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## 5 Gender, Power, and Music

In the late 1980s and into the 1990s, I was still on the hunt for a usable cross-cultural model to help explain what I continued to see as the nearly universal subordination of women's musical activities. I turned again to Sherry Ortner's work, elaborating on her theme of female intermediacy and mediation and added in the work of anthropologist Peggy Reeves Sanday (1981) on ritual power. Finally, I examined music as a source of ritual power, attempting to create a threefold nexus of women, power, and music that could accommodate cross-cultural perspectives. At the time, this seemed a useful way to deal with the thorny issue of comparison.

I was beginning to see, however, that a universal, or cross-cultural, theory for gender-music ideologies, relations, and activities was not only difficult to construct (maybe impossible), but ultimately too abstract to be useful. Such a model could not explain major cultural differences between and among music cultures. Nor could it account for the fluidity of gender constructions over time. I was beginning to be uncomfortable with too many generalities and began to think more seriously about how to deal with specific differences, while still saying something meaningful about larger issues.

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During the past two decades, sweeping changes in women's economic and political status have resulted in many new opportunities for women within the historically male-dominated Western classical music tradition. As our notions of men and women have changed, so also have our beliefs about what is considered appropriate or correct for women and men to do musically. We no longer discourage our young female musicians, for instance, from playing the cello or oboe, as western European society did in the nineteenth century,

for fear that the movement of their bodies or faces would compromise their virtue. Nor do we suggest, as Carl Seashore did in 1940, that it was not only inappropriate but impossible for women to compose music because their creativity was already spent in producing and nurturing the (male) babies that would become the composers of tomorrow.

It is not, however, the purpose of this article to examine our contemporary tradition in light of its historical past, nor to highlight the considerable accomplishments of those women who achieved and continue to achieve musical success despite daunting odds. Rather, its purpose is to broaden our perspective by examining various cross-cultural beliefs about men, women, and music and to show how the interrelationship between these concepts affects the division of musical roles in many world societies, including our own.

Certain basic patterns appear to be emerging from a survey of the growing literature devoted to music and gender cross-culturally. First, like many aspects of social, political, and ritual life, musical roles in most societies still tend to be divided along gender lines. Certain activities, instruments, performing contexts, rituals, ceremonies, and so on are seen as the primary responsibility of either men or women, rarely both. It seems clear that the division of musical roles based on gender arises from the intersection of culturally held notions of sexuality and power. How is this complex interplay between gender, power, and music actually conceptualized and realized in specific social contexts? To find the answer, we must first examine more closely some recent models that have been proposed to explain the great variety of gender relations, power styles, and ideas concerning music as a communication medium.

## Recent Theories of Gender Relations in Cross-Cultural Perspective

Recently, there has been considerable interest in finding a universal theory to account for gender relations cross-culturally. Many useful models have been developed over the past two decades, all of which incorporate a distinction between sex, defined here as a biological category (male-female), and gender, defined as a socially constructed category that places people within clearly delineated binary social roles (men-women). Although most societies recognize only two biological sexual categories, gender categories can be quite varied. For example, Kay M. Martin and Barbara Voorhies, in their book *Female of the Species* (1975), cite many cross-cultural examples of multiple genders. And concepts such as masculinity and femininity also vary considerably; according to George Silberbauer (1982), the G/Wi bushmen of southern Africa, for example, place little emphasis on these concepts; although they

may recognize primary biological differences between males and females, there is little gender differentiation or gender-based division of labor. Further, unlike many societies that regard activities such as hunting as the province of men, Tiwi aboriginals living off the coast of Australia consider men to be responsible for food resources in the sea and women for resources on land, a division of labor that results in women hunting (Goodale 1971). Certainly, the way Western cultures have viewed the genders has also varied widely, both in the past and within contemporary societies. We need look only to our own culture to see the sweeping changes that have occurred even within the past twenty years that have affected the way we think of men and women and the interactions between them.

Evidence for the fluidity of gender categories and roles also exists in instances of cross-gender socialization, found in some Native American cultures and elsewhere. In certain American Indian societies, children of one biological sex are occasionally socialized to be the opposite gender: a female, socialized to be a man, for example, assumes all responsibilities for this gender role, including marriage to a female and hunting and warring with other males; or a young male, socialized to be a woman, marries another male and assumes major responsibility for (adoptive) children and other so-called women's duties (Allen 1986).

The term *gender ideology* has been used to denote the conceptual and valuative framework that underlies and structures appropriate behaviors for women and men (Ortner and Whitehead 1981; O'Kelly and Carney 1986). Gender ideologies are most often codified as religious, moral, or legal systems that justify relations between the genders. For example, for many centuries, the traditional belief in male supremacy found in many Western religious systems (Christianity, Judaism, Islam) promoted the idea that women were not suited for religious leadership. Indeed, written texts supported and validated this ideology, and it is only recently that such beliefs have been questioned by both men and women.

In spite of myriad differences in culture-specific gender ideologies, one common feature remains: in recognizing and privileging the primary biological difference between women and men—that women and not men bear and nurse children—most societies also conceptualize the gender roles of adult males and females differently. Some societies see a balance of value between men and women; others stratify the genders. But in no society do men and women have totally equal access to all cultural domains. In many societies, women are associated with nature, or natural processes, such as birth, sickness, and death, while men are more often associated with culture, technology, and warfare. In others, women, by virtue of their fertility, are seen as having a more direct, and hence a more highly valued, access to the spirit

world than men and often become adept shamans. In still others, women are primarily associated with states of disorder, impurity, or immorality, while men and their activities are seen as ordered and the norm. How the biological given of one's sex is spun out into the rich social, conceptual, and symbolic webs of one's gender is as varied as culture itself, so that gender ideologies can seem quite contradictory in cross-cultural comparison.

## Anthropological Models of Gender Stratification

Many models appearing recently in the anthropological literature see the instance of gender stratification as an outgrowth of the acquisition of private property and the ensuing development of various socioeconomic systems, such as capitalism. Building upon the earlier work of Karl Marx ([1867] 1967) and especially Friedrich Engels ([1942] 1972), recent scholars have developed theories that examine the degree of gender stratification noted in a given society in relation to various modes of economy. These theories propose positive correlations between the degree to which public and domestic spheres are merged and the lack, or heightened instance, of gender stratification. Such theories can be applied cross-culturally to help explain the wide variety of gender styles noted in the ethnographic literature.

Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (1974), for example, describe societies as existing on a continuum whose poles differentiate the degree to which public and private domains are separated. Described at one end of a continuum are societies such as foragers, some horticulturalists, and pastoralists (i.e., the Sheikhanzai of western Afghanistan, the !Kung bushmen of Central and South Africa, precontact Iroquois, and others), where there is relatively little distinction between the genders or between domestic and public spheres and where activities in both spheres are fairly equally shared and valued by all. In addition, there is often little or no notion of private property, ownership, or social class in these societies, but, rather, they are more often characterized by a relative complementarity between the sexes; that is, both men and women, although performing different work, rituals, and other social activities, are seen as separately, yet equally, responsible for the balance of society. Some societies at this end of the continuum are also matrilineal or matrilocal (or both), adding to the strength of women's social and familial ties. Most important, many of these societies have had little contact with Western technology or with the value systems surrounding technology that tend to polarize male and female labor.

At the other end of the continuum are societies that demonstrate a sharp differentiation between public and domestic spheres (i.e., agrarian societies or capitalist societies with an agrarian past), such as those found in Europe,

the United States, and much of Asia. Here, according to historian Joan Kelly-Gadol, women seem to “steadily lose control over property, products and themselves as surplus increases, private property develops and the communal household becomes a private economic unit” (1976, 819). Further, societies at this end tend to be patrilineal, patriarchal, and characterized by materialism, a dependency on Western technology, and class as well as gender stratification. Gender relations are often marked by a strict separation of the sexes and rigid rules governing appropriate behaviors, where women often have little access to public institutions, marriage negotiations, reproductive rights, or divorce. Accompanying such social behavior is an unequal evaluation of the sexes that places women in the subordinate position.

Unlike Rosaldo, Peggy Reeves Sanday (1981) defines societies according to their gender style—what she calls a sex-role plan. Sanday’s theory relies upon an understanding of a society’s basic orientation to nature and to the supernatural. She labels the two opposing poles of her continuum inner- and outer-oriented societies. Inner-oriented societies are characterized by a blurring of such categories as nature, culture, or supernatural and by a somewhat friendly orientation to nonhuman domains (perceived here as integrated with the human domain), needing mediation for the purpose of communication and cooperation, not control. Inner-oriented societies create symbolic systems supporting a spirit world that value both life giving and life taking; these societies’ sacred systems are often defined by a godhead that is either female or both male and female.

In contrast, outer-oriented societies (as characterized by Sanday) show a sharp differentiation between such bounded categories as nature, culture, and the supernatural, where nature and the supernatural are perceived as chaotic, uncooperative, uncoordinated, and unfriendly, needing mediation for purposes of controlling potential danger. Although life giving is acknowledged, higher value is placed on life taking, usually in the form of hunting or warring, and such activities are supported by rich symbolic and sacred systems where the godhead is defined in masculine terms.

Ernestine Friedl (1975) suggests that age is a factor in gender roles cross-culturally and that men and women in different societies often experience status reversals when they pass through their sexually active, fertile years. Although all societies recognize various life stages, each has its own way of acknowledging sexual maturity and of placing restrictions upon male and female sexuality. Most gender ideologies prescribe different behaviors, activities, and social spheres for sexually active men and women. For example, in many societies, women upon marriage and again at menopause—when associations to fertility have passed—rise in social status. Among some forager societies, Friedl notes that men who have reached old age generally

relinquish their hunting duties and often take a prominent role in child care. And in certain societies, as the distinctions between men and women lessen as they age, and as women become less like “women,” they take on some of the authority of males, thus “reversing the balance of a lifetime” (85).

Although there has been considerable criticism of these theories over the years, four ideas seem valuable for our purposes. The first, central to all of the theories, is the notion that women, by virtue of their fertility and their association in many cultures to natural processes, are seen as existing (unlike men) within, or perhaps closer to, the nonhuman world, yet are also of the human world. The second idea is that which describes the degree to which societies have been influenced by Western economic systems, technology, and values. The third relates a given society’s orientation to the natural and supernatural worlds. And the fourth is the view of gender-status reversal in old age.

## Theories of Social Power in Cross-Cultural Perspective

At the heart of all social relations, especially those of gender, lie culturally constructed and maintained notions of power and control. Certainly, power dynamics between social classes, ethnic and racial groups, and especially men and women have profoundly affected not only the composition and performance of music in virtually all societies, but also all other social activities. But what is the nature of social power? How does it affect gender relations and, ultimately, music performance?

Over the past few years, anthropologists have dealt with concepts of social power cross-culturally and have defined it as the ability of a person or group to influence others through various forms of control—over resources, such as food, labor, and information, or over access to the spirit world. Control is maintained through language and other interactions that articulate explicit or implicit threats of withdrawal of such resources. Outward signs of control may include material wealth, large fighting forces, or other culturally agreed-upon signs of social status, such as extraordinary mental or physical capacities, age, or gender. Although the origin of social power may lie in the ways people and groups deal with primary differences in sex, age, physical, and mental abilities, or in the ability to articulate ideas, it is not the simple recognition of such differences alone that creates a power dynamic. Rather, power is an outgrowth of the ranking of such differences and in assigning value and status to particular differences over others (Adams 1977).

It is the dynamic, interactive aspect of power that is most interesting for our purposes. Richard Keesing (1981) asserts that power is not an entity in

itself—one does not “have” power. Rather, power is an attribute of relationships between people or groups existing in specific contexts or situations. Further, it can be negotiated or overturned, through direct challenge, ritual, or other forms of social or symbolic protest. Thus, a certain ambiguity exists in power interactions, an ambiguity that arises from the question of just how much control an individual or group actually has over another, whether power will be abused to the point of becoming unstable or challengeable, and whether the less powerful can succeed in challenging the more powerful. Most social relations are thus imbued with elaborate patterns of deference and reciprocity to socially articulate and define power relations, and such rules, restrictions, and consequences of social interactions are, at least tacitly, known and understood by all who share a culture.

Adams further states that a central feature of power is the manipulation of tension between polarized cultural notions of control and out-of-control states. Most societies link attributes of control and out of control with other primary dyads, forming conceptual clusters, such as human-nonhuman, young-old, order-disorder, mundane-supernatural, and male-female, where categories on the left are perceived as being essentially more in control and those on the right as more out of control. This does not necessarily mean, however, that categories on the left are perceived as controlling those on the right or that those on the right are in need of control, but rather they are seen as having the essence of “in” or “out of control-ness.” Whether either of these categories is actually controlling or in need of control is more the feature of a society’s power style, theoretically ranging from societies where control of other humans or nonhumans is not a major social feature, and power is kept in balance between people and domains, to societies where control is a major feature of interaction, and where power is generally out of balance between people and domains.

Sanday, in describing the power dynamic between men and women, states that “power is accorded to whichever sex is thought to embody or to be in touch with the forces upon which people depend for their perceived needs” (1981, 11). Thus, in outer-oriented societies, where the group is dependent, for example, upon large game for an adequate food supply, and where males are responsible for the killing and distribution of game, males will be accorded power. In inner-oriented societies, where women and men hunt and distribute food more or less equally, or where both men and women have equal access to the spirit world, power is more likely to be shared and kept in balance.

Before moving on, I would like to make two points clear. First, certain of these conceptual dyads are far more relevant in some societies than in others. For example, in so-called private, inner-oriented societies, distinctions between nature-culture and public-private are largely irrelevant, yet the dis-

inction between men and women still provides the primary basis for most social divisions. Second, that women appear to link up with out-of-control states is not to be taken literally. The terms *control* and *out of control* are not to be understood as polar opposites, but as relative by degree. Further, it is not that all societies, or all individuals, perceive women (as opposed to men) as literally out of control, but rather as linked, through their fertility, with more generally out-of-control domains—that is, nature and the supernatural—and thus take on some of the essence, ambiguity, and power of these domains.

## The Conceptualization of Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective

*Music sound*, like *women* and *power* as described above, also carries the implication of intermediacy, in that it is used virtually everywhere to communicate with other humans, with nature, and with the supernatural. Further, music is not only a link between human and nonhuman domains, but also of these domains in that it is a human creation. A general definition of music (inspired, perhaps, by Lévi-Strauss) could well be “raw” sound (natural or supernatural sound or vibration) “cooked” into human sound (efficacious, beautiful, controlled, useful sound) through the process of using a music culture (a shared ideational and material system prescribing performer, performance context, use, style, and so on).

Another notion, deriving from the intermediate position of music, concerns the power of musical performance. Often described as a channel or vehicle that transports humans between one psychological state and another, between the mundane and the spiritual, or between one social status and another, music in performance has power that is believed to be only partially controlled by humans, and its use is often limited to specialists. According to John Blacking (1976), even in societies where everyone is believed to have the potential for musical competency and is expected to perform, music, ritual, and ceremonial specialists still exist. Music, if performed correctly or efficaciously, is believed to have an often mysterious power to manipulate emotions, to challenge or protest various social arrangements, or to effect changes in one’s physical or psychological state. Music or ritual specialists (composers, performers, priests, shamans, and so on), as the manipulators of sound, often take on some of the essence of this power.

To summarize the above discussion, a number of general points can now be made: many societies conceptualize certain domains as potentially in or out of control; women’s fertility is frequently associated with, or seen as having the essence of, nature and the supernatural (the nonhuman, essentially

out-of-control domains), yet they also exist in the realm of humans (adult males); societies deal with control and out-of-control domains by using culture-specific power styles that vary considerably, both historically and in cross-cultural comparison, and are related to other socioeconomic factors; humans use music to communicate (mediate, intervene, negotiate, and so on) with other humans, nature, and the supernatural; and music sound is almost universally conceptualized as both potentially in or out of control.

Women who perform music thus accumulate a threefold portion of potential out of control–ness: the out of control–ness associated with music as natural sound, the out of control–ness of music as a vehicle to the spirit-emotional world, and the out of control–ness associated with their fertility. Males who perform music share the first two categories of out of control–ness with their female counterparts, but it is the out of control–ness that women amass by virtue of their fertility that pushes the power dynamic out of balance. Will women's musical performance bring on social integration (control, stability) or destruction (loss of control, chaos)? Will the power of music cause women to lose control sexually? Will raw sound, in the hands of a woman, become real music? The underlying fear might be simply stated as follows: if women create or perform music, nature and the supernatural might run amok, women might become sexually insatiable or withdraw their sexuality, and, most important, sound will not turn into music and thus will not be effective in human communication or in mediating the spirit world. Therefore, sexually active, fertile women (and any other groups of women or men perceived as potentially out of control) must be restricted, as their connection to out of control–ness is seen as threatening to the social and sexual order.

## A Cross-Cultural Examination of Traditional Gendered Performance Contexts

Using Sanday's model of inner- and outer-oriented societies, it is possible to present a wide array of performance possibilities and restrictions for both women and men cross-culturally.

### *Inner-Oriented Societies*

As stated above, the general pattern in inner-oriented societies is that various cultural activities are seen as the responsibility of one gender or the other, neither dominating the other, so that rituals and other contexts for music performance are divided along gender lines that are consistent with other

binary cultural divisions. Both male and female domains are seen as necessary to the balance of life, and men's and women's musical activities are more or less equally valued. Further, in inner-oriented societies, control—over other humans, sexuality, nature, the supernatural, or any other domain—is not a major social feature. Here, sexually active women and their music are defined and valued precisely because of their links to out-of-control states. Their musical responsibilities balance those of men, for both genders are regarded as equally responsible for maintaining order. Here, the division of musical and, indeed, all labor is more evenly divided, but both women and men tend to have restricted access to each other's domains. Thus, both men's and women's music serves, more or less equally, to balance the relationships between the genders and between the human and nonhuman realms. And although men and women tend to be separated during music performance, or one group may have the primary responsibility for a given performance, any restrictions imposed are present because of the general belief that both men and women have unique attributes that are especially suited to given performance contexts.

Carol Robertson's work among the Mapuche of Argentina, for example, highlights the respect given to women's connection to nature and to the supernatural in inner-oriented societies. According to Robertson, the power of Mapuche women is directly linked to the power of giving birth. Thus, women have a direct path to the spirit world, and performances of *tayil* (lineage soul) accompany many ceremonies, such as female initiations, house consecrations, burials, and rites of fertility: "Tayil is central to the performance of all acts that carry potential danger or that expose humans to active supernatural energy" (1987, 236). In their intermediate position between the human world, nature, and the supernatural, women, together with *tayil*, are central to the maintenance of Mapuche order.

Marina Roseman, among the Temiar of Peninsular Malaysia, points to musical performance as providing a context for gender role reversal. Ritual singing sessions are performed by a male medium, who, in trance, contacts a female spirit guide. The medium is accompanied by a female chorus that also provides a percussive accompaniment on a pair of bamboo-tube stompers. Within the context of this ritual performance, gender is inverted: "Men, ranging extensively through the jungle during subsistence activities, are transformed into the earth-bound students of female spirit-guides during ritual singing sessions. Women, restricted daily to swidden and settlement, are the wandering teachers of the spirit-realm" (1987, 144). Roseman points to these symbolic inversions as evidence of a fundamentally egalitarian social style that pervades all of Temiar culture.

*Outer-Oriented Societies*

In outer-oriented societies, where control over out-of-control-ness is a major feature of power style, women can be regarded as falling within two general cultural categories that I shall call here simply “insiders” (suitable marriage partners) and “outsiders” (unsuitable, public women). It will be recalled that outer-oriented societies are usually gender and class stratified and are either actually Western or considered as having been influenced by Western technology and values through colonialism and trade. Further, they are characterized by male control, both within and across class. Therefore, restrictions placed upon women and music relate specifically to the relationship of women to men of their class, as well as to general Western gender ideologies cutting across class that support male control over both music and female sexuality.

Women within each class who eventually become suitable marriage partners, that is, women who are insiders to the social and economic system, tend to have restrictions placed upon them that prohibit public music performance, often from the time of puberty and throughout their adult sexual lives. Frequently, upon marriage, when they have become properly socialized adults, women’s relationship to music performance, if any existed before, often lessens or ceases in such societies or takes highly idiosyncratic yet sometimes powerful forms. For example, although women in nineteenth-century Europe were generally discouraged from public performances, they often controlled the private salons where musical performances occurred regularly. These women were also influential in other forms of patronage and in teaching, occupations not in the public concert-performance mainstream perhaps, yet of considerable influence and power.

Women who are considered outside this system—lesbians, public women, courtesans, professional female musicians, shamans, or women who seek to cross gender class lines—tend to have restrictions lifted on their sexuality and music performance.<sup>1</sup> However, they are usually prohibited from gaining access to the socioeconomic system that would reward them as properly socialized adults. This breakdown seems consistent with outer-oriented societies’ relationship to control and out-of-control states. Women inside the system—those who could be truly threatening—are discouraged from music or any public performance; women who are outside the system are given both musical and sexual license, because their power to control or threaten the system at large is, no matter how great locally, perceived as ultimately futile.

Many studies describing the major court traditions of Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and northern Africa suggest that public female musicians fre-

quently functioned in dual roles as entertainers and courtesans. Generally, such women came from the rising merchant classes, and their social status often rose as a result of their association with courtly life. Thus, such women, regarded as marginal to the general class-stratified socioeconomic system, were given both musical and sexual freedom.

In private environments, such as the home, women's musical performances within the socioeconomic context of Asian and European courts were historically linked to their role as acceptable marriage partners. These women were more or less restricted in their sexual and musical display. Instruments—such as the *koto* in Japan; the piano, harp, and guitar in Europe; and the *kulingtang* in the Philippines—became associated with young middle-class women, primarily in the context of courtship, during which performers could display idealized notions of proper female behavior and “feminine accomplishments” within private settings that would not compromise their social status.

As opposed to court life, women's role in the ritual life of outer-oriented societies presents somewhat of a paradox. Despite many religious systems within such societies that stress a female principle, if not a female godhead, earthly women's participation has been quite limited in mainstream religious life. In Korea, for example, women are not generally part of public, Confucianist, or Buddhist rituals. Instead, women's ritual activities tend to be devalued and “relegated to the home.” Here, women address mainly familial and household concerns: the birth of sons, the curing of illness, forecasting the marriage of a daughter, appeasing dead souls, removing evil spirits, and so on (Kendall 1985).

Ritual life in outer-oriented societies, such as those of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, also shows a division of musical and other social roles based on gender, a division, as discussed above, that is fortified by a patriarchal, patrilineal socioeconomic system and by cultural notions of the “naturalness” of male physical strength and of women's weakness. In traditionally agrarian societies, women's primary role upon marriage is to produce children and to tend to domestic duties. The young bride is often placed into a domestic environment of extreme hardship, where she is at the bottom of a familial hierarchy of power, under the control of her father-in-law, her mother-in-law, her husband, his brothers, and other males of her generation. In eastern Europe, laments (songs of mourning usually reserved for rituals of death) are also sung at weddings, as the bride leaves the relative protection of her own household and enters the often-hostile environment of her new husband's family (see Auerbach 1987 and Sugarman 1989). When the young woman begins to produce children, her status rises, until, in old age, she assumes some of the same prestige and status of the males of her generation.

Despite sweeping economic changes during the decades since World War II, the peasant societies of eastern and southern Europe still retain in great measure traditional values and beliefs concerning the roles of the genders, especially in the arena of public performance. Men's and women's song repertoires, for example, are based almost exclusively on their social roles, where women's music is most often associated with birth, marriage, and death, and men's songs, labeled "heroic," are associated primarily with cultural history (Bartók and Lord 1951; Slobin 1984).

Music performance as both a metaphor for gender relations and an arena for the refinement of such relations has been discussed by a number of noted scholars. Louise Wrazen (1983), for example, has analyzed a complex of dances, the *goralski*, performed by young Polish women and men in traditional settings of formalized courtship. During these dances, coded movements signal the woman's acceptance or rejection of potential suitors. The movements of the young men are characterized by highly energetic jumping, leaping, and other forms of male display. The young woman's movements, in keeping with her socially defined role, are controlled and demure; her feet are generally together and do not leave the floor, and her eyes are downcast or closed.

Jane Sugarman has described a genre of wedding songs performed by Muslim men and women from the Lake Prespa district of Yugoslavia (Macedonia), now living in Albania and Canada. She has analyzed the singing styles of the men and women, noting a number of contrasting features: Men's songs tend to be performed loudly, in nonmeter, with extensive ornamentation and considerable bodily motion and interaction with other males. Texts tend to be concerned with history and heroicism and are performed with high emotion, often stretched to its limits by considerable alcohol. Women, on the other hand, tend to perform using a strict meter, moderate ornamentation, and little bodily motion and interaction, and they tend to employ specialized texts and emotional displays in keeping with the wedding context and with constrained propriety.

Sugarman also examines, to some degree, the change of social status for women at the passing of fertility and the ensuing effects on music performance. First, older women begin to wear dresses of a "closed" color, such as navy blue or brown, in contrast to the more "open" (brighter) colors of their youth. Second, their singing and dancing styles may become quite boisterous, and at wedding gatherings such women can more freely express emotion and intermingle with the men. The subdued colors, combined with new, more open behaviors, provide a cultural signal that a new stage of (nonthreatening) maturity has arrived (1989, 195–203).

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If we look at all of the examples presented here, it becomes obvious that the performance and creation of music, as well as all other human social and expressive activities, are fundamentally dependent upon a society's understandings of men and women and the interactions between them. Conversely, music performance can and does provide a context for understanding the negotiation of power in intergender relations. Furthermore, tensions surrounding power and control that exist between women and men can be exposed, challenged, or reversed within musical performance.

### Chapter 4. *Shifting Realities*

1. All three of these women were (and continued to be) active at this time in music. Today, Ruth Solie is Sophia Smith Professor Emerita at Smith College; Jane Bowers is professor emerita at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; and Catherine Pickar is currently an adjunct professor in choral studies at George Washington University.

2. The penis was eventually found and rushed to the hospital where it was reattached.

3. Today (2012), women still earn only seventy-eight cents on the dollar that men earn, and although President Obama and the Democratic Party recently tried to pass equal-pay-for-women legislation (June 5, 2012), the Senate successfully blocked this bill.

4. See Pough 2004 and S. Marcus 2010.

5. I am indebted to Beverly Diamond for this insight, as passed on to me by one of her grateful students.

6. Edward Said was also an accomplished pianist and published works discussing Western art music in its social context. See Said and Barenboim 2004.

7. See Collins and Anderson 1992 and Collins's more recent critique of postmodernism from a black feminist perspective (2000).

8. The term *subaltern* is derived from the work of Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) and later developed by theorists such as Gayatri Spivak to mean any group disenfranchised on the basis of race, class, gender, and so forth. For excellent discussions of the history and themes of postcolonialism during the 1990s, see Narayan 1997 and Mills 1998.

9. See Gupta and Ferguson 1997 and Strauss 1997 for a fuller discussion.

10. See Manning 1995.

11. See Behar and Gordon 1995 for an excellent discussion and critique.

12. See Whitaker and Downe 2011 for an interesting critique of this moment.

13. See Jones in Pendle 1991; Robertson and Koskoff in Solie 1993; Weiss and Payne in Marshall 1993; Tolbert in Dunn and Jones 1994; and Zheng in Barkin and Hamessley 1999 for some examples.

14. See, for example, among others, McClary 1991; Lewis 1990; Walser 1993; Brett, Wood, and Thomas 1994; Cook and Tsou 1994; Nehring 1997; Whiteley 1997; and Rose 1994.

15. I have edited this list somewhat in the interests of brevity and clarity.

### Chapter 5. *Gender, Power, and Music*

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1. If we look at the bigger picture, male musicians are also regarded, virtually everywhere, as somewhat out of the mainstream. Many have reputations as bad marriage risks and as sexual aggressors (considered a must in such traditions as rock), and only a few receive real economic independence. It is clear that musicians, as a

separate class, are generally prohibited in most societies from gaining total social and economic acceptance. Female musicians who perform publicly, though, tend to be devalued far more than male musicians and are often thought of in many societies, even today, as similar to prostitutes.

### *Chapter 6. Miriam Sings Her Song*

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1. The masculine plural of *Ba'al Teshuvah* is *Ba'alei Teshuvah*, the feminine singular is *Ba'alat Teshuvah*, and the feminine plural is *Ba'alot Teshuvah*.

2. Orthodox Jews follow all the commandments as set forth in the first five books of the Bible, not only the ten given by God to Moses. There are 365 negative and 248 positive commandments.

3. In Hebrew writings, long vowels are generally omitted, and occasionally definite articles are not given. Thus, the interpretation of texts is often problematic and over the centuries has provided much grist from the scholarly mill.

4. This social and musical hierarchy is presented in a more detailed form in Koskoff 1987b.

5. Indeed, this is the view of many Jewish feminists who have in recent years challenged the historical and legal bases of many of these restrictive laws by becoming rabbis, cantors, and other synagogue and community leaders.

6. See Clifford and Marcus 1986 and Shostak 1981. For a good description and some sample readings in the new ethnography, see Mascia-Lees, Sharpe, and Cohen 1989.

7. However, the very act of having observed and perhaps participated in this scene attests to its implicit value as data.

### *Chapter 7. The Language of the Heart*

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1. Lubavitchers do not keep accurate statistics on their total population or on the relative size of these two groups. Informally, however, most Lubavitchers agree that with the unprecedented influx of *Ba'alei Teshuvah* since the late 1960s, this group now outnumbers those who have been Orthodox from birth.

2. For a fuller description of this movement, see Harris 1985 and Steinsaltz 1982.

3. Two recent books present different sides of this controversy: Davidman 1991 and Kaufman 1991.

4. For a fuller explanation of *kol isha* in relation to musical performance, see Cherney 1985 and Koskoff 1976.

5. The word *ervah* in Maimonides's interpretation referred only to a woman of the "forbidden unions," that is, one who was not likely to become a marriage partner, one with whom a man might establish an illicit relationship. Thus, men may listen to their