Conductor: Robyn Holmes

- INTERVAL -

Peccata Mundi.....Tristram Cary

Adelaide University Choral Society

Elder Conservatorium Symphony Orchestra

Tape Operator: Tristram Cary

Spokesman: Don Dunstan

Conductor: Malcolm Fox

Figure 4.10 (continued)

FANTASIA ON A THEME OF THOMAS TALLIS
(R. Vaughan Williams)

Thomas Tallis was one of the major Tudor composers, and during a long career, he wrote a great quantity of music, mostly sacred. In 1567, Tallis contributed ten hymn tunes to Archbishop Parker's Metrical Psalter. The third tune was used by Vaughan Williams for his *Fantasia on a theme of Thomas Tallis*, written for string orchestra. This work was composed in 1910, but revised in 1913 and 1919, when it reached its present form. It is scored for a string quartet-consisting of the leaders in each group- with a first orchestra comprising the body of strings, and a second orchestra of nine players.

CANTATA 106 (ACTUS TRAGICUS)

"Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit" J.S. Bach

This mourning cantata was composed by Bach before he had turned 21. It is not known for whose death it was written, but the music is expressive of transfigured grief, perfectly fitting the text in which the Old Testament fear of death is contrasted with the New Testament "Joy in death".

English Translation -

God's own time is ever,
now and ever more the best.

For man liveth and moveth
as he ordaineth,
So long as he wills.

Likewise dieth in the appointed time,
When God wills.

O Lord, so teach us to remember,
that our days are numbered,
that we may apply our hearts
unto wisdom.

Figure 4.10 (continued)

Set thy house in order,
for when death cometh thou must
be ready to depart;
Set thy house in order.

It is the ancient law:
man, thou must perish,
Yea come, yea come, Lord Jesus, come.

Into thy keeping my spirit I commit,
for thou has redeemed me,
Lord, God of love and truth.

For today Thou wilt with me,
in Paradise abide,
In joy and peace I now depart,
On God confiding,
His consolation in my heart,
still abiding.
Death is now a welcome guest,
the grave will bring peace and rest.

Glory and praise eternally
to Father, Son and Spirit be,
The Three in One and One in Three.
The fight is done,
the victory won,
through our Lord Jesus,
Amen.

Figure 4.10 (continued)

PECCATA MUNDI

I began to evolve the idea of Peccata Mundi several years ago, but I did not at first see the form it had to take. In outline, I am supposing that man nearly destroys himself by nuclear war in the not very distant future, but thereafter does succeed in coming to terms with his problems for a time (perhaps quite a long time). But his fatal defects and his lunatic self-destructive tendencies lead in the end to death by total sterilisation of the environment. The religious connotation of the title is quite deliberate, because although this is not really a religious work the intention is to show that by casting off all moral and symbolic props, man has left himself at the mercy of his own inadequacies. We are already very near to this situation.

A party of scientists arrives in our solar system on a routine survey, and report their findings. They begin by being detached observers, but gradually become emotionally involved in the (by now long past) predicament of humankind.

There are four tracks of tape with the loud-speakers arranged around the audience, as well as instruments, chorus and amplified speaking voice. The music is in several layers, the present (our far future) tending to be represented by live instruments and voices, and the past by the tapes. There are structural unities linking the three situations - the visitors, the dead world they find and the voices from the past, though each has its own independent character.

Tristram Cary.

Figure 4.10 (continued)

RONALD WOODCOCK graduated from the Sydney Conservatorium in 1951. Since then he has followed the career of a concert violinist, performing in over 70 countries. He joined the Music Department of Adelaide University in 1975.

ROBYN HOLMES is a tutor in the Department of Music at the University of Adelaide. Her keen interest in music, ballet and drama led her to begin her conducting career with two highly successful musicals, The Boyfriend (1973) and Dames at Sea (1974) at the Adelaide College of Advanced Education. 1974 also saw her directing the chorus for the Music Department's production of Idomeneo under Georg Tintner.

Since then she has conducted the Music Department's Bach Choir, and the University Choral Society in Copland's In the Beginning by the former and a concert of Easter music by the latter, and a combined presentation of the Mass in E minor by Bruckner.

Robyn is AUCS' official conductor.

Guest Conductor, MALCOLM FOX was born in Windsor, U.K. in 1946. He studied composition, piano and conducting at the Royal College of Music and graduated at the University of London. After several years in education he was appointed Director of Music at the I.L.E.A. Cockpit Theatre where he instigated and developed practical research in contemporary music in education.

In March 1974, Malcolm was appointed Lecturer in Music at Adelaide University, assisting in Music Education. Since then he has been involved in the

Figure 4.10 (continued)

field of creative music in education and performance, has formed a contemporary music ensemble, the Adelaide New Music Players and has been active in the field of contemporary composition.

He is also a professional stapling machine and is partly out of his mind!

TRISTRAM CARY was born in Oxford in 1925, though his family origins are Anglo-Irish, and his father was Joyce Cary, the novelist. His education was interrupted by the war, in which he served as a naval radar specialist, and he turned his technical training to musical use while still a student by pioneering electronic music in England in the 50's. After many years as a self-employed composer, during which he also founded the electronic music studio at the Royal College of Music, he came to Australia in 1973, and in 1974 was Visiting Composer to the University of Adelaide. He is now a Senior Lecturer of composition at that University.

The text of *Peccata Mundi* was written at Tourrettes-sur-Loup, Provence, in August 1969, and it was three years before the first version of the piece was performed at the Cheltenham Festival of 1972. The B.B.C. recording of this performance was broadcast in Australia in 1974. Earlier this year Cary revised the piece in minor but important details and today's performance is the premiere of the new version.

No less a person than Keith Michell has said that, if DON DUNSTAN had not chosen the political life, he inevitably would have enjoyed great success in the theatre. Don Dunstan's enthusiasm for, and love of the performing arts are well-known throughout

Figure 4.10 (continued)

Australia. His *Adelaide Festival of Arts'* appearances and An evening with Don Dunstan on national television, as well as the recent release of his first recording of verse, have been some recent highlights of a "second career" which began some thirty years ago with a young and virtually unknown Don Dunstan playing minor parts in A.B.C. School broadcasts. The Australian public today sees him combining in performances with some of this country's finest artists and composers.

This month, the ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY CHORAL SOCIETY celebrates the 15th Anniversary of its first public concert. The Society provides a friendly meeting-ground for students, from many different Faculties of the University, who share a love of singing. It performs all kinds of music. For example, the 1975 schedule included Missa Luba, an African Folk Mass, Jabberwocky, a jazz pantomime, in association with the "Come Out '75" Youth Arts Festival, a Festival of Lessons and Carols at Christmas and Bruckner's Mass in E minor combined with the Music Department's Bach Choir.

So far, the Society's major concert this year was a presentation of Easter music, poetry and mime on Palm Sunday. Some members took part in the Inter-University Choral Festival, an annual event, held this year in Hobart in May. In conjunction with the Flinders University Choral Society AUCS will shortly host a Mini-Festival. Two weeks from today, students from all over Australia will arrive in Adelaide for a week of intense rehearsals, culminating in a concert at the Adelaide Town Hall on Friday, 27th August. Scarlatti's St. Cecilia Mass will be the major work in the concert, which will be conducted by the young Adelaide conductor and flautist, JOANNES ROOSE.

A Critique of the Performance

Following this performance, I spoke with the music critic for 'The Australian', Ralph Middenway, who was, at the time, also Warden of the University of Adelaide. His greatest criticism of the performance concerned the positioning of the speakers. He claimed that the venue was acoustically unsuitable for the performance, and that for this reason the vocal line was often inaudible. Ralph Middenway's critique was headed, "Premier at the premier"¹ and in the first paragraph reference was made to the Adelaide University Choral Society and Elder Conservatorium Chamber Orchestra featured in the first part of the performance. Then he described 'Peccata Mundi' as "a collage of a speaker (Don Dunstan), choir, orchestra, and prepared tapes".² He then described the 'plot' of the work in the following manner:-

*"Cary's work takes as its point of departure the arrival of a craft from space, ages after man has succeeded in eradicating flies, whales and everything between."*³

The critic continued:-

*"What did it sound like? In a word, strange - a mixture of electronic sounds, orchestral effects, choral singing, chatter, and, from time to time, the cool voice of Dunstan as a sympathetic extra terrestrial commentator."*⁴

1-4 'The Australian', 8th August 1976.

The critic then asked the question, "And did it work?"¹ To which he replied, "On the night yes and no - it's difficult to be precise."²

He then continued:-

"I subjected the work to a sort of intellectual filter (the composer's perceived intentions), faced sideways and concentrated hard. And it worked.

*But for a good number of the audience, I fancy that difficulties in hearing the words, or reading the text - thoughtfully provided in the dark could have significantly reduced the impact of a profound idea, a deeply felt script, some evocative electronic music, some moving choral work and a total conception worthy of ideal working conditions, utterly out of the reach at this University, except for small-scale events."*³

During an interview with this critic* he made it clear that traditional choral music was his particular interest. He mentions his association with Anglican Church choirs, and his comments indicated that other choirs were not of equivalent "professional standing".⁴ These few comments show the views of one critic, and the kind of review of this performance which consequently appeared in the media of newspapers.

1-3 'The Australian', 8th August 1976.

*,4 Interview recorded in August 1976.

Duration, Space and Time

In this work, 'Peccata Mundi', one is conscious of the musical organisation of space and time, and their further organisation in relation to the whole performance. Here, I wish to indicate only a few of the processes which give this music and performance its unique structural qualities. The idea of a 'sound continuum' is maintained, but even so, the structural aspects of the work take place on several inter-related levels. For example, a few recorded voices can be arranged to sound like a crowd by a process of repeatedly recording them on tape. Also, filters and patches can be used to modify given sounds and combinations of sound. The splicing of tapes permits a greater control over the arrangement of any sounds or groups of sound. Tapes can be cut in order to truncate or elongate sounds. 'Sprechstimme' is a term used to describe a technique of cutting speech into syllables in order to alter stress or its sound. Sometimes a work is over-cut in the effort to stress particular symbolic words and the nature of their sequence. There is an example of 'sprechstimme' in 'Peccata Mundi' where the live Chorus and Tape 3 are juxtaposed to end the work. The live Chorus sings, "We - Were - Too - Late."¹ At the same time, the tape plays the disjointed words and syllables, "Dust Dimly - Dumb - Dying - Dust Death - Death Dead Dust."² Better examples occur throughout the work, and words may be re-constructed back-to-front. An awareness of the need for musical silence is evident throughout this work, in that the tapes do not run continuously. They are co-ordinated by the conductor and the composer, so that they operate in sequence.

1,2 'Peccata Mundi': A Cantata for Mixed Choir, Instruments and Tapes. A summary of the work provided for this performance by composer Tristram Cary. Copyright 1970, 1972, 1976. Not for publication.

Thus, perceptions of space and time are rearranged in this work. Therefore, 'duration' is important, - as it links the lengths of tape to time, (that is, so much tape equals so much time.) The problem of co-ordinating space and time sequences is made more difficult by the fact that tapes do not continue to run in synchronised patterns; that is, they become 'out of phase'. However, the degree of co-ordination of the composition is, to some extent, increased by the use of multi-track tapes.

Conclusions

'Peccata Mundi' is a work which draws tradition and anti-tradition together within the one performance. The work selects part of tradition for emphasis, and expresses criticisms of the remainder in the form of a parody. That is, symbols of tradition and anti-tradition are juxtaposed in the one context, in order to show the need for a transformation of some of society's views concerning the inevitability of pollution and war. Other comments concerning the performance are as follows.

Firstly, the building itself posed an acoustic problem, in that it was a long and narrow hall with a high ceiling. This meant that it was very difficult to place the speakers so that the sound of electronic tapes and live music would be correctly balanced. Secondly, the choice of venue was interesting for another reason. Being part of a traditional institution, it gave legitimation to the performance. The placing of 'Peccata Mundi' in the second half of a traditional programme, gave it a larger and wider audience than might otherwise have been the case. In fact, it has become common practice to place performance of New Music at the end of a traditional programme. Because more people hear the music, there is a greater likelihood that its significance will be appreciated.

Thirdly, the programme was designed to inform the audience about the music they were to hear. It contained a statement of the composer's aims, and an outline of the work. The outline (Figure 4.9) shows the live and recorded sound, which together form the whole text. The music is structured to emphasise the text. For example, the four main 'voices' are organised in the following way. The first 'voice' consists of live Choruses; the second involves 'the spokesman'; on the third are recorded "dead voices from old machines";¹ and on the fourth are recorded "voices from the past recreated by the visitors."² On Tapes 3 and 4 are scrambled versions of events which "overlap and merge"³ incomprehensibly. Thus, I re-emphasise the alignment in the composition of machines with dead voices, and live choral and orchestral sounds with the visitors. Structurally, this alignment is of central importance to the work.

In the Introduction to this Case Study, I commented on the role of the State Premier as a 'political spokesman' in the performance. This technique symbolised the political nature of the commentary. This work therefore portrays an ideological commitment to protest about war. Significantly, the composer's war service as a naval radar specialist gave him some additional skills in the use of electronic equipment for communication.

The use of traditional Oratorio dress for this performance links this new work to its tradition, but whereas some oratorio themes legitimate righteous battle, this work concentrates on the irrationality of mankind which leads him to justify the destruction of his fellow man and society. One of the central lines of the work is, then, "Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis",⁴ (Thou that takest away the sins of the world, Have mercy upon us).

1-4 'Peccata Mundi': A Cantata for Mixed Choir, Instruments and Tapes. A summary of the work provided for this performance by composer Tristram Cary. Copyright 1970, 1972, 1976. Not for publication.

These lines occur in the chorus as the work begins to unveil the destructive nature of mankind.

In this Case Study I have shown how a moral point of view can be given credibility in both traditional and anti-traditional contexts. We have also seen how a traditional social context can help to legitimate the value of New Music. Finally, we see how the use of space and time, in the context of the music and its performance, provides the thematic continuity to create a social metaphor.

CHAPTER 7

THE JURY SYSTEM

In Section III I discussed the Experimental Art Foundation and said that some of its members who objected to current Art Policy in South Australia, and more particularly to the Hajek installation,* wanted a new Jury System for selecting works of Art for Government and community support. This idea was put forward during an open meeting at the time of the Hajek issue. The meeting was held at the Festival Centre and further discussions took place afterwards at the Experimental Art Foundation.

The aim of the Jury System was to provide a solution to the problem of insufficient involvement by artists and the general public, in decision-making procedures concerning the Arts. At Experimental Art Foundation meetings concerned with structuring the Jury System, a predominant theme was that the Jury System would be like "a bicycle".¹ Once built, "one could not say in which direction it would be ridden".² This was seen to be a further problem, as the Experimental Art Foundation through the adoption of the Jury System aimed to gain greater control over the allocation of Government funds for Art works.

In this chapter I outline the Jury System which was a model proposed by Professor D. Brooks (Professor of Visual Arts), and endorsed by other members of the Experimental Art Foundation. The stated aim of the model was to suggest a "proposal for the incorporation and regulation of public participation in the patronage of the Arts in South Australia".³ At a meeting on 13th June 1977, it was argued that "there are two levels of action in which public participation should be secured."⁴ The first

1,2 From the E.A.F. meeting on 13th June 1977.

3,4 From a document summarising the proposal which was distributed at the E.A.F. meeting on 13th June 1977. See the Appendix pp. 414-416.

* As described in Section III on p. 249.

'level' would involve the modification of beliefs concerning questions such as what Art is, what it is for, and what might be its wider social functions. The second 'level' would concern the "practical"¹ ways in which the beliefs were to be incorporated into the choice of Art works to be presented. The central issue discussed at this meeting was, 'How much control over the Arts should the Government actually have?' And, 'How can Art and Art processes best be supported through Government intervention?' Whilst the discussion of the second level proceeded quite easily, the issues of the first level remained somewhat problematic. These issues were therefore left for later discussion and were only mentioned briefly at this meeting.

In Section III, we have already learned that the South Australian Government has a number of practical methods for dealing with applications requesting finance for Art projects. Two of the major methods are 'The State Grants Advisory Board', and 'The Theatre Centre Trust'. Working on the basis of these existing structures, Professor Brooks suggested that the Government set up "a Public Art Board".² He further suggested that this Board should hold "triennial meetings at which revisions or extensions of the material (on both levels) could be negotiated."³ A major function of this Public Art Board would be to "establish a Disputes Procedure".⁴ Disputes would be heard once or twice a year. The Jury System would enable decisions to be made concerning definitions of taste and the Art works to be promoted.

It was decided at this meeting that the State Grants Advisory Board and the Theatre Centre Trust were organisations which would be very difficult to alter. However, it was also thought that the Public Art Board would provide

1-4 From a document summarising the proposal which was distributed at the E.A.F. meeting on 13th June 1977.

a degree of control over these organisations. It was further suggested that the Public Art Board should consist of a small secretariat of one or two people. If adopted this suggestion would reduce the Government's power over the choice of Art for public presentation. The secretariat would assist a Jury consisting of twelve members of the public, selected by normal Jury procedures. A further suggestion was made that when the Public Art Board met on weekdays, members should have their loss of income reimbursed. Obviously, special procedures were set up for dealing with cases in which a Government rejected a proposed project. These procedures are detailed in the Appendix to this chapter.

Thus, we have an attempt to outline an alternative to some of the existing procedures regarding the selection of Arts for Government support. However, by 1981 there was no sign that this alternative had been implemented. In fact, funding for the Arts had been drastically reduced by a new Government which placed less emphasis on the political role of the Arts. The Appendix to Chapter 2, Section III, contains tables for 1975/76 and 1980/81 to illustrate this point. Furthermore, a recent interview with a member of the Premier's Department indicated that there were grounds for suggesting that the previous Labour Government placed great value on the Arts as a means of social Impression Management. The present Liberal Government sees the Arts as an appendage to everyday business life. In this political environment funding for new adventurous projects tends to be curtailed, in order that the major traditional fields be sustained.

The Jury System aimed to add a discursive element to decision-making processes concerning the choice of Art to receive funding. As mentioned above, this aim is not likely to be fulfilled in a conservative and somewhat disinterested political climate. Thus, at present, the 'symbolic force field' of the Arts is contracting, whereas in 1976 it was expanding.

I now turn to a discussion of first level issues in the Jury Model, which are concerned with problems such as 'What is Art?', 'What (or whom) is Art for?', and 'What is the social function of Art?'.
 Discussion at the Experimental Art Foundation meeting on 13th June 1977 emphasised the point that the knowledge of whether a particular Art work was "good"¹ or "bad"² could only be measured in terms of its "potential".³ Whether this "potential"⁴ had "power"⁵ or not would be determined by history.

The question of which artists or Art works had 'potential' raised the issue of which perspective the Experimental Art Foundation artists and musicians held. Many saw themselves as "refugees"⁶ from their institutions of training. Generally speaking, they claimed that such institutions were too narrow and "authoritarian"⁷, and therefore unsupportive of experimental creative potential.

But what does the Experimental Art Foundation see as the limit to experimentation? The most extreme case which I have recorded, and the experimental case which was given as an example at this meeting, concerned a man who wanted an audience whilst he put hooks into himself! This event received publicity prior to the event, and public opinion was against its taking place. Furthermore, a doctor advised against the attempt and the 'performance' was withdrawn. Perhaps, surprisingly, some members felt that the show should have been presented as they did not wish to see any limit to their freedom of expression. Another case involved the choice of venue for an event. In this case, a member of the Foundation was criticised for negotiating with the Bonython Gallery, because this was considered to be an

1-7 From a document summarising the proposal which was distributed at the E.A.F. meeting on 13th June 1977.

6 From the E.A.F. meeting on 13th June, 1977.

Establishment organised institution. Some other members commented that because the present number of venues was limited, all possibilities should be considered.

The issue of "shocking"¹ the public by extreme works received further attention at the meeting because such works evoke publicity; and this publicity was thought to "destroy the credibility of the Foundation".² In terms of the Grounded Theory, 'credibility' is the characteristic which distinguishes ordinary social metaphor from conceit. Conceit is not credible. That is, such a performance is viewed as unacceptable by the majority of people whatever their ethnic or class background. For transformation to take place, credibility is essential. For the Experimental Art Foundation, the problem of achieving and maintaining credibility had many ramifications. It was suggested by one member that the Foundation would not be allowed to organise children's shows, because the immediate reaction of the general public would be, "not likely - we'll not let the hooks people do it".³ So, extreme fringe activities undertaken by the Experimental Art Foundation tended to give it a reputation which prevented its becoming involved in some other less extreme events.

The outcome of the meeting was not entirely clear. Certainly the members wanted the public to share involvement in the Foundation's activities, but they could not see how to gather further audience support for the Foundation. In fact, some member artists did not visit the Foundation on a regular basis. Those artists who were regular attenders claimed space as their 'home', and when extra space was required by others, these artists did not want to surrender their claims. This caused ill-feeling, and discussion arose over how display areas were to be used. The question of whether outside people,

1-3 From a document summarising the proposal which was distributed at the E.A.F. meeting on 13th June 1977.

or members only, could use the facilities was also raised. The conclusion was that some overseas influence could provide stimulation for local artists. And so, the Hajek issue was raised again in a different context.

It was decided at this meeting that the stereotype of artists as "inarticulate"¹ had to be overcome by their outspokenness on issues relating to the choice of Art works for funding. However, it was recognised that some members were without specific political interests, but they would still need representation. Here we see some of the problems faced by an institution dealing with New Art.

I conclude this study with reference to Clifford Geertz's distinction between 'model of' and 'model for'.^{*} First we consider what the Jury model was 'for'. We conclude that it was a model for extending the scope of the definitions of musical form and content, and performance contexts. The Jury model was an attempt to widen the definition of those involved in the choice of music or art presented in Adelaide. The model was aimed to gain support for New Arts by making the choice of works open to discussion. The aim of the model was also to encourage further research into new forms of music.

Secondly, we consider what the Jury System was a 'model of'. The model brought an awareness of the inflexibility of some traditional modes of musical composition. This awareness led to a redefinition of traditional

* The concepts of 'model of' and 'model for' were formulated by C. Geertz. They appear in the following reference.
 Willis, R. (Ed.) 1975. The Interpretation of Symbolism. A.S.A. Studies. London: Malaby Press. p. 135. In an article by Ortner, S.B. 'Gods' Bodies, Gods' Food: A Symbolic Analysis of a Sherpa Ritual'.
 1 From the E.A.F. meeting on 13th June, 1977.

musical concepts, so as to extend the scope of music to include a larger number of new sounds. The model also served to illustrate that the traditional rules of composition and performance were not the only rules which could be used. The general structure of the performance/audience interaction was also open to redefinition. So, New Music has involved the formulation of rules which avoid similarity with traditional rules of harmony. The model aimed to show that experimentation was necessary if new works were to flourish.

Both traditional and New Music emphasise progression and duration, but the appreciation of space/time concepts is different in each case, as was shown in Section II. The interweaving of horizontal and vertical axes indicates the degree of harmony or counterpoint which is present. Finally, we note that to indicate the ways in which people legitimate their Social Images, some "symbolic analysis"¹ is essential. Only then can the extended context, and the social situation itself, be understood. In this thesis, it has been my task to show how the symbolic structure used in performances focusses the social structure of 'reality'. In this Case Study we have seen the ideology presented by the Jury System model, and the framework for action which it proposes.

1 Willis, R. (Ed.) 1975. The Interpretation of Symbolism. A.S.A. Studies. London: Malaby Press. p. 135. In an article by Ortner, S.B. 'Gods' Bodies, Gods' Food: A Symbolic Analysis of a Sherpa Ritual'.

A PROPOSAL FOR THE INCORPORATION AND REGULATION OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION
IN THE PUBLIC PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

(Copyright D. Brook. Not for Publication)

There are two levels of action in which public participation should be secured. They are: (A) the statement, and the perpetual modification, of fundamental beliefs and principles, and (B) the various practical devices by means of which these beliefs and principles are expressed in the world.

The South Australian Government has set up a number of practical devices under (B): for example, the State Art Grants Advisory Board, The Theatre Centre Trust, etc. The two levels are represented in the following boxes, as the de facto official answers to the questions posed in them thus :

A

What is art?
OR What (or whom) is art for?
OR What is the social function of art?

AND

B

How shall art and the art processes, thus understood in social terms, be fostered through Government intervention?

The current answers to (B) are evident and tangible. The current answers to (A) are obscure, and should be reinforced as soon as possible with a clear and comprehensive official statement.

The Government should also set up a PUBLIC ART BOARD, that will hold triennial meetings at which revisions or extensions of the material in (A) and in (B) are to be negotiated. It will also be a function of the PUBLIC ART BOARD to establish a DISPUTES PROCEDURE, for which purpose it may sit once or even twice annually.

Members of the public may freely submit comment, proposals and evidence to the PUBLIC ART BOARD, and may argue for revision or extension in (A) or in (B) at the triennial meetings, and may follow through disputes according to the procedure outlined below.

The PUBLIC ART BOARD should consist of a small secretariat of one or two persons, to aid a JURY of twelve members of the public, selected by normal jury procedures. If the BOARD sits during weekdays in working hours, members should be reimbursed for loss of income.

Appendix (continued)

At the Triennial Meeting of the Public Art Board, the agenda would consist of two standard items:

1. Is it claimed by any person present that any item in (A) is false or inadequate?

Is it claimed that any item should be removed from, or added to (A)?

if YES, then the JURY will hear the arguments and resolve YES or NO to the proposed or implied change, and communicate this resolution to the Government or appropriate body for implementation

if NO, then no action is necessary

if Government or other appropriate body ACCEPTS, then no further action is necessary

if Government or other appropriate body REJECTS, then DISPUTES PROCEDURE may be followed (see below)

2. Is it claimed by any person present that an item in (B) is not fully consistent with the beliefs and principle stated in (A)?

Is it claimed that items should be removed from, or added to (A)?

if YES, then the JURY will hear the arguments and resolve YES or NO to the proposed or implied change, and communicate this resolution to the Government or other appropriate body for implementation

if NO, no action is necessary

if Government or other appropriate body ACCEPTS, then no further action is necessary

if Government or other appropriate body REJECTS, then the DISPUTES PROCEDURE may be followed (see below)

DISPUTES PROCEDURE

A new jury will be selected once or twice a year, to hear disputes.

Appendix (continued)

INTERMEDIATE REVISIONS

New proposals or revisions in (B) (but not in (A)) may be offered at any time to the SECRETARIAT of the PUBLIC ART BOARD, whose duty it will be to pass them on to the Government or other appropriate body for consideration provided that they are, prima facie, not inconsistent with any item in (A). If the Government or other appropriate body does not implement the proposals in reasonable time, then the proposer may invoke the DISPUTES PROCEDURE. If the Secretariat does not pass on any proposal to the Government or other appropriate body for consideration, maintaining that it is not consistent with (A), then the proposer may invoke the DISPUTES PROCEDURE.

Donald Brook
Professor of Visual Arts
Flinders University

April 1977.

CHAPTER 8

THE JAM FACTORY PERFORMANCE

A 'Jet Age Concert' at The Jam Factory, 1978

The Jam Factory is no longer used for making jam, but its large area makes it suitable for the display of Art Exhibitions and 'avant-garde' activities involving music. In both cases the use of space is defined by the participants in a performance.

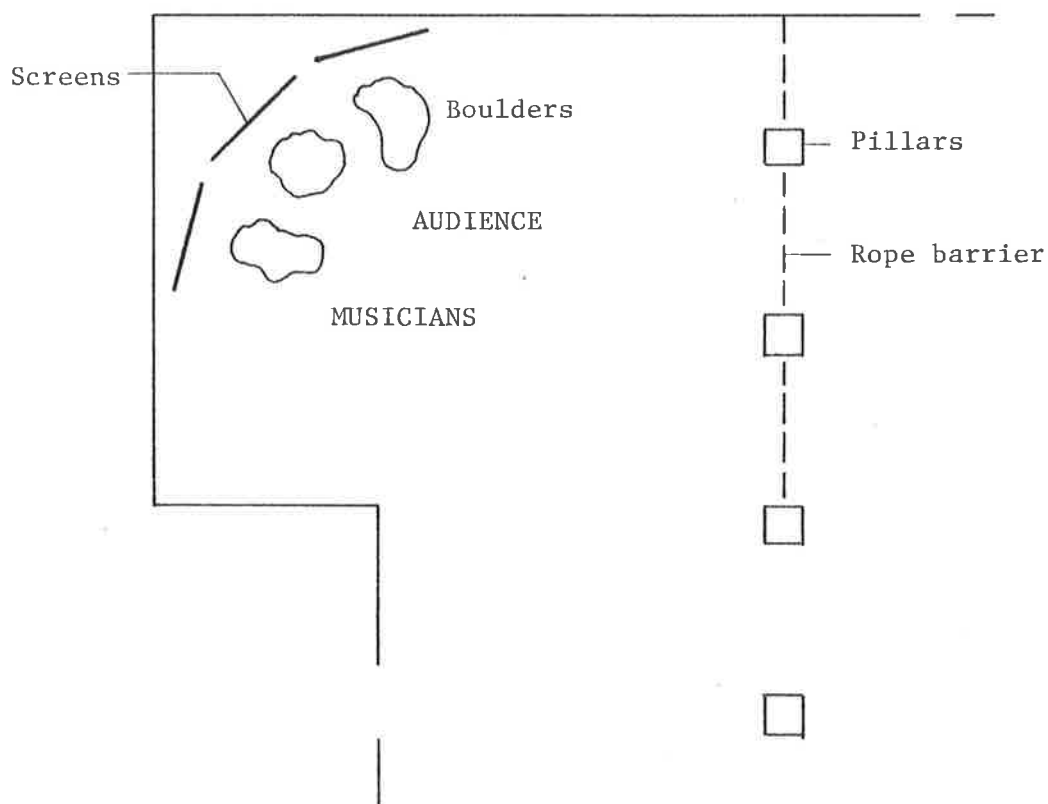
Preparations for a performance of New Music are significant because the performance aims to design the use of space and time. Decisions have to be made concerning where the musicians, audience members, music and art, enter the performance interaction. Usually, all these details are determined by the structure of the concert hall, and by the accepted patterns of performer and audience interaction. But for this Jam Factory performance, the artists and musicians were aiming for spontaneous interaction within a flexible frame. It was therefore suggested that, where possible, musicians should move amongst the audience to incorporate them into the overall performance. Textural photography in slide form was to provide the background for the performance. The slides included appreciations of natural textures such as rock and sand contours created by the sculpturing power of wind and water. The artists and musicians work together to create the required environment, which would enhance both the art and the music.

The students involved were all under 26 years of age, and they included the following: one horn player; one clarinetist; the wife of the artist as a dancer; one soprano singer; the representative artist in charge of the slide projection; one composer who was also a pianist, saxophonist and clarinetist; and finally, one composer, who was also a pianist, a part-time musician at a city tavern, and an electronic sound mixer.

A preparatory meeting was arranged for Saturday afternoon, when some of the above mentioned members met to survey the Jam Factory space and to decide the possible ways in which this 'blank' area could be used. The Factory appeared as an enormous, dark, damp underground area with a cement floor and supporting pillars. After some discussion, it was decided that only part of the area would be used, and that this would be bounded by rope barriers which would direct people from the entrance to the performance area. The chosen area was closely surrounded by walls on two sides with a wall jutting out to form another corner. On the other side the pillars were to be joined with coloured string.

Figure 4.11

A Diagram of the Performance Area



The next issues were where to place the screens for the slides, and where the musicians should perform. The selected area already contained two large boulders remaining from a previous performance, and the screens were to be placed around them. The musicians (apart from the pianist) would move amongst the boulders and screens, and mingle with the audience, so as to create a total sound/visual effect. Several screens were to be used for the slides to spread the visual aspect throughout the performance area. Sound tests were made and it was decided to hold further meetings at the home of the artist most directly involved. There it was planned to look closely at the slides in order to co-ordinate them with the musical activities.

At this meeting it was decided to illuminate the rocks, and to include a dancer in the performance. Also, a piece of music was handed out. It consisted of 23 'boxes', each consisting of groups of notes in sequences of varying lengths. The duration of each note was left to the performer's discretion, as was the order in which they were to be played. Notes could also be played in either clef, to give variation of sound and texture. The only proviso was that filled-in notes should have less emphasis than open notes, and that on a cue from the composer, the musicians would all move on to the next 'box' at the same time. Finally, it was decided that the musical score would also be projected on to a screen, so as to aid the musicians' ability to move about during the performance. The spontaneous form of the music described above is important, because it gives flexibility of musical progression within the boundaries of space and time.

'The News' advertised the performance under the heading of 'Students in Jet Age Concert'.^{*} The performance was called 'Vibrations - Images from Nature'. The same article referred to both the electronic and instrumental music

* 'The News', July 1978.

composed for the performance. Both these kinds of music were composed to mime natural sounds. Electronic tapes were prepared which aimed to capture the sound of birds calling, waves crashing, and wind rushing.

However, the creation of the total effect only took place at the performance itself, because of its spontaneous structure. This also meant that no exact repetition of this performance could ever be created again. The performance aimed to create an image, and this discussion shows how performance boundaries were chosen, how visual and sound effects were co-ordinated, and what kind of interaction could take place during the performance. That is, it was intended that performers and audience should not constitute distinct groups, but should merge with one another.

This short Case Study aims to show how an idea can be turned into a performance with 'new' characteristics. We have described the physical frame of the event as it was being constructed, and the selection of a dynamic, discursive element to form another essential part of the performance. Traditional musical frames were discussed at the meetings, with a view to 'relaxing' the relationship between performers and their audience. The aim was to create greater freedom of expression for all participants. We see the use of space and time in this anti-traditional performance, so as to co-ordinate the presentation of 'new' art and music within the same context. The discursive element which was introduced gave performers the opportunity to respond directly to their audience, rather than have the audience respond to the set music.

Here I have only concentrated on the preparations for performance, with the aim of showing how, by giving attention to the elements of interaction, process and structure, the frame of the performance was defined - initially

by the performers, and subsequently by performer/audience dialectic. Two major processes, operating at the level of sequences and dimensions, were at work in the construction of this performance. Firstly, the tradition of concert presentationalism was replaced by discursiveness, so as to alter the form and content of the composition and the nature of the performance itself. Secondly, alternative structures were developed to take the place of traditional ones, with the result that an extreme form of social metaphor - a 'conceit' - was formed. This kind of social metaphor is difficult to legitimate, because the general public does not recognise its 'credibility'. That is, it is too 'far-fetched' to gain immediate widespread acceptance. For this reason the kind of performance discussed here remains sub-dominant, and does not easily gain resource support.

CHAPTER 9

THE FIRST NATIONAL ITALIAN FESTIVAL, 1976

Population Statistics

First, let us consider some statistics which indicate changes in the composition of South Australia's population. Firstly, the general point can be made that the arrival of migrants has contributed in recent years (from 1975 onward) to the break-down of colonial Anglo-community feeling in the total population. The Bureau of Census and Statistics published the following information:-

*"The Australian-born content of the population in South Australia was 85.7% in 1911, 88.3% in 1933, and 93.3% in 1947. Overseas migration had lowered the proportion of Australian-born persons to 86.1% by 1954, while in 1971 the proportion was down to 76.1%. The proportion of the population born in the United Kingdom, including the Republic of Ireland, fell from 11% in 1911 to 5.1% in 1947, and rose to 12.6% in 1971."*¹

In terms of the whole of Australia, the Italian community constitutes the largest group of non-British migrants. In 1976, the Italian community of Adelaide organised their first Italian Festival for local Italian people. The Festival ran for two weeks, from 25th September to 10th October, and included dance, music, theatre and 'al fresco' entertainment. The Festival events began with a procession from Victoria Square to Elder Park where the Premier, Mr. Don Dunstan, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Paolo Canali, opened the Festival with speeches from the Park's Central Rotunda.

1 The Government Year Book. 1975.

The Procession, Saturday 25th September 1976

At 2.45 p.m., Victoria Square was buzzing with people, some of whom were lining up in groups around floats in order to participate in the procession; others were organising the floats and there were spectators as well. In fact, the city streets were lined with people all the way to Elder Park, and Police were on hand to regulate the traffic as the procession passed through busy streets and intersections. A police car led the procession which began at 3 p.m. This car was followed by people bearing the sign, 'Italian Festival 1976', which was painted in the Italian national colours of white, red and green. They in turn were followed by people carrying another sign bearing the name of one of the Festival's sponsors, (The Savings Bank of South Australia). As the procession began to move forward, people applauded encouragingly.

The third processional group consisted of four boys dressed in white tops and short blue pants. They walked in a straight line across the road as they carried four Italian flags in white, red and green. In this way, the Italian national identity was stressed. This expression of national tradition was carried over to the next group of Italian people who walked behind the flags. They were of all ages and were dressed in traditional costumes with red, yellow and green sashes.

The fifth group walked under the banner of Saint Hilarion, and it consisted of family groups marching together. This was only one of many groups represented in the Festival. In South Australia there are over 300 distinct Italian organisations. This figure gives some indication of the importance of Italian fields in Adelaide. The San Remo group followed, and it consisted of boys and men walking together. Seventh, came the Campania Club men who wore a uniform of blue jackets, red shirts and blue ties.

Eighth came Abruzzi maps carried by two girls. Then, the ninth group consisted of children carrying tea-towels displaying Italian places. They carried the sign, 'Share Our Culture'. Once again, traditional costumes were worn. The next float consisted of young girls dressed in peasant-style white blouses with green and red skirts, dancing to Italian folk music. They held, or wore, red and green scarves which are used in some of the dances. This float received applause and cheers as it passed the onlooking crowd.

Eleventh came a humorous float on which there were three men wearing wizard's hats and costumes. The motifs included a moon and stars, all of black and silver. The men had red clown noses and two boys wore masks over their eyes. To the noise of party 'zukas' the satirical sketch proceeded. In addition to the above mentioned magical content, the men carried enormous wooden spoons and forks with spaghetti on them. This was the scene discussed in Section III as an example of social metaphor. We see Italians joking about their representation as spaghetti eaters. This joke was set in the context of displays of Italian Culture, but its presentation to both Italian and non-Italian audiences really illustrated the shallowness of only seeing Italian Culture in terms of spaghetti! This float was greeted with much hilarity by the crowd.

The twelfth float brought men singing Italian folk songs to the accompaniment of a piano accordion and guitar. Next came the sign Guiseppe and the initials I.S.C.A. Once again, the group wore folk costumes.

The auxiliary Band of Mitcham City provided music for the float which followed. This float was called, 'Villaggio Italia', and it portrayed people in an Italian village sitting around a table playing cards and taking drinks.

Obviously, this scene held important memories. Next came a group from St. Michael's College. The children displayed diagrams and posters which depicted various aspects of Italian life-style in a random collection. For example, pizzas and religious crosses were drawn. The children also displayed enthusiasm for the American cartoon character, Snoopy. Next came children from the White Friars School of Kilkenny and people from Port Pirie - they represented the Italian Association there.

The twenty-fourth float was humorous. The devil was portrayed all in red with horns and a pitchfork. There was a masked sultan and seven men dressed as his wives in harem gear. By this time, the procession had arrived at Elder Park where everyone was gathering. Owing to the crowd it was difficult to see the last few floats, but they consisted of the Italian Choral Society singing 'Finculi Finicula', and then the Catholic Saint Francis Church of Newton was represented by Monks in habits processing behind a cross.

The crowd gathered around the Rotunda for the official opening. The entrance was guarded by six Italian policemen, probably from the Embassy, with red plumes in their hats. I estimated the crowd to be approximately 10,000 people as the official party arrived. It included Mr. Bruno Ventura, President of the Italian Festival Society Inc., Mr. Don Dunstan, the Premier, Mr. Grassby, Federal Minister for Migration, and their families. In the speeches, acknowledgements were given to the following organisations for financial support:-

Arts Grants Advisory Committee of S.A.

State Government

Community Arts Fund of the Australia Council

S.A. Department of Education

S.A. Department of Further Education

Italian Consulate of S.A.

Italian Consulate Institute

Qantas

Pasta and Fruit Juices for the Italian Festival
supplied by Sanremo and Clemens

Wines for the Banquet and Wine Tasting supplied
by Winefood Milano S.P.A.

Programme printed with assistance from OTC

Programma Stampato Con L'Assistenza Della OTC

The speeches were in Italian and English as the formal aim of the Festival was to include all Australians. Thus, a general welcome was given.

A Programme for the First National Italian Festival, 1976, a programme for the Carnival at Elder Park, and a Plan of the Carnival activities are shown on the following pages, Figures 4.12 - 4.14.

Comments on the Festival

What did the Italian Festival organisers feel about their Festival?

Mr. Ventura, a Festival organiser, felt it was, "most important"¹; he said it was a way of, "bringing people closer together and of saying 'thank you'"² for the opportunities the country has given Italian people. The organisation of the Festival was voluntary and Mr. Ventura says, "for a bunch of people who started out with nothing but ideas, we've done all right".³ The aim of the Festival was to share culture with "all kinds of people - not just first-night snobs and big spenders".⁴ Mr. Ventura added that for him, "culture isn't confined to how much learning a person has".⁵

'The News' presented Mr. Ventura as a "classical picture of a migrant".⁶

The paper gave a description of Mr. Ventura's early migrant life, which involved "working in a factory by day"⁷, going to "school at night"⁸ and

1-8 'The News', Tuesday 5th October 1976.

Figure 4.12



Programme for
The First National
Italian Festival,
1976.

Figure 4.12
(continued)

The first Italian Festival of Arts is one of the most exciting projects that I have been connected with over the past few years and, as patron of the Festival, I am looking forward to joining in as many of the events as possible.

I want to congratulate the Italian community in South Australia for organising this Festival and sharing with South Australians the cultural and social background which they have brought to our State.

The Italian people have contributed greatly to Australia in a very wide range of areas. In all facets of society the Italian influence has shaped and improved the community we all share.

My Government has done much to help all the ethnic communities among which of course the Italian people are a major component.

I am particularly pleased to be able to support the Italian Festival of Arts, which will bring to the State a new Festival, a different Festival and, I am sure, a very enjoyable Festival.

I am honoured to be its patron, and I look forward to its success.

Don Dunstan
Premier

Il primo Festival Italiano delle Arti è una delle imprese più eccitanti alle quali negli ultimi anni mi sono associato. Quale "patron" del Festival, sarò ansioso di presenziare a quanti avvenimenti mi sarà possibile.

Desidero congratularmi con la comunità Italiana per l'organizzazione di questo Festival e per voler condividere con tutti i Sud-Australiani il patrimonio culturale e sociale che si sono portati con sé in questo stato.

Gli Italiani hanno contribuito largamente alla vita dell'Australia in una vasta gamma di attività. In ogni aspetto della vita sociale l'apporto Italiano ha plasmato e migliorato la comunità in cui viviamo. Il mio governo ha fatto molto per assistere tutte le comunità etniche, fra le quali una componente principale è quella Italiana.

Mi è particolarmente gradito dare il mio pieno appoggio al Festival Italiano delle Arti il quale recherà allo Stato un Festival nuovo, diverso e sicuramente divertente e stimolante.

Mi ritengo onorato di essere stato chiamato ad associarmi al Festival, al quale auguro pieno successo.

Don Dunstan
Premier

On the approaching date of the opening of the first Italian Festival in Adelaide, I have the pleasure to convey to you my very best congratulations for the organization of this commendable project, with all best wishes for the success of this initiative for which attainment you are so committed together with all the members of the Italian Festival Society.

I can only be very pleased by the effort shown by our community in Adelaide for the realization of these positive endeavours which have such a great interest, thus contributing to the spreading of our art and culture in Australia and consolidating the relations of friendship existing between the various communities.

I renew warmest congratulations.

All'approssimarsi della data di inizio del Festival Italiano di Adelaide, desidero farle pervenire i miei più vivi rallegramenti per l'organizzazione di questo encomiabile progetto, nonché l'augurio per il miglior successo dell'iniziativa, per il raggiungimento della quale tanto impegno vi è da parte Sua e di tutti i membri dell' "Italian Festival Society".

Non posso che rallegrarmi per lo sforzo dimostrato dalla nostra Comunità in Adelaide per la realizzazione di un'opera positiva e di così alto interesse, atta a contribuire alla diffusione della nostra arte e della nostra cultura in Australia e a consolidare i rapporti di amicizia esistenti fra le varie Comunità.

Le rinnovo, quindi, i più vivi auguri e Le invio molti cordiali saluti.

Paolo Canali
Ambasciatore d'Italia



GREG COLUBRIALE



PAOLO TOTARO

Figure 4.12
(continued)

I would like to congratulate everyone connected with the development and realization of the Italian Festival 1976.

As you would know, I believe strongly that the Australian society as a whole can only benefit from additional knowledge and appreciation of the cultural heritage of its many component groups.

Not only the Italian community in Australia but every Australian will therefore have the opportunity to appreciate the many fine artists who make up the programme for the Italian Festival.

It is an ambitious undertaking and has required a great deal of hard work. It has also been supported by the full range of groups within the Italian community and thus provides a very real example of co-operation and dedication to produce a universally desired result.

I wish the Festival and all those associated with it every success.

Yours sincerely,

Michael MacKellar

Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs

Parliament House, Canberra

Desidero congratulare tutti coloro impegnati alla realizzazione del Festival Italiano 1976. Come voi già sapete io credo fermamente che la comunità Australiana nel suo tutto può solo beneficiare nell'apprendere e apprezzare la portata in eredita dai suoi vari gruppi etnici.

Non solo la comunità Italiana ma ogni Australiano avrà l'occasione di apprezzare i tanti artisti Italiani che partecipano Festival Italiano.

È un progetto ambizioso a sens'altro molto impegnativo da parte vostra. È stato appoggiato da tutti i gruppi della comunità Italiana così mostrando un esempio vero di cooperazione e dedizione per poter produrre il risultato desiderato da tutti.

Auguro al Festival è tutti colero associatisi ogni successo.

M. J. R. MacKellar

Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs



PETER CUMMINS

OSVALDO MAIONE

GUS MERCURIO

Figure 4.12
(continued)



It is with great pride that the Italian Community presents this Festival to the Australian people. Not only is it a representation of the best and most diverse aspects of Italian culture — from contemporary music to the festive spirit of the Sagra, but through the theme of the festival, "The Italian Artist in Australia", it presents some of the most accomplished Italian/Australian artists, who have made and continue to make a significant contribution to Australian culture.

The Festival would fail if the Italian Community were not to support it — but no less so if the non-Italian community were not to respond. We have been so overwhelmed by the response of the whole community with whom we have come into contact — from the clubs, from the Italian artists and from the Australian contributions to the Festival — that we can be sure of one thing: the First National Italian Festival will succeed far beyond our early modest dreams.

We are proud to invite you to our Festival. We are proud to invite you to *your* Festival.

Bruno G. Ventura
President

E' con gran fierezza che la Comunita' Italiana presenta questo festival alle udienze australiane. Esso non tende solamente a rappresentare i migliori e poliedrici aspetti della cultura italiana — dalla musica contemporanea allo spirito festivo della Sagra — ma attraverso il suo tema principale, vuole esaltare "l'Artista Italiano in Australia", presentando alcuni dei piu' compiti artisti Italo-Australiani che hanno apportato e continuano ad apportare un contributo significativo alla cultura Australiana.

Il Festival fallirebbe se la comunita' Italiana non dovesse dare il proprio appoggio e fallirebbe egualmente se la comunita' non italiana non dovesse avere responso. Siamo stati cosi' e stracarichi dal responso ottenuto da tutta la comunita' con la quale ci siamo messi in contatto — Associazioni, artisti italiani e contributi australiani per il festival — che possiamo essere certi ormai che il Primo Festival Nazionale Italiano otterra' un successo molto maggiore delle nostre modeste aspettative iniziali. Ed e' percio' che oltre al piacere di aver potuto realizzare, con il contributo apportato da tutti coloro ai quali ci siamo rivolti, una iniziativa a noi cara, ci sentiamo oggi piu' che mai, in dovere di presentarvi il Festival Italiano e di continuare a presentarvelo anche negli anni a venire in modo che la nostra cultura rimanga sempre viva nel cuore della comunita' Italo-Australiana.

Siano fieri di invitarvi al nostro Festival. Siamo fieri di invitarvi al vostro Festival.

Bruno G. Ventura
Presidente

The Italian Festival Society Inc. wishes to thank
ARTS GRANTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF S.A.
STATE GOVERNMENT
COMMUNITY ARTS FUND OF THE AUSTRALIA
COUNCIL
S.A. DEPT. OF EDUCATION
S.A. DEPT. OF FURTHER EDUCATION
ITALIAN CONSULATE OF S.A.
ITALIAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE
QANTAS
PASTA AND FRUIT JUICES FOR THE ITALIAN
FESTIVAL SUPPLIED BY SANREMO AND
CLEMENS
WINES FOR THE BANQUET AND WINE TAST-
ING SUPPLIED BY WINEFOOD MILANO S.P.A.
PROGRAMME PRINTED WITH ASSISTANCE
FROM OTC
PROGRAMMA STAMPATO CON L'ASSISTENZA
DELLA OTC

"sending money back home to bring out his parents, brother and three sisters".¹

Although Adelaide's Choral Society and Orchestra contributed to the Italian Festival, their presentation was not traditionally Italian - a point which Mr. Ventura seemed to feel most strongly.

The newspapers also outlined the cost of the Festival estimated to be about \$250,000 and stated the function of the Good Neighbour Council. Its functions are "To support the migrants to achieve change in several laws ... reducing the ... qualifications of old-age and widows' pensions, recognition of overseas qualifications, establishing learning facilities for English, etc."² The Council also aims to change the attitude of Australians toward new settlers, "their customs, languages"³, and to increase their acceptance of different cultures through eliminating prejudice and discrimination. Four migrant members of the Good Neighbour Council said that "the individual migrant and the ethnic group would not be able to achieve these goals without the Good Neighbour Council."⁴

Apart from the Carnival at Elder Park, a 'Sagra' in Rundle Mall and the Family Fair at Rymill Park, the Festival included performances at the Festival Theatre and a service at Newton Catholic Church. The Festival ended with the blessing of the fishing fleet at Port Adelaide.

An Interpretation of the Opening Procession, and Speeches

The example of social metaphor used in Section III came from this Italian Festival and concerned the stereotype of 'spaghetti eating'. The speeches and overall organisation of the Italian Festival indicate, on a large

1 'The News', Tuesday 5th October 1976.

2-4 'The Advertiser', 15th April 1977.

scale, the juxtapositioning of dominant and sub-dominant symbols of paradigm and social metaphor. I emphasise the dominance of Italian ethnicity within the frame, and its sub-dominance in the extended context. This alteration in symbolic focus gives great dynamism to each part of the Festival.

First we consider former Premier Don Dunstan's speech as Patron of the Festival. He emphasizes the sharing of Italian cultural and social background with all South Australians. Then he refers to the "Italian community",¹ and the "community we all share".² Thus he acknowledges the significance of the Italian community, but definitely places it in the context of a wider community. The point is fairly made that Italian dominance may be emphasised in particular Festival frames and fields, but in the wider context their dominance gives way to an Australian definition of culture. Nevertheless, we have a reversal here in that Australians are integrated into this Italian Festival, rather than Italians being integrated into Anglo-Australian culture. Social metaphor works along the lines of this reversal, and provides the mechanism of transformation necessary for a change in contextual symbolic focus, and for social change in a wider non-festival context.

The fact that Mr. Dunstan was Patron was not only a tribute to his personal support of ethnic communities, but it was also an acknowledgement of the need for Government resource support in order that such a Festival could be organised. Until more resources are under the direct control of the Italian community, dominance remains in the hands of others. Thus the Italian community remains sub-dominant. Equality will arise when a greater number of Italians enter the political and bureaucratic spheres, where they will be more directly involved in the allocation of resources.

1,2 The First National Italian Festival Programme, 1976

In his comments the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Paolo Totaro, showed his pride in the Italian community for spreading "our art and our culture in Australia and consolidating the relations and friendship existing between the various communities".¹

The speeches by the Premier and the Italian Ambassador were in both English and Italian. The use of these two languages symbolises the two distinct, but increasingly overlapping cultures and communities. Italian dominance is restricted to particular frames, but when seen in the wider social context it is sub-dominant. The many Italian organisations in South Australia indicate the presence of definite internal groupings amongst Italians with different class, status, or religious backgrounds.

Through social metaphor, Anglo and Italian symbols are linked to the all-encompassing Australian theme. Differences are partly subsumed on this higher level of emergence. The Anglo-paradigm remains, albeit weakened by the greater acknowledgement of Italian life-styles.

The contexts for the Italian Festival events are significant. The procession took place in the main city streets, from Victoria Square to the Festival Complex. The normal flow of traffic was stopped and the event therefore appeared in a dominant role. The Festival Complex was totally given over to Italian events, once again emphasising the temporary dominance of Italian ethnicity. Other events took place at Campbelltown and Newton, as these are the most densely populated Italian residential areas of Adelaide. The community focus was on the main Catholic Church, around which the neighbourhood has grown. So, whilst Italian origins were high-lighted in the procession, at other times the new homeland became more important.

1 The First National Italian Festival Programme, 1976

The Festival events can be divided into formal and informal ones. Sometimes the sequences and dimensions varied in the degree of formality portrayed. For example, remember the different sequence of the procession of floats, which included Church processions and satirical sketches. Some examples of formal events included dancing, in Italian national colours, the Italian Opera and Requiem in the Festival Theatre, and the Church Mass. Some examples of informal events included audience participation in the greased pole climbing, food tasting and ear-piercing.

Carnival Mime

During the course of the informal Festival activities, a Mime Act was performed for families. The Mime artists dressed as clowns with appropriate costumes and pink make-up on their cheeks. Neither of the clowns spoke, but one squeaked the expression of conversation through a mouth whistle. A guitar was used to indicate laughter and a drum roll indicated climax points, such as falls. Music was also used to phrase the sections of the mime. Finally, 'I-tiddle-ee-ai-tie-pom-poms', were played to mark the close of sequences.

The mime stories were short, so that the children's attention could be held. One story was about a bee and a beehive. In it, a honey bee returns to the hive. The man clown is the hive and the girl is the bee. The beehive is represented by the clown with large boots and large wire pantaloons. The bee's costume allows much more flitting about. The point of climax in the story consists of 'slap-stick' during which the bee spits in the 'face' of the hive. In the next sequel, the same story of the bee returning to the hive is repeated. This time, the man clown is the bee and another clown plays the hive. The aim, of course, is that the 'hive' (now the bee) can retaliate by spitting in the face of the unsuspecting clown. However,

Figure 4.13: FIRST NATIONAL ITALIAN FESTIVAL 1976

CARNIVAL AT ELDER PARK

25TH SEPTEMBER, 1976.

3.30 P.M. GRAND OPENING OF FESTIVAL BY THE HON. DON DUNSTAN
Q.C., M.P., PREMIER OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

ENTERTAINMENT: MUSIC AND VARIETY

From 4.00 p.m. until close, we shall be entertained by the very popular bands "THE STRATA" and "YOUNG HARMONY" in the ROTUNDA.

Throughout the Carnival there are various guest spots.

PROGRAMME

- 4.00 p.m. : Amphitheatre: Rachela Racioppi and Barry Ciotti.
- 4.30 p.m. : Amphitheatre: Tarantella by Italian Tertiary Students Association.
- 5.00 p.m. : On the Park: GREASY POLE COMPETITION
Prizes: Box of Salami donated by Garibaldi Smallgoods.
Champagne donated by St. Peters Wine Bin.
Brandy donated by Corona Wine Store.
- 5.30 p.m. : Amphitheatre: Campbelltown High School: Folk dancing and Singing.
- 6.00 p.m. : Amphitheatre: Maria Sanciole accompanied by D. Panzini.
- 6.30 p.m. : Amphitheatre: St. Francis School - Lockleys
Choir: Italian Traditional Songs
"Tu Scendi dalle Stelle"
"In Notte Placida"
Mario Coppola: Piano Accordion.
- 7.00 p.m. : Rotunda: Gino Morabito. Very popular entertainer sings Modern Italian Songs.
- 7.30 p.m. : Amphitheatre: TARANTELLA CALABRESE
Folk dancing from Calabria.
- 8.00 p.m. : Amphitheatre: FOGOLAR FURLAN
Folk dancing.
- 8.30 p.m. - 10.30 p.m.: Entertainment will continue at the Rotunda with many of the above artists performing from their wide repertoire.

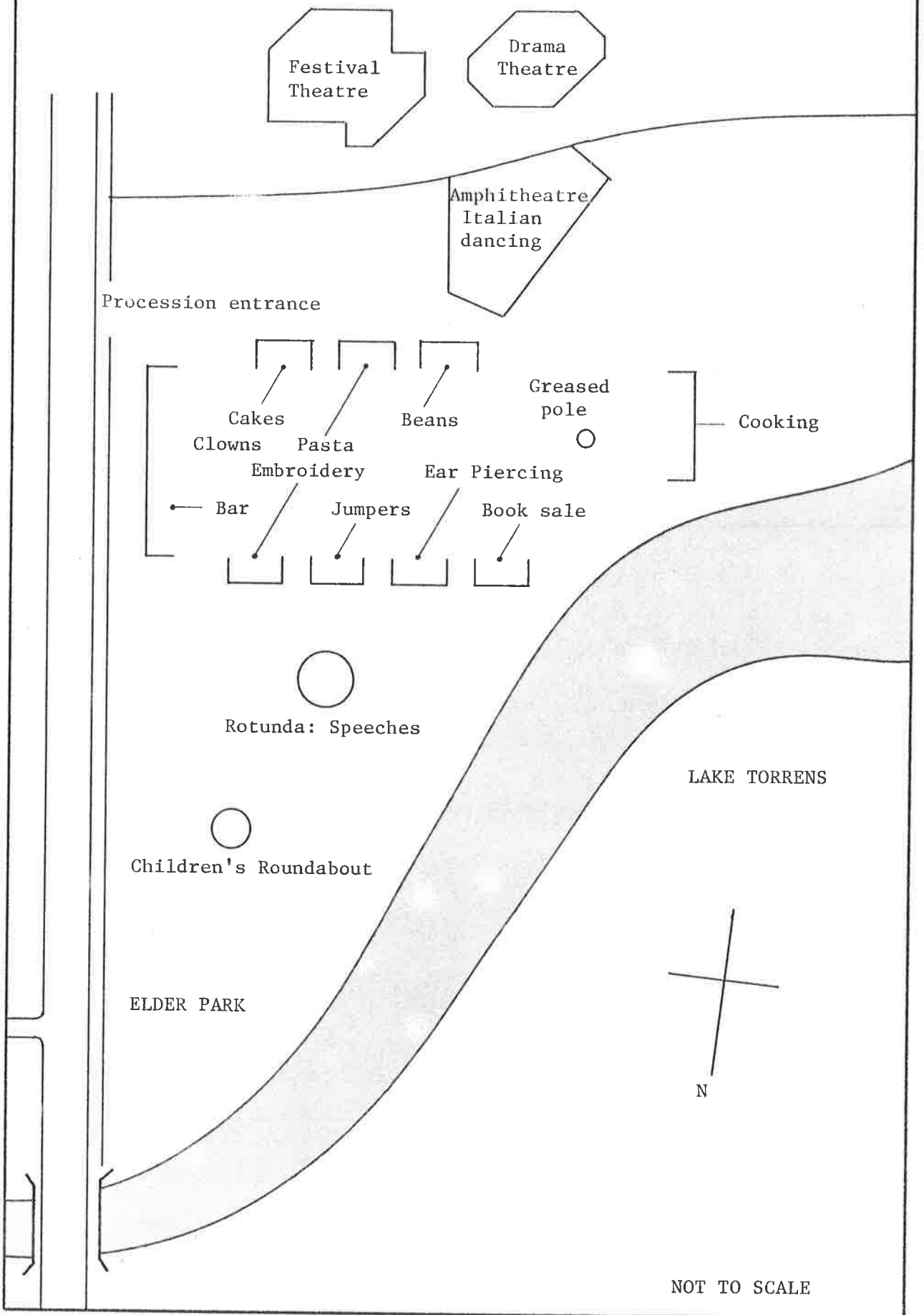
FOOD. There are many food stalls to cater for all tastes: Giant Barbecue, Spaghetti, Pizza, Chicken, Panini, Continental Cakes, Gelati.

WINES AND BEER. The Bar sells many locally produced wines especially bottled for the Italian Festival, and many imported wines and liqueurs.

SIDESHOWS. Include a Ferris Wheel and all the well-known shows liked by children.

MASSIVE FIREWORK EXTRAVAGANZA at about 10.30 p.m. will complete the evening at the end of Verdi's "Requiem Mass" in the Festival Theatre.

Italian Festival 'Al Fresco': Plan



this clown is too quick and the retaliating bee still manages to be the one spat upon. Another story includes a bike which falls apart, resulting in numerous arguments involving fights, falls and 'making it up'.

In these examples, then, costumes and the clever use of music helped the presentation of short stories for children's entertainment. The music aided the definition of frame, sequences and dimensions.

The Feast of Madonna Di Montevergine, Sunday, 26th September 1976

I now give a brief account of a quite different part of the Festival's activities, and because the case is that of the Feast of Madonna Di Montevergine I will give some background to the Italian Catholic Church in Adelaide.

On this, the second day of the 'Festival', there was a further time of celebration at the Newton Church of St. Francis of Assisi. The Church is run by the Capuchin Friars, and a paragraph or two on the Italian and Australian beginnings of this group serves to indicate their social role.

"The Capuchins emerged as a result of a 16th Century reform movement back to what the Friars felt should be the ideal of St. Francis. The reform flourished and today numbers 13,000 brothers and priests throughout the world".¹ Such 'millenarian' movements aimed to create or renew order in the world and societies. They were reactions of some layers of society against attacks on their value systems which occurred in times of stress. The reformed religion incorporated some traits of the attacking value

1 Literature from the Newton Church of St. Francis of Assisi.

system into a framework which stemmed from the old native system. Its followers claimed that the movement defended the 'real' or 'original' form of the native religion.

The Capuchin Friars believe that, "No man since the time of Christ was so perfect a copy of Him as Francis of Assisi. As a youth, Francis was wealthy - but he freely chose to be Gospel-poor. By nature he was quick-tempered, but by choice embraced a life of humility. After his conversion to Christ, the example of his life was contagious! Thousands wished to join St. Francis in living anew the Gospel-life."¹ This ideological statement was followed by a social order based on St. Francis' life style. "In time, Francis organised his followers into a family of three groups or 'orders'. The first was for religious men, the second for religious women, and the third for the laity."²

This family scheme has been further developed, and "Today in the first 'Order of Friars Minor' there are three branches: the Franciscans, Conventual and Capuchin brothers and priests. The contemplative Poor Clare and Capuchin Nuns make up the Second Order. The Third Order is for married and single people and today is called the Lay Franciscans. In all, the Franciscan Family numbers hundreds of thousands."³

Activities at the Church

On arrival at the Newton Church, one could see that it was a family occasion for young and old alike. The specific emphasis of the Festival's activities were the solemn Festival, the Feast of the Madonna, and the Pope's birthday.

1-3 Literature from the Newton Church of St. Francis of Assisi.

The programming of activities was as follows:-

Sunday

- 9.15 Procession
- 2.45 Concert Band (all afternoon)
- 3.00 Cycling at Target Shopping Centre
- 5.00 Trophy Presentation
- 5.30 Candle-light Procession
- 7.00 Holy Mass
- 7.30 Special Music Show
- 10.00 The Close of the Day.

From the programming, one can see the combination of secular and religious activities which characterised the structuring of the day's events.

During the afternoon, a Band played songs, like 'Ave Maria' and the 'William Tell Overture'. The Bandsmen were very formally dressed in black suits with white shirts and black bow ties. It was an all-male Band and announcements were made in Italian only. Many local Italians had gathered to listen to the music, and in contrast to the other Festival occasions mentioned here, there were few non-Italian people at this part of the celebrations. Amongst the crowd were Monks in brown-hooded habits and sandals. Nuns of the teaching order, dressed in white or grey, ran a stall of religious books in Italian, where rosaries could also be purchased.

The closeness between sacred and secular life can be illustrated another way: no one raised a fuss when one child ventured into the Church with a toffee apple. For older people, though, some formalities were essential. As people entered the Church they crossed themselves. Then, they placed drops of water on their foreheads as an act of purification. The water was taken from a bowl at the base of the statue of the Madonna, which was

in the middle at the back of the Church. The people then proceeded down the centre aisle of the Church. At the front, and to the left, were many lighted candles representing prayers for loved ones. These candles stood under an Icon of the Madonna. The Church was dressed with red and white flowers, symbolic of purity and sacrifice. Some family groups were praying and rosaries were worn on the left side, over the heart. Some of these Icons were oval, and also depicted the Madonna. The natural tones worn by Church people were most evident and they symbolised the simple clothing most likely to be worn by St. Francis, who lived very close to nature.

In the late afternoon, parents took their children to the cycling race at the local shopping centre called 'Target'. Later, the people returned for the procession and Mass. Over 5,000 Italian people live in the Campbelltown/Newton area, and at these activities one certainly gained a sense of the people being at home in their neighbourhood area of Adelaide.

Conclusion

The Italian community is, then, an important part of Adelaide society; yet outside the context of this Festival their role in the society is kept sub-dominant, despite their numerical significance. Social metaphor plays an important part in breaking down those symbolic Anglo-community boundaries, which tend to exclude Italian participation from the corridors of power.

CHAPTER 10

AN ETHNIC FOLKLORIC CONCERT

SATURDAY 16TH OCTOBER, 1976

Introduction

This performance was presented by the Ethnic Communities' Council and Adelaide Folkloric Society. It involved the presentation of folk music and dance from many individual migrant communities in Adelaide. Such performances are indicative of the pluralistic society in which they take place, because the performers and their audiences would not otherwise have thought of performing in the same context.

The specialisation in performance context, as in the case of the Italian Festival, is of relatively recent origin, having only taken place during the last ten years. Before that, ethnic events only took place on a smaller scale, amongst members of particular ethnic communities or even smaller sub-groups. The public performance of ethnic music has been aided by Government subsidies, partly to gain votes, but also as an indication of the greater voice that ethnic communities now have.

The performance of ethnic music helps to draw past and present together, in cases where people have migrated from their original homelands. Such performances are also a way of teaching children about their parents' background. However, that having been said, the Adelaide context of performing Greek, or Italian music, or music from any other country alters its meaning. For example, the fact that folk dances are performed on stage, rather than in a park or city square, alters the interaction, in such a way as to make it more presentational.

In the Ethnic Folkloric Concert discussed here, migrant music took precedence over the Anglo tradition. However, tension was evident between ethnic groups who remembered the wars they fought against each other. Furthermore, class differences within ethnic groups were indicated through dress and

social groupings. Finally, the Adelaide Folkloric Society was founded on the 31st July 1975, by members who had previously performed under the 'umbrella' of the Good Neighbour Council. Moreover, it is affiliated with the Ethnic Communities' Council of South Australia Inc. The objects of the Society are: "to co-ordinate the activities of the various ethnic orchestras, choirs and dance groups, to preserve the ethnic cultures and to promote an understanding and mutual respect for the ethnic and nationality groups."¹ Thus, although there is a link between both the leaders and members of the above mentioned migrant organisations, the Ethnic Folkloric Society is more specifically concerned with music, craft and dance, rather than with other social issues. Each sub-group has separate practice times, leaders and participants. Yet they all join forces to perform their work with the aid of Government funding, which has taken the form of a subsidy. We also see migrant symbols becoming dominant within each performance frame, and individual ethnic identities being represented within the sub-frames of the performance.

The Events Directly Preceding the Main Performance*

On arrival at the Festival Theatre, members of the audience were greeted by pre-performance entertainment provided by the Royal Caledonian Pipe Band, which was playing at the entrance to the Festival Theatre. Its members stood in a circle which faced inwards towards the Drum Major, who stood in the centre. The Pipe Major led the pipers on one side of the circle, whilst the Drum Major led the drummers on the other side. Dressed in tartan kilts they made an impressive picture.


1,* From the Ethnic Folkloric Concert programme, 16th October 1976.
See Figure 4.15.

Figure 4.15

Ethnic Communities Council and Adelaide Folkloric Society

present

ETHNIC FOLKLORIC CONCERT



at the
**ADELAIDE
FESTIVAL
THEATRE**

Saturday, 16th October, 1976
at 8.00 p.m.

Arts and Crafts Display in theatre foyer presented by
members of the Ethnic Communities Council

Figure 4.15 (continued)

1 ROYAL CALEDONIAN DANCERS AND PIPE BAND

Amazing Grace
Four Hand Reel
Over the Water to Charlie
Scottish Lilt

Drum Major : Mr. M. Hatty
 Pipe Major : Mr. V. Raymond
 Dance Leader : Miss Lorna Marshall

2 FOGOLAR FURLAN DANCE GROUP (ITALIAN)

La Furlana
Saltarina

Leader & Choreographer: Mr. L. Savio

3 SERBIAN FOLKLORE GROUP "OPLENAC"

Bunjevachko Kolo - Dance from Northern Serbia

Leader & Choreographer : Mr. K. Ranisavljevic
 Accompanist : Mr. T. Stamenkovic

4 LATVIAN FOLK DANCE GROUP "JANDALINS"

Ritenitis -

Leader : Mrs. A. Gulbis

5 ESTONIAN FOLK DANCE GROUP

Vootans - Dance of The Sashes
Pulgatants - Dance of The Sticks
Tuljak - Dance of The Festival

Instructors: Mrs. A.R. Kangur & Mrs. E. Buck
 Accompanist: Mr. G. Allik

Figure 4.15 (continued)

6 CROATIAN FOLKLORE ENSEMBLE "LENEK"

Slavensko Kolo - "Tamburice" Band

Leader : Mr. Vinko Romanik

Song from Samobor (Town in Croatia) - Sextet "Lenek"
Dances from Northern Croatia -
Posavsko Kolo
Prigorsko Kolo

Leader & Choreographer : Mrs. V. Krizaj
Accordions : M. Oreb, Z. Brkljaca, T. Tulic

7 UKRANIAN ASSOCIATION OF S.A. DANCE GROUP "HOPAK"

Hutsul Dance -

Leader & Choreographer : Mr. W. Labaz

8 THE DUTCH FOLK DANCING GROUP

Driekusman
Hakke Tone

Leader : Mr. Henk van Dijk

9 POLISH FOLKLORE ENSEMBLE "TATRY"

The Country of My Mother - Song (T. Mikucki)
Soloist : Jurek Duchowski

Oberek -

Leader & Choreographer : Mr. H. Duszynski
Girls Choir "Lwiczanki" - Leader : T. Mikucki
Polish Youth Orchestra - Leader : Z. Matuszewski

10 AUSTRIAN NATIONAL DANCE GROUP

Die Kolzackerboam
Drei Steirer Truth Tanz

Leader : Mr. H. Reiter
Accordions : Misses K. Schmidt & A. Huber

I N T E R V A L

Figure 4.15 (continued)

11 UKRANIAN BANDURA ENSEMBLE "PLAST"
In Honor of H. Kytasty

Vstaje Chmara - The Rising Cloud
Karpatski Sichovyky . - Carpathian Soldiers

Conductor : B. Scholkewych

12 LITHUANIAN NATIONAL DANCE GROUP "ZILVINAS"

Spring Merriment -
Gay frolic erupts in the meadows with the
first touch of spring

Leader & Choreographer: V. Neverauskas
 Accompanist : Mrs. M. Dumcius
 Coordinator : V. Vencius

13 RUSSIAN FOLKLORIC ENSEMBLE

Russian Melodies -

P. Surikow, A. Stanco, P. Stalznow,
 I. McDonald, B. Altman.

"Lenok" -

Teacher & Choreographer : Madam A. Babicheva

14 SCHOOL OF IRISH DANCING

The Battle of Aghrim -

Leader : Mrs. Carmel Doyle

15 UKRANIAN ASSOCIATION OF S.A. DANCE GROUP "HOPAK"

Oy Dihune -

Leader & Choreographer : W. Labaz

Figure 4.15 (continued)

16 LATVIAN FOLK DANCE GROUP "AUSEKLITIS"*Latvian Melodies -**Misses S. Smits, T. Smits, V. Veigurs**Latvian Folk Dance "Muskadrilis" -**Leader : Mr. J. Skabe*17 HUNGARIAN YOUTH CLUB FOLK DANCE GROUP*Husar Recruiting Dance -**Leader & Choreographer : Mr. F. Schaffer*18 POLISH FOLKLORE ENSEMBLE "TATRY"*Goral -**Leader & Choreographer : Mr. H. Duszynski**"Lowiczanki" Girls Choir -**Leader : Mr. T. Mikucki*
Polish Youth Orchestra : Mr. Z. Matuszewski

PRODUCER & ARTISTIC DIRECTOR Janis GULBIS

MUSICAL DIRECTOR Zygmunt MATUSZEWSKI

STAGE MANAGER Mich MYKYTA

The other pre-performance entertainment took place inside the Theatre Foyer, where handicrafts representative of the various performing ethnic groups were displayed on individual tables. Displays included carving, jewellery, leather work, lace work and traditional costumes. As one moved from table to table, one became aware that the groups gathered at each table were speaking their own language, as well as English. In this case, then, people were grouping themselves according to their sense of ethnic identity.

At the sound of a bell, people took their places in the Theatre for the start of the performance. Once again, people arranged themselves in ethnic groups. This was partly for the convenience of the groups of performers, but members of the general audience had also arranged themselves according to ethnic identity. This fact was evident as each sub-performance ended with extra applause coming from one particular part of the Theatre.

The Main Performance

The overhead lights were dimmed and coloured lights filled the stage, making it glow pink. The band in the orchestra pit stopped playing, and prepared for the first act to come on stage. (The Programme for the Ethnic Folkloric Concert of 1976 is reproduced in full in Figure 4.15, pp.443-447.)

Scotland

The first performance was of Scottish origin. Its beginning was marked (as was the case with the other sub-performances) by a sign on the side of the stage showing the name of the country about to be represented. This sign helped to prepare the audience for the coming performance, by creating a frame for the music and dance.

For each sub-performance the frame was as follows:-

- 1 Applause for the previous act ends.
- 2 The sign on stage left was changed to indicate the country represented by the next sub-performance.
- 3 The curtains were opened and the audience applauded.
- 4 Costume, music and dance set the scene for the frame sequences and the performers bowed before beginning their act.
- 5 There was some applause in between sub-performance sequences, and as a form of participation during the music and dance.
- 6 The performers bowed at the end of a sequence and the audience applauded.
- 7 The curtain fell.

The Scottish sequence consists of a dozen players dressed in traditional kilts and standing in a line at the back of the stage. The drummer stood at the very back with the pipers in front. The Pipe Major was in the middle, and the Drum Major was in the front on stage left. In front of these musicians were dancers, who were children mostly between the ages of 10 and 15. The majority were also girls, possibly due to the cultural emphasis on dancing being part of the education for girls, but not for boys. 'Amazing Grace' was amongst the traditional tunes played. For the dance sequences, the dancers took the characteristic stance with arms above their heads and intricate foot work.

Italian

The only introduction to this very different sequence was the changing of the sign to one reading 'Italy' and displaying national colours. The group had its own leaders and choreographer and the chosen dance was pretty. Six couples danced around a street lantern with one couple at the centre. The musical accompaniment consisted of piano accordion. Normally, one would

see this dance performed out of doors, or at least in a more discursive setting. Therefore, its performance on stage altered its character. Even so, there was much applause in time to the music as a sign of performer/audience interaction.

Serbian

The Serbian dance was also accompanied by the music of a piano accordion. The traditional costumes were dull in colour, as were the colours of the crafts, featuring greys and browns. For this dance, twelve dancers with arms linked shuffled from left to right across the stage.

Latvian

This dance involved a concentric ring of dance partners, and as with the two previous sequences one felt that a more discursive performance form would have enlivened the event.

Estonian

The first dance performed was called 'The Sashes' and it was spectacular. As the name suggests, sashes were interwoven during the dance to form a wheel, and then, as the dancers wheeled, they unravelled the sashes which were held by couples. The second dance was called 'The Sticks'. It was danced by men who walked in a circle using the sticks as if they were climbing a hill. The accompanying music was slow and ponderous at first. Then, suddenly, the music gathered speed and the dancers placed the sticks on the ground and danced around them in a criss-cross formation. At the end of the dance, the music slowed to walking pace again, and the dancers organised themselves for the third dance. This was called 'The Festival', and the dancers were dressed in bright colours for dance movements aimed to capture a festive atmosphere.

Croatian

For this dance a piano accordion and guitars were used as the accompanying instruments. Such instruments are easily transported, and the music can be heard by the dancers. Also, in this segment, the audience was specifically encouraged to participate through applause in time to the music, calls or whistling.

Ukranian

Recorded music was used as an accompaniment to this Ukranian dance sequence. The scene is night time and a horn is heard sounding. We see a dancer standing on stage pretending to sound a horn, and behind him is a lit fire. As the horns stops, dancers appear on stage. Once again, the dancers form couples and we have a village scene with the women wearing aprons and the men wearing wood-chopping dress. The men also carry axes which are used in a men's dance sequence, during which some mock fighting with the axes takes place.

Dutch

For this sequence, there were six Dutch couples dressed in blue, red, white and yellow. The women wore lace head-dresses, and all wore clogs. The dance portrayed couples fighting amongst themselves, and there was much mock face slapping and wagging of fingers to portray arguments taking place. This was a very amusing episode.

Polish

The small orchestra in the pit which played music preceding the beginning of the performance proper, was Polish. It consisted of young players, who for this particular sequence, accompanied Polish choral singing. A soloist led the singing of 'The Country of my Mother' to a piano accompaniment,

which was very moving. This sequence gained strong support, particularly from the Polish representation of the audience. The last song in the sequence was cheerful, in order to provide a balance with the first.

Austrian

Eight girls, with aprons over their skirts, danced on stage. Each girl had a bell in each hand, which they rang as part of the dance choreography. They also danced to a piano accordion accompaniment. In a second dance, four logs were placed on stage and at each log were two wood choppers. This dance was called 'A Wood Chopping Dance' and during it men performed mock fights. Then, girls danced on the stage to form couples with the wood choppers. The subsequent dancing portrayed couples courting.

Interval

During the interval, people chatted with one another and some looked at the craft displays in the foyer. Also, those performers who had completed their performances in the first half of the programme, took their reserved seats in the audience for the second half.

Ukranian

The Ukranian dancing opened the second half of the performance. Once again, the costumes helped to set the scene. The men wore blue pantaloons with red sashes, white shirts and red ties.

Lithuanian

The colours used in this dance were red and blue. This time, girls danced on stage holding red and white flowers. This dance portrayed 'Spring

Merriment', and we saw couples happily frolicking in the meadows at the arrival of spring.

Russian

This sequence involved firstly the playing of Russian melodies, and then a dance called 'Lenok'. The Russian melodies were played on three guitars, a bass, a small guitar and two balalaikas. The performers were dressed in black pantaloons with coloured silk shirts of white, yellow or green.

Interestingly, this sequence received less applause than any other performance that evening, and yet the playing and dancing was excellent. I therefore suggest that the audience support was reduced, due to the rather restrained acknowledgement by the large Polish representation of the audience.

Irish

The next sequence was a further reminder of the diversity of peoples represented by this evening's entertainment. It was a segment of Irish dancing by mainly young girls. They wore green tunics with yellow panels and green capes with a shamrock symbol on them. The girls danced on stage in a line, to the accompaniment of a harpist. The dance portrayed 'The Battle of Aughrim', and the choreography consisted of a series of battle formations. Although the music was light and 'elfin' in character, the subject of the dance was serious. The dancers portrayed soldiers who were dying or wounded, and the music sounded a retreat at the end of the dance. Interestingly, this sequence was well received.

The Ukranian and Latvian Sequence

The Ukranian dance group danced 'Oy Dihune'. This was followed by Latvian melodies and a folk dance called the 'Muskadrilis', which portrayed women waving handkerchiefs as the men went to war.

Hungarian

As in the previous sequence, the dance chosen for this performance was a recruiting dance, called the 'Husar Recruiting Dance'. In it we saw men leaving for war and it was a dance which captured a moving aspect of Hungarian history.

Polish

The first part of this sequence consisted of a dance in which we saw village couples. The men had work axes which they used in a dance. This local village scene was disrupted, as soldiers entered the scene. Thus, the dance portrayed the peaceful way of life being changed by the arrival of uniformed soldiers heralding the coming of war. We not only saw village men fighting each other, but also family life being disrupted.

The Curtain Call

The evening ended with all the performers gathering on stage to take the final applause before people began to leave the theatre. This curtain call represented the unity of the whole performance, for the members of each sub-sequence were present together on the stage. This helped to draw the entire performance together.

Conclusions

One of the most striking elements of this performance was that of rich symbolism. This symbolism provides clear support for the view that symbols are of vital importance in human communication. Symbols grouped in terms of a theme are essential for signifying dominant tradition, and in keeping other themes subordinate to them. In this performance, the juxtapositioning of music and dance in the one overall context makes similarities and differences in style more evident. Within the overall frame are sub-frames which surround the individual performances of particular ethnic groups. The sub-frames each contain their own symbols, yet the overall context of the Anglo-theatre is not forgotten. All sub-frames, however distinct, are grouped under the heading of 'migrant activity' in relation to the dominant paradigm. Only within the sub-frames are the themes and symbols of particular ethnic groups the dominant focus. Note not only the dress of dancers and the style of music and dance but also the recurring themes of war, festivities and courting. Thus, each sub-frame represents a social metaphor, a bid for the recognition of these separate individual identities.

CHAPTER 11

MUSIC IN A REFORMATIVE INSTITUTION

One of the greatest social contributions which music makes is to facilitate the communication of ideas which would not otherwise be easily expressed. Music and lyrics together provide all age sectors of the society with a means of communicating their feelings as well as their thoughts. Here, we look only at the communicative role of 'pop' music in the context of a Reformatory Institution for young people between the ages of 10 to 18. In the Introduction, I mentioned another Case Study in which I investigated the role of record companies in controlling the records promoted on commercial radio. I found that adolescent society provided a valuable market, and that some exploitation of 'pop' artists and their audiences took place for financial gain. Both record companies and radio stations promote 'pop' concerts, and, as many newspaper reports of these events indicate, hysterical behaviour amongst both artists and audiences is often evident. This has led to destructive behaviour and the arrest and charging of adolescents, and it therefore needs to be understood that music is a powerful means of influencing emotions, and therefore actions. This fact is known to those stage people whose job it is to 'warm up' the audiences, so that a peak of excitement is reached as the much-awaited 'Stars' appear on stage. Thus, "who the musician is, how he behaves, what society thinks of him and why these patterns emerge, are questions of vital importance to a thorough understanding of music as human behaviour."¹ A. Merriam, who made this comment, was one of the first people to see the importance of the Anthropology of Music.

Most people are highly susceptible to the influence of music. The local University radio station found that it could not exist without some musical content. Music is played in department stores, in shops, and in planes as they take off and land. Music constitutes the greatest part

1 Merriam, A. 1964. The Anthropology of Music. USA: North-Western University Press.

of radio programming, television, theatre and bar entertainment. That is, it is present in almost every context in which social activity occurs. This basic human need for music, and sensitivity to it, is most evident in the discussion of musical taste at this Reformatory Institution (which shall remain un-named). For example, one young person indicated, by repeatedly singing one line of a song, that the lyrics were those with which she could identify. The song was Janis Joplin's "Bobbie Maggee"¹ and the chosen line was, "Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose."² In this context the statement seemed to be an incredibly honest and profound summary of the way in which this person viewed her situation. This theme of 'freedom' is a recurring one in conversation with young people who have come to Reformatory Institutions, and who are therefore well aware of what freedom means to them.

The Discussion held at the Training Centre

The aim of the discussion was to see to what extent music aided conversation on themes which were close to the most heart-felt experiences of the young people. The conclusion was that they were only too glad to have the chance to listen to music and to express their opinion; and have people listen to them. This was a time in which I was learning too.

The study took place in 1976 and the records chosen for discussion are still popular. The young people chose the songs that they wanted to hear, and also took turns in recording their opinions about them. These people recorded their comments on a cassette recorder, so that they could be quoted accurately later. Here, I record comments made about specific songs. The comments seem to speak for themselves, and I shall only add explanations where they seem necessary.

1,2 Janice Joplin, Pearl. 'Bobbie Maggee'. (L.P.)

The first song was described as being about someone whose image of his surroundings and himself changed when he was 'high' on drugs. Because the intention of this song was not clear, the listener had some scope in interpreting the song's meaning, and therefore the listener's impression of the song has added significance. The line most stressed in this song was, "you've got to be free"¹ Thus, the theme of 'freedom', mentioned above, occurs again.

The second song was interpreted as being about a couple where the woman is going to "walk out"² and the man does not want her to leave. This song led naturally into a discussion of which kinds of songs were generally liked by these young people. All agreed that they liked those with "a meaning"³ and that 'meaning' was seen in terms of the reality of life experiences they knew. The young people could identify with the themes in such 'meaningful' songs.

Two other songs which were well received were, "Keep the Customers Satisfied"⁴ and "The Boxer".⁴ Here I only quote the chorus of the first song, and the first and last verses of the second. The chorus of "Keep the Customers Satisfied" is as follows:-

*"It's the same old story
Everywhere I go
I get slandered
Libelled
I hear words I never heard
In the Bible
And I'm one step ahead of the shoe shine
Two steps away from the county line
Just trying to keep my customers satisfied. Satisfied."*⁴

1 The Beatles, 'Abbey Road'. (L.P.)

2,3 From the discussion at a Reformative Institution, 1976.

4 Simon and Garfunkel, 'Bridge over Troubled Water'. (L.P.)

The first and last verses of "The Boxer" are as follows:-

*"I am just a poor boy
 Though my story's seldom told
 I have squandered my resistance
 For a pocketful of mumbles
 Such are promises
 All lies and jests
 Still, a man hears what he wants to hear
 And disregards the rest.*

*In the clearing stands a boxer
 And a fighter by his trade
 And he carries a reminder
 Of ev'ry glove that laid him down
 And cut him 'till he cried out
 In his anger and his shame
 I am leaving I am leaving
 But the fighter still remains."¹*

The full appeal of these songs cannot be gauged without case histories of the young offenders which may have shed light on this issue. However, it was not my aim to collect these interviews, nor would this particular context have been suitable for such a task. Yet the general explanations volunteered by one girl was a valuable one for the insight it gave. Experience had taught her that "a man hears what he wants to hear/ And disregards the rest"² and, for this reason, she chose to play this particular song. Others said it had "truth"³ in it because although "people came running when they want a piece of cake, people don't come running if it's something they don't like."⁴ (This comment was relevant to the day of the discussion, as the young people had appointments with a dentist and some had quite a lot of surgery to be done.)

1 Simon and Garfunkel, 'Bridge over Troubled Water'. (L.P.)

2-4 From the discussion at a Reformative Institution, 1976. Lyrics from Simon, Paul and Garfunkel, A. 'Bridge over Troubled Water'. (L.P.)

Another comment was made on the second of these two songs. It was added that the song was, "a continual fight between the instrumentalists and the vocalists."¹ I now suggest that this song was also relevant in that the young people had experienced hard times, and as the song says had needed to "fight"² to survive life's harshness.

Following the playing of these two songs, a general discussion developed. It emphasised that one should listen to the words and one youth suggested, "listen carefully to the words when you're alone."³ This reference to being alone is significant as is the repeated reference to 'freedom' in conversations with these young people. One youth then chose to play 'Bridge over Troubled Water' because of the lines, "When you're down and out/when you're on the streets/when evening falls so hard/I will comfort you."⁴ This song was evidently most popular.

The heavy Rock and Blues of Janis Joplin's records was also popular. The tension in the music seemed to describe the feelings of some of these young people, and its effect was sometimes to comfort and at other times to depress them. For this reason, care was needed in leading the discussion. This following conversation took place between a staff member and a young offender. It began with the comment by the youth that the singer, Janis Joplin, was "on drugs"⁵ and that this fact would affect the music. The youth added that when you're on drugs, "you tell the people, and the world, what you think of them and what's going on inside your mind."⁶ A staff member responded with the question, "Is it good at all times to say what you think?"⁷ And the youth answered, "Yes".⁸ The staff member then added, "Was it good irrespective of other's feelings?"⁹ And the youth replied that it was,

1-4 From the discussion at a Reformatory Institution, 1976. Lyrics from Simon, Paul and Garfunkel, S. 'Bridge over Troubled Water'. (L.P.)

5-9 From the discussion at a Reformatory Institution, 1976.

"better to get it off your chest than to keep it stored up where it only upsets you."¹ Once again, one feels that experience has been a hard master for such young people.

Further comments were made concerning Janis Joplin and her songs. Another explanation of her style of singing was that, "Something must have been missing in the singer's childhood, such as love that's what every kid needs."²

Conclusions

This short Case Study introduces evidence of the communicative power of music, and, more specifically, something of its value in assisting people to communicate to others some of their hardest experiences.

One often hears the general explanation of deviant behaviour that it is the result of young people being, "bored"³ One hears, "Oh, they did it, or, I did it, because I was bored."⁴ Yet, through listening to music and through discussing experiences in relation to music and its lyrics, one comes to a fuller understanding of 'deviance'. For example, one learns that deviance is not simply the result of "boredom"⁵. 'Boredom' has to be seen as a cover explanation meaning that a particular person requires attention, and, more particularly, requires other people to care what they do. Yet, the sad irony of the situation in which these young people come before the Courts after several acts of law-breaking, is that society often rejects them all the more. I therefore conclude this study with a lyric emphasised by one youth: "Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose."⁶

1-5 From the discussion at a Reformative Institution, 1976.

6 Janice Joplin, Pearl. 'Bobbie Maggee'. (L.P.)

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSIONS

From these Case Study summaries, it should be clear that each case illustrates a different style of analysis, and only a few specific points about one area of music in Adelaide. However, the key individual Case Studies reveal a 'grouping' which forms a macro pattern on a higher level of emergence.

The first studies concentrate on traditional performances which are in consonance with the Anglo-paradigm (blue-print). These performances have histories which extend from the early days of the Colony to the present. (I refer the reader to the discussion of, for example, oratorio in Section II, which provides the essential background for 'Elijah'.)

Despite the historical process of performance contexts becoming increasingly specialised in the particular kinds presented, (see Section II Chapter 3), 'Carols by Candlelight' has remained an exception. In this performance, many musical styles are presented in the one context, and it has therefore remained within the tradition of a promenade concert. However, whilst a wide range of musical styles occurs in 'Carols by Candlelight', each event is surrounded by definite boundaries to form a sub-performance. Each sub-performance has its own individual lighting, dress, style of presentation, choice of music and style of interaction with the audience. These sub-performances have been kept as distinct units within the whole performance, which is integrated by Christmas themes and the overriding presentational form required for radio broadcasting. That is, attention has been given to the timing of events. An introduction to each event was given by the Master of Ceremonies, whose role it was to co-ordinate the whole performance, and the traditional choir also constituted a permanent backdrop for all events, thus providing a constant theme for 'Carols by Candlelight'.

'Elijah' is another traditional performance, but in this Case Study I pay particular attention to the ordering of dominant and sub-dominant symbols within the ritual phases. My aim has been to give a detailed analysis of the organisation of symbols within the frame, so as to indicate the basic level on which symbol organisation first occurs. We can then see how on higher levels of emergence the dominant symbols provide support for the key social paradigm, and the sub-dominant symbols remain in the form of social metaphor. 'Elijah' is a 'transcendental' ritual in which liminal phases and mediating symbols link the dimension of everyday experience with the religious realm.

The next Case Study summaries are concerned with 'Anzac Day' and 'Stage Band' music. The first of these gives support to the traditional paradigm, and it aims to show how music helps people to transcend everyday space/time perceptions - it is another 'transcendental' ritual. The second Study concerns the legitimisation of Jazz performances in a traditional context where they were not previously accepted. This is a 'transformative' performance because it is an attempt to reach an audience other than the usual one. In this sense, the Stage Band has the capacity to introduce social change into particular musical performance contexts. Although it involves the expression of social metaphor, Stage Band music nevertheless seeks legitimation within the context of a traditional classical concert, (in line with the paradigm).

The later Case Study summaries show the development of either an anti-tradition, or an alternative tradition to the everyday paradigm. Some performances, like 'Peccata Mundi' receive resource support from traditional fields, and they remain on the fringe of such traditional institutions as the Conservatorium. Others are more independent and have separate fields, such as the Jam Factory performance (which is an example

of 'conceit'). The Experimental Art Foundation makes claims for resources from Federal and State Government funds. However, their 'symbolic force field' is not great (see Section III Chapter 3). Members of the Experimental Art Foundation have suggested the Jury System as a means whereby anti-tradition claims to 'cultural and capital' resources might be strengthened by reducing Anglo-Establishment control over these resources. These members have wanted to increase community/audience participation in choice of 'new' creative works supported. Yet, to do this they must first attain 'credibility' in the wider society.

What about those groups in society who support traditions other than the Anglo-paradigm? They use social metaphor to express their position as individual members of a particular ethnic group who together wish to maintain a clear sense of identity.

The Good Neighbour Council and the Adelaide Folkloric Society are Government subsidised organisations for all 'migrant' people, and their definition is therefore partly restricted by the dominant culture, in terms of which the label 'migrant' has been defined (see Section I). 'Migrant' ethnicity is still kept as a sub-dominant theme in this society. However, by looking at another kind of 'migrant' event, we see that the partly Government-funded Italian Festival reverses the situation by aiming to incorporate the Anglo-population. Also, the programmed events include some specifically for Italian-speaking people, and others for participation by the general Adelaide public. Where very different ethnic groups give performances within the one overall context of a 'migrant' concert, the event is arranged in terms of the dominant paradigm. Only in individual sub-performances are the traditions of a particular ethnic group dominant.

'Anglo-ethnocentricity' in the control and distribution of resources has caused discrimination against other ethnic groups in society, groups which are no longer an insignificant minority. Because of the Anglo group closure, other ethnic groups have tightened their internal community links, and differences have sometimes been accentuated rather than overcome.

Considerations of Aboriginal music, in the context of resource distribution in Adelaide, have been omitted from this account. However, Aboriginal people, like 'migrants', have performed their music and dance in traditional Anglo concert halls. These contexts have usually been inappropriate for their traditional musical expression. Traditionally, Aboriginal music and dance were performed together in rituals which were social occasions. The act of expression, rather than the final formal presentation, was the central concern. In a concert hall attention is focussed on the presentation of music and dance, rather than on its role as part of a wider social occasion. Thus, the sound and movement of Aboriginal music and dance is partly lost, or at least more difficult to interpret in the concert hall context. Once again, this alternative form of ethnicity has been kept symbolically sub-dominant to the Anglo tradition. A more detailed symbolic analysis of Aboriginal music would reveal processes of symbolic manipulation similar to those discussed here with regard to minority 'migrant' music. That is, in either case the Anglo paradigm remains dominant.

Among the Case Study summaries, I have included a very brief account of musical taste in a Reformatory Institution, because it reveals understandings of deviance. The Anglo-paradigm has presented a rather puritanical outlook on law breaking, which has resulted in re-punishing those young people who have already suffered an excess of rejection by family or society.

This perspective can be balanced by viewing Reformative Institutions from the point of view of some young people who live in them.

My conclusion is that transformation of the Anglo-paradigm is necessary in order that society grow in its understanding of all the people who belong to it. Not all change is 'bad', nor is all deviance 'undesirable'. Indeed, innovation is of great value in keeping society alive and healthy. The narrow symbolic frames within which the society is traditionally bound should be subject to reflexive thinking. Assuredly, the Anglo-paradigm, with its presumptions that the Anglo way is best, has caused suffering amongst other members of the community. In fact, when this thesis research was begun, I aimed to address my attention only to minority groups. However, I soon found that as the power over the distribution of resources, and therefore over the choice of music performed in particular contexts, was not in their hands, it was essential to reveal where the control over resources actually lay. This was necessary in order to expose the fallacy of holding Anglo-values above the need for moral responsibility towards other members of the society. I venture to add that resources should not be kept for mainly Anglo-projects, even when Government cut-backs in this sphere of activity limits the availability of such resources.

My aim in these Case Study summaries has been to show how interaction is structured within particular performances, with reference to paradigm and social metaphor. I argue that symbol dominance or sub-dominance is central to any interpretation of the ways in which paradigm and social metaphor operate in the creation of Social Images. My further aim has been to show that frames and fields are grouped in terms of their support for, or rejection of, the Anglo-control over resources. Thus, having first traced the operation of symbols in history and in contemporary frames, one can see how some symbol clusters emerge from dominance in a particular frame to

dominance in a field or extended context. We have also seen that sub-dominant symbols, which are emphasised in a particular frame, have been kept sub-dominant on all levels of emergence, by directing capital and symbolic resources away from them.

Only when social metaphor is in operation can the pattern of dominance be transformed. Such transformation takes place first at the level of frames, but it may then cross to other emergent levels to become a viable social 'force' against the paradigm. Adelaide's rate of change is slowed by the persistent dominance of the Anglo-paradigm and its values. However, the Anglo-paradigm has a stabilising influence in terms of which social metaphor can be expressed. The operation of controlled focuses means that capital and symbolic resources are drawn along established networks between frames and fields.

Finally, although every frame contains both 'discursive' (divergent) and 'presentational' (convergent) elements, it exhibits general characteristics. Within contexts such as taverns, music forms an integrated part of human activity, and therefore the discursive aspects are more evident. In concert halls, music is viewed as an object of creation to be perfected, and therefore the presentational aspects come to the forefront. In the latter case, the final work is at least as important as its creative process or entertainment value, and the result is more than the process of creation alone.

The case of New Music can be viewed as an attempt to provide new combinations of presentational and discursive elements by reintroducing spontaneity, free expression, or a chance factor. The immediate appeal of this form of musical performance is confined to a limited audience, mainly consisting of

those who know the traditional musical codes, and who can therefore see the variations from them involved in the 'counter culture'. One needs to know the various forms and combinations of symbols, in order to be fully aware of their transformation. Thus, audience members are those who are prepared to set aside traditional expectations of a concert performance, in order to explore less orthodox musical form and content. The degree of discursiveness is greater in outdoor music than in opera, because of their differences in musical form and content and in social context.

The diagram in Section II Chapter 6 ('An Overview of Music in Adelaide', Figure 2.4 p.191) shows the ways in which performances are grouped in society. Most of the Case Studies summarised in this Section can be seen in relation to the 'overview', from which one can obtain a clearer picture of the structuring of levels of emergence in Adelaide. Referring to Figure 2.4, one can see that, for example, New Music (to the right of the diagram) is linked to the Conservatorium, which is in turn dependent upon Establishment patronage for resource support. Also one can observe the central role played by the Government in providing resources for musical performances. Finally we see that the Musicians' Union (on the left of the diagram) provides protection for both classical musicians performing for the A.B.C., the State symphony orchestra and for local 'pop' musicians including some from the 'counter culture'. Obviously it is impossible to show all the inter-relationships on a single diagram, but, together with the Case Study summaries, it nevertheless provides an 'overview' of the structure of music in Adelaide.

SECTION V

IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT

CHAPTER 1

THE MAJOR ARGUMENT IS SUMMARIZED

Introduction

This section is about 'Impression Management', which refers to the process whereby some symbols receive focus at the expense of other alternatives. That is, it is the means of symbolic control over individual or group impressions of culture and society. Whilst it is basic to look at the ways in which symbols are organised to create order within particular social situations,* it has been the major task of this thesis to go a stage further by showing how people, "construct order across their social situations."¹ Section IV ends with a summary of the main points of each study and the ways in which fields overlap on higher levels to form dominant images.

Impression Management involves the selection of symbols resulting in a focussed Social Image, such as the Anglo-cultural paradigm (or blue-print). The creation of this image, its regeneration or reinterpretation can be shown on the emergent levels of sequences and dimensions, form, field and extended context.

The extended context refers to the macro view of musical taste (as indicated by, for example, the Establishment Social Image), and to the process of resource control and redistribution to the level of 'fields'. Field' refers to a much more clearly bounded social sphere such as a musical institution (a union, conservatorium, society, or whatever). The connection between the extended context and field is that a network of social relationships crosses field boundaries and links fields into groups within the extended context. Establishment fields are linked, migrant ones are linked in specific ways or kept as separate units distinct from the Establishment.

* See Section IV

1 Douglas, J. (Ed.). 1971. (Paperback reprint 1974). Understanding Everyday Life. Toward the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 12.

Field size depends upon the successful manipulation of resources in the extended context including action in economic and political rather than musical spheres. The increased flow of resources to a particular social institution enhanced its social influence and its own expression of it. The allocation of resources to given fields or frames can be described in terms of a force which is measured by the level of resources attracted from the extended context.

Finally, a frame consists of the boundary around a performance and the symbolic organisation of focuses to produce a contextual setting or theme. In terms of the focus a clear sense of progression from start to end is gained.

The focus of a performance may have symbolic sub-contexts, or phases in which the interaction between musical specialists and the public changes. That is, the degree of presentationalism (a narrowing focus) or discursiveness (a broadening focus) changes.

Thus, one can indicate the force of fields or frames by looking at the resources they control, and one can also hypothesize and show that there is a symbolic force which operates between the symbols to form them into dominant or sub-dominant groups in a frame or field. In this way, a Social Image is created at the level of the extended context as expressed in dominant cultural and sub-dominant social patterns.

The social process (that is, Impression Management) of maintaining dominant symbols or changing from the dominance of some symbols to the dominance of others indicates the capacity for social and cultural change.

If social metaphors are successful in gaining dominance, the social image at the level of extended context will gradually change in response to changes in frame and field influences.

Now I carry on with summarising the main argument of this thesis.

Culture and Society

In the Introduction to this thesis, I distinguished between culture and society and aligned culture with root paradigm and society with social metaphor. Then, in the conclusion to Section II, Chapter 1, I suggested that, because norms are defined by the sanctifying agencies of culture and society and the dominant class who controls them, all class and status groups tend to have their choice in musical taste restricted by symbolic means to align with a central ideological model and ruling set of norms. Thus, ruling class and ruling culture overlap considerably. Every culture honours the conformity that sustains it and so the existing patterns of such social relations tend to be perpetuated. On the other hand, every society produces within itself the symbolic diversity that can change its focus. Both conflicts and contradictions are revealed in social metaphor, resulting in rebellion, (where office holders are criticised rather than the office itself) or revolution, (where the social institution is itself criticised).

Therefore, we come to the conclusion that symbols provide the means of social change. They do this through reinterpretations of existing relationships between people and also through different symbolic combinations and stresses. Minor transformations through reinterpretation can lead us to major change. This social manipulation through symbols is called Impression Management.

Dominant and Sub-dominant Symbols

In Section III, Chapter 3, I suggested two basic classifications of performances, based on whether the dominant symbols of the performance were those of the field and extended context, or whether they were other than those dominant in the extended context or field. In the first case, symbols reinforce the root paradigm and change is retarded. In the second case, symbols conflict with the root paradigm and we have social metaphor. In social metaphor two sets of ideas are juxtaposed, and ambiguities arise which require resolution to the root or to some alternative pattern. Thus, in the second case change can occur.

Both reification and transformation are first noticeable at the level of attitudes, and only afterwards are values adjusted, or reinterpreted to allow for changes in perspective.

Legitimation Procedures, Attitudes and Values

The legitimation of Social Images through symbol Impression Management occurs through symbolic forces acting between social occasions at one level of emergence (e.g. frames), or on different emergent levels (e.g. frames, fields, and the extended context). Attitudes (pragmatic typifications) are developed by people in their everyday interactions with others who are likely to influence their perspectives. These provide a store of knowledge ready to hand and spontaneously used everyday. This knowledge may include history, myth, historiography, gossip or scandal. It is in terms of this knowledge together with norms, (which are not always as immediately accessible because of their presentational rather than discursive form), that people decide to act in a field or frame. There is a further dialectic between norms and actions which is mediated by rules. These rules are aimed at making presentationally coded value information

readily available for practical action. Thus we have the application of values in action.

Now, Berger and Luckmann^{*} argue that thought precedes action in the process of legitimation. I agree with this point. Lower level attitudes precede values or normative typifications in the processes of legitimating social knowledge. Occasionally the norms are called on for action, but, even then, attitudes are first sorted. As one moves from one level of culture and society to another, a further objectification must occur, but, even so, there is a growing possibility of disparity between what people say they do and what they actually do, in any given context. If we also recognise levels of social understanding this adds complexity to the levels of emergence in society through imperfect synchrony.

Legitimation processes bridge the gap between categories of attitude and value by influencing members of a social group to act in a given way, and to focus on particular symbols despite alternatives. They also give justification for a given situation. The conclusions for these theses are based on cognitive rather than normative appreciation of social events. I deal with attitudes which are closer to everyday understanding than normative values.

In particular performances, attitudes are of essential significance in the move from subjective to objective presentations of the social world. Attitudes create the dynamism in social images, whereas values are their crystallisation. The dynamism arises because attitudes give everyday importance (in a discursive form) to formally presented information codes.

* Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. 1973. The Social Construction of Reality - A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. A Penguin Book reprint. pp. 120-193.

Attitudes expressed in values translate norms into action and help to either reinforce, reinterpret, or to radically change the symbolic focus. Attitudes are part of the process I call Impression Management. It is the process whereby ideas are controlled by symbolic systems.

What we have, then, in any given situation, is a focus selected from the continuum range of behavioural interactions, the upper-level formalities of values, and the everyday semantic levels of attitudes. The focus works to form a structure such as a frame or a field with definite social boundaries. However, this process of focussing also causes discontinuities between structures and their levels of emergence.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIETY AND SPACE - TIME DIMENSIONS

*"Man is confronted by a world which he commonly describes through two characteristics: on the one hand, objects are spread out in space; on the other hand, events succeed one another and endure for.... periods of time. The two structures, space and time, constitute the spatiotemporal framework within which the individual lives and dies."*¹

This relationship between the dimensions of space and time is of great importance in any analysis of human behaviour. Here, Einstein's theory of space and time is discussed in terms of its ability to expand the explanation of social perceptions of space and time, which may differ from calculated notions of space and time. Social structural distance may often differ from measured physical distance between people. Thus social perceptions of space and time are a vital part of any discussion of symbolic Impression Management in rituals, ceremonies or frames. Frames, such as transcendental and transformative performances involve the manipulation of social perceptions of space and time.

Now I wish to extend the idea of social boundaries to include the concept that space and time have no logical meaning for people without reference to the bounded social situations of field, frame, and sequences and dimensions. For we order our lives according to the patternings of human thought and action, which are encapsulated in social focuses and images.

1 Fraser, J.T. 1966. The Voices of Time. New York: A. Braziller. p. 966.

Einstein has much to say about relativity that is relevant to the understanding of societies, yet only the mathematical aspects of his writings have been fully explored. Before saying more, however, one must see how he uses the concept of 'field'. According to Einstein, space is always filled by a field, and, in fact, the notion of a space continuum without field has no logical meaning. His concept of field replaced the idea of a particle or material point in mathematics and physics.* As Descartes also found, physical objects are not just in space or time, they are, as Einstein says, "spatially extended".¹ That is, in simple terms, they cover space. In this way the concept of 'empty space' loses its social meaning.

If space is always filled by a field, "What is a 'field'?" I have partially answered this question already by the use of the terms extended context, field, frame, sequences and dimensions. It is an "auxiliary concept".² It is used where matter is treated as a continuum and is seen in relation to a rigid body of reference (system of coordinates) and time. To me, this idea seems essentially similar (in terms of the mechanisms of operation) to the way in which the Grounded Theory of 'nested concepts' works. In this theory, we are also looking at a continuum range of human behaviour along which man has created structural boundaries, based on a system of coordinates. It is in terms of this relatively definable system that people organise their everyday lives.

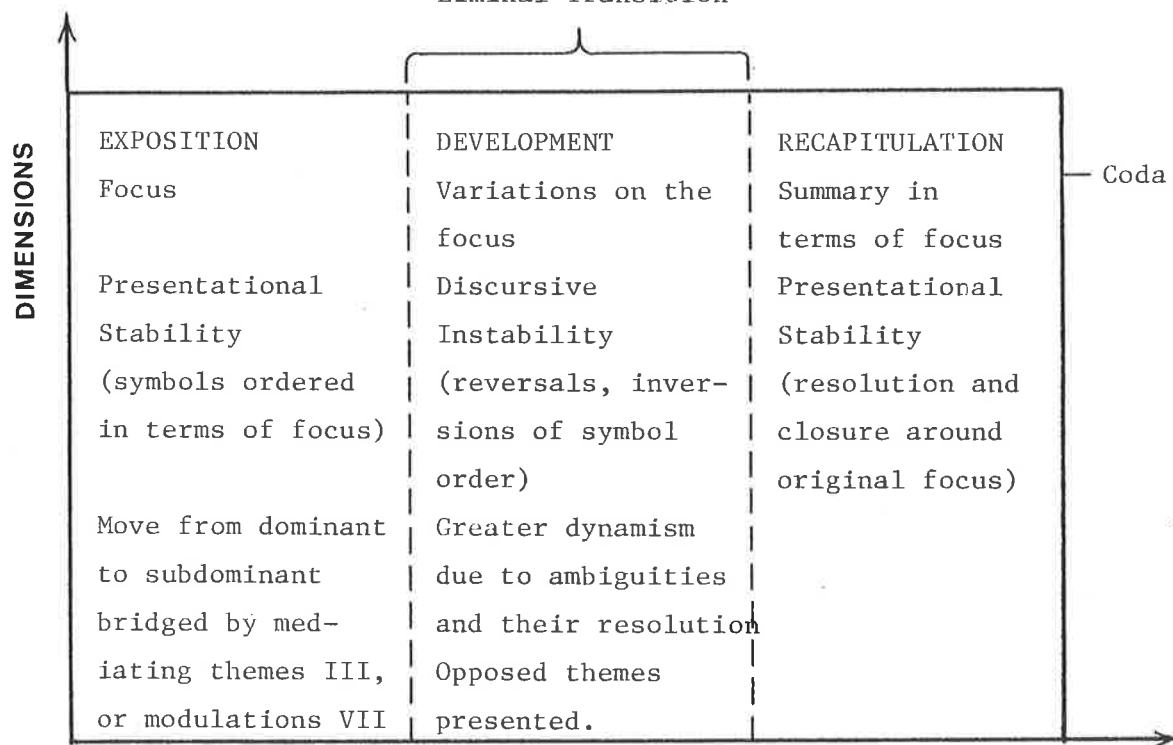
The argument is now stated in terms of the fifth dimension of society. Although one must say that there is no exact equivalent to the atom in society, there are force fields which order social interaction along

* 1, 2 Einstein, A. 1920. Relativity: The Special and the General Theory.
Tr. Lawson, R. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. Reprint (1979).
pp. 144-157.

predictable lines. The reference system of coordinates consists of the mutually perpendicular axes of syntagmatic chain and paradigmatic ladder. Extended context, field, frame, and sequences and dimensions are all movable in space and all form along a space-time continuum. This continuum is disrupted by structure with its boundaries. Thus we have a means of predicting social form and content through structural focus.

Figure 5.1

The Form which governs the Overall Structure of Ritual Sequences .
Liminal Transition



NOTE: The Repetition of enclosed themes is a **SEQUENCES** feature of this scheme.

Einstein recognised that field in science and society (if one must make that distinction) can be transformed through alterations to the boundaries of objects, extended in space and time.* This is a very important point. I add that in social theory boundaries, or focuses, are altered by the

* Einstein, A. 1920. Relativity: The Special and the General Theory. Tr. Lawson, R. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. Reprint (1979).

ordering of symbols in social situations. By recognising the movability of boundaries extended in space and time, Einstein gave dynamism to his theory. The concrete aspects in culture and society which we recognise as being 'then', 'now', or 'later' gave way to the recognition of the relative concepts of 'happened', 'happening' and 'becoming'. These concepts allowed for the processes of change in theory and in society. They were more fluid concepts capable of changing with society and therefore better able to capture the relativity of time.

Structural boundaries at the limits of social force fields divide people and the events in which they participate, so as to give an appearance of permanency or changelessness. The human mind in society converts through ritual behaviour, becomings into 'has become', and happenings into 'has happened'. In this way, a sense of beginnings and endings to events is given, and process becomes subordinate to structure. The sense of the outside continuum of events is difficult for the human mind to grasp. That logic is not in his mind and world. We give our lives a sense of history by recognising a definite past, present, and eventual future. This logic is built into the structure of our symbols - of languages, music, mathematics and dance. We have language tenses which segment space and time. We have syntagmatic chains and paradigmatic ladders. In rituals we have a focus, a stage of ambiguity and a final stage of summary. In all these cases the less stable parts, or more changeable aspects of a sentence, piece of music, dance or ritual are related to more stable ones. Society works in this way too. Because of the relationship between more and less stable parts, closure boundaries occur and movability or progression is shaped by the reference system of coordinates. Finally, where structural boundaries are defined, these limit our understanding of events, by placing

them within our social perceptions of past, present and future, and the dominant or sub-dominant focuses which form these perceptions result in Social Images.

Thus, we find that the human mind, as well as society, is often in a state of tension between levels of chaos and order, or between society's values of 'good' and 'bad', or between paradigm and social metaphor. Such relative concepts are in any particular context based on societal distinctions, as well as moral ones. And societal distinctions do not represent ultimate forms of social order or 'true' ways. We have already seen how society manipulates symbols to legitimate, objectify, or to sanctify relative social distinctions; on the other hand morals are shared by all mankind and are absolute in that they are not controlled by any particular society.

It is obvious, from the above comments, that I would not wish to draw the theory of relativity to its most extreme conclusions. Einstein's theory of relativity was formed in terms of the movable object having a reference system of coordinates. However, I would like to continue with the social implications of this theory. Discussions of relativity help one to recognise that fondly held social views are not necessarily absolute. They are not necessarily the best or the only ways to organise everyday life. I maintain that there are absolutes (in societies) based on our common gene pool, and on consistencies in human nature rather than on societal distinctions. Having recognised this, we can then deal with moral attitudes in society without confusing them with the society itself. Values are frames in society but morals extend across social boundaries. They are not based on local social perceptions.

So far, I have presented the case of viewing space and time as structural qualities of the 'field' as Einstein defines it. Now I wish to talk about the transformative processes necessary for social change. In the Introduction to this thesis, it was stated that the aim was to show how, "syntagmatic chains of signs linked by metonymy can be shifted by paradigmatic transformation (metaphor) into a different.... form."¹ To put it another way, change can be described as the paradigmatic transformation of the syntagmatic chain. Social metaphor is the means by which symbolic form and content is reorganised in particular social situations, such as the ones presented in this section. Paradigm is the means whereby stability and continuity are maintained. It is also associated with reification - fluid though it may be. Paradigms focus aims to reinforce dominant understandings of events. Social metaphor and paradigm, seen in the context of paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes, operate respectively to change or sustain the existing social patterns. Within this interpretation 'reflexivity', the ability to reflect on or to reconsider and alter the dominant focus, plays a major role.

Einstein argues that one's view of an event depends upon where one stands in physical terms, but obviously it also depends upon one's social perception. Einstein then shows how the axes by which an event is defined (e.g. space/time, syntagmatic/paradigmatic etc.) actually change or rotate to give the varying perspectives. For Einstein, transformation is "a rotation of the coordinate system in a 4-dimensional 'world'".² In this statement, 'world' represents the composite picture of the whole event comprising all perspectives so far recognised. Society uses social filters (or focuses) to decide

1 Leach, E. 1976. Culture and Communcation; the Logic by which Symbols are connected. Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press. p. 15.

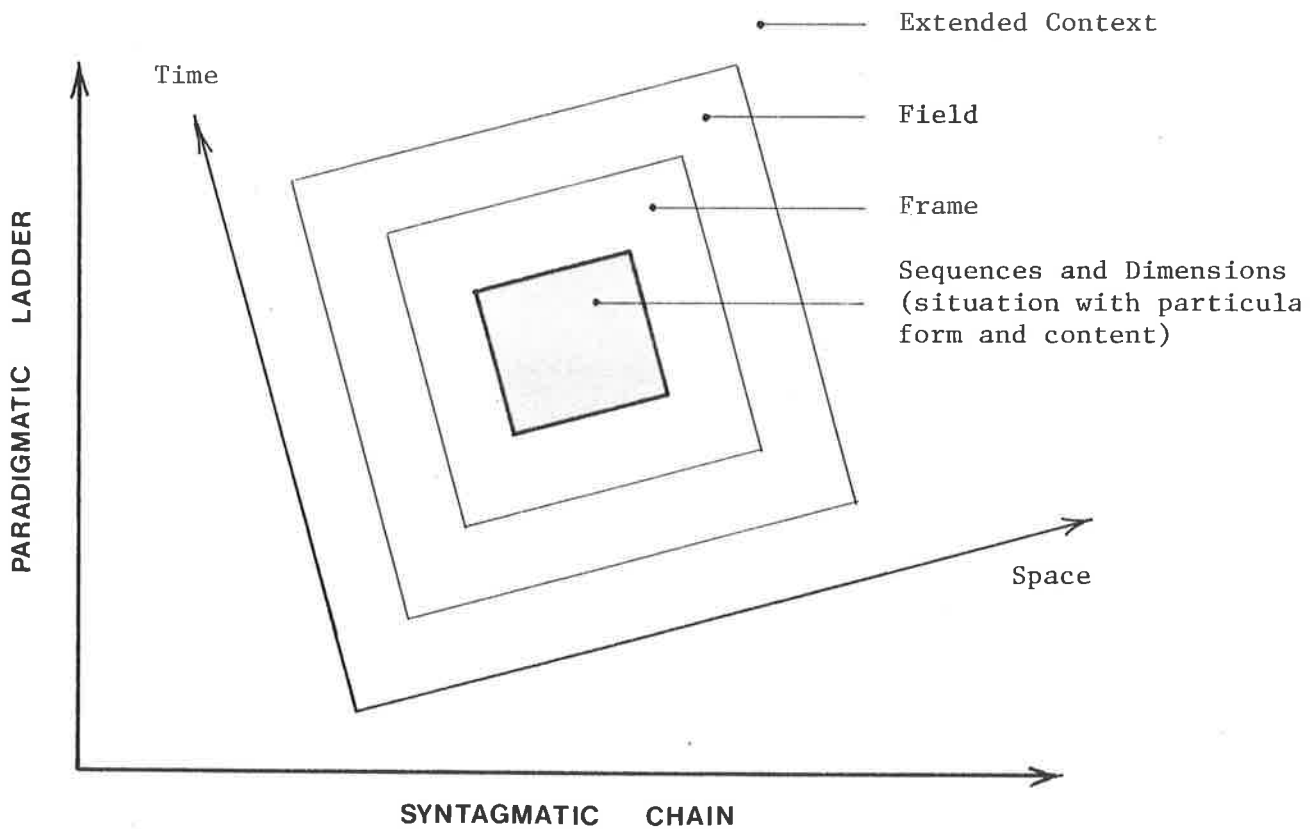
2 Gamow, G. 1960. Matter, Earth and Sky. London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd. p. 185.

which perspectives represented in a particular situation ultimately require resolution through 'outside' reference points. This is the fifth dimension of society, but we must also recognise the existence of moral absolutes which are the outside reference points.

A complete world view, therefore, consists of levels of emergence (i.e. extended context, field, frame, etc.) seen in relation to syntagmatic chains and paradigmatic ladders, as well as the axes of space and time.

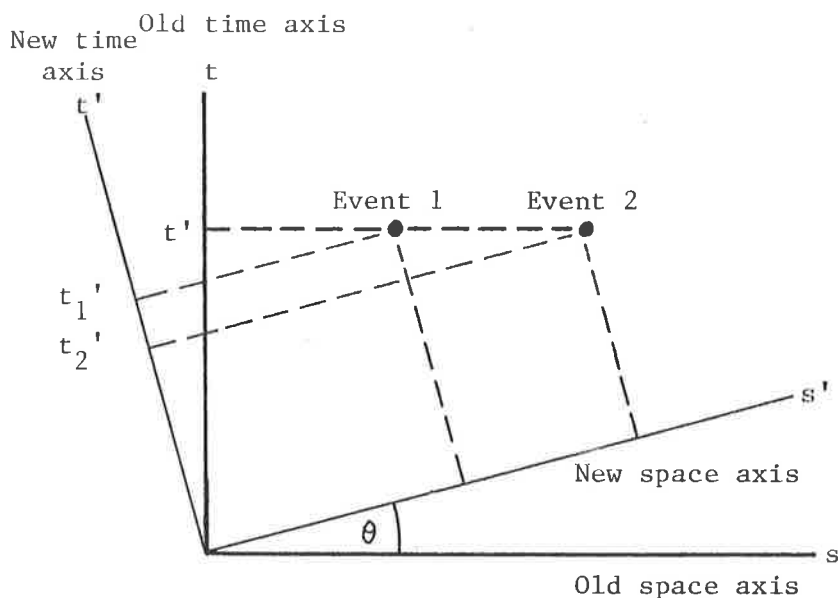
Figure 5.2

Levels of Emergence in relation to different Axes



The above diagram shows a situation (with a particular form and content) depicted as a box which can be defined both in terms of the syntagmatic/paradigmatic axes and the space/time axes.

Now let us consider Einstein's process of transformation brought about by a shift of the space/time axes, as shown in the following diagram:-



"Two events that occur at the same time in the old space/time system occur at different times when the space/time axes are rotated."*

Figure 5.3: The transformation of time into space intervals and space into time intervals or duration.*

I suggest that there is an additional social sense in which transformations can be seen in progress. But first let us consider Minkowski's and Einstein's theory. "Events taking place in the same place but at different times in a moving system will be considered by a ground observer as taking place at different places."¹ And conversely, "The events taking place at the same time but in different places in a moving system will be considered by a ground observer as taking place at different times."² In this diagram we see that, "Two events that occur at the same time in the old space/time system occur at different times when the space/time axes are rotated."³

* Gamow, G. 1960. Matter, Earth and Sky. London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd. pp. 185, 186.

1, 2, 3 ibid. pp. 183, 186.

Whilst this explanation refers to a system approaching the speed of light, I maintain the social implications of the description of transformation given by H. Minkowski and Einstein should be explored. I argue that within social symbolic systems transformations of the space/time axes occur through the operation of the paradigm and social metaphor within the paradigmatic ladders and syntagmatic chains of events. Symbolically coded social messages, which are thematically related, can distort time and space perceptions, in any given context.

The symbolically coded messages in a ritual or a piece of music are altered as they progress through the three major phases of events. The first of these phases creates a stable focus, the second juxtaposes ambiguities and the third returns to the stable focus restated in the light of the intervening phase. This interpretation is consistent with the theory and examples given by A. van Gennep and V. Turner.

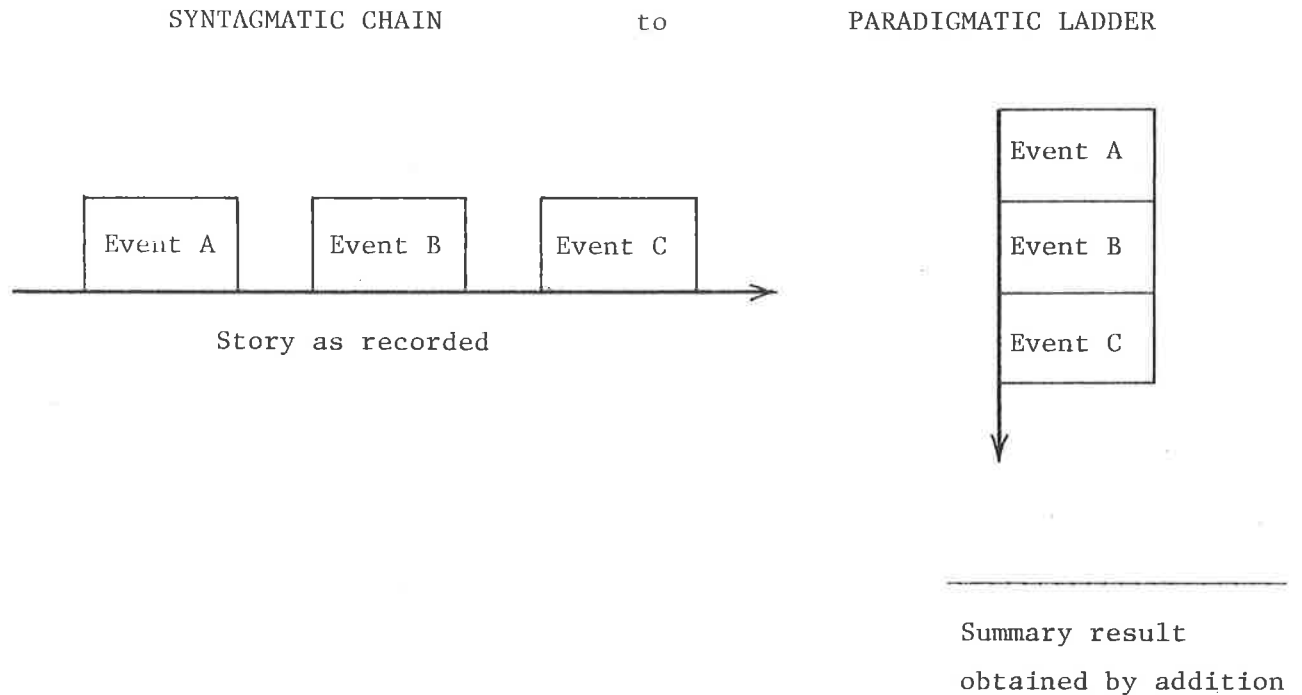
As events are arranged for form dominant and sub-dominant themes with corresponding phases of stability and instability, I suggest that these events 'add' up to form a paradigmatic association, as illustrated by E. Leach in the diagram below.* The syntagmatic chain becomes a paradigmatic ladder, or the paradigmatic ladder becomes a syntagmatic chain. In the first case metonymy is transformed into metaphor, and in the second case metaphor is transformed into metonymy.

* Leach, E. 1976. Culture and Communication: the Logic by which Symbols are connected. Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press. p. 26.

Figure 5.4

Summary of Events to form a Paradigmatic Transformation

(after Leach, E.)

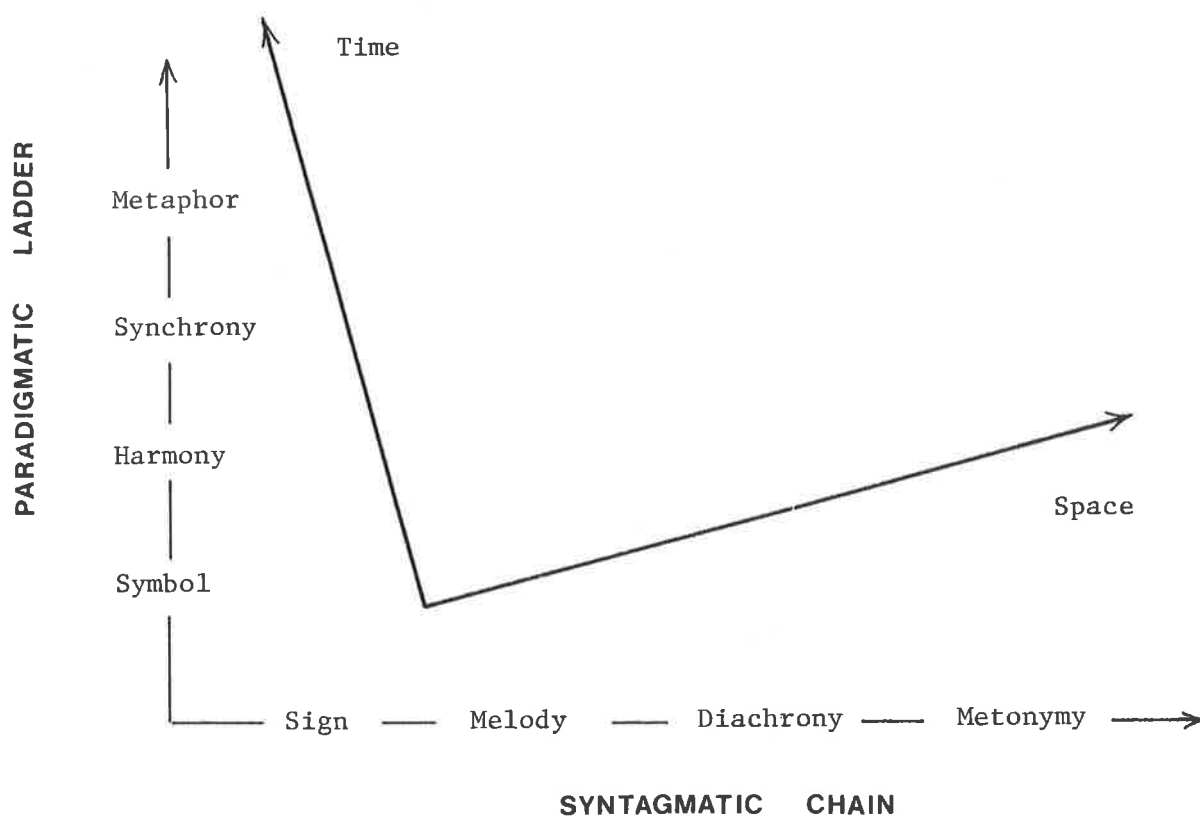


Through the manipulation of symbols a paradigmatic ladder can be converted into a syntagmatic chain. The social metaphor is the means whereby this change takes place. That is, metaphor can substitute one focus (or metonymy) for another. Through symbol changes the focus can be guided to make sub-dominant themes dominant, and vice versa. Verbal messages have this same chain and ladder form. The theory of 'nested concepts' is dependent on the recognition of sequences and levels in social interaction and structure. This theory explains the process of situational focussing which links themes, from the micro to the macro level of society. This is why we can see paradigm operating on all levels of emergence. Impression Management is the transformative process which uses metaphor to form Social Images.

Therefore I concur with E. Leach's idea that the following terms are related in a way that is illustrated below;*

Figure 5.5

Relationships between Key Anthropological Terms



Note: Metonymy involves continuity in terms of a symbolic theme. Metaphor depends on the fact that two themes are juxtaposed so that one thing becomes something else.

* Leach, E. 1976. Culture and Communication; the Logic by which Symbols are connected. Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press. p. 15.

The axes shown in the diagram form a two-fold progression in our perception. The duration of this progression is socially perceived, so that social situations also transform space/time axes.

Finally, we reflect on notions of social structural distance in relation to physical distance, or social time in relation to measured or actual time. These perceptions do not always coincide. For example, music directly changes one's perception of space and time by altering the degrees of intensity of note patterns and dynamic levels. The 'Anzac' Case Study illustrates the role of music in transcending everyday space/time perceptions and planes of experiences.

Reification, Reflexivity and Transformation

R. Murphy has much to say about 'Image and Activity' which is relevant here. He also provides a further summary of the major argument that Social Images are created by Impression Management - i.e. the transformative processes which operate through the contextual symbolic juxtapositioning of paradigm and social metaphor in any given situation. R. Murphy says:-

"Society, as we have depicted it, is not as tidy and transparent as it is to the structural functionalists, but it is not chaotic either. It is the very incongruence of our conscious models, and guides for conduct to the phenomena of social life that makes that life possible. ... The individual ... must be predisposed to activity and, given the uniqueness of every social situation, he must have latitude for action. The norms provide the image of order and

*fitness; they link time and activity in the mind, but they cannot be allowed to impede their flow. They also provide the image of value and purpose in a world that is permeated with particularity of interest and indeterminacy of the result of action. Norms have their functions as the scenario of activity. They indeed constrain, but they can also give freedom of movement."*¹

Pages 32-34 of the Introduction deal with the character of norms and actions, such that norms are generally specific and bounded^{*} (presentational) and actions are unique and formally diffuse^{**} (discursive). I also refer you to the section on reification, reflexivity and transformation (pp. 47-53), in which the possible stages of change are outlined in terms of the theory of social metaphor. The conclusion to these two sets of points is that performances mediate between norms and actions, and they also provide a context for social change.

In Section III, we see an account of the application of Grounded Theory illustrating reification, and the various capacities for transformation contained in metaphor, conceit and parody (pp. 283-290). We have also looked at social interaction in terms of space/time perceptions in society, and have concluded (as suggested in the Introduction p. 55) that structure can "falsify the world at the very least by omission".² That is, the whole

1 Murphy, R. 1972. The Dialectics of Social Life - Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
pp. 240, 241.

* ** ibid. pp. 241, 242.

2 ibid. p. 231.

society is not like its dominant images of paradigm. If it were, change could not occur, as it depends upon social metaphor and the multifocal characteristic of all symbols. Finally, I remind you of the overall thesis structure in which I have devoted sections to each of the major aspects of social change. They are:-

1. Social Images.
2. Relational spheres of interaction (history).
3. Fields of interaction (historical and contemporary data theory).
4. Frames of interaction (paradigm and social metaphor in operation).
5. Impression Management.

It is not necessary to repeat the stages of this argument concerning the operation of social metaphor in a grounded theoretical framework. Its demonstrated capacity to cause social change is the outstanding point.

To conclude the thesis, I would like to repeat lines of the poem which was used in the Introduction, having, since then, indicated the range of ethnographic material and anthropological tools which can be used to reveal the processes behind the social construction of reality in musical scenes.

*'And they said then, 'But play you must,
A tune beyond us, yet ourselves'.*

*A tune upon a blue guitar
Of things exactly as they are".¹*

1 Moore, J.G. 1968. The Many Ways of Seeing. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. p. 55.

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