

Challenging the Drumkit: Musical Identities and *Habitus*

Sara Delavere BArts

Macquarie University Faculty of Arts, Department of Media, Music, Communications and
Cultural Studies

Submitted 9 October 2015

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	4
Statement of Candidate.....	5
Acknowledgements.....	6
Introduction.....	7
1. Setting the Scene.....	10
1.1 What Makes A Drummer?	10
1.2 Instrumental Context.....	12
1.3 What is a Drumkit?.....	14
- Figure 1	16
1.4 Disciplinary Considerations.....	17
1.5 Methodology.....	21
1.6 Cross-Disciplinary Potential.....	25
1.7 Theoretical Framework.....	27
1.8 Literature Review.....	29
1.8.1 Female Drummers.....	31
1.8.2 Drumming and Education.....	36
1.9 Musicology: A History of Exclusion.....	38
2. Living Instruments.....	47
2.1 Representational Thinking.....	49
2.2 <i>Habitus</i>	54
2.3 Consequences of Representational Thinking.....	64
2.3.1 Gender as Performative.....	66
2.3.2 Refrain and Territory of the Female Drummer.....	67
2.3.3 Biopower and Challenging Identities.....	69
Final Thoughts.....	74

Bibliography.....	76
Discography.....	88

Abstract

Within the cultural management of *who* has access to music, music education and musical opportunities, attempts to control the distribution and meaning of music are ‘naturalised’ and invisibilised. In limiting these challenges, and maintaining what is deemed ‘acceptable’, the musical instrument becomes a regulatory force, governing the developing embodiment of the musician. This is particularly true of instrumentalists, for whom the instrument becomes a central part of their identity.

Exploring the regulatory power of the musical instrument as agentic matter, this thesis combines Deleuze’s representational thinking and Foucauldian understandings of power, more specifically Bourdieu’s *habitus* to better understand the ways that a musical instrument helps to preserve gendered roles and behaviours, specifically in regards to the female drummer. Placing these concepts alongside the well-known interventions of feminist theorists such as Judith Butler, the performance of gender is thus attached to the living *habitus* of musical instrument, cementing its role as an agent of meaning and of power. Focusing specifically on the female drummer, this thesis explores the ways embodiment and identity are observed and policed in order to disavow challenges to the gendered *habitus* of the drumkit, and by extension, the discursive construction of gendered power in larger society.

Statement of Candidature

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled “**Challenging the Drumkit: Musical Identities and *Habitus***” has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Sara L. Delavere

Sara Delavere (XXXXXXXX)

9 October 2015

Acknowledgements

While comparatively this is only a small thesis, I wish to thank my family who have been incredibly accommodating, giving me as much space, quiet and chocolate as necessary! I also need to thank my supervisor, for all of his faith, support and advice.

Introduction

Freddie Jones: "I play percussion"

Frankie: Yeah, cuz' he couldn't play anything else

Laughter

- School of Rock (2003)

Being a drummer myself, I can understand why only drummers want to write books about drumming (see, Mowitt, 2002, Dean, 2012, Smith, 2013 and Barrell, 2015 for examples). Popular conceptions of drumming are that anyone can be a successful drummer. Most people see drumming as a fun activity, but not as a serious undertaking, an attitude that is reflected in many popular texts (see *School of Rock* (2003), and *The Rocker* (2008) for example). In fact, most drummer jokes are in this vein. For a drummer however, the drumkit is a living, breathing entity and no two drums will ever feel or sound exactly the same. Being a drummer takes as much coordination, dedication, talent and hard work as being any other instrumentalist.

However, because of popular representations and preconceived notions around drumming as a practice, drumming is a field into which there is a lack of research, compared to other instruments such as the piano or the violin. While there are a variety of biographies and autobiographies on single bands or musicians, some which include female drummers, there is very little mentioning of the historical contributions of female drummers in their own right. The majority of drumming anthologies focus on the actions of male drummers, often without mentioning female drummers at all (see Budofsky, 2006 and Mowitt, 2002 for examples). This underrepresentation of female drummers leaves a huge hole in the literature, and

continues to propagate the idea that drumming is a male activity that has little room for female contribution and experience. What it means to be a drummer is culturally constructed and over time becomes an integral part of the drumkit. In this way, the drum kit becomes agentic matter with the power to change and influence the individual.

The music industry is predominantly made up of males, in terms of those who write about music, particularly rock and metal music (Leonard, 2007). This frames the way that popular media addresses the idea of female musicians in the industry and contributes to the coding of drumming as male (Leonard, 2007). This coding is extremely important to take into account when thinking about the creation of gender identity as an individual's gender identity is heavily influenced by their social and cultural context (McLaren, 2002).

Based on the work of Simone de Beauvoir, Judith Butler (1998) describes sex as the physical female body, and gender as the "cultural meaning and form that that body acquires, the variable modes of that body's acculturation" (Butler, 1998:30). Gender is constantly changing and developing over time, based on a multitude of factors, based on what the individual considers desirable (Butler, 1998). For the female drummer, it is her sex that causes the conflict and how she manages her gender that decides how she will be understood as a musician and a drummer.

In my own drumming experience, as both a professional drummer and a professional percussionist, being female makes you part of a very exclusive and underrated group. In a masculine environment, you are considered for your gender just as much as you are for your ability and skill. As a result of this, female drummers must learn to mask or manage their gender difference in order to minimise the challenge that their very existence presents to the traditionally masculine activity or drumming.

At the core of it, this thesis questions the problem of the female drummer, and the ways that her challenge to the *habitus* of the drumkit is negated and managed, continuing to minimise her existence and contributions to drumming and seeks to provide an alternative framework for understanding the female drummer, as a product of the *habitus* of her instrument and wider society.

Setting the Scene

Fish: How DARE you

DJ kid: Loads of band use drum loops

Fish: Loads of elevators play Celine Dion - that don't make it right

- The Rocker (2008)

This section explores the concept of musicality in drumming, as well as defining key terms for this thesis including drummer, percussionist, and drumkit. It will also provide the musical context for this thesis, and locate where this it takes place within the larger body of literature. This section also includes the methodology, disciplinary justification and theoretical framework that will be used in this thesis. It is the aim of Part I to give the reader a comprehensive understanding of the context in which this thesis takes place, both musically and in the literature, setting the scene for Part II.

1.1 Instrumental Context

While many people assume the terms ‘drummer’ and ‘percussionist’ to be interchangeable, as they have the same skills, there are fundamental differences between the two. ‘Percussion’ is a far reaching category that refers to any instrument that is struck to make a sound whether by hands or sticks (Dean, 2012, Blades, 2005, Rossing, 2000). Technically this includes the piano, however musicians have been arguing this point for years. By this definition, a percussionist is an instrumentalist who specialises in playing musical (and sometimes non-musical) instruments that are beaten either with hands or sticks (Blades, 2005, Rossing, 2000). Within the category of percussionist, there are many areas of further specialisation including hand drums e.g. bongos, congas djembes, mallet percussion (pitched keyboard

percussion instruments), untuned percussion (particularly in Western classical music) including snare drum, tambourine, woodblock, concert bass drum, and timpani to name a few (Blades, 2005, Rossing, 2000).

The key difference between a drummer and a percussionist is the way in which the body is used. The drummer uses both their upper and lower body while in a seated position, with the legs and arms working independently from each other and at the same time across a variety of drums and cymbals (Famularo, 2001). While percussionists may sit down to play certain instruments (for example timpanists), some in a similar position to a drummer, the percussionist will use their arms and hands, sometimes aided by sticks, not using their feet. The only potential exception to this is in the case of the timpani, where the foot may be used for tuning changes. However, the foot is not used to play a separate instrument as with the drumkit, where the bass drum is only played with the foot.

This fundamental difference in body movement and skill means that while percussionists and drummers share some common features, the different body movements separate the instruments similar to a trombone and a tuba- some common features, but enough difference to prohibit untrained or unpracticed musicians from easily swapping between them. In this way, it is possible to be a drummer but not a percussionist, or vice-versa. My point it is not to say that one is better than the other, rather that while drummers and percussionists share many skills, they are different enough to be considered two separate groups of musicians.

The possible exception to this is marching band/drumline tradition. As each musician specialises in a single 'drum' in a group of only drums and cymbals, these musicians may also be considered drummers rather than percussionists. However, this is a different type of drummer, in a different context, which while fascinating, is not referred to in this thesis. This

thesis focuses on the western drumkit as a site for gendered conflict and identity development and thus does not address the drumline.

1.2 What Makes a Drummer?

Drumming is an embodied practice, an amalgamation of technique, body movement and individual expression. For American Jazz drummer Dom Famularo, drumming is an extremely personal experience that differs for each individual (Famularo, 2001). To that end, it is impossible to compare drummers based on quantifiable variables such as time spent playing, learning style, theoretical knowledge, exam grades or ability. Even technique is difficult to judge as each drummer will find and develop their own way of playing based on genre, body movement and personal preference. This makes defining what a drummer ‘is’ very difficult.

In his book *It's Your Move: Motions and Emotions*, Famularo (2001) proposes that the standard of a drummer can be determined by the drummer's level of artistic expression and versatility. In this context, artistic expression is defined as the ability to express oneself through playing the drumkit (Famularo, 2001). For Famularo, the key to developing artistic expression is good technique (Famularo, 2001). The better a drummer's technique, the more varied ways they have to improvise and express emotion in their playing. As with verbal expression, the greater vocabulary a person possesses, the more freedom they have in their expression. Good technique can be broken into four categories: “speed, control, power and endurance” (Famularo, 2001:4).

These four categories are inextricably linked, and it is the combination of skills across all four categories that determine an individual's skill level and mastery (Famularo, 2001). Speed

refers to the ability to play a range of tempos, from extremely slow to extremely fast, accurately and reliably (Famularo, 2001). Control is the ability to minimise mistakes, and achieve the aim of the player consistently. It also refers to the ability to control your body, the sticks and the drums. It is the confidence to play knowing that you will achieve what you set out to (Famularo, 2001). Power refers to the ability to play in all dynamic ranges, from extremely soft to extremely loud (Famularo, 2001). In addition, the drummer must have the power of knowing what dynamic and feel is appropriate for the music being played. Finally, endurance refers to the ability to play at speed and power, with an appropriate amount of control for however long or short as necessary (Famularo, 2001).

It is impossible to master a single facet of good technique without developing skills in the other categories as well (Famularo, 2001). It is useless to be able to play extremely fast, but only for 30 seconds. Likewise, it is pointless to be able to play a range of dynamics, if the musician is lacking in the control to play the right drums. As a result, it is the cumulative prowess that the musician has across all categories that governs their drumming ability, and therefore, their potential for artistic expression (Famularo, 2001).

While Famularo creates his framework specifically for drumming as a practice, I propose that this framework is applicable to any instrumentalist. I propose that Famularo's framework of artistic expression and good technique is essential for all musicians aspiring to master a musical instrument. Artistic expression is essential for all musicians, no matter the genre they prefer, as it is what allows for the development of individual style and fosters a greater understanding of the instrument. As a result of this, I propose that 'good technique' is what separates a person who can play an instrument from an instrumentalist. It is possible to play an instrument, but not be an instrumentalist; likewise, it is possible to be a multi-instrumentalist. What differentiates these categories is the mastery that an individual has over

the four basic components of ‘good technique’, which leads to an increased ability to express individuality and the development of artistic expression.

Section 1.3 What is a Drumkit?

According to Smith (2013), a drumkit is comprised of a snare drum, a bass drum, played with the foot, a hi-hat, one or more toms and a group of cymbals. Dean (2012) however, bases his description of the drumkit on genre, walking the reader through the standard set-ups and technological advancements made over the 20th century. Similar, but slightly different to these definitions, I propose that there are three basic components to a drumkit:

A Bass Drum played with the foot (the big drum underneath the toms in Figure 1) - Unlike marching bass drums or orchestral bass drums, at the drumkit, the bass drum is only played with the foot, by attaching a pedal to the skin closest to the player. Although earlier models from the 1890s existed, the first bass drum pedal to become popular was manufactured by Ludwig in 1909 (Mattingly, 2003a). This allowed percussionists to play the bass drum and another instrument simultaneously, where before it would take two players (Mattingly, 2003a). This was the first step towards the modern drumkit, and makes the pedal bass drum one of the three core instruments for a drumkit (Mattingly, 2003a).

A Snare Drum (the drum with the white drumhead in Figure 1) - originally a military drum, the 18th century saw use of the snare drum expand to military style pieces played by classical orchestras (Spencer, 2003). There are many different types of snare drums, from piccolo snare drums to field and side drums used in marching bands. Each type of snare drum has a different timbre (or tone) which is heavily genre dependent, for example, the crisp, tight piccolo snare drum would sound out of place in a heavy metal concert.

A hi-hat played with the hand and/or the foot (the two cymbals together on the right in Figure 1)- developed in the 1920s, but by the mid-1930s the hi-hat was fully integrated into the drumkit as a time keeping device (Mattingly, 2003b). As with the pedal bass drum, it is the skill and ease in using the foot pedal that separates a drummer from a percussionist.

Separately these instruments are percussion instruments, but together, when played by a single, person, they become a 'drumkit'. Figure 1 shows the standard set up for the drumkit, what is called a '5 piece set up', because there are 5 drums. Beyond these three basic elements, there are tom-toms of different sizes that can be mounted in different ways, see Figure 1 for a standard 5 piece drumkit. There is also a variety of cymbals, of different size, timbre, shape and design. While there are common elements in every drumkit set-up, there is no right or wrong. The set up and design of the drumkit depends on the individual, what they are playing, and what they prefer.

The configuration of a drumkit will depend heavily on the type of music being played. For example, a jazz set up would commonly consist of a bass drum, snare drum, hi-hat, a small tom, a large tom, a ride cymbal and a crash cymbal (Smith, 2013). This would look similar to Figure 1, but without the second tom. A large rock gig would involve the standard 5 piece kit plus multiple cymbals and drums (Smith, 2013). Popular additions to the basic 5 piece set up in Figure 1 would include; a second floor tom in the top left corner, multiple cymbals between the crash cymbal and ride cymbal, or a tambourine mounted on the hi-hat.

Figure 1: Standard 5 piece drumkit set-up



The question of electronic drumkits complicates the definition of a ‘drummer’. In order to be a drummer, one must be able to play on an acoustic drumkit. Electronic drumkits demand different skills from their users, with the selection of sounds taking away the element of craftsmanship that acoustic drumkits require. Therefore, there is a different relationship to the instrument as to the machine. With acoustic kits, the drummer must form a relationship with their instrument, find its sweet spot, know how it tunes, and have a physical understanding of their instrument. Electronic drumkit players do not need this understanding, which leaves them woefully under prepared when faced with an acoustic kit. Some drummers use electronic kits for reasons such as space and noise restrictions, or to experiment with, however, what makes them a drummer is the ability to play both. The electronic drumkit and the acoustic drumkit both have their place, however, it is more difficult for a person who only plays an electronic drumkit to move to an acoustic drumkit than the other way around, which is important to acknowledge because in order to be an instrumentalist, a musician must be able to navigate and control their instrument (Famularo, 2001).

1.4 Disciplinary Considerations

This thesis takes place within the frames of Cultural Studies and Popular Music Studies. While it draws on work from many different disciplines, this thesis resonates with the aims and methodologies from Cultural Studies and Popular Music Studies. Both of these disciplines developed in the 20th century with the premise of examining phenomena other disciplines deemed unworthy of study (Middleton, 1990 and Barker, 2003). While this thesis is about musical instruments and musicians, it is fundamentally about defamiliarising ‘natural’ assumptions to show the way that disciplinary power works on the individual. Therefore, I am situating my thesis within the key concerns of Cultural Studies where:

A body of theory generated by thinkers who regard the production of theoretical knowledge as a political practice. Here, knowledge is never a neutral or objective phenomenon but a matter of positionality, that is, of the place from which one speaks, to whom, and for what purposes... It is an interdisciplinary field in which perspectives from different disciplines can be selectively drawn to examine the relations of culture and power.

(Barker, 2003: 5)

In other words, this thesis engages the process of defamiliarising ‘normal’ processes and ways of thinking in order to examine the distribution of power within. Such research complicates ‘otherness’ by pulling apart the binaries that help to define and manage ‘otherness’ and difference. It further complicates construction of difference and ‘otherness’ as by positing that it is culturally created and has a huge impact on the way that we construct our own group identity as well as the identity of other cultures and groups (Saukko, 2003). It is for this reason that my thesis is situated in Cultural Studies.

However, within this definition, there are different schools of Cultural Studies in different

locations (During, 2005). While each country has their own slightly different version of Cultural Studies, During (2005) notes three main locations in which Cultural Studies has flourished, England, America and Australia (During, 2005: 19). This thesis engages specifically with Australian Cultural Studies, as it engages with drumming the Australian drumming culture is very different to others around the world. For example, the American drumming culture is both larger and more prestigious, as there are many more opportunities for drummers to learn and advance.

Raymond Williams is credited as the forefather of Cultural Studies with his 1958 book 'Culture and Society' (During, 2005). Heavily influenced by the work of Karl Marx, he argued that changes in the economy could not be the cause of all social and cultural change (During, 2005). Instead, Williams proposed that culture consists of practices that help shape the world (During, 2005). This idea was then expanded on by Stuart Hall, who became one of the most influential Cultural Studies theorists, and another major influence in the development of British Cultural Studies (During, 2005).

The dominant theory explaining the emergence of an Australian Cultural Studies proposes that it is from British Cultural Studies that Australian Cultural Studies emerged (During, 2005). In this account, Cultural Studies was brought over by a group of young British students in the 1970s (During, 2005). According to Megan Morris and John Frow however, Australian Cultural Studies developed as a result of the adult education movement which encouraged amateur participation, changing the academic climate to one open to new ideas and interpretations (Frow and Morris, 1993). One of the main differences between Australian and British Cultural Studies was that Australian Cultural Studies explored culture as a dividing force, as well as a constructive one (Frow and Morris, 1993).

I have therefore situated this thesis in Performance Studies as a sub-set of Cultural Studies. Performance studies is primarily concerned with actions, that is, what we ‘do’ as well as how we understand this ‘doing’ (Schechner, 2002). Performance studies encompasses a wide range of topics and is multi-disciplinary (Schechner, 2002). While performance studies as a sub-discipline encompasses creative practice research, both practice-led and practice-based, this thesis project will not involve creative practice. I believe that my questions around embodiment and the performance of identity fit best within the sub-discipline of Performance Studies as it is concerned with the embodiment and performance of identities (Schechner, 2002).

To this end, researchers must be aware of their subconscious and ingrained assumptions so that they can look to how other groups understand themselves as opposed to how the researcher sees what they are doing (Saukko, 2003 and Pickering, 2008). Cultural Studies complicates the notion of ‘otherness’ and difference as it deconstructs essentialism, forcing researchers to think about how their own experiences and beliefs affect their research (Pickering, 2008). The history and development of the self-reflexive imperatives of Cultural Studies offer a productive context for this thesis.

Australian Popular Music Studies

As Australia has its own Cultural Studies discipline, so too does it have a popular music discipline with its own separate and complex history (Hayward, 1992). It is impossible to discuss Australian popular music without acknowledging the many conflicts and difficulties in defining what it actually is, due to Australia’s multicultural history (Hayward, 1992).

Australian popular music has been used for many purposes including to build (or attempt to

build) a single national identity, as a tool of protest and as a way of reclaiming culture and space (Hayward, 1992).

Australian Popular Music Studies has its roots in the 1950s with the arrival of rock'n'roll (Homan, 2008). Rock'n'roll was popular with Australian musicians and audiences alike, with the American sound being imitated by local Australian musicians, in an effort to catch the attention of the bigger media and music companies (Homan, 2008). With a much smaller population compared to other Western countries (for example America and the UK), Australian music has been less location based than many other genres of music, and has relied much more on imported sounds from other regions (Hayward, 1992). It is therefore a mix of these imported sounds and genres that has been used and combined to create an Australian music sound (Hayward, 1992). 'Oz Rock', a genre of music associated with the tradition of Australian pub life, complete with rowdy sing-a-longs and masculine overtones, is one popular manifestation of Australian popular music (Homan and Mitchell, 2008 and Hayward, 1992). However it is a very exclusionary genre, focusing on white, all-male bands, not necessarily Australian (Homan and Mitchell, 2008 and Hayward, 1992). This leads to the exclusion of Indigenous, female and non-European music and artists (Homan and Mitchell, 2008).

Australian Popular Music Studies, while heavily connected to overseas markets, is focused on music that is produced and consumed in Australia (Hayward, 1992). However, as more Australian music and artists are moving into a wider Western sphere, it is getting more and more difficult to locate and define exactly what Australian music 'is' (Homan and Mitchell, 2008). This thesis also engages with Australian Popular Music Studies to focus on individual embodiment in the Australian context, while also acknowledging the influences from other Western drumming and music traditions and texts.

1.5 Methodology

This thesis is suggestive of the understanding that Cultural Studies has been highly influenced by other disciplines including sociology, anthropology, philosophy, politics and media studies (Barker, 2003). These influences manifest themselves heavily in the methodology employed by Cultural Studies researchers. Cultural Studies has a tumultuous relationship with methodology, believing that validity in research comes not from conforming to a singular methodology, but rather by combining methodologies from different disciplines to create a single picture (Gray, 2003, Chambers *et. al*, 2004). Cultural Studies as a discipline does not have a specific methodology attached, rather it prefers to borrow methods from other established disciplines and combining them in the interest of applying theory (Pickering, 2008).

While there is no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ method, each has its limits (Chambers *et. al*, 2004). When these limits are reached or exceeded, the method is no longer useful (Chambers *et. al*, 2004). For this reason, it is useful to consider the potential for research using multiple methods. By combining methods, one can more easily avoid stretching single methods beyond their usefulness (Chambers *et. al*, 2004). Furthermore, using multiple methods allows the researcher to create a more holistic picture of what they are trying to analyse. As this thesis is cross-disciplinary, I feel that the only way to do justice to the topic is to engage multiple methodologies to create a more holistic analysis of the musical instrument and how its influence creates the problematic category of the female drummer. It is this very mix of methods and methodologies that makes the discipline of Cultural Studies distinct and different from the empirical based tradition of academic research (Gray, 2003).

Autoethnography

Ethnography is an embodied research practice that aims to write about its subject from within the culture, using their terms and way of understanding to write about them, not for them (Rossmann, 2009). In writing ethnographically, it is important to distinguish between two types of terms and language, experience near and experience distant terms. Experience near terms are terms that are used by those ‘inside’ the culture or group that is the subject of study (Rossmann, 2009). Experience distant terms are terms used by academics and those ‘outside’ of the group or culture being studied that say the same thing. It is the academic way of writing about what those ‘inside’ feel and experience (Rossmann, 2009). It is important to find the balance of the two terms so that it is understandable from the outside, but also aligns with what those on the ‘inside’ feel. In order to achieve this balance, this thesis engages with autoethnography.

Ellis (2004) describes autoethnography as “research, writing, story and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social and political” (Ellis, 2004: xix). In other words, autoethnography is the drawing on personal experience to make observations about cultural phenomena (Ellis, 2004). In doing this, autoethnography allows the author to draw readers inside a culture or experience that may be unfamiliar, giving them a deeper understanding of what the author is trying to demonstrate (Maso, 2001). I will begin each chapter with a key incident, a memorable moment in which my embodiment as ‘female drummer’ was problematic in a situation. These moments of factual lived experience provide a snapshot into the pervasiveness of attitudes pertaining to the gendered coding of musical instruments. They also demonstrate the regulatory power of popular conceptions.

Autoethnography seeks to overcome some of the difficulties associated with ethnography, by

writing about one's own experience, instead of trying to represent the experience of others (Barker, 2003). By representing one's own experience, the issue of reinterpretation of others' actions can be more easily avoided (Barker, 2003). This thesis is more auto-ethnographic in the way that I am drawing on my own lived experiences to draw connections and theorise. Being already immersed in the culture I am studying, I have an advantage and a disadvantage in that I must be aware of my own subjectivity and how it is affecting my research. This has been a particular challenge in writing this thesis, one I have aimed to overcome by the addition of small sections of lived experience at the beginning of each section of this thesis. This lived experience is predominantly my own, but with a few snippets of popular media texts that I find strikingly relevant to this thesis. I feel that this will help draw the reader into the discussion as well as provide some practical examples of situations where being a female drummer is not congruous with popular conceptions of what a 'drummer' is.

However, autoethnography has its own challenges to be overcome. Autoethnography is a controversial methodology due to its emphasis on personal experience and lack of reliance on empirical or 'objective' data (Adams, Bochner and Ellis, 2011). While the inclusion of personal experience and subjectivity is one of the advantages of autoethnography, it is also one of its major drawbacks (Berry and Patti, 2015). What the author may consider important and vital can be read very differently by the reader, leaving meaning obscured or interrupted (Berry and Patti, 2015). In addition, the emphasis on personal experience in autoethnography can lead to a lack of engagement with or exclusion of theoretical content and data (Berry and Patti, 2015).

Textual and Discourse Analysis

Barker (2003) describes textual approaches as having three major processes: employing

narrative theory, exploring texts as signs, and deconstruction (Barker, 2003: 28). In this thesis, I will use the third method, deconstruction to explore the underlying unacknowledged assumptions that each text is based on. In doing this, I will also expose the role that each text plays in reinforcing and propagating gendered notions of musicianship and instrumentality.

To demonstrate how the idea of the gendered instrument is reproduced and internalised, this thesis will critically examine popular media representations from different arenas, from popular drumming magazines to Hollywood movies. In doing this, I will pull apart each text to expose the underlying discourses and messages. I will use these texts to provide evidence for the recurring ideas and discourses around drumming in terms of who can do it and what it means to be a 'drummer'.

The main texts that I will be analysing are the movies *School of Rock* and *The Rocker*. These movies have been chosen because they are very popular, and this popularity gives them greater influence in creating and maintaining ideas around what makes a musician, and who can play which instrument. In addition, they are some of the very few texts that actually mention female drummers.

I will also explore the way that female drummers are approached in the Australian magazine *DRUMscene* and *Modern Drummer*. I have chosen these particular magazines for their considerable influence in the drummers that they interview and the drummer-only events that they organise.

Finally, I will investigate the language used in books about drumming, both academic and instructional. These texts have been chosen because of their widespread use as instruction manuals for drumkit beginners, and their role as information sources. The basic drumming

texts are recommended by a drum teacher or band conductor or other drummers. As such, they are the first texts that beginners will seek out and learn from. These texts play a large role in teaching what a drummer is, and by extension, what a drummer is not, through language, advocated behaviour, and the framing of content.

1.6 Cross- Disciplinary Potential

Cross-disciplinary research is a broad term for any research that draws substantially on work, concepts or methods from two or more disciplines (Grigg, 1999). Cross-disciplinary research in all of its forms has many advantages over specialist disciplinary work as it can provide a more holistic view of issues and can add new layers of analysis on issues that have not previously been considered.

This thesis is cross-disciplinary because it employs concepts from both Cultural Studies and Popular Music Studies. It also engages with the disciplines of gender studies, education and performance studies. Each of these disciplines addresses the central idea that gender is performative and the performance of gender is both created and mediated by forms of power, including disciplinary power and biopower. In education specifically, there is a trend of educators and parents steering children towards particular instruments based on their gender and personality (Green, 2010). By combining concepts and methodologies from these disciplines, I can create a more holistic analysis that spans more than just the knowledge of a single discipline, and therefore offers new ways of understanding musical instruments and the effect they have on gendered musical assumptions.

Discussions of cross-disciplinary research agree that there is potential for cross-disciplinary research to be insightful and useful, however they point out one major flaw, communication

(Grigg, 1999). Cross-disciplinary research can contribute new ideas and new perspectives and analysis on issues but for this to be useful, the research must be decipherable to those from both disciplines (Sommer, 2009). Cross-disciplinary research provides new avenues of study for researchers that would not be studied otherwise, providing opportunities for creative thought (Nissani, 1997). Furthermore, cross-disciplinary research allows areas to be studied that do not fit strictly in one discipline (Nissani, 1997). For example, the research by Ken McLeod culminating in his book, *We are the Champions: The Politics of Sports and Popular Music*. McLeod's book explores the link between sport, music and identity in an interdisciplinary way by combining Cultural Studies and Popular Music Studies to interrogate how sport and music have intertwined throughout time and the impact that this has on the creation of individual and group identity (McLeod, 2011).

Cross-disciplinary research provides avenues for creative thought and encourages academic knowledge building and collaboration, which is important when dealing with complex issues in society. The development of Popular Music Studies is proof of the benefits of cross-disciplinary research. Popular Music Studies combines traditional musicology, ethnomusicology, Cultural Studies and sociology (Middleton, 1990). The discipline of popular music has a history of cross-disciplinary research, especially as popular music is disseminated through mass media channels and its presence is almost constant (Leach, 2009). In particular, the impact of popular music on individuals and groups is well studied and cross-disciplinary. For example, the possible links between music and violence have been well documented in many disciplines including philosophy and Cultural Studies (see Moras, and Rebollo-Gil, 2012, Coyne and Padilla-Walke, 2015, and Cloonan, and Johnson, 2009 for examples). By combining theories and subject matter from multiple disciplines, this thesis will add to the cross-disciplinary research available in Popular Music Studies.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Theory is not opposed to research through practice, rather it is an extension of lived experience (Chambers *et. al*, 2004). Theory is vital to Cultural Studies because it acts as a “tool, instrument or logic for intervening in the world” (Barker, 2003: 30). Theory provides an avenue into the study of ways of being and understanding that are perceived as ‘normal’. In this way, theory acts as a barrier between normal and the unfamiliar, allowing for new ways of seeing the world to be acknowledged (Barker, 2003).

This thesis use theory to frame and draw connections between lived experience and the historical and cultural assumptions inherent in each musical instrument. To do this, I will engage with Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*. I will apply this concept to musical instruments, proposing that each musical instrument can be understood as having a *habitus*, or context that acts on the individual from the moment they begin to consider playing an instrument and becomes more influential the longer the individual plays the instrument. This *habitus* acts to govern and guide behaviour and embodiment of each musician. The *habitus* of a musical instrument is the sum of its social and cultural history, assumptions made about the instrument and those who play it, and popular media representations of fictitious and famous instrumentalists. While *habitus* is predominantly applied to disposition of human actors, I propose that our understanding of musical instruments *creates* a disposition of that instrument. This thesis is the first time that *habitus* has been applied to musicians in this way, proposing that western musical instruments are constantly in a relationship with the musician, motivating certain gendered behaviours and discouraging challenges to its *habitus*.

In addition to Bourdieu’s *habitus*, this thesis will utilise Foucault’s notion of biopower to explore the ways that the *habitus* acts on the individual, governing and motivating behaviour

to reduce any challenges to the *habitus*, specifically in regards to the female drummer. Sharon Graham Davis defines biopower as “the use of bodily discipline and population control to shape bodily life” (Davis, 2015:32). In the case of gender, as we grow, we are conditioned to think and behave in certain ways according to what sex we are assigned at birth (McLaren, 2002). How an individual engages with these discourses, whether in acceptance or conflict, creates the individual’s gendered identity, which is based on the binary notions presented by wider society (Leonard, 2007). These gender norms are internalised, with the help of biopower, more specifically, strategies of intervention and technologies of the self (McLaren, 2002). Gender binaries become so ingrained and internalised that anyone different poses a threat to the mindset and laws of that society.

Deleuze’s idea of representational thinking is also essential to this thesis. If, as Deleuze suggests, the existence of anything new must be recouped into representation, then the *habitus* of the drumkit performs a regulating function. It is within the confines of representational thinking that this thesis takes place, and indeed, the need for this thesis is compounded by the problems inherent in representational thinking. Representational thinking places parameters around identity and limits the potential for becoming as anything new is labelled and reduced back to representation (Colebrook, 2002). These labels are then built in layers, with categories within categories in order to encompass all the possible outcomes. Female drummers are a problem for representational thinking, not only because they challenge the *habitus* of the physical drumkit but also because they challenge the representational premise of the male ‘drummer’s’ identity by being females acting in a traditionally male sphere of identity formation and influence (Leonard, 2007).

It is in combining these three theories, along with the work of feminist theorists Judith Butler and Simone de Beauvoir to explore the ways that gender is performed, that my thesis presents

an analysis of the way that musical instruments function as agentic matter. Using the example of the female drummer, this thesis will explore the ways in which the embodiment and identity of the female drummer are observed and policed in order to avoid challenging *habitus* of the drumkit, and by extension, challenge representational thought. All of these theorists aim to defamiliarise common knowledge ideas and understandings, making them key thinkers in the field of Cultural Studies and Performance Studies and highly applicable for this thesis.

However, while I acknowledge the impact that genre has on musicians, this thesis does not focus on or explore any particular genre because during the learning process, all drummers will be exposed to different drumming styles and ideas from different genres. However, I acknowledge that genre may exacerbate or influence the way that the individual drummer understands their own identity.

1.8 Literature Review

Female friend: 'I never get the hot guys... I need to date a drummer!'

Me: 'Ummmm.... Why?'

Friend: 'Because they're so hot, with tattoos and muscles.'

Me: 'I'm a drummer.'

Friend: 'You're a girl... You don't count, you're not a proper drummer'

- Breakfast with a friend

The history of the modern drumkit and the companies that manufacture them is well documented, with a plethora of texts available from many different perspectives. Some books trace the history of companies that manufacture drums and cymbals (for examples, see Falzerano, 1995 for the history of Gretsch Drums). Meanwhile, Nicholls' *The Drum Book: A*

History of the Rock Drum Kit both the 1997 original and the 2008 revised addition, focus on the British drumkit manufacturers and technical updates in Britain.

However, suspiciously absent from this literature, and greater music scholarship is the female drummer. Many books on drumming devote only a single chapter to the female drummer (Smith, 2013, Dean, 2012 and Barrell, 2015 to name a few)! The lucky few female drummers that feature in these books make a small appearance as they each vie for space. This is opposed to full volumes and chapters on single male drummers (see for example Mowitt, 2002, Cohan, 1998, Mattingly, 1998, Payne, 2006, Barrell, 2015 and Korall 1990 & 2002). So where are all the female drummers? And why are they not considered important enough to feature in a leading role?

While there are texts that examine the way gender is affected by music (see Dibben, 1999 and 2002 and Hargreaves, MacDonald and Miell, 2002), there are none that address the way that the practice of playing an instrument affects the way that an individual creates and understands their gender identity. There is no literature dedicated specifically to exploring the relationship between an individual, their instrument, their gender identity and the way that these interact with popular media and popular culture. In fact, many of the texts on drumming trivialize and minimise the impact that gender has on female drummers (see Smith, 2013 and Dean, 2012). This literature review charts the literature and dominant discourses surrounding drumming and female drummers, demonstrating clearly the lack of acknowledgement of the female drummer.

1.8.1 Female Drummers

When speaking about female drummers, much of the literature is dismissive of the historical contributions of female drummers, routinely relegating their contribution to small sections on all-female bands. *Drummin' Men: The Heartbeat of Jazz* (Korall, 1990 and 2002) is a series of books about jazz drumming, with different volumes addressing different jazz movements including bebop and swing. This book begins with the author's reflections on his own drumming experience, tying his own memories into the jazz scene. The book itself is split into sections with information on who the author believes to be the most influential and important jazz drummers for each movement. He credits these men with any and all developments and trends in drumming at the time. This book does not acknowledge the existence of drummers who are not male, instead painting the picture of an idealistic and masculine drumming culture in which opportunities for success depend on being in the right place at the right time. By not acknowledging the existence, let alone contributions of female drummers, Korall reinforces the idea that drumming is only for men, and that women have no place as drummers.

There is very little literature addressing the female drummer as an individual, or member of a non-female-only band. This is in direct contrast to the plethora of texts that address male drummers, both as individuals and as part of musical groups (see Korall, 1990 and 2002, Barrell, 2015, Mattingly, 1998, Budofsky, 2006, Payne, 2006 and Cohan, 1998 for some examples). The lack of female drummers is particularly evident when looking at drumming magazines. Magazines like *DRUMscene* and *Modern Drummer* are the predominant way that drummers across the world are exposed to new ideas and techniques. An examination of the Australian magazine *DRUMscene*, revealed that in the entire history of the magazine, there have only been 11 features on female drummers and two covers containing a female

drummer. This is opposed to 481 features on male drummers and 73 covers featuring male drummers. These magazines form part of the guard that governs who can and cannot be a drummer. These magazines are not only informative, but provide access to drummers only festivals, promotional appearances by famous drummers and free giveaways to gigs and performances. These all act as networking opportunities and form an integral part of a drummers' collective identity. These magazines promote drumming as a male endeavour, and in doing so, alienate potential readers who are not, or who do not, identify as male. In addition, the book *The Drummer: 100 Years of Rhythmic Power and Invention* published by Modern Drummer Publishing (Budofsky, 2006), the same company that make and publish the magazine Modern Drummer, is comprised completely of male drummers, without mentioning any female drummers, as is Rick Mattingly's book *Drummer's Time: Conversations with the Great Drummers of Jazz* (1998).

A theme emerges here, in the three books published by Modern Drummer Publishing, there is no mention of the female drummer, her existence is completely ignored. When you add in the magazine as well, Modern Drummer publications are an influential company, with huge exposure to drummers everywhere. If Modern Drummer does not believe the female drummer is worth acknowledging, then there is a major chunk of literature that female drummers are alienated from, and a large amount of male drummers told that drumming is a male only activity. This is then absorbed into their understanding of the drumkit, contributing to an environment where female drummers are not welcome or are met with suspicion.

The majority of texts talk about drummers using the pronoun 'he'. In previous years, using 'he' has been both a gender specific and gender non-specific term. I have used the term 'gender non-specific' instead of 'gender neutral' because using the term 'he' is still an exclusionary term that assumes that the reader/responder/subject of study is male. This is

problematic for many reasons.

In the introduction to his book *Percussion: Drumming, Beating, Striking* (2002), Mowitt attempts to justify the use of language in his book, proposing that it is the fault of feminism that the word 'he' is being replaced with the term 'sic'. He states that the term 'sic' makes his writing less effective as it removes the reader from the text, and that the use of a single word does not mean that there is an exclusionary discourse. This dismissive attitude to feminism and its concerns is evident throughout the book. In many ways, this book is the epitome of what needs to be challenged in popular music scholarship. By using language that is exclusionary, the author is embracing one type of reader, but deliberately excluding another type of reader. In this case, by using 'he' when talking about 'the drummer' Mowitt is reinforcing traditional barriers around who can be a drummer. Furthermore, he is placing the inclusion of male drummers ahead of the inclusion of ALL drummers, no matter the gender. As a female drummer, I found the explanation for why the word 'he' is used as a way of justifying the exclusion and negative stereotyping of female drummers. The use of this language changed the way that I read and understood the book, very aware that the author did not believe me (or any female drummer) worth including in his analysis or readership. This attitude is also reflected in the theoretical framework that Mowitt employs. Mowitt bases his analysis in the work of Freud and makes the connection between the skin of the drum and the skin of the human, as a barrier between the inside and the outside (Mowitt, 2002). He then makes the claim that playing the drums is inherently violent because it is a way of reconciling these conflicting entities and that it is a man's inherent need for violence that makes them want to play the drums (Mowitt, 2002). In this context, women do not have the same physical drive for violence, again alienating them from Mowitt's analysis. This idea has ties to the attitude that women should not play the drums, seeking to provide a reason to exclude women from this traditionally male activity.

Leonard's book *Gender in the Music Industry: Rock, Discourse and Girl Power* explores the way that discourses around women in rock music exclude them from truly being a part of the rock music scene, with a focus on the Riot Grrrl genre and how it is represented in popular media. The opening chapters of this book examine the discourses around female musicians in rock music and how these discourses work to reproduce the masculine identity attached to the genre. The opening chapters of this book resonate strongly with what I have found in my research, and I find this quote particularly relevant, "women 'participate' in male-defined terms or not at all" (Krenske and McKay in Leonard, 2007). As traditionally, the majority of musicians, academics, reviewers and people in music-based roles have been male, dominant discourses around female drummers place them as the 'other', who does not really belong in the arena (Leonard, 2007). Drumming is undeniably coded as male, and this coding is reinforced and propagated by the attitudes towards female drummers in the literature.

The lack of female drummers in literature about 'drumming' is one built on the assumption that women are not/cannot be as good a drummers as men. As a result, alternative histories have been written specifically about the marginalised group in music, the female drummers. *Women Drummers: A History from Rock and Jazz to Blues and Country* (2014) by Angela Smith is one of the few books dedicated to female drummers alone. Smith's Introduction aptly summarises the historical prejudice against female drummers from a variety of sources including philosophers, influential male drummers, from the early 20th Century onwards. Smith traces the alternative history of female drummers from the late 1800s to the early 21st Century, moving through genres and movements. Throughout the book, Smith refers to influential female drummers both by name and by interview, which when combined, creates a parallel history to what is represented in traditional history accounts of music. One of the last sections of Smith's book is devoted to the work currently being undertaken to challenge the

historically male understanding of what makes a drummer. She cites numerous female drummers and how they are working towards change from within the industry. The overarching message of the book however, is that there are definite obstacles that female drummers must overcome to survive in the professional industry, and to feel comfortable in their craft and while these obstacles are not insurmountable, they are significant.

Drumming is an embodied practice that places the site of action in the body (Smith, 2013). As such, it draws upon traditional discourses around sexuality, masculinity and femininity (Hopkins, 1996). There have been many proposed reasons for why a woman playing the drums is unusual, or unnatural. In playing the drum kit, the musician sits with their legs open, as each leg controls a different part of the drum kit. This has been used as a reason for why women should not play the drum kit (Smith, 2013). In today's Western society, a person sitting with their legs open is acceptable and in fact expected, but only if they are male (Brownmiller, 1984). It is not acceptable behaviour in society for a woman to sit with her legs open, even if she is wearing shorts or pants as it is seen as not 'feminine' behaviour. While you might read this and think that it makes sense, no point in exposing yourself to the world, the bigger question is, why is it acceptable behaviour for males? According to Susan Brownmiller (1984), by sitting with her legs open, a woman is asserting that she is confident and not scared of her sexuality and her sexual desires, something that is discouraged (Brownmiller, 1984). Other proposed reasons for the gender divide in drumming include, because drumming is hard work, because you cannot wear make-up when you play because you sweat, and because women do not have the physical power or stamina (Smith, 2013). In all of these reasons, a pattern emerges. All of these reasons and objections stem from stereotypical, gendered ideas of what are and are not acceptable 'male' and 'female' behaviours.

Much of the academic research proposes that there is a 'female' style of playing the drums, which is softer, with more feeling and states that females are better at gentler music, even though they might be capable of the aggression of a heavy metal drummer (See Smith, 2013 and Dean, 2012). This idea has ties to the attitude that women should not play the drums, seeking to provide a reason to exclude women from the male-female category of drumming (Leonard, 2007).

When female drummers speak about their craft, they speak about it in opposition to male drummers, as though they only know their drumming identity by how it differs to the work done by their male counterparts (Smith, 2013). This division shows that the discourses around female drummers are so ingrained that the female drummer is always aware of her difference to those around her. In this way, her identity as a 'female' will always be just as much of a part of her identity as a musician, as it is in her daily life (Smith, 2013). As women have become more visible in music production, creation and performance, the gender associations with some musical instruments have changed. However, some instruments remain strictly 'masculine'. The drum kit is one such instrument.

1.8.2 Drumming and Education

There is a growing body of literature exploring the link between gender and personality stereotyping by teachers and parents, and the musical instruments that children play (See Green, 1997, Green, 1988, Green, 2010 and Wright, 2010 for examples). This research is split into two main schools of thought.

The first school proposes that the disposition and physical characteristics of a child will determine what musical instrument they are suited to (Ben-Tovim and Boyd, 2012). This idea

has been taken up with great alacrity, with both academic and non-academic texts advocating this method of selection. There is an overabundance of tests online designed to help a parent choose the correct instrument for their child. While these may not be academic tests, they are important to acknowledge and analyse because they are texts that are accessible by millions of people. These tests encourage the parent to make assumptions about their child and do not account for individual difference. For a parent with no musical experience themselves, these tests seem to provide an easy answer or starting point. The trend in education and sociology to attribute musical instrument choice to personality, especially in children, encourages the simplifying of personalities and personality stereotyping. It also does not allow for the child to grow, develop and change over time.

The Ben-Tovim/Boyd Instrument Matching System presents itself to be the perfect system for matching a child with a musical instrument based on personality, physical attributes and the level of interest in music at the time (Ben-Tovim and Boyd, 2012). While this test encourages parents to be aware of their child's desires and physical limits, the Ben-Tovim/Boyd system is predicated on a set of gendered assumptions. These gendered assumptions create hierarchies and stereotypes around musical instruments, proposing that there are 'natural' properties to each instrument that make them best suited to different personality types.

The second school of thought proposes that the teachers and parents are the intermediary between students and musical instruments, and that their inherent gender prejudice impacts on the way that a child chooses or is assigned an instrument (Green, 2010). This prejudice is based on traditional ideas of femininity and masculinity, and what is appropriate for each gender so they grow up to be better 'boys' and 'girls' (Green, 2010).

This thesis adds to the literature around drumming, female drummers and education, through

an exploration of the way that musical instruments are produced by the *habitus* and how this *habitus* acts on individual bodies, reducing challenges to the representation of female drummers. This thesis therefore has potential to challenge how music teachers, parents and children understand musical instruments and what it means to be a musician.

1.9 Musicology: A History of Exclusion

Despite the large absence of women in scholarship, women have been actively involved in the production and consumption of music throughout history (Bowers, 1989, McClary, 1991, Bowers and Tick, 1987). When actively sought, there is a second and largely unacknowledged history of women in music, education, in the public and private spheres, as composers and as musicians (Bowers, 1989, Yardley, 1987, Citron, 1987). However, only a select few of these women appear in historical or academic documents. There is an increasing body of literature exploring female musicians and composers and charts their influence including *Women and Music: A History* (1991) edited by Karin Pendle, *Women in Music* (1982) edited by Carol Neuls-Bates, and *Feminine Endings* (1991) by Susan McClary to name a few. This section argues that from the 11th Century onwards, women have been systematically excluded from institutionalised creation and performance of music, leading to their work in the field being trivialized and deemed not worthy of study (McClary, 1991, Bowers and Tick, 1987). This has further implications for both traditional musicology in the lack of scholarship on female musicians and composers, and Popular Music Studies, that evolved out of traditional musicology, and therefore shares some of the same issues when writing about female musicians, composers and instrumentalists.

This section traces the history of women in music and demonstrates how the exclusionary culture of professional music performance and composition has led to the systematic

exclusion of women from music scholarship. Furthermore, it proposes that remnants of this attitude are still present in musicology and contemporary music studies today.

Books on the history of women in Western music history exist because of the lack of acknowledgement of these musicians in mainstream western history (Bowers and Tick, 1987). In their work, music historians have asked questions that in their nature, exclude the contributions that women have made to the field (Bowers and Tick, 1987). Traditional musicologists have neglected to acknowledge the social and historical context in which the music composed and performed (Bowers and Tick, 1987). Bowers and Tick (1987) propose three reasons for the lack of scholarship on female musicians.

Firstly, the nature of traditional musicology has been to examine music in isolation, relying on written documents and scores (Bowers and Tick, 1987). By ignoring the social and historical context in which the music was written, musicologists have not considered the existence of music beyond what has been written (Bowers and Tick, 1987). It is important to consider the context in which music is written, played and created because it provides insight into the function of music, its audience and who was allowed to compose and present music to the public (Bowers and Tick, 1987).

Secondly, musicologists have greatly emphasised the composers and compositions that defined each historical period and genre (Bowers and Tick, 1987). As women were largely excluded from positions of power in which they could assert this sort of influence, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, their ability to influence genres is very limited (Bowers and Tick, 1987).

That is not to say that female composers and musicians did not exist, but rather that most were

not in a social position to be considered in the analysis of musicologists. This is Bowers and Tick's final point. The social class structure and gender expectations of the Western world, from the Middle Ages to the mid twentieth century served to exclude women from the institutions in which music was taught, performed and disseminated (Bowers and Tick, 1987). As a result of this, there are few female composers who have been considered by traditional musicologists, leading to the mistaken view that women in general were not involved in composing or playing music (Bowers and Tick, 1987). This way of thinking can still be observed in the studies of musicologists and to a lesser extent popular music scholars, particularly in the way that female composers are understood and written about (McClary, 1991).

The field of musicology has traditionally involved the specialised skills of reading and understanding music differently in relation to core musicological concepts. It is these specialised skills that have distanced musicology from other fields of study such as history (Jackson and Pelkey, 2005). Musicology has long focused on the study of music itself, with minimal engagement with the historical and cultural contexts in which the music was created (Jackson and Pelkey, 2005). This, combined with the formation of the musical canon, a system predicated on the idea that certain types of music have the ability to transcend historical context, and be considered 'art', has led to the devaluing and ignoring of other types of music (Jackson and Pelkey, 2005, Bowers, 1989).

This is a tradition that has extended through to the study of popular music, excluding a large percentage of music producers and consumers. Bowers is one of the first scholars to actively critique the discipline of musicology itself and to propose and explore the connection between gender and access to music in both a professional and private setting (Bowers, 1989 and 1990). Her proposal that a person's gender may impact their access to music is one that is

integral to my thesis, for if one's gender defines their access to music, then it must also be a disciplinary force, including some while excluding others.

In her article, 'Feminist Scholarship and the Field of Musicology: I', Bowers proposes that Traditional Western Musicology as a field was founded on two major principles (Bowers, 1989). First, that the field relied on pure facts to draw conclusions rather than open the field to interpretations and lived experience of the music by listeners. Second, that the most influential works and/or composers were grouped into a separate category or canon to show the inherent and overarching value of these works/composers (Bowers, 1989). These two principles work as to govern and confine work done in the field to that which resonates with these principles (Bowers, 1989). Furthermore, these principles work particularly to exclude and make invisible the work of women in the field, as composer, musician and as audience (Bowers, 1989). Therefore, Bowers proposes that there is a need for a shift in the core values of traditional musicology not just under the title of feminist musicology, but throughout the entire discipline of musicology (Bowers, 1989). While Bowers' paper speaks to the discipline of musicology, I believe that her argument can also be applied to Popular Music scholarship. The study of Popular Music evolved out of traditional musicology, but rather than focus purely on the musical content itself, changes the focus of study to the role that music plays for the individual and the musician. Because of the historical link between these disciplines, the study of popular music has inherited the shortcomings of traditional musicology, particularly in relation to the role and contribution that women have made (McClary, 1991). However, despite the institutionalised exclusion of women from music, women have always been active music makers and performers (Bowers and Tick, 1987).

The rise of organised religion in the Middle Ages provided the first exclusion of women from music, specifically, music in liturgical rituals and spaces, with women moved aside for choirs

of trained male singers and priests (Bowers and Tick, 1987). This move left female singers and musicians to practice and play mostly in the private sphere, in houses, convents and in small jobs as household musicians (Bowers and Tick, 1987). However, women were excluded from opportunities to be professional or master musicians, and rigorous musical training that would place them in positions of power (Bowers and Tick, 1987). While women were actively involved in the singing and creation of music in the Middle Ages, particularly in religious ceremonies, there is little to no literature that analyses or acknowledges their contribution (Yardley, 1987). The predominant way for women to be involved in music was through nunneries (Yardley, 1987). The church was the central influence on the daily lives of the people, so there were many monasteries and nunneries (Yardley, 1987).

This set a standard for the 15th and 16th centuries, where women were prohibited from acquiring any sort of formal music education, which would provide them entry to a musical career (Bowers and Tick, 1987). The only musical opportunities for these women were mostly as vocalists in travelling musical groups (Bowers and Tick, 1987). Without any musical training, it was virtually impossible for women to compose in the polyphonic style that was popular at the time (Bowers and Tick, 1987). As a result of this, the musical contributions of women were restricted to the private sphere and later as patrons of music (Bowers and Tick, 1987).

In the mid-sixteenth century, the voices of women became more important, especially in Italian Opera and court (Bowers and Tick, 1987). This opened the floodgates for Italian women, providing the first musical job of status as well as providing the catalyst for a new wave of female composers, especially in Italy (Bowers and Tick, 1987). The eighteenth century saw a marked rise in the number of women publically involved in composing music (Citron, 1987). The invention of the piano, made composing more accessible as it provided

the musician with the potential to create polyphonic music in the home. It also opened new genres for both solo and ensemble pieces (Citron, 1987). By 1750, prestigious musical positions were being hesitantly given to female musicians and composers across Europe (Bowers and Tick, 1987). With the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the market economy, musical and educational pathways opened up to women (Bowers and Tick, 1987). This shift was also influenced by the first wave of feminism, which brought forward questions of a woman's ability (Bowers and Tick, 1987). One of the biggest changes for women wanting to be involved in the creating or playing of music was the establishment of the first secular music academies (Bowers and Tick, 1987). Free from the gender restrictions of organised religion, secular music schools began to accept a small number of women into their programs, making it the first time since the Middle Ages that women had access to rigorous musical training (Bowers and Tick, 1987). Despite these achievements, women still faced extreme prejudice in both the music industry and wider society, as they challenged traditional ingrained gender roles and ideas (Bowers and Tick, 1987). The increasing presence of female musicians and composers threatened to undermine the 'masculine' nature of music, with old arguments of the inferiority of women being challenged (Bowers and Tick, 1987). It wasn't until the twentieth century with the rise of second wave of feminism and the entrance of huge numbers of women in the workforce that the music industry was forced to change to provide more equal opportunities for female musicians (Bowers and Tick, 1987).

The Lost Women of Rock Music: Female Musicians of the Punk Era by Reddington (2007) addresses the lack of acknowledgement in the Punk movement, from academic writers to participants. This systematic exclusion of women continued through this era and into the rock era, as discussed by Leonard (2007) in her book *Gender in the Music Industry: Rock, Discourse and Girl Power*. These books demonstrate that the bias against women in the music industry has not been completely eradicated, particularly in spaces, genres and instruments

that have traditionally been considered masculine.

The character of 'woman' in music is inherently problematic (McClary, 1991). Once a system of gendering music was developed, music was classified and hierarchies were created, with the 'masculine' forms of music e.g. symphonies and operas being considered of more cultural value than the 'feminine' music and conventions (McClary, 1991). Over time, these hierarchies were naturalised, with composers and musicians being judged according to these gendered ideas of what makes music important and valuable. This leaves women in a bind, using a language of music that is designed to make invisible and trivialize their musical work (McClary, 1991). Music by women therefore falls into one of two categories that form a binary, "either docile and passive or else man-devouring harpies" (McClary, 1991: 114). As a result of this, Susan McClary argues that there is "no traditional woman's voice" (McClary, 1991: 114), which further marginalises and excludes female musicians and composers by pigeonholing them into pre-determined roles and meanings in their music (McClary, 1991). This is not to say that there are no female musicians or composers, rather that they are on an uneven footing from the start, with an institutionalised prejudice against women placing barriers around their work, and hindering the consideration of their music as authenticity or value.

The 'reading' of female artists is also inherently gendered (McClary, 1991). The criticism and judgment of Madonna is an example of the trivialising of women's work in music, and shows that gender semiotics is still alive and thriving in popular music discourse. There has been much debate about Madonna and her status as either feminist front-woman or hypersexualised pop star (McClary, 1991). These analyses are based on her behaviour, her public persona and her music videos (McClary, 1991). However, there is very little analysis on her music (McClary, 1991). Madonna was a problematic figure because she challenged the underlying

assumptions created and enforced by the gender semiotics that seek to control the behaviour and involvement of women on male approved terms only (McClary, 1991). Her insistent sexuality resists masculine control which further problematises notions of what women in music should do, and how they should be managed (McClary, 1991). The responses to Madonna are the symptom of a system that tries to restrict the participation of women in music to a set of pre-determined roles. Since McClary's work, the landscape of female musicians has changed dramatically in some ways, with the appearance of artists like Lady Gaga and Ke\$ha.

'Lady Gaga' is a phenomenon that emerged in 2008 with the release of her first album *The Fame* (Deflem, 2010). She is the most controversial music artist of the 21st Century due to her music and her eccentric personality in the public eye (Halberstam, 2012). She addresses uncomfortable topics in a public way, presenting herself as a friend and role model to those marginalised by society (Halberstam, 2012). In her performances, Lady Gaga is a vehicle for embodying difference, from gender and sexual difference to race and monstrosity (Halberstam, 2012). Lady Gaga's alter ego 'Joe Calderone' and her song 'G.U.Y' work to challenge traditional gender boundaries in a public way, with Calderone performing in the place of Lady Gaga at the MTV Music Awards in 2011 (Geller, 2014). 'Lady Gaga' publicly questions underlying assumptions and binaries to do with gender and sexuality by presenting the alternative in her music and her theatricality in both performance and everyday life (Halberstam, 2012).

Halberstam proposes a term for Lady Gaga's messages and way of displaying difference, 'Gaga Feminism' and proposes that it is the beginning of a new gender politic for the younger generation (Halberstam, 2012). He proposes that Lady Gaga's use of excess, changing body identity and out of control difference will promote a new way of thinking about and

discussing gender in popular music (Halberstam, 2012). The gaga feminist does not seek to promote females as role models for empowerment, but rather reaches beyond into the realm of marginalisation and expose the difference that society does not want to see (Halberstam, 2012). The unfortunate consequence of Lady Gaga's challenging role is that she is often dismissed, both musically and personally as being abnormal and in some cases crazy, terms which are used to try to reduce and nullify her contributions to music and societal change (Geller, 2014). Lady Gaga is an example of how female musicians and composers who use and emphasise their feminine difference are judged harshly and much of their contribution is dismissed. The same happens for female musicians, particularly those who operate in a traditionally masculine field such as the female drummer.

The main argument for excluding women from music across the centuries has been the belief that that women, as the more emotional sex, do not have the rational capability to convert these emotions into musical form (Pendle, 1991, McClary, 1991, Citron, 1987). This argument then evolved into the general belief that women are incapable of true creativity as they are biologically lacking (Bowers and Tick, 1987, Bowers, 1989 and McClary, 1991). This claim has coloured the way that music composed by and performed by women has been received over time. All of these measures have led to the systematic exclusion of women from the creating and performing of music. Even as late as the mid-1990s, the discipline of musicology refused to acknowledge music by female composers as significant, citing lack of a body of work as evidence (Bowers and Tick, 1987, McClary, 1991). The prejudice against female musicians and composers was so prominent, both implicitly and explicitly, that we can still see remnants of it today, particularly when females play traditionally 'masculine' instruments like the drumkit.

2. Living Instruments

Are there any drummers in the house?

- School of Rock (2003)

The second half of the thesis explores the way in which musical instruments are created through a *habitus*, or context, which then acts on individual bodies. This *habitus* works to minimise challenges to the dominant discourses around what it means to be a musician, or in this case, drummer, by regulating and motivating behaviour in ways that represent and reproduce the *habitus*. The female drummer is inherently problematic as she challenges popular understandings of drumming by simply existing. In order to recoup the female drummer into representation, her identity must be in alignment with the *habitus* that creates the understanding of the drumkit. The need for the musical instruments to play this role arises as a consequence of what Deleuze calls representational thinking.

Becoming a famous musician is about much more than just skill, particularly for females, who must manage and navigate traditional discourses of femininity (Warwick, 2007). The sex of a musician has a huge bearing on the way that they are received and understood by an audience (Warwick, 2007). As a result of this, the way that female musicians are presented is extremely important, arguably more important than for male musicians (Leonard, 2007, Warwick, 2007). Female musicians must carefully craft their image around how they want their ‘femininity’ to be perceived by the audience (Leonard, 2007). This is particularly true for all-female groups, for whom their success depends less on their individual identities, and more on how their whole band is received (Leonard, 2007). For this reason, these reasons, this thesis does not address all female groups or drummers of all female groups, as it is impossible to separate their commercialised group identity from how they individually relate to their

instrument.

For similar reasons, this thesis also does not refer to famous female drummers. The commercialisation of female musicians means that there must be a particular image that female musicians present (Leonard, 2007). This image is not crafted by the female drummer alone, but in consultation with their management team, to capitalise on certain elements of her identity. For example, Sheila E. is one of the most famous female drummer and percussionists in the world. She is marketed as an ultra-feminine drummer, which is a major part of her commercial identity. However, it is impossible as an observer to see how much of this identity is commercial and how the commercialisation of her identity changes her relationship to the drums.

In addition, without actually consulting with and speaking to these famous female drummers, it is impossible to accurately comment on how they individually relate to and understand their identity through their instrument, which is the focus of this thesis. Without first-hand knowledge, to try to deconstruct the images of famous female drummers

2.1 Representational Thinking

Me: What are you meant to do with your face when you play?... I mean, are you meant to smile? Or look tough?

Dad: Of course you smile honey!

- On the way to my first Battle of the Bands at 13

For philosopher Gilles Deleuze, identity is a product of what he calls representational thinking, where the world is understood through the categorisation of sensory data based on pre-existing categories and previous experience (Deleuze, 1994). Identity is constructed around lack and what Hegel terms ‘indifferent difference’, that is, that difference itself does not perform an active function, as things are already differentiated and categorised in our minds (Colebrook, 2002). In other words, we can only understand the world around us by comparing it to other ideas and experiences we already possess. Representational thinking is also a way of projecting structure and meaning on existence in the form of ‘experience’ and ‘identity’ (Colebrook, 2002). This is a political process of exclusion as well as creation, a movement towards one becoming, but away from another. It is through this identity or set of comparisons, that ‘reality’ is constructed (Colebrook, 2002). Thinking through representation is similar to critical interrogation of a text; it is the thinking itself that imposes structure and meaning on the text; meaning is not inherently contained in the text (Colebrook, 2002).

Therefore, for Deleuze, identity in any form is problematic because it is a process of choosing labels that group together to make the individual (Deleuze, 1994). These labels colour how you see the world, how you understand others and how you understand yourself (Colebrook, 2002). Identity is a building block of representational thinking because we understand the world from where we believe that we fit into it (Fang and Loury, 2005).

Representational thinking places parameters around identity formation and limits the potential for new and unconventional realities as anything new is labeled and reduced back to what has already been experienced (Colebrook, 2002). These labels build in layers, with categories within categories designed to encompass any possible outcome (Colebrook, 2002). The consequences of representational thinking are clear in the example of the female drummer as she sits in a zone of conflict created by her gender (Green 2010). Female drummers are a problem for representational thinking, not only because they challenge the context or *habitus* of the physical drumkit but also because they challenge the representational premise of the male drummers' identity. In this way, female drummers have the potential to create new identities and new realities, which serve to challenge and undermine the power relations inherent in the categorisation of the female drummer. The navigation of boundaries in this context is important because it necessitates a continual change of identity and bodily awareness.

Thinking of identity through representation is restrictive as it places limitations on the actualization of virtual potential. In addition, identity stagnates becoming because it is a process of reducing affect to experience and representation, which are built on unequal power relations and therefore, restricts actualization of the new (Zizek, 2004). In other words, representational thinking limits creativity because it imposes categories on difference, until it is easily recognisable and loses its potential to challenge dominant modes of thought. Identity interferes with continual becoming, as it assumes that once categorised, there is no potential for new difference (Colebrook, 2002).

The potential for actualization of the virtual for female drummers is considerably smaller than that of her male counterparts due to the effects of representational thinking, and the role that

representational thinking has on how she understands and constructs her own identity. This affects every aspect of her identity formation, from how she sees herself, to how she relates to her instrument, to how she is judged by her audiences.

The difference between a 'female drummer' and a 'drummer' is gender based, and therefore exclusionary (Leonard, 2007). By creating a category for the 'female drummer', difference is re-presented, that is, labeled, placed in a power dialogue with other terms and reduces the female drummer to the 'female drummer' category, which is filled with assumptions about behaviour and playing ability. These can include ideas of female drummers not being able to play as loud, hit as hard, or take good solos (Smith, 2013). Representational thinking does not just assign a single category of identity, but a chain of connecting ideas that become a part of the individual's identity (Colebrook, 2002). The 'female drummer' can never escape being female as it is a fundamental part of her musical identity (Smith, 2013).

Female drummers are not the norm, and therefore threaten by challenging conventional ideas of what drumming is, and who can do it (Eisner, 2013). This is partially because of a lack of acknowledgement of female contributors to music, and the culture of music journalism and scholarship, which leads to a broader representational understanding within society (Leonard, 2007). In order to stabilise the process of representation, the problematic category of 'female drummer' is created in order to re-present the female drummer in a way that can be identified, and assimilated into the scheme of thinking in representation.

Being categorised as a 'female drummer' affects not only how the female drummer sees herself, but also how she relates to her instrument (Smith, 2013). When female drummers talk about their craft, they speak about it in opposition to male drummers, as though they only know their drumming identity by how it differs to the work done by their male counterparts

(Smith, 2013). This division shows that the discourses around female drummers are so ingrained that the female drummer is always aware of her difference. In this way, her identity as a female will always be just as much of a part of her identity as a musician, as it is in her daily life (Smith, 2013).

Female drummers present a challenge to male identities centred on the drum kit as they challenge the representational ideas associated with being male and female (Brownmiller, 1984). This is facilitated by the overarching category of 'female drummer'. The term is already positioned as different from the category of 'drummer' in a secondary position, therefore, anything achieved as a 'female drummer' will always carry that label (Green, 2010). This is also absorbed into how women speak about their own drumming styles, with representational ideas being internalised and reproduced by female drummers about themselves (Smith, 2013). In this way, they are limiting their potential to become because they are caught in re-presenting dominant discourses around what it means to be a female drummer. The 'female drummer' can never escape being 'female' as it is a fundamental part of their musical identity (Smith, 2013). This category affects not only how the female drummer sees herself, but also how she relates to her instrument (Smith, 2013). Being 'weaker' than male drummers, the 'female drummer' is connected to other labels, without 'choosing' them herself. These ideas of acceptable behaviours are embedded within representational thinking as a single term such as 'female' comes already embedded with a history of representations and connections to other terms and concepts, particularly in relation to music and instrumentality (McClary, 1991).

The sex of the musician also changes the way that the audience relates to their performance, particularly in the case of the female drummer (Green, 2010). When an audience watches a male drummer, they listen to the playing, however, when a female drummer plays, the

audience listens to see *if* she can play (Green, 2010 and Smith, 2013). This slight difference is an example of the conflicting discourses that arise in relation to female drummers as opposed to 'just drummers'. This subtle yet powerful difference between discourses and ways of speaking about female and male drummers has huge consequences for the way that media and academia portray female drummers (Leonard, 2007). In a performance setting, the different way of approaching a female playing the drum kit changes the overall meaning of the performance, with the audience potentially taking a different meaning from the performance than is intended (Green, 2010).

When an audience listen to and watch a 'drummer' perform, they have a set of expectations based on experience and referential representation (concepts that link to the broader representational category). When an audience listens to a 'drummer', they listen to how well they play (Green, 2010). When they listen to a 'female drummer', they are listening to see if she can play (Green, 2010). This difference is important to note because it is an effect of the 'female drummer' category of identity. The 'female' is so strongly attached to the performer that it overrules the 'musician' or 'drummer' part of her identity.

This subtle yet powerful difference between discourses and ways of speaking about female and male drummers has huge consequences for the way that media and academia portray female drummers (Leonard, 2007). The female drummer challenges these expectations and experiences, defying representation and categorisation. In this way, female drummers have the potential to create new identities and new realities, which serve to challenge and undermine the power relations inherent in the categorisation of the 'female drummer'.

2.2 *Habitus*

You could be the new Meg White! You're so small and you smile when you play!

Audience laughter

- Judge's comment at my first Battle of the Bands

Grossberg suggests that context is essential in the process of identity formation (Grossberg, 2010). Playing the drumkit is an embodied practice that places the site of action in the body (Smith, 2013). As such, it draws upon traditional discourses around sexuality, masculinity and femininity, especially in Western society (Hopkins, 1996). Over time, the drum kit as an object becomes ascribed with traces of these discourses, creating a web of connections that form complex lines of power relations or *habitus* (Grossberg, 2010). Therefore, the drum kit as an instrument is not a passive object, rather it can be understood as being produced through a *habitus*, with power and gender conflicts embedded. This conflict manifests in the relationship that the drum kit has to society and to those who play it (Green, 2010). In forming her identity, the female drummer is influenced by this *habitus*, integrating it into her own understanding and experience, which forms the basis for the creation of her gender identity as a female drummer (Smith, 2013). The navigation of boundaries in this context is important because it necessitates a continual change of identity and bodily awareness. Identity as a consequence of representational thinking is highly problematic for the female drummer as it reduces her to a set of labels designed to 'represent' her compared to her male counterparts. Her acceptance as a female drummer predicates on her ability to navigate this *habitus* and minimise the challenge she presents to it (Leonard, 2007). In this way, the female drummer is produced through discourse and how she is situated in relation to the *habitus*.

The field of western musicology positions the musician as the intermediary between the composer and the instrument, and the instrument as the vessel through which the composer's musical meaning is spread. Contemporary music studies follows a similar track, presenting the musician as the meaning maker who uses their instrument to display that meaning. In this discipline, the musician replaces the composer as the creator of musical meaning. Both of these disciplines understand the musical instrument as a passive object, with no transformative or disciplinary power of its own. This thesis however, proposes that a musical instrument is more than the musician or the composer, it is an active agent of power. Each musical instrument can be understood as having a *habitus*, or a set of unwritten rules, that the player must navigate in order to have a harmonious relationship with their instrument and the musical world. For musical instruments, the *habitus* is a set of historical and cultural meanings developed over time. This *habitus* influences ideas around who can play the instrument, what it can be used for and what it means to be a player of that instrument.

According to Bourdieu, for *habitus* to exist, there must be conditions that aid the transition from structured structures to structuring structures without being specifically organised by a single body (Bourdieu, 1990:53). The *habitus* encompasses most responses to these conditions, inscribing each response with current understandings of the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990:53). In this way, *habitus* is “a system of cognitive and motivating structures... a world of already realised ends- procedures to follow, paths to take” (Bourdieu, 1990:53).

This section explores the way that the musical instrument becomes agentic matter and acts on the individual through its *habitus*. Following on from Bourdieu, the *habitus* of an *object* is the sum of the social, cultural and economic history of that object, or, how the object has been perceived over time. This *habitus* is both reinvented and reinventing as it comes into contact with bodies (Bourdieu, 1990). The *habitus* of a musical instrument is closely tied to the cultural context in which the instrument was developed and the genre it is predominantly used

in. For the drumkit, this *habitus* is inherently gendered, with the drumkit being traditionally understood as a masculine instrument. The combination of the gendered *habitus* and the female drummer turns the drumkit into a site of conflict, where in order to avoid challenging the premise of the *habitus*, the female drummer's difference must be reduced back to representation, or, must be incorporated into the *habitus* so as not to challenge it. The *habitus* turns the musical instrument into an active agent of disciplinary power that acts on the individual to maintain and reinforce traditional ideas of musicianship and gender.

“The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organising action of a conductor.”

(Bourdieu, 1990:53)

As with Bourdieu's original definition of *habitus*, for a musical instrument to have a *habitus*, there must be a series of conditions that facilitate this development. I propose that the conditions through which musical instruments develop *habitus* can be broken into four primary sections based on common understandings of what constitutes a drummer, as well as how the instrument is understood in popular texts. These four sections encompass the history of the drumkit and how that links to traditional musical roles and the gendered semiotics of music. The four sections are: a) timbre, b) use in music, c) appearance in popular texts and d) physicality. All of these factors are framed within the gendered culture in which they develop.

a) Timbre

While there is an element of masculinity in each instrument, owing to the systematic exclusion of women from playing music professionally, when women began to take their places in musical ensembles, some sections were less resistant to change (Neuls-Bates, 1982, Bowers 1989 and Bowers and Tick, 1987). For example, it was more acceptable for a woman to play the harp or violin in an orchestra as they were considered more delicate sounding and more aesthetically pleasing to watch a woman play (Neuls-Bates, 1982, McClary, 1991).

Female musicians, especially children, overwhelmingly prefer towards smaller, higher pitched instruments as they are perceived as more appropriate for girls, and more feminine (Hallam, Rogers and Creech, 2008, Pickering and Repacholi, 2001). In their 2008 study, Hallam, Rogers and Creech found that, “Girls predominated in harp, flute, voice, fife/piccolo, clarinet, oboe and violin, and boys in electric guitar, bass guitar, tuba, kit drums, tabla and trombone.” The choice of instrument is a multi-faceted decision making process, however, gender plays a large role (Pickering and Repacholi, 2001). In choosing an instrument, Pickering and Repacholi (2001) found that a major influence on a child’s decision was the gender associated with that instrument, particularly how ‘female’ or ‘male’ the instrument sounded.

The timbre and volume of the drumkit challenges conceptions of the feminine as weak and passive (Green, 2010). A female playing a drumkit is an abrasive affront to the traditional ideas of femininity that have influenced musicianship for so long as the instrument is loud and (Green, 2010).

b) Use in Music/Genre

The 17th Century saw the rise of what Susan McClary calls a “musical semiotics of gender” (McClary, 1991: 7). This semiotics of gender was created so that composers could easily portray the difference between the masculine and the feminine in their music, particularly in opera (McClary, 1991). However, as these conventions were absorbed into musical composition, they became structuring tools themselves, working on composers and individuals, changing over time in accordance with the way gender was understood in mainstream society (McClary, 1991). The gender semiotics were created as a binary, with ‘feminine’ music sounding weak, passive, emotive and abnormal (McClary, 1991). Masculine music however, is positioned as rational, strong, normal and objective (McClary, 1991). This language then bled into responses to work by female composers, and to a lesser extent, hemmed in male composers to conform to the compositional expectations of their gender (McClary, 1991).

The genre most commonly associated with the use of an instrument is significant as instruments are coded differently in each genre (Leonard, 2007). In classical music, instruments are coded according to their timbre and how that ties into traditional gender roles (Ben-Tovim and Boyd, 2012). For example, the flute is high in pitch, with a sweet sound, therefore in music is commonly used to denote females or children (McClary, 1991). This coding based on timbre is most evident today in movie scores, particularly in the work of composer John Williams. Williams composing style relies heavily on repeated motifs or themes for each character that subtly change and shift with the characters across all six movies (MacDonald, 2013). The instrumentation used for the theme changes depending on the narrative arc of the scene, and the character’s development (Kalinak, 1992). The genre that an instrument is predominantly used in contributes the *habitus* as each genre codes an instrument depending on its timbre and its use in music. As such, the gendered semiotics are

invoked here, with higher, lighter sounds used for more feminine occurrences, and dominant conventions used to denote power, conflict and strength (McClary, 1991, MacDonald, 2013)

c) Appearance in Popular Media Texts

Popular media texts, especially with the digital distribution capabilities of the 21st century play a huge role in the propagation and reproduction of attitudes surrounding the musical instrument. As stated in the literature review, books about drumming are a major source of information for aspiring drummers. These books are strong sources of knowledge on what a drummer 'is' and what they do, especially for beginners. With the growing body of literature on teaching oneself to drum, these resources are becoming more important.

Drumming magazines such as Australia's *DRUMscene*, *Modern Drummer*, *DRUM! Magazine* and *Rhythm Magazine* are very important for drummers. These magazines and their websites are one of the main places that drummers are apprised of developments in drumming technology, can learn more about their favourite drummers, learn about drummer-only events and learn new grooves. These magazines are targeted specifically at drummers, meaning male drummers, with the overwhelming majority of features in these magazines male drummers. While individually this may not seem like a problem, the lack of anywhere near equal representation excludes women drummers from these magazines, and by extension, the social aspect of drumming.

For example, the majority of articles that appear in *DRUM! Magazine* were written by a male, including feature interview, reviews of gear, technique exercises and industry advice. The August 2014 and April 2015 issues of this magazine had a single feature article on a female drummer, with Sheila E. being represented as a percussionist, not a drummer, despite her worldwide success working as a professional musician and as a solo artist (*DRUM! Magazine*, 2014 and 2015). The lack of acknowledgment of female drummers further works

to invisibilise the work of these women and naturalise the idea that drumming is for males only.

Finally, movies and TV shows exert a powerful influence in shaping people's perception of musicians and musical instruments. In these texts, female drummers are always either non-existent or as a rarity.

For example, in *School of Rock* (2003), the audience watches Jack Black's character Dewey Finn transform children from an upper class private school into rule breaking rock musicians. This transformation takes place through exposing the children to different ways of playing and understanding their musical instruments. The development of the drummer Freddie Jones is particularly interesting to observe. Across the movie, Freddie Jones' understanding of himself changes, which is reflected in his attitude and attire. This transformation takes place as he spends more time learning about rock drumming. He learns these new behaviours by watching recordings of famous rock drummers and parodying their movements and listening to CDs. However, this musical education is exclusionary, which is evident in following exchange between Freddie Jones the drummer and Katie the bass player:

“Freddie Jones: I'm just saying, name two great chick drummers

Katie: Sheila E.? Meg White from the White Stripes?

Freddie Jones: She can't drum!

Katie: She's better than you. At least she has rhythm”

- *School of Rock* (2003)

That Freddie Jones believes he has the authority to make these claims, demonstrates the need for more visible female drummers. The movie proposes that Freddie Jones has the authority to make these claims as he has been studying ‘the great rock drummers’, of which there are no females according to Dewey Finn, the mediator of Freddie Jones' education. As a result of

this education, Freddie Jones not only believes that there are no worthwhile female drummers, but perpetuates that attitude in conversation, further encouraging the idea.

It is from popular media texts that individuals draw conclusions about what it means to be a musician or instrumentalist, particularly those who are not involved in music themselves and children. As a result, popular media texts work to reproduce the gendered *habitus* of the instrument, and reinforce its strength, making it resistant to change.

While the example above specifically occurred within the genre of rock drumming, each genre has its own perception on the role of the musical instrument and expected behaviour for players. However, it is very rare for an instrumentalist to play only a single genre, and to have skills only from that one genre (Famularo, 2001). Part of being an instrumentalist is the desire to grow and develop as a musician, a plight which necessitates a musical exploration of different genres (Famularo, 2001). Musicians will still prefer particular genres, but the expansion of skills is essential for a musician to become proficient in their instrument. It is impossible to have skills in only one genre and be a proficient drummer as it is the versatility and diversity in skill that makes a player an instrumentalist (Famularo, 2001). Therefore, while genre will have an impact on an instrumentalist, particularly those aligned strongly with a particular genre, there are greater discourses that underpin all musical playing. For that reason, genre is referred to only in passing in this thesis. The link between genre and musical identities has been well explored (see for example Leonard, 2007, Reddington, 2007 and Bayton, 1998). However, in this analysis there is the potential to overly ascribe the influence of genre on musical identity, at the expense of key ideas underlying all musical playing. For that reason, this thesis does not focus on, or dedicate analysis to genre.

d) Physicality

As genre has been strongly connected to the formation of musical identities, so too has the physicality of an instrument. A 1904 interview with the musical director of the Casino Theatre, Gustave Kerker stated “Nature never intended the fair sex to become cornetists, trombonists and players of wind instruments. In the first place they are not strong enough to play them as well as men; they lack the lip and lung power to hold notes which deficiency makes them always play out of tune” (Neuls-Bates, 1982:203). These statements reference an oft-cited argument for why women should not play traditionally masculine instruments. Even today, some texts are dismissive of the contribution and ability of female musicians playing traditionally male instruments (see Smith, 2013, Dean, 2012 and Barrell, 2015 for examples). Kerker went on to say that if women cannot look feminine while playing an instrument, they should not play it. While this interview is from 1904, the similarity with arguments presented for discrimination today are startlingly similar, see for example Smith’s (2013) chapter on female drummers ‘Gender and Drumming’ in which the attitudes towards female drummers are explored in interviews.

Whilst many suggest drumming is a more common activity for males, most arguments centre around the physicality of the instrument (Smith, 2013). One of the most common suggestions has been that the physical nature of the instrument is not appropriate for women (see Smith 2013, Dean 2012 and Barrell, 2015). The physicality of an instrument is often used to discourage young children from certain instruments, especially females (Green, 2010). The inference is that females are too delicate and/or weak to play these instruments. This argument is not just present for classical instruments, but also for rock and punk music (Leonard, 2007 and Reddington 2007). The prevalence of this attitude influences the *habitus*

that positions instruments as traditionally male, particularly the drumkit, where transportation and size places doubt in the female potential.

2.3 Consequences of Representational Thinking

Lead singer: Why were you smiling?

Me: Wasn't I meant to??

Guitarist: Of course not. Drummers don't smile.

- Backstage

The *habitus* of the drumkit represents a convergence of the above four conditions that while may seem insignificant on their own, create a territory that is hostile to those who challenges the 'masculinity' of the instrument. The greater influence one has in their field, the more power they wield, the more capital they possess and the greater potential they have to change the *habitus* (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). Musicians depend on symbolic capital, in the form of reputation and status, to be successful in their field. This symbolic capital is then transferred and built upon in each ensemble in which they are a part. As with any actors in a field, musicians must vie for symbolic capital, which can be gained in a variety of ways. Firstly, the greater the skill of a musician, the more capital they will gain as their skill level makes them desirable. Secondly, and most importantly for this thesis, capital is gained or lost through the playing of the field, or the management and minimisation of "practical limitations" (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 23). Practical limitations are barriers preventing the gain of capital, for example, race, education and gender (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). Some limitations can be overcome, for example, education, but some cannot. Interestingly, Bourdieu comments that those with lower amounts of capital are more likely to be satisfied with that capital, and not compete for more (Bourdieu in Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). In the case of drumming, it is female drummers who possess a lower potential to gain capital, as they are limited by their gender. Within the logic of *habitus*, no matter how hard the female drummer works, the *habitus* of the drumkit will always negate her

progress (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). For this reason, there are few female drummers with enough capital compared to their male counterparts.

A musician is in a constant relationship with the *habitus* of their instrument, negotiating and developing their individual identity. This process of negotiation impacts how the individual situates themselves in the culture of their instrument as well as how they understand and construct their own identity. The *habitus* that produces the drumkit is enforced by what Foucault terms biopower (Foucault, 1998). As with disciplinary power, biopower is most easily observed when faced with an abnormal body or identity (Nealon, 2008). Rather than focusing on a particular act, biopower encompasses life as a whole through the expansion of the 'guilty/not-guilt' categorisation of disciplinary power (Nealon, 2008). Rather than focusing on a specific act or set of acts like disciplinary power, biopower acts on the identity of the individual (Nealon, 2008). In his discussions of biopower, Foucault uses the example of human sexuality (Foucault, 1998). While no two people receive the same education or learn the same behaviour, every human has some sort of categorised sexuality, which is then coded 'normal' or 'abnormal' (Nealon, 2008). This coding creates the 'norm' (Nealon, 2008). Normativity is then a constant practice of classification to continue the survival of the norm as the desired state (Nealon, 2008). Norms work to classify and account for abnormal identities and to reduce the challenge it presents to representational thinking to something identifiable and fixable.

Habitus is naturalised, so underpinning the practical limitations of the female drummer is the belief that it is 'natural' that they are not achieving the same level of success for their efforts. For the female drummer, her biggest limitation is her gender, which is insurmountable. In order to avoid challenging the *habitus* associated with the drumkit, a secondary gender binary is created that encourages female drummers to fall into one of two categories: the male-female drummer, and the ultra-female drummer. These categories influence the way that the

female drummer constructs and understands her own gender identity, both at the drumkit and beyond.

2.3.1 Gender as Performative

“One’s biological sex is raw material to be shaped through practice into the socially constructed performance that is gender” (Schechner, 2002:130). This quote is particularly striking because it demonstrates the power of representational thinking and its link to gender identity. From birth, humans are separated into one of two categories, male or female based on their physical anatomy (Eisner, 2013). After that, the male or female child is assigned a gender and a set of expected behaviours (Eisner, 2013). As we grow, we are conditioned to think and behave in certain ways according to our gender. These gender norms are internalised, with the help of what Foucault calls biopower, more specifically, strategies of intervention and technologies of the self (McLaren, 2002).

The gender identity of the female drummer is not static and unchanging, rather it is a practice of constant observation, improvisation and surveillance. This is particularly relevant to the way she understands her gendered identity, as it is this gender that isolates her from her male counterparts and challenges the *habitus*. Judith Butler proposes that gender is a constant performance within a sphere of influence that is culturally determined:

If gender is a kind of doing, an incessant activity performed, in part, without one’s knowing and without one’s willing, it is not for that reason automatic or mechanical. On the contrary, it is a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint. Moreover, one does not “do” one’s gender alone. One is always “doing” with or for another, even if the other is only imaginary. What I call my “own” gender appears perhaps at times as something that I author or, indeed,

own. But the terms that make up one's own gender are, from the start, onside oneself, beyond oneself in a sociality that has no single author (and that radically contests the notion of authorship itself).

(Butler, 2004: 1)

The way that the female drummer understands her gender in relation to the drumkit and the *habitus* that produces it can be understood as Butler's proposed improvisation. The *habitus* of the drumkit is one scene of constraint that the female drummer must constantly navigate, regardless of her proximity to a physical drumkit. This scene of constraint is not the only one she must navigate, rather it is a single aspect of her identity formation and becoming. The drumkit performs an important function for the female drummer; it is a site of reterritorialisation of space, which creates a pocket of space that is her own. The drumkit is an important site of conflict and power (Green, 2010).

2.3.2 Refrain and Territory of the Female Drummer

The way we see the world is shaped and changed through the way we create and are influenced by territories. These territories are not static, but ever changing and developing as people interact with them (Murphie, 1996). The refrain is especially important when thinking about territory; it is the basis for understanding the way that humans interact with it to create territory and identity, both for the individual and for groups (Murphie, 1996). Deleuze and Guattari (1988) describe the refrain as being essential for the formation of territory. The refrain acts as an anchor, ensuring our continual connection with the territory, providing order in a mix of other variables (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). Deleuze and Guattari (1988) describe the relationship between space, the refrain and the body as a set of three factors which combine to form the 'refrain'. The refrain is the point of reference we use to understand and make sense of the information around us (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). It is a point of reference from which everything else radiates outwards. The first

step is to create the refrain. The example used by both Deleuze and Guattari (1998) and Murphie (1996), is that of a child singing to themselves under their breath in the dark. Here the child is using the refrain of the song as their anchor, a way to orient themselves as they navigate terrain that makes them uncomfortable. The second part is the creation of territory, as the child sings; they create their own territory around themselves (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988 and Murphie, 1996). Finally, this territory expands to incorporate the wider space, where the child orients themselves in the space by the repetition of the refrain (Deleuze refrain and Guattari, 1988).

As this thesis argues, the drumkit is constituted by a *habitus* that is the sum of the social, historical and cultural meanings of the instrument over time. The female drummer challenges this *habitus* by being female. Therefore, the female drummer must fight for and create her own space within the *habitus*, and constantly be prepared to defend and reaffirm it.

The refrain of the female drummer, is her repeated act of playing both sonically and physically. For the female drummer, the refrain is what creates her territory within the *habitus*. In order to minimise her challenge to the *habitus*, the female drummer must manage her difference, that is, the delineating factor separating her from her male counterparts, her gender. She must create and constantly reaffirm her refrain through her body, her language and her behaviours, thereby expanding the influence of this refrain from the drumkit to her everyday life. The gendered refrain, is what anchors the female drummer within the *habitus*, creating a limited space for her within it. However, this space is tentative at best and can easily collapse, leaving the female drummer alienated once again from the traditionally male practice of drumming. The practice of drumming is more than just the physical activity of playing the drums, it is a territory in itself, based on socialisation, technique and exposure. In order to create this territory, the female drummer must find a way to circumvent the challenge she presents to the *habitus*.

2.3.3 Biopower and Challenging Identities

Discipline works through surveillance, policing the individuals until the individuals begin to police themselves, even in times when they are not being surveilled (Foucault 1991). This way, individuals are trained without use of force to exhibit certain behaviours and acceptable forms of embodiment (Foucault 1991). For musicians, messages about acceptable behaviours and embodiments stem from popular media interpretations of what it means to be a player of a particular instrument. These popular media texts such as movies, magazine articles and the recent popularity of memes are influenced by the *habitus* of the instrument and perform the functions of propagating and policing messages.

This *habitus* creates acceptable forms of embodiment and identities. This is so that the status quo is not undermined or challenged, and through forms of biopower, is a way to manage and negate any challenges presented.

Biopower is power over the body and by extension the mental state of citizens by an overarching body, achieved by restricting access to information/activity and disseminating particular messages across multiple platforms (Ceyhan, 2012). Shirato and Webb (2004) discuss the process through which disciplinary power, in the related form of biopower, is internalised and naturalised as a way to control and regulate ways of thinking and behaving. As the female drummer is an already differentiated and problematic figure, the manifestation of her gender as a drummer must be regulated so as not to challenge the ‘state’, or in this case, the popular culture understanding of what a drummer ‘is’:

In order for the state to gain maximum benefit from its resources, people had to be subjected to techniques that regulated and oriented their thinking, seeing and general-Behaviour- in other words, they had to be disciplined. The best way to bring about this disciplining of the

population was by training the body... Being disciplined didn't simply mean being punished- rather it referred to a process whereby people's bodies would be disposed to behave in a manner consistent with what the state and its various institutions considered to be normal, healthy and productive. This process was meant to train people to lead normal lives without the need to reflect on what they were doing.

(Shirato and Webb, 2004: 132-133)

As discussed in the previous section of this thesis, the female drummer must create and maintain her own ever-changing territory through the refrain of her playing. This refrain is created both sonically, as a musician playing her instrument and physically, as a sign of physical gendered difference. However, this territory is heavily mediated by the female drummer's categorisation and surveillance of, her own gendered identity.

Identity is created and managed around what it means to be a 'normal' body, with this classification based on scientific standards of normality (Shirato and Webb, 2004). These standards of normality are reinforced by scientific data recorded and collected through modern technologies, for example, workplaces with sign-in technology such as a biometric scanner (Shirato and Webb, 2004). The data from these technologies is then analysed and reformatted to show productivity and to encourage higher performance of the individuals (Shirato and Webb, 2004).

The proposed conditions for the *habitus* of the drumkit become strategies for intervention on abnormal drumming bodies. That is, individual bodies are motivated to behave in certain ways in order to be considered a 'drummer' based on what modern society understands of the drumkit. As Zervoudakes and Tanur (1994) discovered, the gendered classifying of musical instruments is internalised to the point that professional musicians, in this case, classical musicians reproduce these ideas, understanding them as natural. Furthermore, their study

found that between 1990 and 1994, the proportion of females playing male ascribed instruments dropped significantly across elementary, high school and college bands and orchestras (Zervoudakes and Tanur, 1994: 65). In this time period, discourses around instrumentality reflected a resurgence in the gender coding of instruments, which may have had an effect on this trend (Zervoudakes and Tanur, 1994). This is an example of the pervasiveness of attitudes around musicality and gender, specifically, that female musicians do not fit into the category of 'normal' for some instruments, and that there may be a correlation between the strength of these discourses, and the number of women who play these instruments.

The female drummer constructs her identity in relation to what is considered the 'normal' or average drummer. As the *habitus* that produces the drumkit positions the drumkit as a male activity, the female drummer must negate the challenge that her gender presents, as well and create an identity that allows her to be as close to the norm as possible. From my own experiences and research, I propose that in order to avoid challenging the *habitus*, the female drummer builds her gender identity around one of two ideas. This results in two categories of identity within the major category of the 'female drummer'. This difference is important to note because it is an effect of the 'female drummer' category of identity. The 'female' is so strongly attached to the performer that it supersedes the 'musician' or 'drummer' part of her identity.

The male-female drummer is a girl or woman who embodies male behaviours and modes of dress, building her gender identity around being 'not-female' in order to become 'one of the guys'. The male-female drummer is as close as a female drummer can get to being male. By embodying traditionally male dress codes, such as baggy jeans and oversized band t-shirts, they become an anomaly, but an acceptable one as they no longer challenge the mind sets of

those around them. It is acceptable for male-female drummers to have skills and ability, or 'chops' as they are not obviously traditionally 'female'. For example, Smith interviews a woman called Lisa, who identifies with drumming as a self-perceived 'tomboy' (Smith, 2013). In this case, Lisa felt drawn to the drums as an instrument because it is not a typical 'girl' instrument (Smith, 2013). In this way, being a drummer is a way for her to express her own gender identity as more masculine than feminine, situating her in the category of a male-female drummer. Being a drummer is a part of how Lisa expresses and understands her gender identity both at the drumkit and beyond. However, being a male-female drummer does not equal full acceptance into the drumming world, nor does it mean that she is 'one of the guys'. The male-female drummer is still biologically female and therefore will continue to be seen as inferior to her male counterparts, her femininity will always prove to be problematic as she is still 'the Other', it is just hidden better (Green, 2010).

The ultra-female drummer however, is a female drummer who instead of hiding her femininity, revels in it, making her difference obvious in dress code and behaviours. However, being in this category comes at a cost; the skills of the ultra-female drummer cannot be recognised as she is seen as too 'female'. No matter how good the ultra-female drummer is, she will never get the recognition or respect that her male-female counterparts have, even if she is more skilled.

However, being an ultra-female drummer does have its advantages. In emphasising their difference from their male and male-female counterparts, ultra-female drummers can be offered public opportunities because of their overt femininity (Smith, 2013). However, while these opportunities emphasise the difference of the ultra-female drummer, they do not act as a catalyst for change in the *habitus* as the ultra-female drummers are finding success from the novelty of being a female drummer, not just for their skills (Smith, 2013). This is not a

problem with the ultra-female drummer's herself, but rather a reflection of the gender bias in and around the world of musicians.

However, as with any system of classification, challenges to this system exist. The greatest issue is for those who sit in neither category. A female drummer who does not ignore her traditional 'femininity' but does not make that the core of her drumming identity does not fit into either the male-female or the ultra-female categories. In this way, the drummer who sits in the middle of the dichotomy is often forgotten, but is just as important to discuss here (hereby described as female-drummers). Female-drummers challenge the legitimacy of this new classification in the way that the broader category of female drummers is problematic for common sense understandings of the drumkit because they undermine the hierarchies that arise through its existence (Eisner, 2013). In this way, female-drummers face the most pressure of all. They face pressure from male-female drummers, as their femininity is a threat to the masculine identity that male-female drummers embody, but they also face pressure from ultra-female drummers, as they are not seen to be a part of their collective identity. For those who do not fit into either category, it is a continual struggle to figure out where they 'belong' and how their gender identity functions in relation to their instrument. The important thing to note here is that neither category of gendered existence will ever be privileged to the same level as the male drummer or 'just drummer' as there is a continual element of 'otherness'. In this way, the 'female drummer' must create her own territory as a way to understand her identity and way of relating to her instrument. This is particularly present within the rock genre as it is traditionally a 'masculine' style and way of playing (Leonard, 2007).

Final Thoughts

There are many further applications for this research. This thesis purely addresses the female drummer, regardless of race, nationality and genre. In the future, this proposed framework for understanding the way that the musical instrument acts on the individual through a *habitus* has implications for understanding the ways that musical instruments act on individual musicians, and creates a group identity around that instrument. With the awareness of the gendered assumptions about an instrument, the assumptions can be discussed and challenged, as opposed to being invisibilised and naturalised. Furthermore, this research can be applied to all instruments, as each instrument has a gendered association. By unveiling the gendered *habitus* through which musical instruments are understood, the gendered basis of exclusion is exposed and has the potential to change the *habitus*, and by extension, embodiments that currently are excluded, such as the female drummer.

Furthermore, the issues raised in this thesis have implications for the unacknowledged prejudice present in musical education and teaching (Green, 2010). This has the potential to change the way that music teachers and parents approach musical instruments as well.

Drumming is an embodied practice that draws on discourses about the body, gender and the gendered semiotics of music. It has a history that is inherently gendered, remnants of which still affect musicians today. In combining Bourdieu's *habitus*, Foucault's biopower and Deleuze's representational thinking, this thesis has explored how the *habitus* through which the drumkit is produced acts as a regulating and motivating force that acts on individual bodies. The female presents a constant challenge to this *habitus* as she does not conform to the norm of what a drummer 'is'. For the female drummer, drumming is more than a practice, it is a site of gendered conflict in which she must constantly create and defend her territory, whilst trying to minimise the challenge she presents to the *habitus*. In order to stabilise the

process of representation, the problematic category of ‘female drummer’ is created in order to re-present the female drummer in a way that can be identified, and assimilated into the scheme of thinking in representation. In order to do this, she must modify her ‘femaleness’ and fall into one of two categories, the male-female drummer, or the ultra-female drummer. The male-female drummer works to diminish her femininity so as to be considered more masculine, and therefore not a normal female. The ultra-female however, plays on her femininity, creating an image and understanding that negate the challenge to the *habitus* as being easily dismissed for her overt femininity.

Female musicians are immediately recognised as different by audiences and other musicians because of their sex, particularly for traditionally masculine instruments like the drumkit. The female drummer must manage her gender identity so as not to challenge the *habitus* of the drumkit. The *habitus* of the drumkit is constantly developing and is the sum of the historical and cultural meanings of the instrument over time. Because of its physical nature, it draws on discourses around femininity and what is acceptable behaviour for women. A female drummer is constantly in negotiation with the *habitus* of her instrument, and her challenge to this *habitus* is negated as she is placed into one of three possible categories; the male-female drummer, the ultra-female drummer or the female-drummer. None of these categories are the perfect solution, the female drummer must always be hyper aware of her difference and manage it accordingly to fall back into what can be represented. So long as the drumkit is coded and understood as masculine, the female drummer will be in a constant battle to create a space for herself within the gendered discourses around drumming, a feat that is yet to occur.

Bibliography

Adams, T.E., Bochner, A.P. and Ellis, C. (2011). Autoethnography: An Overview. *Historical Social Research*. 36 (4), 273-290.

Barker, C. (2003). *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. 2nd ed. London, California and New Delhi: Sage.

Barrell, T. (2015). *Born to Drum: The Truth About the World's Greatest Drummers-from John Bonham to Keith Moon to Sheila E. and Dave Grohl*. London and New York: Harper Collins.

Bayton, M. (1998). *Frock Rock: Women Performing Popular Music*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ben-Tovim, A. and Boyd, D. (2012). *The Right Instrument For Your Child*. New York: Orion Publishing.

Berry, K. and Patti, C.J. (2015). Lost in Narration: Applying Autoethnography. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*. 43 (2), 263-268.

Blades, J. (2005). *Percussion Instruments and Their History*. Revised ed. London: Kahn and Avrill.

Bourdieu, P. trans. Nice, R. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. United States of America: Polity Press.

- Bowers, J.M. (1989). Feminist Scholarship and the Field of Musicology: I. *College Music Symposium*. 29, 81-92.
- Bowers, J.M. (1990). Feminist Scholarship and the Field of Musicology: II. *College Music Symposium*. 30 (1), 1-13.
- Bowers, J. and Tick, J. (eds.) (1987). *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition*. Urbana and Chicago University of Illinois Press.
- Brownmiller, S. (1984). *Femininity*. New York: Open Roads Integrated Media.
- Budofsky, B. (ed.) (2006). *The Drummer: 100 Years of Rhythmic Power and Invention*. United States of America: Modern Drummer Publications.
- Butler, J. (1998). Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*. In: Fallaize, E. *Simone de Beauvoir: A Critical Reader*. London and New York: Routledge. 29-43.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ceyhan, A. (2012). Surveillance and Biopower. In: Ball, K., Haggerty, K.D. and Lyon, D. *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. London and New York: Routledge. 38-47.

Chambers, D., Johnson, R., Raghuram, P. and Ticknell, E. (2004). *The Practice of Cultural Studies*. London, California and New Delhi: Sage.

Citron, M.J. (1987). Women and the Lied, 1775-1850. In: Bowers, J. and Tick, J. *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition 1150-1950*. Urbana and Chicago: Illini Books. 224-249.

Cloonan, M. and Johnson, B. (2009). *Dark Side of the Tune: Popular Music and Violence*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate.

Cohan, J. (1998). *The Drummer's Almanac*. Milwaukee: Hal Leonard.

Colebrook, C (2002). *Understanding Deleuze*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Coyne, S.M. and Padilla-Walke, L.M.. (2015). Sex, Violence, & Rock n' Roll: Longitudinal Effects of Music on Aggression, Sex, and Prosocial Behavior During Adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence*. 41 (1), 96-104.

Davies, S.G. (2015). Surveilling Sexualities in Indonesia. In: Bennett, L.R. and Davies, S.G. *Sex and Sexualities in Contemporary Indonesia: Sexual Politics, Health, Diversity and Representations*. London and New York: Routledge. 29-51.

Dean, M (2012). *The Drum: A History*. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: Scarecrow Publishing. 338-350.

Deflem, M. (2010). The Sex of Lady Gaga. In: Gray, R.J. II *The Performance Identities of*

Lady Gaga: Critical Essays. Jefferson: McFarland and Company Inc. Publishers. 19-33.

Deleuze, G. trans. Patton, P (1994). *Difference and Repetition*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, G. Guattari, F. 1988. 'A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. Massumi, B., London: Athlone Press, 310-323 and 342-350.

Dibben, N. (1999). Representations of Femininity in Popular Music. *Popular Music*. 18 (3), 331-355.

Dibben, N. (2002). Gender Identity and Music. In: Hargreaves, D.J. MacDonald, R.A.R. and Miel, D. *Musical Identities*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 117-133.

During, S. (2005). *Cultural Studies: A Critical Introduction*. ULondon and New York: Routledge

Eisner, S (2013). *Bi: Notes for a Bisexual Revolution*. Berkeley: Seal Press.

Ellis, C. (2004). *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography*. Lanham and Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.

Falzerano, C (1995). *Gretsch Drums: The Legacy of "that Great Gretsch Sound"*. Fullerton: Centerstream Publishing.

Famularo, D (2001). *It's Your Move: Motions and Emotions*. Coram: Wizdom Enterprises.

Fang, H. and Loury, G.C. (2005). Toward an Economic Theory of Dysfunctional Identity. In: Barractt, C.B. *The Social Economics of Poverty*. London and New York: Routledge. 12-54.

Frow, J. and Morris, M. (eds.) (1993). *Australian Cultural Studies: A Reader*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Foucault, M. (1991 reprint). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison System*. London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1998). *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.

Geller, T.L. (2014). Monstrous Masculinities and the Sublime Art of Lady Gaga. In: Iddon, M. and Marshall, M.L. *Lady Gaga and Popular Music: Performing Gender, Fashion, and Culture*. New York: Routledge. 209- 270.

Gray, A. (2003). *Research Practice for Cultural Studies*. London, California and New Delhi: Sage

Green, L. (1988). *Music on Deaf Ears: Musical Meaning, Ideology, Education*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Green, L. (1997). *Music, Gender, Education*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Green, L. (2010). Gender Identity, Musical Experience and Schooling. In: Wright, R

Sociology and Music Education. London: Ashgate Publishing. 139-155.

Grigg, L. (1999). Commissioned Report 61 '*Cross Disciplinary Research*': Discussion Paper, Australian Research Council, Canberra.

Grossberg, L. (2010). *Cultural Studies in the Future Tense*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Halberstam, J.J. (2012). *Gaga Feminism: Sex, Gender, and the End of Normal*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Hallam, S., Rogers, L. and Creech, A. . (1995). Gender Differences in Musical Instrument Choice. *Canadian University Music Review*. 16, 128-144.

Hargreaves, D.J., Macdonald, R.A.R. and Miell, D. (eds.) (2002). *Musical Identities*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hayward, P. (1992). Charting Australia: Music, History and Identity. In: Hayward, P *Pop to Punk to Postmodern: Popular Music and Australian Culture from the 1960s to the 1990s*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin. 1-11.

Homan, S. (2008). Playing to the Thinkers or the Drinkers? The Sites and Sounds of Oz Rock. In: Homan, S. and Mitchell, T *Sounds of Then, Sounds of Now: Popular Music in Australia*. Hobart: ACYS Publishing. 19-37.

Homan, S. and Mitchell, T. (2008). Introduction: Locating Australian Popular Music. In: Homan, S. and Mitchell, T. *Sounds of Then, Sounds of Now: Popular Music in Australia*. Hobart: ACYS Publishing. 1-19.

Hopkins, P.D.. (1996). Gender Treachery: Homophobia, Masculinity and Threatened Identities. In: Hopkins, P.D., May, L. and Strikwerda, R.A. *Rethinking Masculinity: Philosophical Explorations in Light of Feminism*. Lanham, Boulder, New York and London: Rowman And Littlefield Publishers Inc.. 95-119.

Jackson, J.H. and Pelkey, S.C. (2005). Introduction. In: Jackson, J.H. and Pelkey, S.C. *Music and History: Bridging the Gap*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi . vii-3.

Kalinak, K. (1992). *Settling the Score: Music and the Classical Hollywood Film*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Korall, B. (1990). *Drummin' Men: The Heartbeat of Jazz: The Swing Years*. New York: Schirmer Books.

Korall, B. (2002). *Drummin' Men: The Heartbeat of Jazz: The Bebop Years*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Leonard, M (2007). *Gender in the music Industry: Rock, Discourse and Girl Power*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing . 1-89.

MacDonald, L.E. (2013). *The Invisible Art of Film Music: A Comprehensive History*. 2nd ed. Lanham, Toronto and Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press.

Masny, D. (2013). Multiple Literacies Theory: Exploring Space. In: Mansy, D. and Semetsky, I. *Deleuze and Education*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press. 94-112.

Maso, I. (2001). Phenomenology and Ethnography. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. *Handbook of Ethnography*. London and New York: Sage. 136-144.

Maton, K. (2009). *Habitus*. In: Grenfell, M. *Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Stocksville: Acumen.

Mattingly, R. (1998). *The Drummer's Time: Conversations with the Great Drummers of Jazz*. New Jersey: Modern Drummer Publications.

Mattingly, R. (2003a). Drumset. [Online]. In Shepherd, J. (Ed.), *Continuum Encyclopedia of popular music of the world: Performance and production*. London, United Kingdom: Continuum. Available from: <http://search.credoreference.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/content/entry/contpmwpp/drumset/0> [Accessed 3 October 2015]

Mattingly, R (2003b) Cymbal. [Online]. In Shepherd, J. (ed.). *Continuum Encyclopedia of popular music of the world: Performance and production*. London, United Kingdom: Continuum. Available from: <http://search.credoreference.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/content/entry/contpmwpp/cymbal/0> [Accessed 3 October 2015].

McClary, S. (1991). *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality*. London and New York: University of Minnesota Press.

McLaren, M.A. (2002). *Feminism, Foucault, and Embodied Subjectivity*. New York: State University of New York Press.

McLeod, K (2011). *We are the Champions: The Politics of Sports and Popular Music*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Middleton, R. (1990). *Studying Popular Music*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Moras, A. and Rebollo-Gil, G. (2012). Black Women and Black Men in Hip Hop Music: Misogyny, Violence and the Negotiation of (White-Owned) Space. *Journal of Popular Culture*. 45 (1), 118-132.

Mowitt, J (2002). *Percussion: Drumming, Beating, Striking*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Murphie, A. 1996. "Sound at the End of the World as we Know it: Nick Cave, Wim Wenders' Wings of Desire and a Deleuze- Guattarian Ecology of Popular Music" in *Perfect Beat* 2 (4), 18-42.

Nealon, J.T (2008). *Foucault Beyond Foucault: Power and Its Intensifications since 1984*. Stanton: Stanton University Press.

- Neuls-Bates, C. (ed.) (1982). *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Nichols, G. 1997. *The Drum Book: The History of the Rock Drum Kit*. London: Backbeat.
- Nissani, M. (1997). Ten Cheers for Interdisciplinarity: The Case for Interdisciplinary Knowledge and Research . *The Social Science Journal*. 34 (2), 201-216.
- Payne, J. (2006). *The Great Drummers of R and B Funk and Soul*. 2nd ed. New York: Face the Music Publications.
- Pendle, K. (ed.) (1991). *Women and Music: A History*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Pickering, M. (2008). Introduction. In: Pickering, M. *Research Methods for Cultural Studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1-17.
- Pickering, S. and Repacholi, B.. (2001). Modifying Children's Gender-Typed Musical Instrument Preferences: The Effects of Gender and Age. *Sex Roles*. 45 (9), 623-643.
- Reddington, H. (2007). *The Lost Women of Rock Music: Female Musicians of the Punk Era*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Rhian, S. (1992). Feminist Musicology: Endings or Beginnings?. *Women: A Cultural Review*. 3 (1), 65-69.

Rossing, T.D. (2000). *Science of Percussion Instruments*. Singapore : World Scientific.

Rossmannith, K. (2009). Making Theatre-Making: Fieldwork, Rehearsal and Performance-Preparation. *Reconstruction: Studies in Contemporary Culture*. 9 (1).

Saukko, P (2003). *Doing Research in Cultural Studies: An Introduction to Classical and New Methodological Approaches*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Schechner, R. (2002). *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge. 130-135.

Shirato, T. and Webb, J. (2004). *Reading the Visual*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Smith, G.D. (2013). *I Drum, Therefore I Am: Being and Becoming a Drummer*. London: Ashgate Publishing.

Smith, A. (2014). *Women Drummers: A History from Rock and Jazz to Blues and Country*. Lanham, Boulder, Toronto, New York, Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield.

Sommer, R. (2009). Making Narrative Worlds. In: Heinen, S. and Sommer, R. *Narratology in the Age of Cross-Disciplinary Narrative Research*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter GmbH and Co. 88-109.

Spencer, A (2003) Snare Drum. [Online]. In Shepherd, J. (ed.). *Continuum Encyclopedia of popular music of the world: Performance and production*. London, United Kingdom: Continuum. Available from:

http://search.credoreference.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/content/entry/contpmwpp/snare_drum/0 [Accessed 3 October 2015].

Stone, G.A. (2009). *Stick Control: For the Snare Drummer*. 3rd ed. New York: Stone Percussion Books.

Warwick, J (2007). *Girl Groups, Girl Culture: Popular Music and Identity in the 1960s*. London and New York: Routledge

Webb, J., Schirato, T. and Danaher, G. (2002). *Understanding Bourdieu*. Sydney, London and New York: Allen and Unwin and Sage.

Wright, R. (ed.) (2010). *Sociology and Music Education*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.

Yardley, A.B. (1987). "Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne" The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages. In: Bowers, J. and Tick, J. *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*. Urbana and Chicago: Illini Books. 15-39.

Zervoudakes, J. and Tanur, J.M.. (1994). Gender and Musical Instruments: Winds of Change?. *Journal of Research in Music Education*. 42, 58-67.

Zizek, S. (2004). *Organs Without Bodies: On Deleuze and Consequences*. London and New York: Routledge.

Discography

School of Rock, 2003. [DVD] Richard Linklater, United States of America: Paramount.

The Rocker, 2008. [DVD] Peter Cattaneo, United States of America: 20th Century Fox.