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WIRED FOR SOUND: AN INVESTIGATION INTO SOUTH AFRICAN LIVE MUSIC PERFORMANCE AND THE JOHANNESBURG LIVE MUSIC SCENE

by
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ABSTRACT

The Development Works Report (2004:28) described the role played by live music performers in the sub-Saharan region as a military force, a 'musician corps' of foot soldiers out in the field of the music industry. Musicians have a vital role to play in defining the industry in which they work. The phrase 'musician corps' (2004:28) implies a well-trained, well-informed body of musicians, prepared for the terrain of the music industry. Locally this corps was unfortunately a fragmented body of soldiers, often ill equipped for its task. As a means to better understand how the South African musician corps was performing this vital role of growing the local music industry, research was conducted via interviews and surveys among local musicians in order to collaborate the experience of local performers. Other sources consulted in this research process included local music business conferences and reports and literature sources relevant to live music studies.

This research aimed to uncover the state of the local musician corps, to assess the level of industry-relevant skills and knowledge that are required for effective troops and to reveal the attitudes and activities of local musicians. Through this process of data gathering, the question that this research aimed to uncover was whether or not local live performers were sufficiently skilled to develop the live music sector.

The majority of the research findings were based on interviews and surveys conducted in the city of Johannesburg.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Music by research in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.
Kristel Birkholtz



15th day of July 2010

DEDICATION

To Rory and my family,
with thanks for their constant encouragement and support of live music

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES

Table 1 Type of Employment: Part or Full Time 57
Table 2 Performance experience in years of the survey group 59
Table 3 Performance experience in years of the interview groups 59
Table 4 Age breakdown of the survey group 60
Table 5 Funding received by the survey group 72
Table 6 The performance management of the survey and interview groups 88
Table 7 Membership of performers in other industry organizations (survey group) 93
Table 8 Geographical locations of performance (survey group) 110
Table 9 Venue listings chart 120
Table 10 Types of performances (survey group) 122
Table 11 Comparison of performance types between survey and interview group 123
Table 12 Level of formal music training (survey and interview groups) 140
Table 13 Level of formal industry training (interview group) 142
Table 14 Training Level of formal industry training (second interview group) 143
Table 15 Access to information on the local music industry 145
Table 16: Competency Rating Results 151
Table 17 Supplemental incomes of performers (survey and interview groups) 160
Table 18: Results of Performance Frequency 163
Table 19 Content of performances: original or covers/local or imported (survey group): 179
Table 20 Content of performances: original or covers/local or imported (interview group): 180
Table 21 How Local Consumers Source Exposure to New Music 193
Table 22:Tax-deductible expenses for performers 228

GENERAL

GENERAL INTRODUCTION 10

PART 1 15
CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND 15

1.1 PIERRE BOURDIEU (1930-2002) AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION 15
1.1.1 Limited Field of Production 16
1.2 VALUE CHAIN 20
1.3 ECONOMICS OF LIVE PERFORMANCE: SUPPLY AND DEMAND 22
1.3.1 Supply 22
1.3.2 Demand 23
1.3.3 Supply and Demand Affecting Rates of Pay for the Performer 24
1.4 CONCLUSION 26
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW 27

2.1 INTRODUCTION 27
2.2 WHAT IS THE MUSIC INDUSTRY? 28
2.2.1 The Creative Industries 31

2.2.2 A Brief History of the South African Live Music Industry 34
2.2.3 Current Thoughts on the Music Industry 38
2.3 THE SECOND AND THIRD FIELDS OF INFLUENCE 41
2.3.1 Art versus Business 44
2.4 MEDIA AND TECHNOLOGY 46
2.4.1 The Audience for Live Music 47
2.5 CONCLUSION 48
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY 50
3.1 INTRODUCTION 50
3.2 METHODOLOGY 51
3.3 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY 55
3.4 PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS (INTERVIEW AND SURVEY SAMPLE) 56
3.4.1 Professional Status 57
3.5 CONCLUSION 62
PART 2 CONTEXT: THE WORK ENVIRONMENT OF THE LIVE PERFORMER 63
CHAPTER 4: THE MARKETPLACE OF THE PERFORMER 63
4.1 INTRODUCTION 63
4.2 ECONOMIC FIELD 64
4.2.1 Risk 66
4.2.2 Funding 69
4.2.3 Needle Time 73
4.2.4 Intellectual Property 75
4.3 SECONDARY ASPECTS OF THE LIVE PERFORMANCE INDUSTRY 77
4.4 CONCLUSION 78
CHAPTER 5: THE SUPPORT ACTS: OTHER ROLE PLAYERS IN THE LIVE PERFORMANCE INDUSTRY 79
5.1 INTRODUCTION 79
5.2 DISUNITY IN THE INDUSTRY 81
5.3 REGULATIONS 83
5.4 THE VALUE CHAIN: MANAGING AND MARKETING PERFORMANCES 87
5.5 GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT 90
5.6 THE ROLE OF SAMRO IN THE PERFORMER'S WORKING LIFE 92
5.7 RECORD COMPANIES 94
5.8 THE MEDIA 96
5.8.1 Radio 96
5.8.2 Television: Music and Visuals 98
5.8.3 The Music Press 99
6 CONCLUSION 103
PART 3: EXPLORING LIVE MUSIC 104
INTRODUCTION 104
THE LIVE PERFORMANCE INDUSTRY 105
CHAPTER 6: THE STAGE: THE SPACE FOR LIVE PERFORMANCE 107

6.1 INTRODUCTION 107
6.2 IMPORTANCE OF LIVE MUSIC VENUES 108
6.3 LIVE MUSIC REGIONALLY 109
6.3.1 Live music 110
6.3.2 Tours 111
6.3.4 Festivals 112
6.3.5 Venues 114
6.3.5.1 Analysis of Live Music Venue Listings 116
6.2.6 Types of Performances 121
6.2.6.1 Musical theatres 124
6.2.6.2 Orchestral performances 125
6.2.6.3 Corporate performances 125
6.2.6.4 Weddings and private functions 126
6.3 CONCLUSION 128
CHAPTER 7: THE PERFORMER 131
7.1 INTRODUCTION 131
7.2 THE ROLE OF THE PERFORMER 132
7.3 THE PERFORMERS' INFLUENCE 135
7.4 TRAINING 137
7.5 INFORMATION ON THE LOCAL MUSIC INDUSTRY 144
7.6 ATTITUDES OF PERFORMERS TOWARDS THE MUSIC INDUSTRY 147
7.7 PROFESSIONALISM 148
7.7.1 COMPETENCY RATINGS 150
7.8 THE WORK LIFE OF THE PERFORMER 156
7. 9 EARNINGS OF LOCAL PERFORMERS 158
7. 9.1 FREQUENCY OF PERFORMANCES 162
7.9.3 Expenses 165
7.9.4 Taxation 166
7.10. Unfair Treatment in the Live Music Industry 167
7.10.1Contractual and Verbal Agreements 168
7.10.2 Payment 170
7.10.3 Social Factors: Crime 171
7.10.4 Social Factors: Sexual Harassment 172
7.10.5 Social Factors: Discrimination 172
7.13 CONCLUSION 173
CHAPTER 8: SHOWTIME: THE PERFORMANCE 175
INTRODUCTION 175
8.2 THE CONTENT OF PERFORMANCES 175
8.3 Repertoire Selection in Local Performances 178
8.3 THE SOUTH AFRICAN BRAND 181
8.3.1 Introduction 181
8.3.2 South African Flavour 181
8.4 CONCLUSION 184

CHAPTER 9: THE AUDIENCE.....185
9.1 INTRODUCTION 185
9.2 AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT..... 187
9.2.1 Audience Behaviour Studies..... 190
9.2.2 Audience Development Strategies..... 192
9.2.2.1 Marketing..... 192
9.3 MUSIC APPRECIATION SOCIETIES..... 195
9.4 PERFORMANCES IN SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC PLACES..... 195
9.4.1 Education 196
9.5 A LOCAL CASE STUDY..... 197
9.6 CONCLUSION..... 198
CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSION.....200
10.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF LIVE MUSIC..... 200
10.2 THE ROLE OF THE LIVE PERFORMER..... 201
10.3 DATA 202
10.4 RECOMMENDATINS FOR GROWHT IN THE LOCAL LIVE MSUC INDUSTRY 204
10.5 CHALLENGES 208
10.6 OPPORTUNITIES..... 208
BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 210
Conferences Attended..... 219
Appendix A: List of Abbreviations..... 220
Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire 220
Appendix C: Interview Questionnaire 220
Appendix D: Interview with Tax Accountant..... 220
Appendix E: SAMRO Live Performance Sheet 220
Appendix F: Performers Act..... 220

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Live music performance forms a critical part of the local South African music industry. As the recorded music industry was suffering losses as a result of the 'death-by-a-thousand- downloads'[1], the importance of recording was shifting to live performance. Musicians in the recorded-based industry previously recorded product (such as albums , singles and music videos) and performed live in order to promote their recorded product. This model was changing, as live music became the growth area for the music industry: ' … bands used to tour in support of a record. Now they tour to get the dough to make a record – mostly without the support or imprint of a major label' (Collins, 2008:7).

The role of live music was thus changing from a support role to a central role. This was true in South Africa as well where CD sales have continued to decline according to RISA figures. The performer's approach towards this change of roles as indicated in the above quote tended to be a do-it-yourself attitude owing to lack of support from the recording industry.
This study intends to show that local live performers are thus in a position to play a critical role in growing the local music industry by developing the local live music industry.

In order to study this role and the possibilities of the local live industry, live performers and other music practitioners such as booking agents and music producers were questioned on current live music practices.

The central topic of this research is to show that live performance as a sub sector of the music industry worldwide was growing whilst the sales of recorded product were in decline. Live performance was thus a vital area for local performers to be involved in regarding growing the music industry locally. The question that this research posed was

[1] Nicolas Collins, Leonardo Music Journal (2008:7)

whether or not local live performers were sufficiently skilled to develop this sub sector adequately. The importance of live performers and live music performance to the local music industry is highlighted in the quote below.

Musicians are described here as musical troops. As a force, live performers have the ability to increase their influence on the local music industry.

> As it forms the creative foundation of the industry, the musician corps has a critical role to perform in the growing of the music industry in the region [sub-Saharan Africa]. Yet, its ability to perform this role is undermined by an overall lack of understanding and, at times a blatant disregard for artists' rights as well as obligations. (Report by Development Works commissioned by UNESCO in 2004: 28).

Although live performers play a critical role in the local music industry, various obstacles identified in this research in the music industry terrain and even within the ranks of the 'troops' of live performers, interfered with this critical role. The vital role of the live performer was thus not well recognized in the local music industry. Exacerbating the problem, some of the troops themselves were inadequately trained for their roles of growing the local music industry. Development Works (2004:28) in a report on music in sub-Saharan Africa highlighted the rights of the performer as well as the obligations of the performer in the functioning of the music industry.

A comprehensive view of the local live music industry was not available. The local sources that were available dealt with the role of live jazz musicians and rock or pop performers in South Africa. Such sources tended to focus on live performers that were known as 'artists', that is, as performers from various genres that were recording artists as well as live performers and had their own brand or sound as a result.

This study uncovered a range of professional live musicians that did not record their music and were not known as a public brand (in the sense of a recorded 'artist') yet managed to sustain careers as live performers. The activities of these musicians were largely undocumented. This study does not purport to be a comprehensive view of the

local live music industry, but it does aim to uncover some aspects of local live music practices that may not have been documented in reports that focus on musicians as 'artists'.

Studies relating to the music industry often referred to the recorded music industry. For example *All You Need to Know About The Music Business* by Donald Passman 2003 concentrated solely on issues related to recorded music and referred to live performance only in the context of promotional touring. As such live music and its importance were often ignored by texts relating to the music industry.

Issues relating to the documentation of live music were not restricted to the South African context. Simon Frith, as a founding member of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music and a founding editor of the journal, *Popular Music,* contributed much literature on the subject of popular music and of interest to this research. [2] Frith pointed(2000:389) out that a lack of reliable information on current industry practices and broader aspects of the music industry plagued the music industry in general. It was not only a local problem, as the European Union and many other countries were facing similar challenges. Frith (2000: 389-390) argued that for policy makers to make good decisions in the realm of the creative industries, reliable information and documentation was required to have as accurate an account as possible of the music sector as an economic sector in terms of earnings, employment, investment, etc. There are certainly research opportunities here for academics …' (Frith 2000:389-390).

In this sense, the 'generals' as it were, of the 'musician corps' were not able to make sound decisions on behalf of the troops in influencing their efforts for the music industry where little documentation existed.

[2] Frith is currently researching the history and current practice of live music promotion in the UK.

Dave Alexander, a speaker at the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conferences, highlighted that insufficient information exists locally to quantify aspects of local live performance:

> '…the importance of research … number of albums sold, number of tours, and number of shows. This information would assist South Africans in making strategic interventions …' (cited South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference booklet 2007: 59).

Such data would be valuable for statistical analysis and proper strategic planning and improvement in the live music industry. With the assistance of the live performers that participated in this study, some aspects of this data were collected including numbers of shows, types of shows, live performance marketing etc.

This research thus aimed to uncover the level of industry-relevant training amongst local live music performers as well as to provide some documentation of local live music practices. The attitudes of live music performers to their industry were also examined.

This research comprises three parts. Part 1 contains the theoretical framework, literature review and methodology required for researching the topic of live music. As discussed above, industry knowledge and skill are valuable to the live performer and various aspects relating to the music industry are discussed in this research as they relate to performers. Such aspects include marketing, economics, technology and legal issues. These topics are not strictly speaking part of live performance; however, a knowledge of and competency in these areas is of huge benefit to the performer as this field of influence directly impacts the opportunities available to the performer.

Part 2 deals with the broader music industry in which the live performer works, providing context to the live performing industry. A few of the role players in the local music industry are discussed in relation to the live performer. Numerous other role players in the local music industry have a direct or indirect impact on the live performer and performance; however only a few have been selected for discussion in this research. Other roles players were include in the survey and interview and survey process on a

voluntary basis. These other role players, although not the focus, play an important role in fostering live performance and are thus discussed.

The spotlights falls on the performer and live performance practices in the third part of this research. Here, the central theme is discussed: namely, research into local live performers, the live performance and the audience. Much of the ethnographic research is discussed in this section. Live music discussions center on the live performer, live music venues and audiences.

PART 1

> The music business is an enormous industry, incorporating a variety of careers. The one thing, in many instances the only thing that connects those careers is the music itself. Whatever else you need to make it in music, a love of music is a must (Pidgeon 1991:7).

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The music industry is a complex field comprising amongst other aspects art, economics, politics, legal issues, social issues and technology. A live performer operating in this industry thus interfaces with all of these areas at various points, sometimes simultaneously. This complex domain presented numerous and varied challenges throughout a musician's career. A performer might be trained in the artistic aspects of the industry, but unskilled in the other aspects of the music industry. A theoretical understanding of these various aspects was vital for further insight into the challenges facing the music industry.

1.1 PIERRE BOURDIEU (1930-2002) AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION

Theoretical constructs explored in this chapter include Bourdieu's theory of the field of limited cultural production, habitus and cultural capital. Bourdieu's 'limited field of cultural production' provided an ordering system to the music industry. The theory classified the various roles and the influence of the various industry participants, which highlighted the struggle for position and power in a field such as the music industry. This was particularly relevant, as the music industry had undergone major power shifts in recent times as a result of the digital environment, shifts that had impacted the day-to-day life of the performing musician.

Bourdieu's concept of the habitus was also of relevance to this research in that the habitus explained the cultural capital an individual had gained from his/her upbringing or training. As part of this research, a study was undertaken to examine the level and type of

training that local performers, across genres, had received. Bourdieu's concept was used: if the habitus provided sufficient 'capital' to the individual performer, he or she would then be in a position to negotiate positions of influence or power within the music industry.

The idea of the music industry as a value chain also provided this research with a classification system. The music industry as described as a value chain provided insight into the interrelating activities of the various practitioners within the music industry. This broad framework presented an opportunity to highlight the roles and responsibilities of musicians and others across the value chain, but also created a way to understand the particular reference point of one particular player in the game – the musician.

As such, this study examined the live music performer in the context of the local music industry. For some, such as Adorno (1938, cited by Frith in Clayton 2003:97) music and industry were incompatible spheres with differing needs, objectives and outcomes. At the time, Adorno (1938) lamented the 'commodity character' of contemporary music life. This research aimed to show that music and business were mutually beneficial spheres if understood by performers. The challenge was that musicians were typically skilled in music rather than business and as a result might not realize the benefits of music business skill in pursuing their personal and career goals in the sector.

1.1.1 Limited Field of Production

Bourdieu's widely known theoretical ideas of cultural capital as a social hierarchy where status was based on the amount of 'cultural capital' an individual possessed (Leitch, 2001:1806) were closely linked with two other concepts he proposed: namely, the concepts of the limited fields, and habitus. The field constituted social and power relations or a struggle for positions of power within a paradigm. Within the paradigm, values and cultural capital were established from the struggles for position.

Bourdieu's theory of the 'Field of Cultural Production' was based on his analysis of the literary field in France during the late 19th century. Whilst this field was different from the South African context, Lucia (2005: 89) explained that Bourdieu constructed a model framework that could be applied elsewhere. In Bourdieu's theory the 'field' was thus an interrelation of different worlds or fields that influenced the milieu of the artist.

Lucia (2005: 90) further maintained that the field was the space from which cultural works emerged. Therefore in analyzing the field, various questions were explored; power relations at play in the field, background of the artists, their influences, their careers, their accomplishments and their interactions (active and passive) with their milieu. These influences from the first to third worlds were what shaped the artist.

The field of cultural production, Lucia (2005:90-95) continued, was composed of three worlds constantly interacting with one another. The first world was that of the artist and his/her immediate surroundings. This world for a performer consisted of the day-to-day activities of performing at venues, giving or receiving lessons and practicing etc. The second world comprised sponsorship and commissioning bodies, the public, record studios, record companies etc. This world was made up of those that supported the artist politically, artistically, financially, administratively or socially. Power relations in this sphere affected the perceptions, structure and work opportunities available to artists in the first sphere. The third world that intersected the field was the greater society including economics, class and racial constructs, which too had an effect on the first sphere of the performer.

Habitus in relation to this research described the training background of the performer. As many formally trained musicians started their training from a young age, habitus in this research would include early childhood music training through to tertiary training. Habitus described the individual's disposition as a result of familial upbringing, social standing and training. From the habitus, an individual derived his/her 'cultural capital'.

According to Leitch (2001:1807): ‘Cultural capital, acquired through schooling and maintained through a hierarchization of tastes and pleasures, plays an important role in securing the privileges of the upper classes in modern societies’.

Much of the background to this study existed in the second and third field whilst the research findings of this study resided largely in the first field of the performer. The results intended to show that performers were not well acquainted with the three fields and thus were not well prepared for their careers in the local music industry.

Bourdieu’s system was useful in ordering the working life of a performer. Moving from broader industry issues through to the day-to-day issues faced by a performer, the system allowed for research in the fields individually and as a collective. Through the lens of the three-field description, trends that appeared in one field could be traced through other fields as well. Discussing the various aspects of the three fields in relation to the performance industry would thus give a balanced perspective of the context of the performer. Bourdieu’s model as a framing device helped to place the performer contextually in the complicated music industry. This device enabled the research to progress from the broader context of the second to third field and to narrow down to the immediate first field of the performer.

The following statement by Lucia (2005:92) is an example of how the limited field of cultural production in South Africa was affected by political change in the country in 1994. Shifts politically and economically in the second and third fields rippled into the first field of performers and composers and as a result of these changes, performers found that their subsidies were changed or done away with. Shifts in political ideology also affected the types of concerts staged and the audiences that would receive them.

> Performers or composers in the academy would also recognize the way in which a more heteronomous scenario has impacted on their lives as the culture of power in pre-1994 South Africa gradually collapsed, experiencing the effect of a lesser degree of autonomy in the sense that their work has to be more accountable now to the larger field of economics and the new political order.

According to Lucia (2005:102), the media, academics, teachers, composers and performers were all involved in creating positions and relations in the field, which shaped the limited field of cultural production. She argued that not only were position and recognition of importance to a performer as an artist but that recognition was also often influenced by economic or political means Therefore, knowledge and skill in navigating the three fields of influence would potentially help the performer negotiate a more favourable position of power or of recognition within his/her field.

A local example of the interaction among the various fields is the World Cup Soccer Tournament due to be staged in South Africa in June-July 2010. The event itself exists in the second to third field of the performer. While a soccer tournament had very little to do with music, the event would bring many opportunities for local musicians. A general mood of optimism was evident at MOSHITO 2007 in connection with the opportunities the tournament would provide for presenting local culture to the world. Music would be everywhere – in the trains, buses, stadiums and fan parks, restaurants and pubs. There would be space for music in the main FIFA space and the fringe areas as well as in the public sector where tourists would spend their leisure time. In order for performers to benefit from such opportunities, however, a network of relationships and recognition within the various fields was required.

Drawing on Lucia's discussion and interpretations of the fields of influence and the field of the performer/composer as researcher in particular, this study utilized a similar approach. Various aspects of the music industry were grouped into fields of influence, though many of these aspects overlapped. Starting with a broad view, the second to third fields were examined, outlining the context of the South African music industry leading to a focus on the first to second fields where the performer created and interacted with the audience and the music industry.

1.2 VALUE CHAIN

Another way of ordering the music industry was through the concept of a value chain. The value chain was a concept first described by business management author, Michael Porter (1985).
It was a chain of activities through which a product passed, gaining value as it progressed through the links in the chain, hence the term 'value chain'. The chain of activities gave the products more added value than the sum of added values of all activities. Kaplinsky and Morris (2001:4) defined the value chain as follows:

> …the full range of activities which is required to bring a product or service, from conception, through the different phases of production, (involving a combination of physical transformation and the input of various producer services), delivery to final consumers, and final disposal after use.

According to Shaw (2007:21), a simplified description of a value chain in the music industry included songwriters, publishers, performers, concert promoters, record labels, distributors, broadcasters, retailers, through to concert attendants and consumers. He grouped the value chain of the music industry into six areas: the publishing industry; the live performance industry; the record industry; the music brand industry; the recording/producing industry and music broadcast industry (2007:20). These various areas interacted directly or indirectly with one another and thus with the performer. He maintained that 'the basic unit of trade within all these would be the intellectual property embodied in musical songs' (2007:20).

The common interest among the different parts of the value chain was the composition (the intellectual property), be it a song or an instrumental work. A range of activities could occur within each link in the chain and as value chains tended to be complex, many links often occurred in the chain (Kaplinsky and Morris 2001:4).

While the above definition of the value chain explained the value chain's function as one-way traffic, moving from point A to point B etc., Kaplinsky and Morris (2001:4) described how the chain could in fact function in a two-way fashion. For example, while

point A influenced the nature of production down the chain, it was in turn influenced by the constraints and trends affecting points further down the chain. A performer thus added value to the products that passed through the value chain, and in turn was influenced by issues affecting the chain.

Lucia (2005:90), in analyzing Bourdieu's creative field, described it as one of, '… preconditions; of that which makes it possible for the artwork to be produced and consumed – the web of people, activities, institutions and cultural codes that constitute the field'. Bourdieu described a field as a set of three interlocking and co-existing universes. The tension and interplay between these three fields provided cultural capital.

From the above quote, the similarities between ordering the music industry as three fields or a value chain were shown. Bourdieu described the creative field as the web of interactions to produce and consume cultural product. A value chain, which was a linear description of the various role players or components of an industry, too described the various services supplied within the music industry to produce and consume music products. In the music industry, record companies, radio stations, composers and performers were all part of a larger value chain where each component provided value, goods or services to another.

The music industry thus operated horizontally and vertically. Bourdieu's three fields gave horizontal depth to the music industry allowing for research to explore the ground of each field. The value chain allowed for research in the interactions among the various role players, examining how one chain affected another. Vertically it was a chain of products and services, delivered from one entity to another.

Thus both Bourdieu's model and the concept of the value chain were practical in analyzing the performing industry.

1.3 ECONOMICS OF LIVE PERFORMANCE: SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Of the many economic theoretical constructs that affected the music industry, supply and demand were mentioned here as the tension between supply and demand that had a direct impact on the livelihood of the performer. Supply and demand factors influenced, amongst others areas, employment, remuneration, funding and career strategies.

The basic level at which an economic activity such as music took place, was where supply met demand. In terms of the live performer, this occurred where the music performed (supply) met the demand of the audiences or consumers. The supply of live music venues was also crucial to meet the demands of music-loving audiences.

An understanding of the supply and demand equation was important to the performer, as the balance between supply and demand affected the amount of performing work available and the fee that could be charged for such work. Other economic factors affecting the live music industry included the rate of inflation and level of art subsidy available.

1.3.1 Supply

Supply in the music performance industry often began with training (Towse 1993:10). Often many aspiring performers signed up for music courses or lessons. Along the long road of training, some would-be performers dropped out for various reasons. However, once they had graduated from their training, performers were typically not ready for their careers. Towse (1993:11) believed: ‘Many singers are simply not yet ready for professional work when they leave college’.

This was because much of a performer’s training came from on-the-job, practical experience. Generally speaking, most performers, having left music colleges, could expect to earn a living for a few years from ad hoc solo jobs, session work, teaching, church work or amateur music groups until they had made a name for themselves and

gained sufficient practical experience. Singers that had sufficient training and stage experience found work eventually though they needed to be careful of their career strategies in doing so. At the outset, young performers did not have the luxury of being too fussy about the type of work in terms of solo or ensemble work, or even another preferred genre. However, they needed to be careful of unwittingly accepting work that might later on prevent them from having the choice of being a soloist or a performer in a preferred genre.

1.3.2 Demand

Towse (1993: 102) reasoned that demand for performers was affected by various factors, with some factors affecting all performers and some only individual performers. Demand in its simplest form often equated to pricing, for example, demand was often highest when rates of pay were lowest. The demand for performers was also largely dependent on the demand for a final product. A final product could be anything from a CD recording, an opera or a recital to a restaurant performance etc. Therefore, public demand might increase for example if an opera production cast a star solo performer. The demand for the final product thus affected the demand for the performer.

Another factor influencing demand, asserted Towse (1993: 155), was substitution. Being able easily to substitute one performer for another, affected the demand for the final product. A recital by *X* performer created demand for the recital and for *X* singer; however, a concert where performers could be rotated created less demand for the actual performer than for the concert as a whole. Competition was thus a characteristic of the supply for the music industry. Performers that could be substituted for one another ended up competing with one another for the same roles. However, when a performer had achieved ‘star’ status, he or she could no longer be easily substituted for and thus faced less competition.

Towse (1993:178) further commented that the music industry, like other risk-based industries, might experience an excess of supply. This initial oversupply resulted as

entrants to such industries tended to overestimate their abilities and chances of success. Aspiring performers might be lured into the profession by the possibility of high earning potential if they achieved a certain status as a performer. Ironically, if too many performers (say singers) entered the music industry based on this ideal, an oversupply resulted, which in turn led to lower demand and thus lower earning potential.

Demand was constantly changing. When costs dictated that more expensive performers should be substituted for less expensive performers, it created opportunities for younger or less-experienced performers to gain work experience. Demand factors showed how dependent the performers were on their audiences. This raised the issue of audience development, which will be discussed later in this study.

1.3.3 Supply and Demand Affecting Rates of Pay for the Performer

Payment is made to musicians for their exchange of skills in the form of fees or salaries. Fees are considered payment for once-off work, whereas a salary is payment for work over a period of weeks, months or years. The exchange of skills for payment is usually regulated by a contract, which specifies the nature of the work involved for the agreed fee. Whilst contractual agreements are standard business practice, many of the performers interviewed for this research did not often make use of contracts in communicating their exchange.

Towse (1993:7) maintains that fees are often determined by supply and demand factors (There is a delicate balance between supply and demand that can change with the slightest modifications. For example, if a performer's fees rise, often demand for that performance or product falls. However, if there is a shortage (supply is restricted) of performers, then payments rise, as there is an increased demand. As more singers are attracted to the industry by higher fees, so the supply increases. If supply is greater than demand, then lower fees or unemployment results. However, in an ad hoc industry such as live music performance, it is not easy to measure unemployment. Because there are no

norms to regulate hours of work or age of retirement (1993:8) this balance between supply and demand is constantly correcting itself in the marketplace.

Demand, like supply, Towse (1993: 82) further avers, is difficult to quantify. It is often measured in terms of employment. In the music industry, this is not easily measured, as is the case with unemployment. One would have to verify how much work is available and how much work would constitute full-time employment. As many musicians are self-employed, it is difficult to measure what full-time work is on offer.

Towse in conducting research amongst singers in the United Kingdom in 1993 also found that singers were either contracted with regular work (salaried) or self-employed, earning once-off fees: '…the market for singers can be divided into two sections; that for singers who have regular contracted work and are employed by an organization and the other in which singers are self employed'.

This situation was likely to be similar for live performers in the South African context. The research conducted for this study showed this to be the case. There was not much data on the employment nature of local performers, though many of the interview and survey respondents described their work as freelance. Some performers might work on a freelance basis, whilst others relied on longer contracts with theatres, orchestras or casinos.

Demand is further complicated by the fickle nature of audiences (Clayton, 2003: 312). A unique character of the music industry is the unpredictability of consumer demand for cultural products.

1.4 CONCLUSION

In examining live music performance and performers in the South African context, a broad view of the various fields intersecting the music industry was taken into account. The limited field of cultural production as proposed by Bourdieu places the performer within three fields of influence. The construct of the value chain categorizes the various role players in the music industry and their relationship or activities pertaining to a performer.

Live music was established in this chapter as an economic activity and part of a web of economic activity. As such, participants and researchers in the field of the music industry require a basic understanding of economic theory. Standard economic theories such as supply and demand, which relate to the economics of performing, were discussed in order to clarify the working context of the local performer. The basic framework of supply and demand was explained in a context relevant to a live performer.

Two theoretical structural devices were used throughout this research to organize the local live music industry and to locate the local performer within the music industry. The two theoretical devices included Bourdieu's limited field of cultural production and the value chain. The music industry is a difficult entity to define, as it comprises a web of various players. Such structures were thus useful to this research in providing viewpoints from which the music industry could be examined. Such structures also assisted in identifying where issues affecting the entire music industry had an impact on the live performer.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The nature of this research demanded an interdisciplinary approach and as such, a wide variety of sources was consulted on various aspects of the music industry. Such sources included music industry texts from local and international journals dealing with current topics related to live performance in the first field of cultural production and the broader fields of cultural production, including economics in the music industry, marketing and technology. Sources dealing with the historical nature of the South African music industry provided context for the current music industry. The historical context of the South African music industry was important in setting the background for this research. Report-based sources were also consulted. These sources that tended to be commissioned by organizations such as the United Nations revealed up-to-date research on some areas of the music industry in relation to the creative industries. Report-based sources also provided current information on trends and perspectives in the live music industry and also provided benchmarking information on the live music industry in other developing countries.

Challenges encountered in reviewing sources included a broad definition of the music industry and the locality of the music industry. Many of the sources consulted concentrated primarily on the recorded aspects of the music industry. In other instances, some literary sources consulted such as Passman (2003) discussed the music industry from an American or British context and were, therefore, not entirely applicable to the South African context. Topical issues pertaining to live music in South Africa had only been discussed at music conferences. For this reason, attendance at local conferences provided a valuable source of information for this research. Conference literature such as transcribed conference booklets were referenced, though the researcher acknowledges that conference discussions were limited and less formal than published sources.

This literature review only reflects sources utilized in the broader context of this research. Most of the contextual information pertaining to live music was obtained from conference attendance and proceedings, interviews and surveys. Where available, literary sources have been included to support the information gathered at conferences and through the field work process.

2.2 WHAT IS THE MUSIC INDUSTRY?

According to the limited field of cultural production as described by Lucia (2005:95),

- The first field was that of the artist's immediate surroundings
- The second field for a performer comprised sponsorship and commissioning bodies; collection bodies; the public; record studios; record companies etc.
- The third field intersected the performer through the greater society. This included economic, class and racial constructs.

The second and third fields interacted constantly and were generally hard to distinguish from each other. For example, economic aspects in generalized terms existed in the third field of influence. However, many role players in the second field such as government and financial supporting bodies might have a direct bearing on the economics of the music industry. The fields were thus discussed broadly in this chapter showing how they interacted and intersected on many levels.

The limited fields of cultural production and the concept of the value chain were useful in ordering the music industry which is a complicated web of service providers, of which performers are only a sub sector. The term 'music industry' itself is problematic in that it is not easily definable. In fact, there is no consensus as to what aspects of the industry are referred to when the umbrella term 'music industry' is used.

Williamson and Cloonan (2007) in *Rethinking the Music Industry* found the current view of the music industry as a single industry to be inadequate to encompass the political and economic aspects related to music. It was, therefore, necessary to clarify what the term 'music industry' denoted.

'Music industry' (singular) suggested a homogeneous industry though it was commonly accepted among role players that this was not the case. Williamson and Cloonan (2007: 305) reflected this sentiment as well. Conferences such as MOSHITO repeatedly called for unity in the industry suggesting that the music industry was fragmented. Some comments from the survey sample gathered for this research also indicated the lack of unity and a sense of distrust in the local 'music industry'. In the second field, local respondents complained about 'political infighting' among local performers and service providers such as agents etc. There was some measure of disunity locally, cited in part as a 'lack of support for fellow muso's (sic)'. In the second to third field, respondents claimed that there was 'very little support from government (Arts and Culture only cater for their friends)'. Other role players too were reported to offer little to local performers through insufficient support by the record industry, Department of Arts and Culture and also audiences for creative, original music (sic)'.

Quite often the term 'music industry' was used as a synonym for the recording industry. For example, many books on the topic of the music industry in fact only covered aspects of the recorded music industry. As an example, Passman's *All You Need to Know About the Music Business'* (2003) – though the title claimed to offer comprehensive music industry information – largely only covered business and legal aspects relating to the recorded industry and mostly ignored the live performance sector of the music industry.

This emphasis on the recorded music industry caused confusion and a narrow view of the business of music. Not all live performers were simultaneously recording artists and as such might not have been interested in the complicated workings of the recording industry. Literature on the live music industry though was scarce.

Thus the term ‘music industry’ was problematic as organizations that claimed to have the interests of the music industry at heart, often referred to the 'recording industry' when using the term (Williamson 2007: 307). Therefore, a singular view of the music industry tended to increase the dominance of the record companies. Williamson (2007: 309) explained the dangers of such a simplified view:

> Presenting the music industry in this way as a collective mass, rather than as a number of smaller, less economically significant companies and industries, is a means of both increasing the influence of the biggest record labels which dominate the recording industry trade organizations and of disguising the social and political differences within the industry (Williamson 2007: 309).

Frith (2000: 390) asserted that the music industry was a complex series of industries. He too advocated a non-singular view of the music industry: ‘… it may be misleading ... to regard the music industry as a single industry, rather than a series of industries ordered by a single rights regime’.

A non-singular view of the music industry supported this research which viewed the live performance sector as a uniquely vibrant field with concerns that were different from the recorded or other sectors. A single rights regime as described in the above quote did order the functioning and economics of the ‘music industries’, but such a regime was not necessarily a unifying factor.

Williamson and Cloonan (2007: 310-311) further highlighted the lack of consensus in defining the music industry as did the National Music Council (United Kingdom) which in 2002 reported seven sectors: composers and publishers; instruments and audio makers and sellers; promotion, management and agency-related activities; live performance; recording, retail and distribution and education and training. Scotland identified eight sectors (2003), while the Welsh Music Foundation recognized 14 sectors; some extras included media, press, industry organizations and recording services.

The Department of Arts, Culture, Science & Technology in *The Creative South Africa: A Strategy for Realising the Potential of the Cultural Industries* (1998:16) defined the local music industry as '…well organized …characterized by … multinational and independent record companies; significant recording and manufacturing capabilities; an extensive retail and broadcast network for the collection of copyright revenues and strong professional organizations'.

The local definition included seven sectors. However, live music or performance as a sub sector was missing from the local definition of the music industry as a whole. This report was fairly old with the research conducted between 1997 and 1998 and perhaps an updated report would have included live performance. The omission though of live music as a sub sector highlighted that it was an area of study that had long been overlooked.

Further complications to the definition included the fact that many performers operated in more than one sector of the music industry. For example, a live performer might also be active as a teacher, a composer, a producer/studio engineer, and an instrument repairer or part-time entertainment journalist.

Each sector of the industry had unique peculiarities and required different operating skills. Performing artists might thus find that they would operate more successfully in the music industry if they combined an understanding of the complexities of their industry with a broader range of industry-specific skills relevant to the sectors in which they operated.

2.2.1 The Creative Industries

The ‘music industry’ was seen as a sector of the ‘creative industries’. The concept of a cultural or creative industry was globally accepted as the new arena of competition for economies as world markets focused on knowledge economies. The definition of ‘Creative Industries’ by the Department of Culture Media and Sport in the United

Kingdom, 1998, was cited as '… activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill, and talent, which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' (Kristafor 2003:10).

Worldwide, the cultural industries have been making significant contributions to their economies. According to the Arts and Culture Minister, Pallo Jordan, the cultural industries were rated in 2007 as the fifth largest economic sector in South Africa (stated at the opening address at the MOSHITO Conference 2007). The creative industries formed a large grouping that included performing arts (including music dance and drama), film/television and radio, software design, cultural heritage, cultural tourism, visual arts, fashion design, architecture, advertising and design, crafts and publishing (including music publishing).[3]

The benefits of the cultural industries included a positive impact on the societies where they were produced, providing employment and social upliftment and their potential to earn foreign income. Each active musician could be generating new revenue streams, while possibly creating employment for other performers. Also numerous temporary jobs were created around music-making. For example, a music venue hired hospitality staff, or a festival hired ground teams to erect stages etc.

There existed some links among the various cultural industries. For example, music and tourism were closely linked, with music often attracting tourists to South Africa as a destination. According to Kristafor & Budhram (2003:42), the music industry was a key provider of employment and of income revenue as major economies moved toward intellectual labour and services. The global move towards a knowledge-based economy was significant in the music industry as it heralded potential growth for the sector (Kristafor & Budhram 2003:10)

[3] Note that the music industry broadly speaking would fit into a number of these categories, including performing arts, publishing and film/television and radio. Not excluding advertising, software design, cultural heritage or cultural tourism etc.

Initially, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkenheimer (Kristafor 2003:13) coined the term 'creative industry' in 1944 to describe the industrialization of culture in capitalist societies. The term at the time was meant to imply a negative connotation, though governments around the world have recognized that, in the future, the demand for creative industries, including music, would grow into what is now termed the 'new economy'. This new economy valued intellectual and creative ability as an employable factor. Economically, knowledge-based economies were coming to the fore, adding to national wealth (Kristafor & Budhram, 2003:10). This certainly put performing musicians in a favourable position in this new economy if they were equipped with the relevant industry skills. The role of the local 'music industries' was thus broader when seen through the aims of the creative industries. An important feature of the creative industries was the number of jobs and income-generating revenue that they provided. Many creative industry products also had export potential, which was beneficial to the country as a whole. The local 'music industries' thus were an important part of the South African economy. Much support for the 'music industry' existed within this second to third field of influence.

In order to strategize goals for the promotion of the local music industry, it was necessary to have data on the industry. It was, however, difficult to analyze the activity of the local music industry as key factors such as employment rates were not readily available as data. As previously mentioned, there was a general lack of comprehensive data on various aspects of the music industry, especially in the area of live performance. Key data values would ideally include employment rates and statistics. The Creative Economy Report described music journalism from music in Africa as centered on performances and artists. Thus little information around development and industry issues was available in print (The Creative Economy Report 2008:79).

This report also highlighted that the lack of transparent figures from large music industry corporations was a key area of concern for the growth of the music sector. The report compiled by KPMG (2001: 8-9), gleaned information on the live performance industry

from its client base that works within the entertainment industry as reliable information was not available to the authors of the report.

Reliable information, industry-specific skill and unity within the industry were three key aspects to consider in growing the music sector of cultural industries locally. Kristafor and Budhram (2003:60) highlighted the need for skilled creative people: 'The ability to find skilled and creative people essential to growth continues to be a difficulty and there remains a need to develop better education'.

In order for the creative industries to have a competitive edge, the practitioners needed to be highly informed, highlighting the need for musicians to think beyond their musical skill and enter the terrain of the broader music industry.

2.2.2 A Brief History of the South African Live Music Industry

A discussion on the recent history of the South African music industry provided some insight into the context of this research as it pertained to live performance. Some of the issues affecting live performance currently have historical roots in the recent past.

Coplan's second edition of *In Township Tonight* (2007: 343) contemplated the music industry in post-apartheid South Africa. He described the return of exiled musicians to the country and the new developing live music landscape that resulted in the formation of the South African Jazz 'sound'. He delved into the live performance aspects of music history, focusing on the changing cultural landscape in post 1994 South Africa with specific reference to the live music industry. He argued that the South African music scene had changed dramatically since 1990, the result of the sweeping political change that followed the abolition of apartheid, creating a new creative space for the arts locally: '… music re-asserted its place as a medium of social reflection and criticism more quickly and aggressively than literature, theatre, comedy or other performing arts'.

Thus the political landscape provided impetus to the local music scene. Many performing artists living in exile returned home to continue their international careers while living in South Africa (Coplan 2007: 340). Some sought-after musicians that had carved successful careers for themselves in exile, however, found that they could not return home without jeopardizing their careers, especially as the local music environment was not yet of the standard of that in other countries (Coplan 2007: 343-345).

On the live music scene, various multiracial 'hot spots' for music began to flourish in the 1990s: 'At that time the cultural pinnacles were the voluntarily de-segregated jazz venues: Kippies … the Bassline in Melville, Rosies and Manenberg in Cape Town … Market Theatre … Baxter Theatre and Durban's BAT Centre'(Coplan 2007: 341-342).

Coplan argued that venues such as Kippies and the Baxter were critical, providing creative spaces for performing artists to meet and perform. Out of this performance space grew the uniquely South African jazz genres as well as other eclectic collaborations. From Coplan's argument it was clear that venues were crucial to the music industry in ways beyond just providing a stage and an audience; they were about creating a music scene and culture.

Since the 1990s, asserted Coplan (2007: 342), these venues have had to support a wide range of genres in order to sustain themselves. Similarly, performers were faced with the issue of whether or not to play in other genres in order to sustain a career as a performer. Coplan (2007: 344) also pointed out that some artists regarded the playing of other genres as having a negative impact on their chosen genre. This was particularly true for artists that regarded their genres as 'serious' such as jazz and classical musicians. The practical situation that many performers faced, however, was that it was not always possible to make a sustainable living performing in one genre alone.

Formally trained musicians could often leverage their versatile skills in sight reading, transposition etc. to do a variety of odd jobs, such as session work, backing-bands or music arrangement. This situation was not unique to South Africa. In the Jeffri (2003: 6)

study of American jazz musicians, many performers stated that they could not always play professionally the music they preferred.

Other artists performed in other genres, either to increase their market visibility or increase their earning potential. Nigel Kennedy [4] was such an example of a serious classical violinist that performed in a range of genres, which increased his market potential. Locally, Sibongile Khumalo[5], a classically trained singer, performed in a range of genres that spanned classical to traditional to jazz.

Performing across genres had other benefits, among which was the opportunity it created to network within the industry. Music by genre in South Africa was hard to track, as this information had historically not been collected thoroughly (KPMG2001: 11).

Similarly, Abrahams (2003) traced the history of local music in South Africa in *Spinning Around: the South African Music Industry in Transition*. Beginning with the 1940s, Abrahams recounted the tales of many talented South African artists, producers and entrepreneurial music businessmen who achieved great success internationally, yet never received recognition locally. Citing examples of successful South African music players such as record executive Clive Calder and producer Phil Ramone, Abrahams pointed out that many talented and successful South Africans were not well known locally (Abrahams 2003: 8) [6].

This lack of recognition continues today where some local artists report that South African music is sometimes regarded as 'second rate' or 'improving' when compared to international or imported product. Survey respondents questioned this for this research often mentioned these phrases in the context of

[4] British classically trained violinist that has released acclaimed classical and jazz recordings
[5] South African soprano
[6] Clive Calder created Jive Records, which by 2002 was the single biggest independent record label world wide. Phil Ramone is a producer that has worked for the likes of Billy Joel, Frank Sinatra and Barbara Streisand.

issues around the South African identity as a musician. Abrahams (2003:27) argued that there were historical reasons for this lack of cohesive local identity. He pointed out that previously genres were differentiated on racial grounds. While South Africa had an abundance of musical talent, historically there had not been sufficient grooming of our talent for the music industry locally or globally, which had led to repercussions on the state of the current local industry. For example, licensing international product occurred at the expense of grooming local talent. Also, some successful South African musicians or industry people had not returned to plough their skills back into the local industry for various reasons.

As early as 1981, the recorded music industry had been criticized for its role of merely supplying international product to South African audiences (Abrahams 2003: 3). The major record companies of the time (and some musicians would argue that the trend has continued till today) ignored creatively engaging with the talent in South Africa and instead promoted lucrative international products.

Abrahams (2003: 4) argued that while apartheid might have been abolished, a legacy of its mindset still persisted in the record-buying public and among artists themselves through imitation. Some South African acts seemed to want to imitate internationally successful groups and similarly some audiences expected local acts to be imitations of international product. Abrahams (2003: 4) described this phenomenon as a lack of sense of self as a nation: 'Why we cannot believe that we can do as well as, if not better than, international acts, is beyond me'.

Abrahams highlighted the roles of performers and composers as critical for redefining South African music in the post-apartheid era.

2.2.3 Current Thoughts on the Music Industry

If one moves from the historical context to current thought on the local music industry, it is apparent that the historical representation of the music industry tended to focus on the recorded aspects of the music industry (of the past 100 years), which was wholly inadequate to explain or engage with dynamics in the live music arena. The report by Development Works commissioned by UNESCO in 2004 described on page 9 the music economy in Africa as driven by live performance. South Africa was listed among Congo, Kenya, Mali, Senegal and Tanzania as having an established music industry in terms of performance. South Africa and Zimbabwe were the only two countries on the continent that were listed as having an established recording industry.

In the case of the South African music industry, although there was an established recording industry, the major players preferred to market international talent as opposed to nurturing local talent. In this climate, live music had been a driving force for the local music industry. For example, the most active local performers on the live music scene were often the highest selling recording artists locally (Development Works 2004:20).

This view was supported by the KPMG report (2001:11), written specifically for the South African Music Industry, which stated that most South African musicians earned the majority of their income from live performances at venues or events. As the firm KPMG had media and entertainment clients, their Media and Entertainment department put together a report on the music industry to assist its clients in strategic planning. The information in this report, though fairly outdated by 2008, did sketch an outline of the local music industry. The report covered many topical issues from recorded product sales through to piracy and live music. In 2001, the researchers of this report attempted to describe live music and the earnings of live performers. However, their survey response rate was slow and thus the findings of the report were not published.

Ironically the report on 'Driving Creative Industries in the Western Cape' (Kristafor and Budhram 2003: 44) found the performing arts to be the smallest sub sector of the region, representing only 1.08% of the total businesses operating as 'creative industries'.[7]

One reason for the gap in literature written on the local live music industry was the difficulty relating to data. Data pertaining to the measurable aspects of the music industry was difficult to pin down. Some studies such as the *Take Note! The Renaissance of the Music Industry in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Development Works (2004:5-6); *Driving the Creative Industries in the Western Cape* (Kristafor and Budhram, 2003: 43) and *Facts, Trends, Future* (KPMG Report, 2001) lamented the lack of reliable information. For example, key economic indicators generally used to measure the health of an industry would be the number of people employed in the sector, the sector's contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or exports and the economic value they generated for the country (Development Works 2004: 5). Such information was often used to measure activity in a sector and strategize growth points for an industry. This type of information was typically not captured or considered, making an empirical study of the local music industry a difficult task. This was particularly the case with live music where little data existed on employment and economic values.

However, a lack of sufficient information was not unique to the South African context. According to Lebrecht in his 2007 March article 'The Classic Million Sellers', record labels have in the past kept sales figures in secrecy. However, store-tracking technology that tracks sales began exposing this. In addition, various researchers found creative ways around these difficulties in order to present a realistic view of the music industry in South Africa and its potential for growth. Steyn (2005: 74), through conducting private interviews and reviewing industry charts (available on risa.org.za), found it possible to interpret and present some facts and trends within the local music industry. Viewing the industry from the point of view of recorded product, Steyn (2005:54) made the case for a viable South African music industry. For example, despite international trends of

[7] The performing arts described in this report include dance, drama, orchestras, music, theatre and multi-media performances.

decreased music sales, local South African music continued to grow between 2001 and 2003. She saw this growth continuing provided the major recording companies presented in South Africa were prepared to focus on their core competency and keep up with the changing economic environment. In her view, these major players in the recording industry spread themselves too thinly by not focusing on their core competency, which was recording. In the local context this would include recording and grooming local talent. The changing economic environment included the threat of piracy and the easy availability of technology.

Abrahams (2003: 3) shared a similar opinion, though from a different angle. He too criticized the role played by the major record companies, not from a business strategy point of view, but from the stance of cultural vision. The vision of these 'majors', as they were referred to, was considered 'parochial' (ibid 2003), in that their main function in South Africa was to introduce international product. Promoting local product would potentially drive down international profits earned locally while increasing the value of the local industry.

This 'lack of vision' Abrahams argued was detrimental both culturally and economically to the local industry. Culturally, it had created a culture of imitation among some local artists who continued to emulate international acts. Economically, it was favorable to sell more local music product as the licensing and copyright fees stayed within the local industry. The more international music product was sold in South Africa, the more money organizations such as SAMRO had to pay out to other countries. Thus the local music industry lost vital revenue to licensing an abundance of international product locally[8]. While live music appeared to be the hub of the local music industry, it was potentially underperforming if valuable revenue was lost to the local market through licensing international product. Kristafor and Budhram (2003: 44) found that live performance was the smallest sub sector of the Western Cape region.

[8] For example, in 2003, local music sales (traceable recorded product sales) amounted to R 225 090 965.00. International music sales locally for the same year amounted to R479 920 879.00 (source RISA cited Steyn 2005: 54-56). The difference between the local sales and international sales for that year amounts to R254 829 914.00. While these figures represent recorded product, they give an indication to local performers how much money the local industry loses in terms of licensing, performing or selling international product locally.

Various issues relating to live music will be discussed in a later chapter. The local live music industry has the potential for growth and employment. Live events employ a variety of skilled and unskilled personnel. Discussions at MOSHITO (2007/2008) indicated that live music events created employment in the field of stage construction, hospitality, security etc. Yet if this vital area of the music industry was under performing (as in the case of the Western Cape), then some examination was necessary.

2.3 THE SECOND AND THIRD FIELDS OF INFLUENCE

Political and economic forces that shaped the working environment of the performer existed in the second and third fields of the performer. Through these fields, performers encountered political and economic forces that had a bearing on their creative life. In *Paying the Piper: Culture Music and Money*, Allan Peacock (1993) explained that the economic world of the musician provided valuable insight into the earnings of the musician and the economic structures that supported the music industry.

In the 1970s, Peacock and John Lazarus (1993:143) conducted a survey of music students at a York institution. While the survey results were low, it became apparent to the researchers that music students in general had very little idea about life in their chosen profession after graduating. They summed up the attitudes of many of the respondents surveyed at the time as follows:

> Moreover, a fair proportion of them clearly believed that they should be spared the trauma of making a living from satisfying audiences or pupils and should receive continuing and lasting state support to allow them to think great thoughts and to write masterpieces with long gestation periods (1993: 143).

These attitudes reflected little understanding of the complexities of how the music industry functioned and were thought to be the result of little or no music industry training among student musicians. The issues around funding were complex and such

attitudes as reflected above discredited the difficult decisions that funding bodies had to make with regard to the greater society. As a solution, Peacock (1993) argued that music schools should offer career advice, which could include the structures of various organizations in the music industry. Also a broad understanding of remuneration would be appropriate. The findings of this research complement the findings of this study in many ways and are discussed in greater detail in chapters six to nine.

Another text set in the United Kingdom by Ruth Towse examined the economics of performing in *Singers in the Marketplace: The Economics of the Singing Profession* (1993). Towse also discussed the economic aspects of performers (singers) in the music industry. Economic terms and concepts were clearly explained for musicians who were not familiar with such theories. These two texts (Towse and Peacock), while not being set in the local South African context, provided a good foundation for the research conducted in this study and for understanding dynamics in the music industry, especially with regard to payment structures, funding, regulation and career strategies.

While Towse and Peacock focused on economic structures underlying the music industry, Fillis (2002) expanded on the marketing aspects of the industry. His work examined the lives of successful painters of the past (Van Gogh, Dali, Warhol and Picasso) in an attempt to understand what entrepreneurial strategies they employed. Fillis, in his article, while acknowledging that many artists were not familiar with topics such as marketing and were bound to focus on their creative skill in their chosen medium, urged them also to look at entrepreneurial marketing as a creative exercise. He concluded his findings by drawing up a manifesto of marketing for organizations and individuals in art sectors.

Music events were competing not only with limited resources (limited funding), but were also competing in an increasingly crowded entertainment market place. Well thought out creative arts marketing would thus be necessary to attract new audiences and nurture current audiences for live performance. The consumer had multiple choices and competing products on which to spend his or her disposable income: ‘Shifts in consumer

spending, largely attributable to the National Lottery and cellular telephones, have also contributed to the decline in the media and entertainment industries' share of disposable income' (KPMG 2001:8).

Many contributing factors were pushing artists or organizations in the direction of creative marketing. These included increasing competition in the marketplace for the audience's leisure time and disposable income, globalization, decreased state funding and maintaining and developing new audiences. Personnel employed in arts administration, as well as practicing artists were having to adopt a more holistic skill set that included marketing, entrepreneurial and management skills (Fillis 2002:132-133).

Creativity was essential to both marketing and making a work of art. Fillis, in drawing parallels between the realm of the arts and business, remarked that like the discipline of art, entrepreneurial behavior was practiced and refined through experience. Artists could learn entrepreneurial skills by taking a few risks and trying new marketing ideas themselves.

The study by Kubacki and Croft (2005: 226) in *Paying the Piper: A Study of Musicians and the Music Business* based its perspective on the conflict between 'for profit' and 'not for profit' organizations active in the music arena, and also the dilemma of the jazz/classical musician (referring to the art versus business debate). The aim of the paper was to examine how musicians viewed the money-art dichotomy. This research is relevant to Kubacki and Croft's study in that the researchers aimed to interview live performers for their comments on the music industry.

As the authors (ibid, 2005:225) pointed out, there were misunderstandings of expectations between the musicians and the organizations that used their services. Musicians, performers and composers who often described the creative process as self-satisfying, that is they created for themselves, not for an audience, scorned organizations for concentrating on commercial profit over artistic integrity. The organizations,

however, understood the role of the audience or sales on receiving a work of art (ibid, 2005: 233-234). The findings of this study were relevant to my research in that they provided insights into performers' views from other localities (Wales and Poland) and the study explored the views of the art versus business debate.

By contrast, Markusen's 2006 study *Crossover: How Artists Build Careers across Commercial, Non-profit and Community Work* showed that artists regularly crossed between corporate, non-profit and community-based work and were not confined to either profit or non-profit work. Markusen's study gave a description of resourceful Los Angeles artists that thrived on a variety of work from corporate to non-profit to community projects. The artists surveyed in this study gained 'psychic income' (Towse's term for non-income related 'earnings') from community and non-profit projects. Corporate projects offered artists good earning potential but, interestingly, some artists reported that the scale of the corporate projects allowed the artist broader scope. Markusen (2006:10) believed that corporate projects thus offered increased visibility to artists. The art versus business debate was thus changing. Artists were aware of the possibilities that corporate projects could offer. Artists were also not restricted by profit structures or ideologies. This movement represented a shift for the artist. Perhaps artists were choosing not to sign restrictive contracts with 'for' on 'not for' profit entities, or perhaps artists were adopting an entrepreneurial spirit managing themselves as freelancers.

2.3.1 Art versus Business

Art versus business has been a long-standing debate in music circles. Shaw (2007:19) described the tension between art and business as a balance of power '… fought between creative control and profit'.

Some artists and performers viewed the business aspects of the music industry with suspicion, expressing ambivalence towards the prioritizing of money-making over artistic integrity. Decisions made on the basis of profit alone did not necessarily align with the

artistic intentions of the performers. Some artists went so far as to alienate art and business with the view that the two were incompatible. The surveyed musicians in the Kubacki and Croft study of 2005 distanced themselves from music understood as a business. They preferred to focus their attention on their performances or works rather than concern themselves too much with a market-oriented view.

As a result of this tension between art and business, many performers were not skilled in the business aspects of their careers as their teachers and institutions did not adequately equip students in this regard. Marcone (1984:38-39) highlighted the lack of training given to music students in this area. If music students were not skilled in industry skills then the tasks would fall to willing business-minded professionals. Towse (1993, 193) concurred with Marcone in pointing out that leaving the business side of the music industry to non-musicians was not always beneficial to musicians:

> Many people, particularly in the arts … reject price as a measure of value, particularly where what is being priced is something as precious and intangible as artistic genius or … great talent … but it is worthwhile considering what the alternatives are to leaving it to the market to solve the question of rates of pay and employment.

As mentioned above, non-musicians working in the music industry generally had goals and intentions for the music industry that might not line up with artists' creative goals and intentions. Towse made the point that if musicians were not involved in their own industry, market forces (such as supply and demand) would naturally come to the fore. It was thus important for performers to engage actively with their industry. Also non-performing music students could get involved in the business aspects of the music industry if they were adequately skilled to do so.

Baloyi (2005:75) suggested that it was imperative for musicians to regard the economic nature of their industry, as the successes of the cultural industries have a positive affect on their country’s economy. He proposed that a mindset that regarded musical endeavors as purely cultural and not economical could have a severely detrimental effect on the revenue of developing nations. The cultural heritage or uniqueness of developing nations

offered great potential profit and revenue. Baloyi (2005:75) believed that the markets in developed countries more openly accepted intellectual property products from developing countries than their agricultural and manufactured product. The cultural heritage or uniqueness of developing nations offered great potential for profit and revenue. Unfortunately, many governments and musicians in the developing world did not themselves recognize the potential for growth that their music could offer their country.

2.4 MEDIA AND TECHNOLOGY

A discussion about the music industry cannot be held without examining the influence of technological developments such as digitization, which radically altered the music industry both in terms of how it created its products and how it made these available in the market place. The new ways in which media was stored, transferred and consumed created new opportunities and challenges for musicians. Television and visual media altered how music was consumed and broadcast and thus changed how performers interacted with their audiences.

Negus, in his article, *Musicians on Television: Visible, Audible and Ignored* (2006: 315), recounted how in the 19th century, classical music was detached from visuals. Concertgoers would attend concerts and close their eyes to appreciate the music. Even with the advent of recordings, private listeners would draw the curtains at home and listen to a recording without distractions. This has largely changed owing to live music broadcasts on television. In contrast to the 19th century practice of closing one's eyes at a live concert, audiences today expect to see the performers onstage. The visuals are now an integral part of the live experience.

Negus (2006:310) argued that the links between music and visuals were longstanding. Live performing musicians were visuals in themselves. With the technological development in media, attitudes towards visuals and media were changing. Negus's discussion highlighted the important role that visuals played in the live performance context. A live performer now has to consider the importance of not only his or her

repertoire, but the visual aspects of the performances (especially if the live performance is to be broadcast).

Another form of media vital to performing musicians was the music press. Performers were discussed in this research with relation to the two vital aspects of their performance space (venue) and their public or audience. The following two sources by Brennan (2006) and Watson and Anand (2006) discussed ways in which performers related to the public through the music press and through award ceremonies.

Lucia (2005:101) also covered aspects of the music press in South Africa, reflecting on local performer's attitudes towards the press. Shaw (2007: 289) provided practical information on how a performer could set up a 'press kit' to deliver to the music press.

Rule (2008) interviewed local music journalists and jazz musicians in order to understand cultural reporting in South Africa. Rule's findings were similar to Brennan's in indicating a lack of understanding on the part of performers as to the mechanism of the cultural media. Education in terms of the cultural press and improved dialogue between the press and the performers would help in fostering better relationships with the public.

2.4.1 The Audience for Live Music

Technology, the press and award structures were valuable devices for performers to utilize in communicating with their audiences. The audience would be shown through this research to be a valuable aspect of live music performance and as such, audience studies were relevant to this study. The performer thus required a good understanding of audience behavior as well as requiring audience development skills in order to attract and maintain audiences for live music. Building audiences for local live music ultimately assisted in growing the demand base for live music thus growing the local industry. Pitts and Spencer (2008) in *Loyalty and Longevity in Audience Listening: Investigating Experiences of Attendance at a Chamber Music Festival*, aimed at understanding the experiences of concert listeners. Their study focused on a faithful festival audience at an

annual classical concert season in the United Kingdom and discusses aspects of audience nurturing and development.

Kurabayashi and Matsuda (1988:396-398) similarly researched the market for orchestral music in Japan. In discussing their findings, various suggestions are made towards developing audiences for live music.

2.5 CONCLUSION

As discussed, the literature available on the music industry globally and locally was not sufficient to cover a study on the South African live music scene adequately. (This study specifically traced the Gauteng/Johannesburg scene.) The articles and studies mentioned here were useful in creating a body of work on which to base this research. The historical context provided by Coplan (2007) and Abrahams (2003) gave context to the current issues plaguing the local live music scene. Current accounts of the local music industry as reported in The KPMG report (2001) and the Development Works report (2004) highlighted the importance of live music as a sector of the industry. Technical advancements affecting the industry emphasized the changing environment of the live performer. Negus (2006) in this regard highlighted the changes brought to live performance through the introduction of audiovisual media.

An understanding of the business aspects of the music industry, such as economics and marketing were acknowledged to be useful skills for performers. Fillis (2002), Peacock (1993) and Towse (1993) provided invaluable insights in this regard, through applying aspects of economics and marketing to the arts. This literature provided the research with a framework for understanding the local music industry from an economic perspective.

The performer and the audience were part of the same equation for live music. The first part of the performance equation began with the role of performers and live performance in the local context, while the next part included the performance spaces that facilitated live events. The third part of the equation was the audience for live music performance.

Audience studies were included to clarify the experiences of concertgoers, in particular the studies by Pitts and Spencer (2008) and Kurabayashi and Matsuda (1988) that focused on live music audience behavior. Fostering audiences for live music provided the performer with sustainable career prospects. Both studies included the performer as part of an audience development strategy.

While much of the literature was set in foreign contexts, relevant points were extracted for discussion in the local context. Local information on live performance was obtained though music conferences, interviews and surveys and music newspaper listings. Such sources were more interactive and in many instances provided first-hand information from the performer, though such information may tend to be more subjective in nature. Some literature sources included interviews and surveys among musicians on topics related to the music industry and live performance. Lucia (2005) included interviews with local classical and jazz performers while Kubacki and Croft (2005) interviewed musicians from Wales and Poland in order to uncover the attitudes of performers to the music industry. Such sources provided responses from musicians that could not be accessed for this study as well as presenting alternate views from overseas musicians.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to show that live performance is becoming more significant and that the role of the live performer in this sub sector would become more meaningful in growing the music industry. In order to study this role and the possibilities of the local live industry, live performers were questioned on their current live practices. Information on the live music industry was accessed through a process of interviews and survey with local practitioners.

It was important to this research to understand local performers' interaction with the music industry. As this study intended to show that local live performers were thus in a strategic position to play a critical role in growing local music, the skills levels of local performers, their attitudes and perceptions were investigated. Performers were generally self-employed and thus made career decisions and strategies based on the information available to them at the time. Often such information was disseminated via word of mouth in the music community. This research intended to test the level of industry competency of local performers and to understand how performers accessed information on their industry. The research also tried to collect data on aspects of the industry in order to provide some reliable information to performers.

Through analysis, the study attempted to show whatever values were published about the industry and strove to offset that data with survey and interview responses. On this level the research was, therefore, quantitative. The intention of gathering and presenting such data was to compile a representation of what exists as the local live music industry in South Africa.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

The methodology was two-fold. First sources were gathered: articles, journals and reports that cover issues relating to the local and international music industry including reports from local role players.

The second form of methodology was ethnographic. The research process included observation and participation at conferences, interviews, questionnaires and data collection and analysis of live music venue listings. The researcher attended various local conferences that discussed issues relating to the music industry including MOSHITO 2007 and 2008, SAMRO music industry information session 2007 and the South Atlantic Jazz Conference 2008.

Where possible, central points of information were accessed. For example, online music newsletters were utilized as a means of delivering the online survey to performing musicians. A challenge encountered in this research was the decentralized nature of the performing sector. Centralized information on performers and central points of accessing performers were typically not present although music conferences such as MOSHITO (Johannesburg) and the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference (Cape Town) did provide a central location for some data and access to performers. In other studies of a similar nature, researchers, including Jeffri (2003), Homan (2008) and Towse (1993), had interviewed musicians and utilized data collected by musicians' unions and been able to access performers through such bodies. Access to union information facilitated data on earnings, work opportunities and health benefits etc. While the above mentioned studies were not conducted in South Africa, studies of a similar nature that intended to uncover the earning potential and work-life of local performers, could not be located at the time of conducting this research

The local union CWUSA (Creative Workers' Union of South Africa) is not representative of all music performers locally as its membership is not exclusive to musicians. For example, a pamphlet disseminated by CWUSA at MOSHITO 2008, claimed a

membership of 2500 actors and musicians. The local union typically did not have data on earnings, retirement and health benefits. This study thus did not have foundational exiting data on performers on which to build further research. This presented a challenge in designing the survey and interview questionnaires, as it was difficult to decide which questions were most important to ask of the respondents given the time limitations when conducting a survey or interview. The questions for the interview and survey groups were crafted in accordance with the Wits University Ethics Committee guidelines. The findings of this research are thus important in creating a database of information on local live music performers; however, more research needs to be conducted in this field in order to expand on the data set. Various research methodologies were combined in order to investigate the topic of local live music performance. These include survey and interview techniques as well as tracking data of live music venues listings in the Johannesburg/Pretoria region, conference attendance and some preliminary studies conducted by the KPMG Report (2001) and Development Works Report (2004).

As an active participant in the local music industry, the researcher had the opportunity of accessing a diverse database as she currently works in a variety of live musical projects that provide numerous contacts. This connection also afforded contact with many performing musicians whose opinions and views could be accessed through the interview process. The survey was conducted online and distributed peer to peer while the interview process was conducted face to face. As a researcher and performer, however, both advantages and disadvantages were evident in conducting this research. As a performer, access to other performers was facilitated by this researcher's firsthand knowledge of the local industry. Through knowledge of online newsletters and musicians' groups, links to the online survey were sent out randomly to local performers.

Interviews were similarly conducted with firsthand access to performers 'on the job' at various performances. Because of the experience of the performer/researcher, some of the interview subjects felt a measure of trust in the interview process. Two drawbacks, however, were some degree of subjectivity on the part of the writer and the suspicion with which some respondents regarded her motives in conducting the interviews. Very

possibly, if the researcher had not been an active performer, the level of suspicion would have been reduced.

The first round of fieldwork began with an online survey. The survey depended on a random peer-to-peer mechanism. Performers were emailed a link to the online site (createsurvey.com) where the survey was hosted. Strategic performers that regularly sent information out to performers via mailing lists were targeted. From there the online survey was distributed to peers.[9] A total of 64 responses to the online survey were received. Many links to the survey were sent out to prospective candidates, but 64 completed responses were received A disadvantage of the online survey was that it excluded musicians without access to the Internet. The age and profile information of the survey sample showed that a wide range of respondents from various backgrounds did respond. As the online survey was not restricted geographically to the test area of Johannesburg and targeted live performers across South Africa, it provided contact with a greater pool of musicians as a research sample. As the final sample was random and anonymous, the researcher had a degree of objectivity with the findings of this set.

After completion of the survey sample, an initial round of face-to-face interviews was conducted with live music performers. Access to performers was gained through word-of –mouth referral. In conducting this fieldwork, the researcher was able to combine some aspects of the research endeavor: namely, conducting some of interviews during her working schedule (as a local live music performer). This process had some positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, arranging interviews was not a problem logistically as performers were present at a performance and on-the-job. This meant that such performers did not need to go out of their way to attend an interview. Interviews were conducted during waiting periods such as after a sound check or during long intervals. Because many performers, however, declined to participate in the research through an interview, a small sample size of 10 interviewees was left.

[9] One such mailing list in total had 61 addresses.

Some of the interviews were conducted in 'off-time' and from this data it became apparent in the data that the interviewees answered differently on and off the job. A few performers felt they were not completely in the right mental frame of mind to conduct an interview while in a working context. One or two felt they were too 'tired' to engage adequately with the questions. Mostly though the interviewees found the subject matter to be of interest and in some cases lively debates and discussions concluded the interviews. The interview sample was restricted to the performer's circle of influence and as such is limited and not completely representative of all performers. A degree of subjectivity is thus present in this set of data. Though the interview sample was fairly small, the researcher was able to pose questions of a more personal nature with some questions repeated with the survey sample.

As the initial interview sample was limited, a third round of fieldwork was undertaken in order to 'test' the results of the first and second rounds of fieldwork. Through networking events such as MOSHITO, the researcher gained contacts with performers and non-performers (industry practitioners actively involved with performers) who agreed to participate in a round of interviews. The researcher did not personally know many of these respondents. Some of the interviews took place face to face, and other interviews, owing to time constraints, were conducted via electronic discussion (email). An additional seven performers and six non-performers agreed to the third round of interviews. A total of 45 interview requests was sent out with 13 successful interviews conducted. The respondents were asked the same questions put to the initial interviewees, though from a different perspective. Instead of rating themselves and answering from their experience, this set of respondents was asked to evaluate their peers. The results from this set of interviews are intended to triangulate the results from the online survey and first round of interviews.

The combined data of the two rounds of interviews and the online survey sample should thus be complementary and provide a balanced view of the data. Issues relating to self-assessment were encountered in the interview and survey process. Interviewed subjects were requested to rate their competencies in various areas of the music industry. For

example, on the topic of ‘professionalism’ (this term is better defined in chapter 7) most performers rated themselves highly, while complaining of a lack of professionalism in the industry. This could highlight two issues: first, performers perhaps applied different connotations to the word ‘professionalism’ when rating themselves and rating others. Second, performers perhaps subjectively rated themselves highly on professionalism while rating others lower than themselves. Unreliable self-assessment on the part of performers is thus present in this research though the opinions of the musician whether reliable or not, do give insights into what performers believe about themselves and the local music industry.

For a separate view on the live music scene in Johannesburg, venue listings in a weekly publication were tracked. The venue listings were collected from the *Mail and Guardian* weekly paper, Gauteng edition with a view to tracking the frequency and activity of live performances in an area of the live performance scene where very little information was present. Live performance venues such as clubs and restaurants typically did not track data on live music performance. The publication published a comprehensive listing of music venues once a week from which useful data on related aspects such as cover charges, frequency and seasonality could be collected. Data was collected over the course of 2008 from February through to November, totaling 40 weeks. Owing to supply issues, two or three editions were missed and therefore the data was not completely consecutive.

3.3 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

As the survey process was conducted online, performers who did not have access to the Internet were excluded from this research. The survey was spread randomly from peer to peer and thus it was difficult to control for the size and profile of the sample.

The interview process was conducted at live performances and was also a random sample as performers present were asked to participate. Many of the respondents were personally known to the researcher, which presented a level of trust in the research process, but

might also have brought in an element of bias from the researcher or self-consciousness on the part of the respondents. Some of the respondents regarded the researcher's intentions with suspicion. The working environment of the performer proved to be a problematic place for interviews to take place. A few performers felt the interview process was 'too much' to think about given the work environment. In hindsight, some interviews could have been conducted privately during personal time. As interviews can be a time-consuming exercise, the working environment provided the researcher with easy access to a number of performers, though, as many performers declined the initial round of interviews, the interview sample rate for this research report is unfortunately small.

The time of year also seemed to be a factor in the research process. The online survey links were sent out over the January/February period when most performers experience a quieter work schedule. During this time frame, the researcher found that most respondents participated in the research. In comparison, the first round of interviews was conducted during the period from July to September and the second round of interviews was conducted from September to October. As noted elsewhere in this study, live music performance is a highly seasonal activity, with peaks in activity occurring during April and the summer months. Thus the interview process may have attracted more participants than if the interviews had occurred during the quieter periods.

The objectivity of the researcher was affected by the researcher's activities as a performer herself.

3.4 PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS (INTERVIEW AND SURVEY SAMPLE)

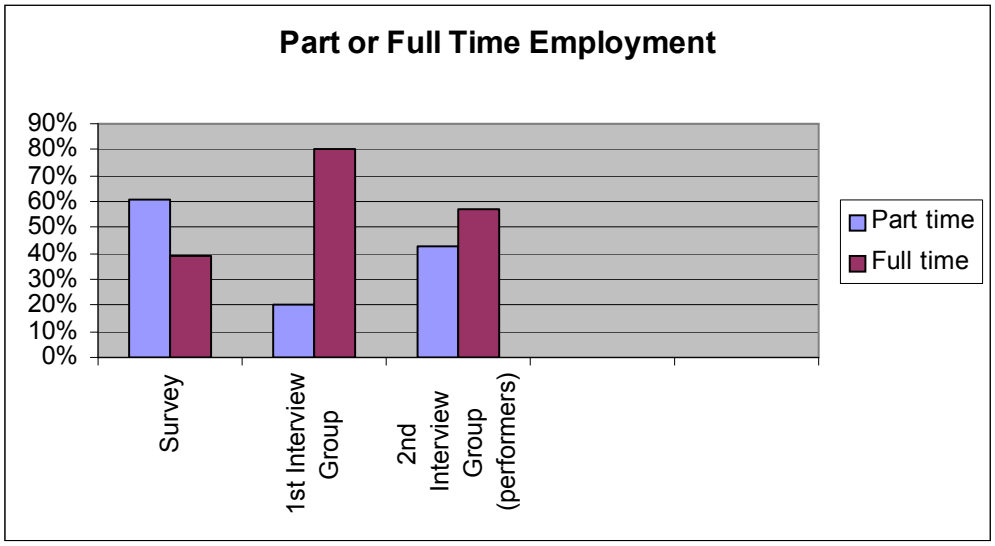
The profile information on the respondents will give the reader of this study an idea of the age, capacity, and experience of the sample group. This information is relevant to this research as it provides perspective on the data collected. Professional status, age, gender, experience, part- or full-time performer and frequency of performances profiled respondents.

3.4.1 Professional Status

The survey group was asked about their professional performing capacity. A large portion, over 80%, of the respondents, charged for their services. This indicated healthy trade and professional activity in the industry.

As the survey sample was a random group, various questions were asked to gauge how many of the sample performed professionally as opposed to those who performed part-time or as a hobby; for example, each member of this sample was asked how many years he/she had performed 'professionally'. This was relevant as this research is based on 'professional' music performers, that is, those performers that earn a living or a part of their living from performances.

Table 1 Type of Employment: Part or Full Time



The survey sample was largely a part time group of performers, though a fair portion of this group were full time live music performers. Of the interview groups, the performers were mostly full time performers. Of this group, a few that were part time had previously been full time performers that had become part time performers due to lifestyle changes such as motherhood or postgraduate study.

Table 2 Performance experience in years of the survey group

None	14%
1-5	19%
5-10	23%
More	44%

Table 3 Performance experience in years of the interview groups

First interview group ranged from 3-28 years
Performing second group ranged from 1-42 years
Non-performing second group ranged from 2-11 years

Of the first interview group, 100% were full time professionals. As the interviews were conducted in a work environment, the interview sample was more likely to be comprised of full-time professional performers. The second interview groups too were largely full time professionals.

3.4.2 Age

The relevance of the age of the sample group showed the longevity of a performing career. Age was also an indicator of experience in the music industry. The broad range in the age group reflected a wide number of perspectives from the sample.

Table 4 Age breakdown of the survey group

16-21	1.56%
21-25	17.19%
25-30	21.88%
30-40	43.75%
40-50	9.38%
50-60	6.25%
Above 60	0 0.00%

The ages of the interview groups were between 21 and 60.

3.4.3 Experience

The range of experience was vast between both survey and interview. Among the survey respondents, 44% had performed professionally for more than 10 years. The first interview group ranged from 3-28 years of experience in the music industry. The second interview group had the most experience ranging from 1-42 years' experience for performers and 2-36 years for non-performers.

What this indicated was that there was room for a long-lasting career in the local music industry, both as a performer and a non-performer. Many of the respondents for this research had considerable experience from which to comment.

3.4.4 Gender

Gender differences were vast among survey respondents; mostly being male (67%). Yet in the first interview set the gender was 50/50. In conducting the interviews, random performers were asked to participate in the interview process. Of the second interview

group the performers were split 40% female, 60% male while the non-performing group were split 50/50. There were no contrived means to solicit an equal number of male and female respondents. Although many performers were approached to participate in the interview process, a number of performers approached for permission declined to be interviewed.

3.4.5 Part- or full-time employment

Only 39.6% of the respondents who took part in the online survey were employed full-time with the majority (61.90%) being part-time.

The interview respondents described themselves as full-time musicians (80%). As the interviews were conducted in the working context of the researcher/performer, it was likely that most of the respondents would be full-time musicians. Of the first interview group, 100% were full-time professionals. As the interviews were conducted in a work environment, the interview sample was more likely to be comprised of full-time professional performers.

The second interview group was divided into two groups, comprising performers and non-performers. Of the performers, 42% were part-time and 57% full-time. Of those that were part-time, two thirds had previously been full-time and had recently become part-time owing to lifestyle changes such as being a new mother or a growing teaching schedule. One part-time respondent was a postgraduate music student hoping to become a full-time student on completion of his studies.

Of the non-performers, the sample was composed of full-time staff that worked with live performers in a variety of contexts including booking agents, an orchestral manager and agency CEO, a live recording engineer and a production and events organiser.

3.4.6 Frequency

Respondents were asked about the frequency of their performances in order to gauge the profitability of a performing career and the amount of work performers were doing on average. A number of respondents highlighted that the nature of their work was seasonal and therefore not consistent. They were asked to describe on average the number of their performances per week and per month. Variations in numbers from week to month may reflect the seasonal nature of performance work. The differences between the two groups may reflect the more part-time capacity of the survey respondents and the full-time capacity of the interviewed respondents.

Survey results averaged two performances per week and eight per month.
The first interview results averaged 5 performances per week and 19 per month.
The performers of the second interview results averaged 1.4 per week and 7.2 per month.
The non-performers of the second group averaged 6.6 per week and 27 per month.

3.5 CONCLUSION

The research process for this study received greater response in the area of the online survey. In the interview process, however, fewer participants were willing to participate. Despite such challenges, the research process prompted lively debates at various locations where the interviews were conducted. Local musicians on the whole were interested in learning about and contributing to their industry.

The data gathered from this research will be useful for performing musicians but also for the decision-makers in the music industry. As such data has typically not been collected in the local context, the data set will provide much-needed information to clarify what is happening in the live performing sector. More data, however, needs to be collected. Many questions that could have been posed to the live performing sample were outside of the scope of this research.

PART 2 CONTEXT: THE WORK ENVIRONMENT OF THE LIVE PERFORMER

The second part of this research outlined the environment in which the performer worked. The milieu of the performer was important to this study as this research sought to highlight areas where the performer operated with inadequate knowledge of their working environment. To this end, certain aspects of the performer's milieu were discussed in this research.

Kubacki reasoned in the quote below that the working experience of performers and their employers was not harmonious owing to a lack of understanding and communication:

'…there is a large gap between the expectations of the artists and the organizations which employ them and fund their work. It is important that these expectations are understood and if possible, bridged' (Kubacki 2005: 225)

The following chapters aim to describe the working environment and of the performer. Some indications of local performers expectations were uncovered through this research and these will be presented not as fact, but as the performers understanding of their field.

CHAPTER 4: THE MARKETPLACE OF THE PERFORMER

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the marketplace where live music occurs. It is the backdrop against which live music operates and locates performers in their economic environment. This economic environment shapes the industry to a large extent. In terms of the limited fields of productions this chapter is located in the second and third fields of the performing artist: namely, the economic and legal fields that interact with the performer. These fields directly affect the performing space, distribution of product, artist visibility or merchandising opportunities available to a performer. The aim of this chapter is to highlight some of the practices of the second to third field that directly impact the

working environment of the performer. In discussing these fields, areas where musicians lack sufficient knowledge of their industry become more visible.

4.2 ECONOMIC FIELD

The local and global economic landscapes were part of the second and third field of the performing artist, influencing arts funding, audience behaviour, tax, marketing, business practices and so on. The performing musician might not be well acquainted with this field as economic terms and references were not easily understood by the uninitiated. While it was not necessary for performers or musicians to be economic experts, though as live performers most were likely to be self-employed (Towse 1993: 82), a basic level of economic literacy would be beneficial to their careers.

During Towse's studies of the singers' market in the United Kingdom, she encountered some singers who had no idea of how much they earned. All discussions relating to fees were left to their agents (Towse1993: 8). Shaw (2007: 156) similarly describes artists as unsophisticated in their approach to business, even when it comes to their own money'.

Basic professional knowledge was shown to be lacking amongst Towse's research group. Many agents and employers researched by Towse (1993: 13) complained that many graduates did not know how to write letters of application or curricula vitae (The interviews undertaken for this research also highlighted results in chapter six that reflect a poor competency amongst performers in various industry- relevant skills.

A performer or musician that was disempowered by a lack of basic economic or legal literacy was likely to be exploited by unscrupulous players in the music industry.
The following description of the economic field serves to locate the world of the performer within the second and third field. Performers are thus better able to understand economic issues affecting their industry. Towse (1993:7) suggested that while some artists might not claim to be interested in the economics of the music industry, there was evidence that singers (and musicians) did respond to economic incentives. A simple example was a performer who felt it was not worth his/her while to perform for less than

X amount (Towse 1993: 7). This particular performer did not only wish to perform for money, but might realize that different types of work were equivalent to different types of fees. Sometimes hidden costs were involved such as the time cost of learning new repertoire and thus a performer would not perform for a lesser amount.

An economic principle applicable to music was the divisibility and excludability of a good or service. A live performance was divisible by the number of tickets available to the event and a consumer could be excluded by not being prepared to pay for the ticket. However, the market became more complex when performances were extended to media such as radio and television. This happened because the 'principle of exclusion' became difficult to apply in these instances (Peacock 1993: 44). Hence, complicated royalty structures and performance rights bodies became involved.

This led on to defining music as a performance or work in terms of cost. Peacock listed three categories to calculate costs. Firstly, legal protections should be secured, that is, securing copyright or intellectual property of a work. Secondly, monitoring public performances of a work in countries where copyrights were protected. Thirdly, a fee for public performance was negotiated. In this three-step process, it was evident that legal costs were required in determining the terms of copyrights, protection and negotiation. This was particularly relevant to live performers whose performances were broadcast, or who composed their own works.

Live music was also paired with tourism. A discussion with a jazz musician highlighted that many township tours for example, included a stop at a shebeen, which might offer live music. Live music was also performed at hotels and other tourist attractions. Overseas business trips often employed local musicians for cocktail functions or product launches. Tourism certainly brought in a lot of income for the music industry, but it was difficult to establish how much this would be.

4.2.1 Risk

In economic terms, risk and uncertainty were not the same. Risk applied to situations where a probable outcome could be calculated whereas uncertainty applied when it was impossible to determine an outcome (Towse 1993: 176). In many instances in a performer's career, both risk and uncertainty would be present.

The KPMG report highlighted the role of risk in the music industry. Risk was an important aspect for the live performer to consider before embarking on a career in music. The report cited an American finding that only one in ten acts in the music industry ever turned a profit (KPMG 2001: 6). Abrahams (2003:2) described risk as the difficulty in perceiving and managing potential talent before it was successful: 'Anyone can see an apple when it's dropped in their hands, but few can see the apple in the seed'.

Those involved in grooming an artist given the risky environment thus often expected great return on investment when the artist was successful. The high-risk profile of the music industry was an often-overlooked aspect by performers.

Risk in the music industry included the small chance attaining high earnings over the greater chance of lower earnings (Towse 1993: 175). The role of risk in the live performance industry also explained the high earnings of a few performers. Adam Smith (cited Towse 1993: 176) explained that the one who won a lottery, gained all that was lost by those that did not win.

Risk in the life of a performer though did decrease the more established a performer became. Once a performer reached a level of recognition, the risk of failure was considered to be very low. Thus for performers starting out or in the processes of establishing themselves, risk factors were higher.

Fillis (2002: 135) described the risks involved in arts marketing. For example, strategies that increased visibility in a crowded market place involved risk-taking behaviours.

Taking risks, he further explained, sometimes involved deviating from accepted practices with enormous self-belief and determination.

It was a long and challenging process to train talented musicians for the music industry. Many well-trained artists though did not manage to recover the costs of their training in the music industry. Some faded into obscurity, while others continued to operate in the music industry on some level, but perhaps never attained an earning potential equivalent to the cost of their training.

In the music industry it was not always possible to determine employment and therefore a measure of risk and uncertainty prevailed for performers. A performer's risk profile should be determined before he or she entered a career in the music industry. Those choosing to enter such an industry should have an appetite for risk and the ability to deal with uncertainty in their careers.

Music academies often groomed students for a career in music based on their musical talent. Considering the nature of the music industry, perhaps students should be groomed based on their risk appetite as well.

Perhaps some of the complaints about the local music industry gained from this research's responses stemmed from some musicians being less tolerant of risk. Some survey respondents complained as follows: 'There is not much of a market for classical live performances – excluding weddings, functions, etc. – and the pay is not great. It's difficult to make a name for yourself or your group.

Live music performance was competitive and risky for performers as they competed with other genres and performers for audience attention and venues. There was no guarantee of a market or audience for a particular genre. As previously discussed, markets for musical products needed to be carefully constructed and maintained.[10]

[10] See Chapter 1: Theoretical Background.

Other comments from the survey group on their industry are noted in italics. The comments only reflect the views of some of the respondents. While these comments may or may not be factual, the issue of importance for this research is that the live music performer would be basing their career decisions on such views

Not enough funding/opportunities

Decreased availability of funding made the music industry a risky business venture, especially for performers who had become accustomed to funding or grants.

Lack of interest from general public in certain genres.

Some performers felt that their genre of specialization was not well supported by the general public.Several facts must be borne in mind: audiences were under no obligation to support a particular genre or performer; a performer could also not expect automatic interest from an audience; in choosing to perform, the performer must accept the risks associated in performing to an audience; receptive audiences required nurture and development.
This topic will be elaborated on later in this research.

There was a tension between a music industry driven by market forces on the one hand and regulation or funding on the other. At conferences such as MOSHITO, various calls were made for regulations such as a minimum rate for performer. Attempts to over-regulate or fund the music industry in order to remove uncertainty from the industry could be stifling to the industry. Such regulated systems could also be costly and could often lead to bureaucracy and inflexibility. In addition, personal incentives for initiative or entrepreneurial spirit were not rewarded if uncertainty was removed. As the music industry was composed of a workforce that tended to thrive on creativity and flexibility, an over-regulated market would be creatively unsatisfying to its practitioners. Fillis (2002:141) remarked: '…those practicing and encouraging entrepreneurial creative thinking will always do so, regardless of the lack of a supportive infrastructure'. Some regulation, however, was necessary to the local music industry

4.2.2 Funding

The lack of funding for music in South Africa was, an issue that the performers surveyed for this research felt strongly about. A discussion on the complexities of funding was thus included in order to better understand the workings of arts funding bodies. The following were some of the complaints regarding funding from the survey group:

Lack of funding, "developing world mentality", lack of education

Very little support from government (Arts and Culture only caters for its friends)

...there is little government funding for classical music specifically, which leads to less interest in the genre

Peacock (1993:40) revealed that in his experience a funding body had limited resources, which inevitably resulted in unpopular decisions being made. He further defined 'tragic choices', instances where funders had to price works of art whose value was difficult to ascertain or had to choose to fund one work of art over another.

One source of revenue for the musician was public support. To use resources for the needs of a community, it must be proved that there were benefits to the community at large and funding for musical projects would be just one of these. Peacock (Date, page) made the case for music funding where musical projects aligned with other objectives. For example, a music concert could attract tourists to a certain area.

In this case music became a 'joint product' supplied together with meals, accommodation and other tourists activities (Peacock1993: 27). Such a venture would benefit the community at large far more than a concert in isolation would and thus would be likely to attract funding. Peacock's suggestion was in line with ideas mentioned at the South Atlantic Jazz Conference 2007 where links were proposed between music events such as festivals and tourism.

Peacock gave an in-depth look into the intricacies of funding culture. He concluded that it was fraught with many problems and issues and was by no means an easy task. Issues included funding culture to obtain a 'cultural vote'. Certain politicians might publicly fund art projects to garner political votes. Funding certain bodies could also create 'cultural monopolies' and issues related to accountability in organizations. An interesting point raised by Peacock, was that one overlooked reason why musicians battled to secure funding was due to their own inability to explain their plans and procedures convincingly to their sponsors:

> Artists are frequently inarticulate in explaining their plans and procedures. They are sometimes rather hostile to the uninitiated outsider, however good his intentions, however deep his concern…Thus patience and acceptance of occasionally difficult personal relations is a necessity in supporting the arts' (The Rockefeller Panel Report on the Performing Arts 1965 cited Peacock 1993: 29).

Musicians did need to learn to present themselves in an articulate manner. This quote supported the claim by Kubacki (2005: 225) that a large gap existed between the expectations of donors or employers and artists. Unmatched expectations could lead to misunderstandings, poor communication and unrealistic expectations.

Sources for art funding varied from the private to the public sector. A source of funding that came indirectly from the state was in the form of tax concessions to companies that supported registered NGOs (Non-Government Organizations) or registered charities. A corporate that chose to fund or support an ensemble or artist, could leverage its brand off the popularity, status or goals of the ensemble or artist.

In South Africa the emphasis was more on 'upliftment' in areas of sport and culture than sponsoring arts for purely cultural values as described in an interview with a local tax accountant. Simply put, there was no tax incentive for corporate companies supporting the arts locally. This was not necessarily the whole picture, though, as corporate companies that did support sport or culture for example, could write the expense off to an advertisement/marketing cost that they could claim as a deduction. Corporate companies

thus made a decision to support the arts based on a business-related outcome. Some examples of such outcomes could include that the support of a concert series would introduce their brand to new clientele. Supporting a certain art offering could align with a corporate brand or lifestyle market. Musicians could apply such outcomes into their proposals when they approached a corporate for funding. They could present their artistic venture in such a way that the corporate would realize the potential for mutual benefit

Whilst not being against funding for musical projects, Peacock (1993: 144) was cautious of reliance on funding: '…governments cannot be relied on to remove the major economic uncertainties which confront them (musicians) …the necessary conditions for continuing in business must be the satisfaction of the final buyer – the public at large'.

It would be wise for performers to diversify their sources of finance, rather than rely on one subsidy. On a more personal level, Peacock (1993:30) advised musicians from his own experience not to entrust their future to 'princes' or benefactors. He encouraged musicians whether in collectives or not, to be more self-sufficient than dependent on funding: '…perhaps the contemporary composers and musicians need to recognize that public demand is essential for their survival'.

Sponsorship and funding help boost the music industry in various ways. As music tuition and instruments were often expensive, sponsorship and funding went a long way to assist musicians. Recording and marketing costs were also out of the reach of many artists and funding might assist a performer to overcome such challenges. Despite the strong response from the survey group, which was largely critical of the lack of funding for local music, many had in fact received some form of funding.

Table 5 Funding received by the survey group

Have you received any sponsorship or funding for:	
Recording	56%
Marketing	28%
Instruments	36%
Education	36%

However, among the first interview respondents, only one response was recorded for tuition funding. Further research could be conducted into the levels of funding in the local live music industry.

What was interesting about these results was that a number of survey respondents complained about funding issues when given open space to comment on issues facing the industry. Yet a number of these respondents had actually received funding in some way. Perhaps performers were not aware of the complexities around funding. Also actual measurement of what projects had been funded might not be highly visible to other performers and thus performers might be unaware of funding initiatives.
Various NGOs, industry role players, private individuals and government organizations did fund live music initiatives.[11]

According to Towse (1993: 119), subsidies had decreased in Britain since the 1980s and had similarly n decreased in other European countries as well. South Africans were not alone in their plight regarding diminishing support for the arts. The decline in the level of subsidy had changed the pattern of demand for performers (Towse 1993:120). As companies such as opera houses had had to change their strategies to cope with the lack of funding, performers should be aware that the demand for their services had to change as well, prompting the performers to re-evaluate their career strategies.

4.2.3 Needle Time

Funding was one source of revenue for local artists. Yet the complex set of copyright protection laws could ensure local performers' access to various other income streams. The sample group questioned for this study rated themselves fairly low in terms of their own competency and understanding of the legal issues of the music industry. South African performers were protected by various legislation which included the ‘Performers' Protection Act’ of 1967, amended in 2001.

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[11] SAMRO for example run a series of performer competitions where the prize is an overseas study bursary.

This research paper was not able to cover all aspects of copyright that related to performers. Only the aspect of 'needle time' was discussed as it related directly to the performer. As a fairly new piece of legislation, many of the performers interviewed were either not aware of needle time, or not well informed about it. Needle time applied to performers whether or not they wrote or composed their own music as composers. This study uncovered many local live music performers that did not compose their own music and therefore did not receive royalties as composers. However, they would be able to receive royalties in the form of needle time.

The Performers' Act protects performances by artists in broadcasting. The act prohibits the use of a performance without the consent of a performer for 20 years from the date the performance was first 'fixed' (e.g. captured to phonograph). The amendment, which has resulted in needle time, proposes great opportunities for the local performer.
This legislation relates to the needle time royalties that are in the process of coming into effect for performers.

As yet, various logistical issues have hampered the implementation of needle time though in the foreseeable future, needle time will have a positive impact for local performers. The issues around needle time are very topical currently. This new development in the music industry will offer great benefits to performers in the form of a new royalty stream as well as the intention of a social assistance fund that will be set up with the collection of needle time. At the South Atlantic Jazz Conference, 2008, the 'Performers' Act of 2001' (see appendix) was cited as the regulatory approach to protecting a performer's work. There are still a lot of administration issues that need to be straightened out before performers can benefit from needle time.[12]

An experienced musician, Ian Smith, a speaker at the South Atlantic Jazz Music Festival, recounted ignorance on the ground level of musicians about needle time. Many

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[12] A SABC representative Bob Mabena was concerned about transparency issues in setting up needle time administration. He also stated that needle time would have a negative impact on the growth of broadcasters.

performers over the years were 'robbed' of their royalties, as performance rights for the performer never existed locally. He gave the example of a South African recording achieving a Number 1 rating on a New York jazz chart, where the performers each only received a once-off R600.00 session fee. While this example was anecdotal and as such unverifiable, the aim of the needle time legislation was to prevent such situations occurring.[13] Musicians struggled to make an income under these circumstances though needle time legislation aimed to improve such situations. Needle time, though good for performers, would mean that musicians needed to be less informal. For example, a musician selling a CD out the boot of his or her car, or a self-produced CD at gigs, would not benefit from needle time if he/she had not registered the work with an accredited body. Also session musicians would need to include agreements relating to how needle time would be paid to them. The benefit that needle time would bring to performers came with the responsibility of performers improving their overall industry skills.

Needle time would have social benefits for the musician where a portion of the monies collected would go to social upliftment amongst musicians. This was similar to SAMRO's policies that offered its members a retirement annuity and a funeral plan. Not many performers interviewed were aware of the social benefits available to them as members of organizations though the information had been disseminated to organization members through the post, email and via short message service (SMS). The needle time discussions at conferences were fairly technical in nature and thus might have discouraged some performers from understanding the significance of needle time.

4.2.4 Intellectual Property

An understanding of copyright was a fundamental skill required by anyone working in the music industry. Performers, whether they wrote their own material or not were confronted with aspects of copyright apart from intellectual property as it related to

[13] It is a likely incident though as the current once off session fee for a performer is in the region of R600-R1000 per session. Session rates do vary but R600 is a probable figure. A performer booked for a session would perform either original or scored out parts to the given recording or piece. In the case of original parts, the performer would be entitled to receive needle time benefits.

recorded product. Copyright laws, for example, governed sheet music usage. Live performers that added their creativity to a recording as in the case of a session musician were entitled to claim intellectual property through the needle time legislation. Live performers that performed their own material in a live setting were also entitled to live performance royalties. Intellectual property was the unit of trade in the music industry in the form of a piece of music, whether written by the performer or not (Shaw 2007:20). Intellectual property enforcement of recorded product was being tackled by the South African Revenue Service (SARS) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). SARS operated a toll free tip-off phone number that allowed members of the public to leave anonymous tip-offs on illegal goods or operations. The DTI and SARS jointly conducted raids on suspected illegal operations (MOSHITO 2008). SAMRO licensed live performance venues and as such regulated live performance royalties.

The Department of Trade and Industry partnered with the criminal justice system and the police force in order to combat intellectual property theft better. Searches and seizures were taking place of counterfeit product. Live performance was not easily replicable, but piracy and counterfeiting did affect live performance. A delegate at MOSHITO 2007 raised the concern of counterfeit tickets being sold and distributed for a live event.

The DTI realized that much needed to be done in terms of education around intellectual property theft for the public and even among musicians themselves. For example, many performers interviewed were not aware of their performing copyrights when they performed their own material in a live setting.[14] The DTI targeted university students, magistrates and the police for such education. In terms of educating the artists, seminar discussions were held at conferences such as MOSHITO. SARS offered a hotline whereby members of the public or musicians could make 'tip-offs' on counterfeit products or piracy operators.

[14] SAMRO for example have 'Live Performance' sheets that artists are entitled to complete. The sheet tracks songs played and venues performed by the artist. If a performer performs their own material at live music venues, they are entitled to a performance royalty.

The digital age changed the playing fields in the industry, leaving music industry players with less control. The industry should respond with greater flexibility to the consumer. Payments to performers would no longer sustain the 'in-advance' method. Performers could expect to be paid after goods and services had been calculated. This was a shift in business practice that performers would have to adapt to in the future.
Piracy was not a common comment among the survey and interview respondents in this research. This was perhaps as most of the samples were performing musicians, not all of whom sold recorded product. Piracy though in relation to the price of sheet music was raised as a local issue. Local performers often considered sheet music 'expensive'. As a result, unauthorized photocopies were made of sheet music. Copies were permitted of sheet music in certain instances such as difficult page turns or educational instances. However, teachers often perpetuated this problem by copying scores for their students. There were numerous problems with sheet music, some of which related to editions that were out of print or scores that had to be imported and were thus expensive. Piracy of music scores was, therefore, a problem for local live performers. In some instances such as local music examinations and eisteddfods, performers had been disqualified from performing owing to the use of photocopied music.

Survey respondents in the sample commented on the high cost of sheet music locally:

Lack of availability of affordable sheet music, hence encouraging piracy

Sheet music was largely imported to South Africa and could be expensive. Some musicians felt that classical genre sheet music was typically expensive, though much of the music had fallen out of the copyright of the composer. Musicians themselves then could make pirated copies of sheet music through photocopies as a result of the high cost of sheet music. Various online sites existed that were dedicated to public domain scores and offered free downloads of some classical music scores.

4.3 SECONDARY ASPECTS OF THE LIVE PERFORMANCE INDUSTRY

Additional aspects of live performance milieu not incorporated in this research included among others sound engineering and audiovisual equipment hire; instrument sales and repairs; waiting staff and barmen; ushers at theatres; printing (programmes, flyers and posters); merchandising and admin staff. Live music was also paired with tourism. A discussion with a jazz musician highlighted that many township tours, for example, included a stop at a shebeen, which might offer live music. Live music was also performed at hotels and other tourist attractions. Overseas business trips often employed local musicians for cocktail functions or product launches. Live performers thus interacted with these secondary service providers on a day-to-day basis within their working environments.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The day-to-day activities of a performer brushed shoulders with the economic, legal and technical issues described above. Funding for example was considered by the survey sample to be critical to the arts. Although many survey respondents complained of a lack of funding, a number had actually received funding. This situation highlighted the lack of informed information that performers had of their industry. There were a number of opportunities available to performers as described above in terms of needle time, funding and technology, but these opportunities required an organized and informed approach from the performer. As described above, a performer trading informally would miss out on the benefits of the needle time legislation. Better-informed musicians, who had an understanding of some aspects relating to the above noted aspects of their industry, would be able to negotiate better working experiences for themselves. Also, more informed performers would be less open to exploitation and could negotiate better positions of power within the music industry over time.

Kubacki (2005:225) maintained that musicians themselves needed to be brought into the broader picture of the music industry if the arts were to remain at the heart of cultural life Bringing local live musicians into discussions on their industry was crucial to growing the local live music scene.

CHAPTER 5: THE SUPPORT ACTS: OTHER ROLE PLAYERS IN THE LIVE PERFORMANCE INDUSTRY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Other role players as discussed in this chapter form part of the second field for the performer. These include entities that support the musician politically, artistically, financially, administratively or socially. They are the 'support acts' to the performer in the sense that they help facilitate live performances forming part of the 'value chain' of the music industry.

An important aspect of this chapter is that it highlights the importance of the value chain to the workings of the performer. As the various role players in this field are too numerous to cover adequately in this study, only some of the roles players are mentioned. Those that are discussed have a direct impact on the performing artist or are role players that the performers viewed as important in their world of work. The role of government, a collection body (SAMRO), record companies, the media (TV, radio and the press) and music award structures will be discussed.

Some performers have little or no contact with other role players, while others have indirect contact and a few have direct contact with other role players in the music industry. Of the interview sample questioned for this research, only three of ten respondents had access to an accountant and one in ten to a media lawyer. Thus performer's interactions with other role players were not always active, often to the detriment of the performer.

It was up to the initiative of the individual performer to forge relationships in this field – largely a function of networking with other role players in the industry. Knowledge of the

core responsibilities and functioning of other role players would assist with networking. At a point in the music industry where there was much change taking place in terms of technology and business models, performers had an opportunity to become involved and increase their bargaining power among the other role players of the music industry.

A musician relied heavily on reputation. Peacock (1993: 49) made a case for networking among composers, which extended to performers as well. He noted that a composer's reputation not only resulted from his/her works for public satisfaction, it also involved his/her reputation or links with other composers. He made a case for the role of a network or solidarity in the music industry. Networking, therefore, was a necessary skill for a performer at all levels of the music industry.

Moving on from a network to combining a network into collection action was another powerful force at the musician's disposal. Collective action was often linked to trade associations or unions. Some of the pressures that such bodies were able to exert could influence pricing, subsidies, government cultural policies and local content quotas (Peacock1993: 50).

It was evident from the survey and interview sample in this research that many performers in South Africa tended to rely on themselves, a small network of other performers and word-of-mouth to generate work. Networking across the field appeared to be not too common. Some performers found the terminology and functions of other role players confusing and thus were inclined to leave their manager or agent to deal with issues arising in this field. Some areas where musicians felt they were not competent included legal and royalty issues, technology, tax, earnings, admin and marketing.[15] This raised an educational issue, where musicians could be better skilled for their world of work.

[15]See Competency Ratings Graph

5.2 DISUNITY IN THE INDUSTRY

Before discussing the aforementioned role players, it is necessary to give an overview of the lack of unification among the various role players in the industry. In so doing the value of the various other role players will be highlighted. The disunity of the industry reflects a value chain that is not well functioning.

The general tone at the South Atlantic Jazz Conference in 2007 and 2008 and the MOSHITO conferences (2007/8) reflected an attitude that musicians needed to be more organized and involved in order to be able to assist one another in the music industry. During the session on 'Strengthening the Combined Efforts of the Jazz Industry' at the South Atlantic Jazz Conference 2007, Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture, Ntombazana Gertrude Winifred Botha expressed concern that the lack of organization in the industry could lead to many local artists losing out on the benefits that the 2010 Soccer World Cup would have to offer. Though the music industry was competitive, local musicians were urged to empower themselves to work together to create and protect a vibrant music industry in South Africa.

Lucia (2005: 86) reported in her research that the performance field was scattered and not one to congregate often. While the field might be scattered, new conferences such as MOSHITO and the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference, had been running for a number of years[16] and did attract performers and composers among others. Performers and composers that had not attended such gatherings might be ignorant of such conferences or slow to participate.

A representative from the Cape Film Commission and a speaker at the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference 2007, Lawrence Mitchell, discussed the success of a unified film body that served the film industry and benefited many parts of the industry. This sector had contributed an estimated R3.5bn to South Africa's GDP, showing it to be a viable

[16]The South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference has been running since 2006. MOSHITO has been running since 2004.

sector. The film sector was of relevance to mention here, as film was a potential close business partner with the music industry. An issue raised by Mitchell referred to the lack of unification in the music industry. While the film sector had successfully attracted foreign investment to South Africa, the film industry was not able to offer local music expertise to their clients, thus losing valuable potential investment to the local music industry. The unavailability of skills highlighted included composition and performance of sound tracks (South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference Booklet 2007:23). There was a lack of sufficient communication and partnerships among composers, performers, music producers and filmmakers that needed to be addressed. This raised the awareness for all musicians to be aware of possibilities in other art sectors. This was made possible by networking, developing relationships with filmmakers and research. Mitchell stated that for the music industry to benefit from the opportunities present in the film sector, the music sector would have to organize itself and present its offerings as a sector to film-makers.

Jo-Ann Johnston**,** from the Department of Economics, Western Cape Provincial Government, mentioned at the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference 2007 that if artists were cooperative with other components in the value chain, it would open up much potential for the industry as a whole. This was based on the economic idea of 'clustering' whereby more could be achieved through cooperation in spite of competition. Comments from the survey sample echoed this notion of competition in the local music industry.

Some comments included:

Lack of support for fellow muso's (sic).

... Lack of unity, and too many hang-ups (acoustic vs. electronic, local vs. overseas, jazz vs. pop, covers vs. original material, resentment toward record companies and agents who 'ripped' us off etc.

The above comment claimed that some live performers were divided along genre or stylistic lines. For example, it mentioned acoustic genres versus electronic genres. This respondent was demonstrating an area where musicians were divided internally instead of setting aside stylistic differences for the betterment of the local music industry. While these comments might reflect only the opinions of the surveyed musicians and were not factual, the comments represented a level of distrust and ill will among the musician corps. Such notions would not engender unity and a common vision among the corps in growing the local live music industry.

Dialogue among institutions of learning and various role players in the industry was also important. Brett Pyper of the Wits Post-Graduate Arts, Culture and Heritage Programme, emphasized the need for collaboration between the music industry and the institutions of learning (South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference Booklet 2007: 63). Such communication would assist institutions of learning to equip their students better for the world of work in the music industry. The lack of dialogue among various role players in the industry was a hindrance to growth for local music as a whole.

5.3 REGULATIONS

In the UK, a minimum rate of pay for musicians was set annually by trade unions. This was not the case in South Africa where the forces of supply and demand set the price. A trade union for musicians was active in South Africa, but they were not yet fully recognized among performers. Only 8% of the musicians surveyed for this research belonged to a musician's collective. The Creative Workers Union of South Africa (CWUSA) had a strong presence at the MOSHITO conferences, recruiting new members. CWUSA was an amalgamation in 2007 of two former local unions: namely, the 'Performing Arts Workers Equity' and the 'Musicians Union of South Africa'.[17] The union is affiliated to the' Congress of South African Trade Unions' (COSATU). A pamphlet disseminated by CWUSA at MOSHITO 2008 claimed a membership of 2500 actors and musicians. Issues of concern for the union included how the 'Basic Conditions

[17]Information obtained from the CWUSA leaflet handed out at the MOSHITO conference 2008

of Employment Act' and the ‘Health and Safety Act’ related to performers. The question of unemployment benefits for performers was also an issue lobbied by the union. CWUSA hoped to establish an entertainment industry bargaining council that was taken seriously by industry. Individual performers were not in a position to raise concerns about their industry; however, an industry bargaining council would be able to represent the concerns of many performers to their industry. Such a body though would need to have some clout to be effective. The current union included actors and musicians, but it was hoped that other creative disciplines would be incorporated. The union represented the music industry broadly and because it was still fledging in its new format, its influence remained to be seen.

Towse (1993: 9-10) made mention of Equity, a British musicians' union organization that had set down various regulations for the industry such as minimum rates of pay for performers. The following description of regulations recounts according to Towse (1993) the regulations set in place by Equity. In order to set regulations for the music industry, various aspects such as performances had to be categorized. Categorization, though necessary for regulation, was not easily achieved in an industry such as the music industry. The music industry was a creative field and thus constantly in flux. Rehearsals were categorized as different from concerts and subsequently rehearsal time was set at a lower rate than the concert fee. Often though rehearsals might be included in the total performance fee and not charged for separately. This could be disadvantageous to the performer as longer rehearsal periods could lower the actual value of the fee. Overtime rates applied to longer performances. Overnight, travel and meal expenses could be included in a performance fee. Travel time to far-away destinations could also be paid for. A reasonable break between rehearsal and concert was also stipulated in agreements. Session fees operated on different rates and even differed by genres, for example, classical recordings were paid differently from other types of recordings (Towse 1993: 97). In the local context if similar categories were introduced, some local performers might see such categorizations as unfair.

The unions also established a recommended minimum hourly rate for teaching music.

A minimum rate of pay came from a motivation to equalize payment and prevent huge disparities in the music industry. Also some regulations helped to prevent exploitation of musicians.

This discussion on regulation in the British music industry served to highlight issues in the South African music industry. In many instances, the above regulations did occur between employer and musician. For example, orchestral rehearsals were conducted at strict times with break times stipulated in contracts. Many local employers generally adhered to rehearsal payments and overtime payment. There were some employers, though, that did not adhere to such practices and as there was no strong regulating body, these issues had not been dealt with locally. One could argue though that as local performers tended to be self-employed, they might be doing themselves a disservice by concluding work contracts with little knowledge of fair industry practice. The local musicians interviewed for this research rated their skills in legal and contractual areas as fairly low. Better regulation in the local music industry might not necessarily be the role of a creative workers' union; live performers themselves could through improved industry skills better their own working conditions.

There were some drawbacks to a highly regulated music industry. For example, Towse argued that a minimum rate of pay might actually have other consequences for the music industry (1993: 104). As previously discussed, there was a delicate balance between supply and demand forces, which tended to regulate each other to balance out the market.

Supply and demand factors could only offer what the market could bear. In imposing a minimum rate of pay, if the rate were too much for the market to bear, unemployment would result. Thus for a higher rate of minimum pay, performers must expect lower levels of employment across their field in terms of a minimum rate of pay. Conversely, if the minimum rate of pay were set below the market rate, then an excess demand would result.

Many of the regulations discussed above were beneficial to the music industry and the performer; however; it would appear that the local creative union was yet to establish similar regulations in accordance with local legislation. Performers should not be too hasty in calling for regulations such as a minimum rate of pay. The implications for the local context would need to be thoroughly reviewed by all parties, including performers and others involved in the music industry locally to implement such regulations.

The issues of policing such a regulating initiative would present challenges. Also an extensive education drive would need to be presented to all musicians educating them about the regulations. Performers thus required better industry training at college level to improve the functioning of the music industry.

The intention of increasing regulation locally was to help decrease undercutting practices and provide a general expectation of working conditions (break time, travel expenses, professional behaviour etc.). Also regulation practices could protect musicians from exploitation and unfair treatment or dismissals. Various respondents described issues of unfair treatment in the live music industry. These will be further discussed in a later chapter. Regulations aside, it was possible to accomplish a better work environment for artists through educating artists and agents about drawing up contracts stipulating terms of their employment. If a contract culture per performance could be established locally in the music industry, many of the examples of 'unfair treatment' listed later in this research would have been avoided (if not avoided, then better managed). Many of the performers interviewed did not insist on written contacts per performance. A written contract was a useful tool that could flesh out the terms of employment and thus minimize miscommunication. Expectations around breaks and meals and general terms of employment could be laid out in such a contract. Of the interview group, 50% insisted on written contracts, though were prepared to accept verbal agreements from longstanding employers that they trusted. Thirty per cent acted on verbal agreements and 30% said they did not insist on written contracts or verbal agreements.

The second interview group gave more descriptive answers to the matters arising over the use of contracts. Of the performing sample, 50% said that verbal contracts were the norm; 16% insisted on contractual agreements; 16% said that contracts were not always possible and a further 16% said that verbal contracts were often concluded musician to musician, with written contracts reserved for use with clients.

Of the non-performing group, written contract use was described at 80% and verbal contracts at 20%. The use of written contract locally was not standardized or regulated in any way. One performer in the second interview group commented: 'I insist on contractual agreements, except in rare circumstances (where asking for a contract may detract from a firm "gentleman's agreement"'.
In some unique instances, the nature of the relationship between the musician and the client could be jeopardized in some manner by a written contract. A non-performer highlighted that he communicated with large volumes of musicians via mobile text messages (SMSs). If a musician accepted his text message, he or she was in fact accepting a type of written contract. SMS contracts were accepted.

Thus before attempting to regulate the local industry, it would be prudent to improve how work was conducted between performers/agents and employers. This could be accomplished through holistic industry training at college/university level.

5.4 THE VALUE CHAIN: MANAGING AND MARKETING PERFORMANCES

As earlier described, the music industry functioned as a value chain. Valuable entities in this chain included promoters, managers and agents. These entities existed to facilitate and organize live performances for local performers. One survey respondent commented that there was locally a ‘Lack of good management and promotion personnel’.

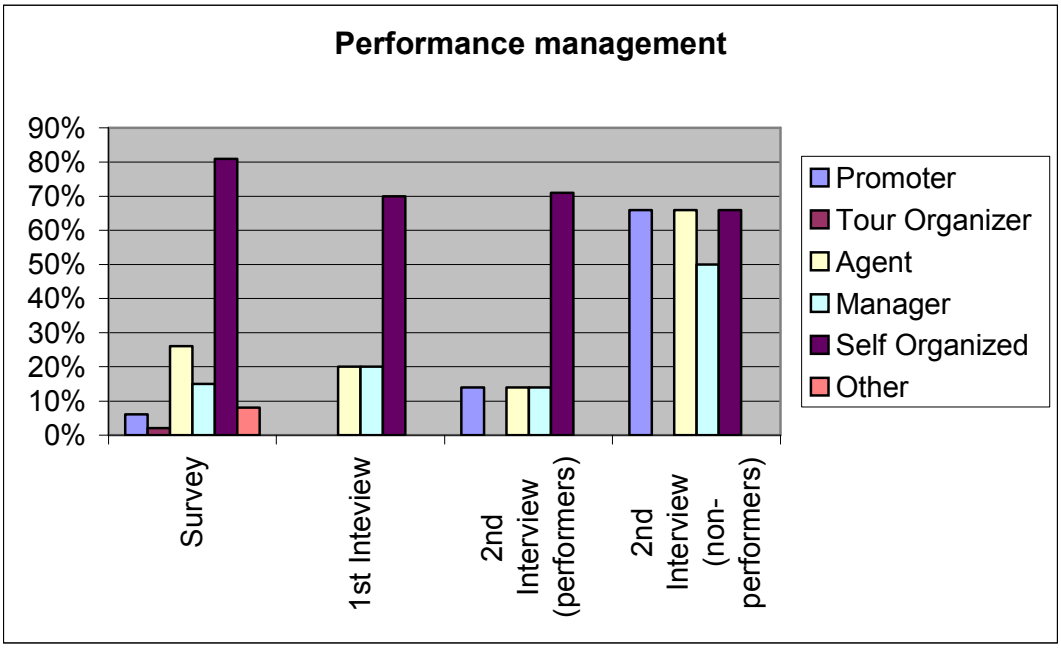
‘The Score’, a nationwide music industry directory, listed in 2006, 103 managers, agents and promoters that worked across various regions of the country. Managers, agents and

promoters thus were actively operating in the local live music industry, but local performers did not often interact with these other links of the value chain.

The following findings from this research highlighted that as many performers were self-employed and self-reliant, they often assumed the roles of other players in the music industry: promoters, marketers, agents etc. The music industry was based on a value chain system. Networking with other entities in the chain helped an artist to expand his or her influence. Thus, if performers sought to assume the roles of other entities in the value chain, they could be diminishing their influence and opportunities.

Respondents were asked how they managed their gigs. The purpose of this question was to gain an idea of how performers were using the value chain, if at all.

Table 6 The performance management of the survey and interview groups



These results reflected that performers seemed to organize their own work and did not rely much on other entities to source their work. It could also indicate that there was not good communication among the various value chain entities. The findings could also indicate a lack of awareness of the roles of the other entities of the value chain.
The response among the interview sample was similar. Most interviewed performers (70%) reported that they were self-organized in terms of managing their gigs; only 20% utilized an agent or promoters.

Of the second interview sample, which was split between performers and non-performers, the results revealed a similar trend in self-organization. Seventy-one per cent of the performing sample reported local musicians to be self-organized while 14% reported a combination of self-organization with some assistance from event or booking facilitators. Lastly, of performers in this group, a few (14%) felt that local musicians fully utilized the services of promoters, managers, booking agents etc.

Of the non-performing sample (which acted as event organizers or booking agents), 66% of local musicians were described as relying on booking agents; 50% on managers and 66% on self-organization. This sample was thus biased towards the services of agents and managers etc., though the sample also noted that many local performers (66%) were self-organized. An interesting point raised by one respondent in this group was that in many cases a manager or promoter for a band was often a member of the band as well.

While the role of the performer was changing in the digital age, (where performers could directly access their fans through online portals), a completely self-reliant performer was distracted from his/her main focus which is live performance. It is recommended that performers get involved in other aspects or roles of their industry, but without distracting too much from their core focus (i.e. performance). A self-reliant strategy was also limiting to a local performer in terms of networks and contacts. A good agent or a manager often had a large contact or network base and thus could source more live

performance work than a self-reliant performer could for him-/herself: ‘An agent has a great knowledge of the music industry, can market and sell acts to promoters and venues and has a long list of contacts’ (Shaw 2007: 170).
A good agent or manager could be beneficial to local performers in providing contacts and thus freeing time for musicians to focus on performances.

5.5 GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

The role of government in the local music industry was to assist in supporting the music industry through policies, funding and protection. According to Kristafor and Budhram (2003: 14), in terms of policies, governments in various countries had put in place strategies to stimulate local creative industries.

The benefits of the cultural industries included a positive impact on the societies where they were produced, providing employment, social upliftment and the potential for foreign earnings. Each active musician could be generating new revenue streams, while possibly creating employment for other performers or non music-skilled personnel. Numerous temporary jobs were created around music making. For example, a music venue hired hospitality staff, or a festival hired ground teams to erect stages etc.

Government funding for the music industry was a function of the South African Department of Arts and Culture. A variety of funding opportunities from government, non-government organizations and private sponsors was available. Government protection for the local music industry existed in the form of rights legislation (needle time, copyright laws etc.) and enforcement. The South African Revenue Service (SARS), the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) were locally involved in enforcing copyright laws.

The Department of Arts and Culture showed its support for the music industry at the conferences attended for this research where various promises and pledges were made with regard to support for the music industry. One such promise was to have the

department involved in setting up recording studios in areas where music was being made. The rationale behind this, as understood through the presentation, was to preserve music culture that had not yet had an opportunity to be recorded and to provide performers with easy access to recording facilities.

This promise of recording studios also seemed to create a perception that it was a function of the Department of Arts and Culture to record local music. At MOSHITO 2008, many calls from the floor indicated an expectation that government should also be involved in setting up live music venues in addition to the recording studios. These functions were not necessarily core functions of the Department of Arts and Culture. Activities such as live venues and recordings were the function of musicians, entrepreneurs, ethnomusicologists, record companies, philanthropists, composers, publishers, marketers, researchers and the music-loving public.

The roles and functions of all aspects of the music industry value chain should not simply be abdicated to government to sort out. The role the government should play in the arts was debatable. Performers should be more involved in the broader aspects that affected their industry in order to grow their sector and have their concerns addressed. The objectives sought by government were not necessarily the same objectives a performer or composer would seek, thus it was vital for performers and other industry practitioners to be involved in practical and strategic decisions facing the local industry. Government initiatives that aimed to strengthen the 'creative industries' were generally welcomed by artists. A balanced involvement of governmental initiatives would be ideal. Too much involvement or regulation by governments might have a negative impact on the arts. Homan (2008: 242-255) in *'A Portrait of the Politician as a Young Pub Rocker: Live Music Venue Reform in Australia'*, described some examples from the Australian context where the live performance sector had reacted negatively because of various governmental policies and decisions.

5.6 THE ROLE OF SAMRO IN THE PERFORMER'S WORKING LIFE

There are many entities involved in the South African music industry such as the Recording Industry of SA (RISA), South African Recording Rights Association Limited (SARRAL) and Association of Independent Record Companies (AIRCO) among many others. To discuss all of their functions falls outside of the scope of this study, though their roles are relevant to the working lives of many performers.

The role of the South African Music Rights Organization (SAMRO) and not the other entities is discussed here as SAMRO deals directly with licensing live music venues and live performance royalties. These functions are covered in the scope of this research; however, all of the other entities that operate in the South African music industry are equally important.[18]

SAMRO speakers explained (at a meeting held on 23 November 2007) the nature of the organization's core tasks and functions to a mixed audience of composers and performers from a variety of backgrounds. The main functions included collecting monies owing and issuing licenses to venues that performed music publicly (live or recorded). Musicians could play an important part in assisting SAMRO in this function. As musicians performed at venues, they were entitled to fill out a 'Live Performance' form. Information gathered on this form tracked the place where the performance was held and what pieces were performed. The main incentive for local performers was that performing works of local composers (including the artists' original works) kept the flow of royalties in the South African music industry. By listing the names of venues where performances were held, SAMRO was able to sign up any unlicensed music venues, which again added to revenue for the music industry. SAMRO speakers announced that the organization was licensing all manner of music 'venues', including shebeens and

[18]For further information on other role players in the local industry, the reader may consult Shaw, J (2007) *The South African Music Business.*

minibus taxis. Performers could, therefore, play an important role in making sure music venues were legitimate, by alerting SAMRO to venues where they performed.

The following chart represents the membership of the survey sample interviewed in 2008. The survey group was asked if they belonged to any industry-governing bodies. This question aimed to quantify the level of involvement among performers with their broader industry.

Table 7 Membership of performers in other industry organizations (survey group)

SAMRO	85%
RISA	13%
NORM	28%
MUSICIANS' UNIONS	8%
COMPOSERS' ASSOCIATIONS	18%
OTHER	8%

SAMRO membership was by far the highest whereas the involvement through unions was quite low. This question aimed to gain an idea of how many performers were aware of other role players in the value chain. Active involvement in terms of membership with any of the above entities showed some level of activity in the value chain. SAMRO had a majority of membership among the survey group. Not all performers were aware of the other entities. A few performers were not aware, for example, that the Creative Workers' Union (CWUSA) existed.[19] Low membership levels, then, might reflect either a lack of awareness of the entity or a level of apathy.

[19]Some performers were confused about entities such as CWUSA, as it is an amalgamation of two previous bodies. Thus perhaps performers were not aware of new changes within structures operating in their industry.

An issue often raised by SAMRO was the large portion of money that the organization paid annually in licenses to foreign markets. SAMRO believed that more local music needed to be performed locally (live and recorded) in order to keep royalty revenue flowing into the local music industry.
SAMRO comprised a large body of members, most of those whose works were not classified as ‘active. A large number of members (24 000) whose works had been submitted were not active, whereas 7 000 members were classified as active (SAMRO information session 23, Nov. 2007). Active membership entailed a registered work that was performed live or on radio and TV. This large number of non-active members could be contributing to the local injection of income into the music industry by having their works performed locally. This large number of non-active members recorded on SAMRO’s register indicated that there was not a lack of local material to perform; it was just not being performed.

This was an issue that local live performers should be more aware of. Performing one's own, or a fellow South African’s work, capturing the performance and venue on a ‘Live Performance’ sheet and submitting the information to a collection society, added great value to the local music industry as a whole.

5.7 RECORD COMPANIES

The role of record companies will be only briefly discussed, as the focus in this research is the live performance sector of the music industry. From the research sample it is evident that some live performers locally were tied into recording contracts with local or international recording companies, though this was not the case with all local performers. Other local performers explained that they self-produced their own material and sold such merchandise themselves at performances or online thus bypassing the functions of a record label. Yet other local performers reported that they did not record their own material at all. Thus the role of the record companies did not equally affect all local performers.

The major record companies in operation in South Africa were willing to produce local content, but on the expectation that it would sell as well as the imported products that they licensed or distributed locally. Coplan (2007: 359) maintained: 'But they have no interest in promoting South African music for its own sake'.

As the focus of this research was not on recorded music product, the role of the recorded companies was mentioned only as it related to the local live performer. The role of the record company had changed radically over the past 20 years owing to technological innovations in recording and distribution. Performers wishing to record no longer had to approach a record company, as there were many independent studios in South Africa that were available to record local content professionally. Locally produced recorded music product could be sold globally through the record companies, as merchandise at live performances or through digital distribution methods. As an export, local content sold globally often tended to be lumped in the broad 'world music' category. Thus Coplan (2007: 361) reasoned that most local recordings would be sold in South African outlets or at live concerts.

South African live performers that did record their own product generally had to approach an independent record company or follow a do-it-yourself (DIY) approach of outsourcing the recording, distribution and marketing process owing to the lack of interest from record companies present in South Africa. Some performers supplemented their live performance by selling recorded products at their live concerts. Selling CDs or other merchandise at a live performance was a supplemental income stream for live performers. Of the surveyed group, 12.5% made supplemental income from merchandise, that is, only 12.5% sold recorded product or related merchandise (posters/T-shirts etc.) at live performances. The results for the first interview group were similarly low as only 10% of this group sold CDs at live performances. The findings of this research thus suggest that many local live performers were not recording artists as well.[20] Recorded

[20]Some local live performers may also be session artists, which means that they record parts in a studio for other artists' projects, but not necessarily record their own projects.

product could be a good supplemental income for performers; the informal nature of these sales meant that they were often not traceable. As a result, sales figures of local recordings were not reflective of all the local sales.

5.8 THE MEDIA

The following examination of the media considers its effect on the performing artist (live performance) rather than looking at the content transmitted (recorded product) through the media. Radio, TV, the music press and award structures are tools at the disposal of the local performer. An understanding of these tools assists performers to devise strategies that would be beneficial to their performance careers. Recorded product is not discussed in-depth in this study, though the media (TV, radio and the press) are important role players affecting the careers of local live performers.

5.8.1 Radio

Radio is still a relevant format for music in South Africa for the distribution of musical content. The recent needle time legislation highlighted the importance that musicians were now given, in being broadcast on air. Such performance royalties from broadcasts were an additional revenue stream opening up for local performers.

Higher local content quotas on South African stations also promoted local live music. The public was often introduced to a performer via his/her recorded product on radio or TV. Based on what members of the public heard on these formats, they would be inclined to go and watch the performer in a live setting. Radio strategies for performance marketing could include live interviews on mainstream or community stations as well.

Some comments from the survey sample, relating to the media, highlighted issues of local content.

Comments on television and radio content:

The fact that there are no Afrikaans music shows like Geraas on SABC is very bad for us. A handful of media pariahs controls the industry. There is little room for fringe artists.

The lack of local music play listed on bigger radio stations ...

The issue of local content, particularly on the more commercial radio stations was reflected by many of the survey respondents. The respondents felt that it was difficult to get airplay on commercial stations as a result of un-enforced higher quotas of local content. The issue of payola also crept in here in some of the respondents' comments. Payola was a strategy employed to influence intermediaries such as disk jockeys, journalists or broadcasting executives who in turn influenced consumer decisions. This practice was controversial and often times, tantamount to a bribe. The practice of payola was allegedly common practice, though it was considered unlawful. Bob Mabena (a representative from the SABC) disclosed at the South Atlantic Jazz Conference 2008, that it was known that payola was practiced in South Africa. The SABC had put in place measures to stop this practice, though it could still occur (cited at The South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference 2008). Most stations had listening committees that decided on repertoire. Minutes of these meetings were kept to make bribery more difficult. Sheckter, however, revealed that the practice of payola was so commonplace in South Africa that no attempts had been made to conceal the bribery sophisticatedly. Hartmann revealed to Sheckter that a

> comparison of the South African market with the American market suggests that South African record companies' techniques of coercion are much less sophisticated than American companies'. Whereas American companies outsource 'pluggers' to pay radio stations so as not to tarnish their names, South African stations appear to be unconcerned to attempt such tactics (Sheckter 2006 :166)

5.8.2 Television: Music and Visuals

Keith Negus (2006) pointed out that music and visuals were becoming increasingly important in the creative work of the performing musician. In his article 'Musicians on Television: Visible, Audible and Ignored', he recounted how in the nineteenth century, classical music was detached from visuals. It was thus a strange concept for audiences to adjust to the development of music aired on a visual medium. Yet this new technological development had a significant effect on how performers performed.

Negus (2006: 318) argued that live performing musicians were visuals in themselves and that broadcasting performers with visuals had created a new musical experience for audiences. In the early days of live music broadcasts, dance bands were made aware of their appearance on camera. Musicians were given instruction on how to dress, what colors to wear and the need to be more visual in terms of performance when appearing for TV as live shows developed.

Acting lessons or TV/visual media preparation are not a standard part of the musicians' learning today though musicians of the 1940s took acting classes and incorporated novelty songs into their sets, in order to have a more ‘visually’ entertaining product broadcast. Perhaps today as media technology continues to blur the lines of art disciplines, when in training musicians should be exposed to a multidisciplinary learning environment.

The introduction of visuals and music created a new celebrity culture. TV broadcasts of orchestral performances created the twentieth century phenomenon of the celebrity conductor (Negus 2006:321). Thus the merging of visuals with music performance elevated the status of the performer(s). One could argue then, that live performers that did not engage with visual media did not enjoy the same status as those performers that utilized visual media or visual effects.

5.8.3 The Music Press

The music press was an important exposure tool for the performing artist. Brennan (2006) in *The Rough Guide to the Critics: Musicians Discuss the Role of the Music Press* explored the relationship between performers and the music press and the role the press plays in the career of a performer in the United Kingdom.

According to Brennan (2006: 221), musicians understood that the music press was a tool for exposure. However, what tended to frustrate musicians mostly about the press was its fickle nature. A CD dropped off for review one week would receive terrible reviews, whereas if the same CD were dropped off two weeks later, it could receive a wonderful review. Any critical review tended to be taken quite personally by musicians. Their experiences with the press shaped their perceptions of it. Thus engagements with the press were often subjective in nature instead of being an objective strategy to utilize the press.

Reviews good or bad were based on the personal tastes and preferences of the reviewer and were, therefore, not always in the interests of the artists. However, reviews could play an important role in the career development and publicity of an artist.

Brennan's research showed that musicians believed that the music press had considerable influence over their careers in terms of criticism or 'making' their careers through reports in the press. Good press coverage was considered useful to performers that had little marketing budget. A young singer named Wiley citing Brennan (2006: 222) claimed: 'Good press can really make a big difference, because it's one of the only ways to make people sit up and pay attention to what you're doing, without having anyone really behind you …with no money to promote …'

This article highlighted uninformed beliefs on the part of musicians about the role the music press played in their careers. For example, there was a belief that music criticism had a direct impact on sales (Brennan 2006: 222). The effects of music criticism,

however, were not quantifiable. Some researchers believed that hearing music or a live performance had greater impact on sales than a written report about music or a performance (Shucker cited in Brennan 2006: 222). In this sense, performing live on radio or even TV would be more favorable to 'making' a career than music criticism in the press would be.

However, favorable press reports close to the timing of a new release were important marketing strategies. The type of publication chosen to review the new release was also vitally important to a marketing strategy. Certain publications were generally associated with genres. While musicians often did not like to be boxed by genres, successful marketing was generally based on correct genre labeling. The press was thus also important in defining the genre of the performer and delivering the right target audiences to the marketed product.

Press could also be used to create an industry buzz about an artist, though consumers were not predictable, often not responding in the expected way to the music coverage in the press. 'That's the thing about press; it has two audiences, the industry audience and the punter…the industry is really the more important reader in the long term' (artist Kellock cited in Brennan 2006: 227).

The Creative Economy Report (United Nations 2008: 79) described much of music journalism in Africa as centered on performances and artists and thus little information around development and industry issues seemed to be available in print. A lack of figures and reliable data, unfortunately plagued the music industry in general and thus music reporting. This report highlighted the lack of figures on copyright revenues and transparent figures from large music industry corporations as key areas of concern in music journalism.

Locally, some musicians viewed the music press with a measure of distrust. There was a perception that music critics were not well informed: '… you can't count newspaper reviews because they're written by amateurs' (interview respondent cited Lucia 2005: 101).

Lucia was critical of the role the music press was playing in the local music context. She felts that more coverage of local music was required in the local press.

> A disadvantage is a lack of critical media coverage, illustrated at the 2005 National Arts Festival in Grahamstown, at which no premiers – or even concerts of new music – were reviewed. Perhaps journalists are not being trained to write about new music; more likely they need some kind of controversy, a story, to make them interesting' (Lucia 2005: 101).

According to Lucia, either the local press lacked the skills to cover new music events or music premiers/concerts were not newsworthy enough to get much press attention. Darryl Rule (2008) undertook to study, among other areas of cultural reporting, local reviews.

Rule in his research 'Cultural Reporting and the Production of Cultural Reviews in Selected South African Newspapers: A Study of Jazz Music and Musicians' (2008: 39) found that the South African cultural media was an under-researched topic. His research centered on interviews conducted with arts editors, arts journalists, and jazz musicians. The aim of the research was to analyze the production of cultural reporting in South Africa and the meaning that such production would generate (2008: 55).

Rule's interviews with local jazz musicians in order to gain insight into how local musicians felt about music journalism and local journalists were of interest to this research. A curious finding from Rule's sample highlighted the issue of genre definitions. The musicians interviewed felt that the public were not well informed on genre definitions and labeled many things jazz when they were not in fact jazz at all (2008: 56). The musicians felt that it was the media's role to educate the public about their art forms. The musicians interviewed in Rule's study (Similar to Brennan's study) were fairly negative in their perception of local cultural reporting (in the jazz genre). The

respondents felt that very few journalists really understood the jazz genre and would thus not be able to analyze a live jazz performance critically (2008: 74). Some local arts journalists too agreed with this sentiment that very few local reporters were specialists in jazz. Other complaints from musicians included journalists that were only interested in gathering gossip for sensational stories rather that being interested in the music (2008:88) The most common type of cultural reporting appeared to be a review item. The respondents in Rule's study felt that the review was the most popular and important type of article featured in cultural reporting. Both journalists and musicians enjoyed compiling and reading such reviews (2008: 84).

A local music journalist commented to Rule that reviews had the power to turn people onto different music and in that sense they were an invaluable weapon in cultural journalism (Craig Caravan cited in Rule 2008: 84).

The journalists interviewed by Rule, seemed to concur that a good review of live or recorded product was most valuable to musicians. One journalist in fact went as far as to state that a concert or festival review was more valuable than an album review (2008:85).

There were, however, many practical issues associated with live music reporting. The journalists highlighted that going out six nights a week, every week to review live concerts could become very tiring for them (Rule 2008: 85). They might become fussy as to the venues or types of performances they chose to attend. One performer, Concord Nkabinda, suggested that musicians could make it easier for journalists to enter their world.

Editorial issues also affected local cultural reporting. A reporter, Riaan Wolmerans interviewed by Rule commented: 'I feel print media do write a lot about local media, but are severely limited by editorial space constraints' (Rule 2008: 79).

The music press was an important partner in the value chain for the live performer and as such required greater understanding from performers. The abovementioned research highlighted many concerns and perceptions that performers held about cultural reporting.

One such perception of local performers was that it was the role of the media to educate the public on the performers' art forms. In a later chapter on audience development, this notion will be challenged. The role of the performers will be shown to include direct engagement with their audience in terms of audience development.

6 CONCLUSION

In discussing these ‘support acts’ for the performer, the advantage that the value chain can add to the performer was shown. For example, award structures could help a winning performer secure more live performances. Other ‘support acts’ such as SAMRO helped facilitate live performance by licensing live performance venues and collecting live performance royalties on behalf of the performer. The role of government as a support structure was necessary to the live performer through funding and legislation. Over-involvement by any role player in the live music industry could result in a negative outcome for the performer (as seen in the Australian example). Thus it was important for performers to understand the roles played by support structures in their industry value chain and for performers (or performers' unions) to be engaged with these structures in order to protect their own performing interests. Disunity in the industry was a challenge for the entire industry to overcome. Such disunity handicapped some of the potential of the local music industry and thus affected performers negatively.

PART 3: EXPLORING LIVE MUSIC

'But it also possible that there is something about live performance – its unpredictability, its physical discomfort, its exclusivity …that makes it fundamentally different from any other way of hearing music' (Collins 2008:7).

The third part of this research concerns the performer directly in the first field of influence of the performer. Aspects of the local live music industry are considered in relation to the performer and the performance. The central theme of this research is the local live performer and his/her interactions with the local live performance industry. The following chapters outline the importance of the live performance industry as a sub sector of the music industry. The activities of local performers are described according to where they play, what they perform and how they manage the various aspects of their professional working environment.

INTRODUCTION

The world of work for live music performers in South Africa is further examined in this section. Aspects of live music discussed in this chapter include the role of the performer, the working world of the performer, the performance space and the audience. These three areas: performer, performance space and audience, are essential to the equation of live music events. In describing these three areas, the working conditions of the performer and the state of the local live performance sector are better explained. Various issues arising in any of these areas affect the functioning of the other areas. Interaction and consultation among the three areas go a long way in further developing the local live music scene. The focus of this study concerns the live music performer in Johannesburg though local performers are not restricted to this locality alone.

Homan (2008; 243) describes a vibrant nightlife as characteristic of any large city. Live music is a vital component of the nightlife economy and cultural milieu of a city.

Johannesburg as a large city too has a vibrant nightlife. The contribution that live music makes to Johannesburg's nightlife economy is discussed in this chapter. Live music can have various applications for a city; for example, music festivals can boost tourism in an area and brand a city (Homan 2008: 244). Live music also plays an important 'part of the social fabric', of a geographical area (2008: 247).

This chapter explores the first field of the performer. Based on research from journal articles, interviews and surveys, this chapter outlines the performer; who they are, where they work and what transactions they make. The performance space provides the setting for the audience to receive the performer. Both the performance space and the audience are important points of consideration for performers. The elements of performance, space and public are explored in this chapter with reference to the local South African context.

THE LIVE PERFORMANCE INDUSTRY

There is much potential that the live performing sector can offer the greater music industry. The live music sector in some areas around the world is outperforming the recorded music sector. Scotland's live performance scene, as described by Williamson and Cloonan, is outperforming the locally based recording companies (Williamson 2007: 315). South Africa too has a vibrant live performance scene as echoed by the KPMG (2001: 9) report finding that South African performers earn the bulk of their income from live performance. The field of live performance is of social and economic importance to a city (Homan 2008: 250), though it is often neglected by performers and other role players in the industry. This neglect is partly historical as the music industry previously tended to focus on recorded product only. As live music has typically been neglected, it is hard to quantify the level of activity in the sector. Very little research exists regarding the local live industry practices. The research findings thus found in this chapter are largely the findings of the interviews and surveys that were conducted over the course of 2008.

Previously live performance was a promotional vehicle for recorded product (for example, artists would perform live to promote a new album). This model was changing.

Recorded product was now a supplemental income stream to the live performer. Live performers locally sold more recorded product than their non-performing counterparts. As the recorded industry's profits were under threat from piracy, it was assumed that live performance, as a future trend would increase in value over recorded product.[21] Bo Persson, Managing Director of the Stockholm Jazz Festival (speaker at the South Atlantic Jazz Conference 2007), described the live music scene as full of new opportunities. Live music was a growing and vibrant creative space for performers. As more performers were struggling to secure recording contracts, new opportunities were being sourced in live music.

The speech made by U2's manager (Paul McGuinnes at Midem 2008) revealed changing perceptions in the music industry on a global level. From the start, U2 realized that they had two parallel careers, as recording/songwriting artists and as live performers. The live music scene according to Paul McGuinnes was healthy, even though there were many rumblings in the recorded/songwriting arena owing to digital copyright and declining sales. He maintained (Midem 2008): 'People all over the world are going to more gigs than ever. The experience for the audience is better than ever … The live business is for the most part, healthy and profitable' (Cited South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference 2007).

[21] Madonna has recently signed a contract with Live Nation instead of with a traditional record label. Live Nation was previously a concert and venue company, but has now moved into ticketing, merchandising and online music distribution. This indicates the spotlight moving towards live performance security over the uncertainty of recorded product.

CHAPTER 6: THE STAGE: THE SPACE FOR LIVE PERFORMANCE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explored the stages on which performers work. In this field of performance space one encountered other role players directly linked to live performance; namely, venues, theatres, promoters, restaurants etc.

Performance space refers to places where performance occurs, essentially the working offices of a performer where the performer meets the audience. Performance spaces can vary from studios (for session work) to restaurants, clubs, pubs, and theatres through to big festival stages. Issues pertaining to performance space are very relevant to the performer as they provide the performer with a platform to meet an audience. Thus issues relating to performance space have a direct impact on the work of a live performer. This research views the performance space and the audience as critical aspects of a performer's working environment.

Issues relating to live music performance have recently been on the agenda at conferences such as MOSHITO (2007/08) and the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference (2007/08). Very few of the resources consulted have directly discussed local performance spaces and as a result, the discussions held at the conferences were vital in gathering information and perceptions in this area. One reason for the lack of discussion on live performance space is that it is often an informal sector dealing in intangible services. Though even at these conferences, discussions relating to live music were few in comparison to the discussions relating to recorded music product and legislative issues. The economic impact of the performing arts is difficult to monitor, as the sales in this sector are of an intangible service as opposed a tangible creative artwork (The Creative Economy Report 2008:118). Many live music venues may operate through paying live musicians from the door proceeds, which leaves no trace of earnings.

6.2 IMPORTANCE OF LIVE MUSIC VENUES

Coplan (2007: 343), described the importance of venues such as Kippies, Manenberg and The Bassline during the 1990s. Venues were crucial to allow the creative performing space for performing artist to meet and perform. Out of this performance space grew the uniquely South African jazz genres as well as other eclectic collaborations. The importance of such venues could be seen against the social upheaval of the 1990s (crime and political violence), which did much to hinder the growth of the new live music scene. Many potential audience members from all backgrounds were tentative about traveling to various music venues for day or evening performances (2007: 342). This was particularly true of music venues that were in the city centers. The effect of this is still felt in present-day Johannesburg, where some live music audiences still feel hesitant about traveling to inner city areas such as Newtown to watch live music.

Venues thus were crucial to the music industry in ways beyond just providing a stage and an audience. The venues were also part of creating a music scene and culture. Of the performers surveyed for this research, many raised the issue of a serious lack of live music venues in South Africa to foster a live music culture and collaborative space. Performance space was thus a critical topic for local live performers to investigate. This research aims to show that as the role of live music was changing from a supportive role to recorded product through to a central role, the activities of the live performance spaces were key areas in which to measure and evaluate growth in the live performance sector. Thus in conducting the fieldwork for this research, respondents were questioned on their experiences in and attitudes towards local performance spaces.

As this study intended to show that local live performers were positioned to play a critical role in growing the local music industry by developing the local live music industry, some data was required on aspects of the live music industry currently in order to measure future growth. Survey and interview respondents were thus questioned as to the performance schedule and content of performances.

Another important reason for analyzing the performance space was that it was where most live musicians earned their income. In developed countries there was greater scope for funding and subsidies of the performing arts than in developing countries, where income was generated largely by the box office. (The Creative Economy Report 2008:118). Thus in evaluating the live performance space, the earning ability, frequency and trends of a performer could be better understood and perhaps strategized for future growth.

The Creative Economy Report (2008:118) described the term of contracts in the performing arts sector as being project based and as a result providing irregular employment intervals.

6.3 LIVE MUSIC REGIONALLY

Geographically, a national music scene was hard to establish, as performers were not bound geographically to their town of residence. Many Cape Town performers, for example, complained that most of the work was in Johannesburg while some Johannesburg performers complained that most of the work was in Cape Town. According to the survey sample of 64 respondents, Johannesburg had the most activity in terms of live music. The survey sample was randomly passed on across South Africa and respondents were not asked where they resided.

Table 8 Geographical locations of performance (survey group)

What areas do you perform in the most?	
Johannesburg	67%
Pretoria	14%
Cape Town	17%
Durban	2%

As the interview process was conducted in the Johannesburg region among musicians residing in Gauteng, the interviewees reported most activity in this region. The performers did report fair to high mobility in terms of performing areas. Music theatre musicians traveled between the major centers, wherever the show went. Such performers might perform in Cape Town for six weeks to three months of the year and in Durban as well.

Some performers engaging in corporate work also reported high mobility. Big corporate companies that had a number of branches across the country, often hired the same musicians to perform at all the events across the country. Some performers recounted that they had been requested to perform within the SADC region as well as international regions such as the Middle East.

6.3.1 Live music

One live jazz musician, Concord Nkabinde, interviewed by Rule, maintained that musicians should become more involved in their industry, particularly in the fields of the press and marketing. He said that he would love to see a situation where artists (who have writing skills and a passion for it) contributed towards writing about themselves and other artists. We needed people who could write from the stage's point of view. Live music, he

thought, was still the most powerful tool for exposing music (Nkabinde cited in Rule 2008: 80).

Contrary to this statement, Sheckter (2006) found in his research sample that consumers rated friends as being their first source of exposure to new music at 69%, radio at 63%, TV at 43%, Internet at 30%, clubs/pubs at 27%, live music at 24% and other media at 16% (2006:191).

Live music as heard at concerts or clubs/pubs was rated fairly low in terms of its exposure to new audiences. Perhaps from the musician's point of view; it was easier to expose new music or genres to the public via a live concert than via radio. For the consumer, however, the exposure to new music was not that great. Sheckter (2006:191) remarked that in his research the low rank of live performance exposure was startling given that the sample was sourced at an arts festival. There could be a number of reasons for this low exposure rate from live music. Sheckter suggested that audiences at live performances might be passive listeners and would thus choose to go to live concerts where the content was familiar rather than unfamiliar. Perhaps though as the research did not include aspects of marketing of live events, one cannot jump to a conclusion as to why the rate of exposure was fairly low. The result though was of great interest to the performer who might expect to have audiences receptive to new music. This issue would be a case for audience development. In terms of a strategy for a local performer to release new music, one would thus need at least to look at one of the other avenues listed above (radio, Internet etc.) in combination with live music exposure.

6.3.2 Tours

Touring live music enabled a performer or group to access new audiences in new localities. Shaw (2007:256) described touring as a marketing opportunity to increase sales of recorded product. But it should not be regarded solely as a support to recorded product. It was a series of live performances that took the performer to new audiences, as

audiences in 'hard-to-access' [22] areas were often very appreciative of touring musicians (Sheckter 2006:152).

Tour support features among recorded product and composition was a focus area for the South African Music Export Council (SAMEX). Dave Alexander from SAMEX recommended that performers organize well-planned tours, marketed with maximized performing opportunities. He quoted an example from Australia where bands toured with modified, sound-equipped transport to be able to perform in remote areas (South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference booklet 2007: 58).

The survey group rated the small number of performers that actually toured locally at 24%. This could be owing to the prohibitive cost or logistical factors associated with touring. This figure was not comprehensively reflective of touring patterns in South Africa, however. It was difficult to gather tour data from sources other than the musicians or bands themselves or tour marketing campaigns. As not all live musicians in this research sample were recording artists as well, touring was not relevant to many of them.

Some countries had established tour funds that assisted musicians to organize tours. Alexander cited that such tour funds existed in Britain and Australia (South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference booklet 2007: 58). Such an initiative locally could increase market exposure and grow the local live industry.

6.3.4 Festivals

The Micro Economic Development Strategy Music Industry in the Western Cape (2007) defines local festivals as '..multi-artist events for mass audiences, usually sponsored by corporate or commercial entities or government, and organized by professional promoters' (Ansell 2007:70).

[22]These are outlying areas where there is no significant nightlife economy and as a result where live music is not often heard.

The live music festivals circuit in South Africa had grown since the 1990s into a vibrant feast of live music of all descriptions. The Development Works Report (2004) cited that South Africa had '…more than 20 different festivals, ranging in styles from Jazz to Rock, Kwaito and classical music' (Development Works Report 2004: 21).

Festivals currently running at the time of writing ranged in genre and age group from the student crowd of Oppikoppi and Woodstock to the mature audiences that attended the Cape Town International Jazz Festival through to the Afrikaans language festivals such as Aardklop and KKNK. Woodstock tended to focus on local rock bands while the Cape Town Jazz festival attracted a more discerning jazz audience. Local festivals ranged from genre-specific to mixed-genre and venue specific to multi-specific (Ansell 2007:70)

The National Arts Festival held annually in Grahamstown, was the longest running festival, having been in operation since 1974. The Splashy Fen Festival which began in 1990 prided itself on its contribution to promoting local original music. Oppikoppi, currently operating as a major events and festival company, had a small beginning on a dusty farm in the Limpopo province in 1994. That same year saw the beginning of the KKNK Afrikaans language festival.

In 1995, Authentic Ideas was born. The functions of this independent company involved in artist management and development, included concert and festival productions for their artists. Authentic Ideas ran the annual Woodstock festival. In 2000, the Cape Town Jazz Festival got underway. This festival became a major international festival that was branching out into the SADC region. In 2009 the company will host a jazz festival in Mozambique. The abovementioned festivals were just a few of the many varied festivals in operation in South Africa.

While the 'picnic, get-away' nature of a festival tended to draw large support, the crowd was not necessarily there for the music alone as some of the festivals had theatre, dance and other events running concurrently with music events. Coplan (2007: 364) remarked

that such festivals were not always suited to serious listening as the crowd might be braaing (barbequing), dancing, drinking or chatting.

Festivals were described in the Development Works Report (2004: 21) as important as they attracted new audiences to live music; however some of the speakers at MOSHITO 2008 felt that local festivals could be better run. Organizers were criticized for choosing quantity (too many artists billed) over quality (fewer artists but of higher quality) by fitting too many artists onto festival programmes. One speaker felt that there was a limit that the audience at a festival could appreciate aurally before listener-fatigue set in.

6.3.5 Venues

Live music venues are a critical aspect of the live music scene. A previously noted by Coplan (2007: 343), live music venues have played a part in fostering a South African style of Jazz. The Micro Economic Development Strategy Music Industry in the Western Cape (Ansell 2007: 68) highlighted the importance of small music venues such as clubs, restaurants and theatre bars to be vital link to the development of the local live music and local performers. These venues attracted local audiences and tourists and were a necessary link in the development of artists' careers (Ansell 2007:68).

The performing space for musicians was a problem that needed to be addressed urgently. The issue of too few venues was raised at the MOSHITO and South Atlantic Jazz Conferences. Ray Phiri (a prominent local jazz musician) commented at the 2008 MOSHITO conference that there were roughly 400 venues that catered nationally for the entire population of South Africa. At the conference he did not clarify the source of this information or whether the live venues were genre specific or not. His comment could be a reflection of the number of visible venues countrywide when compared with the figures reported by KPMG (2001: 11), which identified approximately 134 dedicated music venues across the country. If it were in fact true that there were currently so few venues dedicated to music performance, the performance space and milieu for musicians would be greatly handicapped. Coplan too remarked on the lack of quality live performance

venues locally:'… the issue of the quality and number of performance venues, forms of media exposure, recording and other professional opportunities remains a crucial and highly controversial one for the musicians' (Coplan 2007: 343).

Performers needed a performance space to meet their audience. If there were an abundance of dedicated, quality music venues (in various genres) then a vibrant live performance scene could thrive with sufficient marketing and public support. The small number of local live music venues was further challenged by an alarming rate of closures of live music venues. According to Alexander (South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference booklet: 57), the closure of live music venues should be considered a 'national crisis' in the music industry. Some of the venues discussed by Alexander were forced to relocate either because of municipal zoning law or business or management issues. Coplan noted that the historic 'Bassline' music venue had to relocate from the trendy suburb of Melville to a new development in the inner city due to the high cost of rent in the suburb (Coplan 2007:364).

Local performance spaces though appear to be not restricted to live music venues (clubs/pubs /restaurants). As shown in the interview and survey results compiled for this research, most local performances occurred at corporate events or concerts/shows. Corporate shows were generally not open to the public and were held at specified function venues where only invited guests attended. These venues offered various rooms that could be utilized for conferencing or banqueting and were thus not typically live music venues. From this research it was evident that while there was healthy activity in the local live performance industry, it was concentrated in the corporate rather than the public sector (live music venues). Thus a limited number of public audiences was exposed to local live performances.

Various venues for live music did thus exist apart from the small number of dedicated live music venues. Such spaces were available at universities and colleges, town halls, festivals, conference venues etc. The important role of an adequate number of dedicated live music venues, as described by Coplan (2007: 343), was that live venues fostered a

creative performing space for performing artists to meet and perform. Another important role of live music venues was that they were able to provide a platform for artists (new or established) to perform to a public audience. Many local live music venues acted as restaurants and bars, which encouraged audiences that would not typically go to a concert venue, to go to a live music venue where they could enjoy a meal or drink with a live act.

6.3.5.1 Analysis of Live Music Venue Listings

The health of the live performance industry was not easy to track, as venues were not formalized, the interaction between performer and venue was often verbal and there was no documentation of the event unless it was advertised in a publication. This research attempted to track listings of live music events as advertised in the *Mail and Guardian* weekly publication.

The total number of listings was totaled each week to gain an idea of the level of live music activity in the Gauteng region.[23] The results were gathered from 59 issues published during 2008 and 2009 and were intended to be an approximation of the level of activity in the public live music setting.

The research revealed an average of 39 listings advertised per week in the *Mail and Guardian*, Gauteng edition. Most listings were for live music venues and restaurants with a few festivals and once-off concerts advertised as well. Musical theatres (Barnyard Theatre, Lyric Theatre at Gold Reef City Casino, and other casino theatres at Emperors Palace and Montecasino) did not advertise in this publication. Live music venues (rated at 52%) and restaurant activity (57%) – the types of venues advertised in the listing – were areas of less activity for the sample of performers. Therefore 'shows' (as collected by this research data sample) reflected only a portion of the total weekly live music performances.

[23] *The Mail and Guardian* publishes a gig guide that advertises live performances in the Johannesburg and Pretoria region.

As noted earlier in this research, data collection per genre proved problematic for this research for a number of reasons. First, genre-specific research had not typically been undertaken except to analyze the best selling genres of recorded product. Second, there were many performers that performed across a range of genres and were therefore not limited to one specific genre. Many venues, as it appeared from the data collected also did not restrict themselves to one genre only. Coplan (2007: 342) recounted that historically, venues had to support a wide range of genres in order to sustain themselves. It was, therefore, difficult to track what genres were being performed from week to week in conducting this research as a venue such as the Bassline in Newtown, would one week advertise an international act such as 'Arrested Development' (10/10/2008) and the next week advertise a jazz line-up or spoken word festival. As some venues faithfully advertised on a weekly basis while others advertised listings sporadically to highlight a featured event, it was not possible to track accurately what activities were ongoing and whether other genres were being performed at advertised venues.

A common theme that did emerge from the data was that venues seemed to arrange 'themed evenings'; 'Samba Fridays', 'Rock Festival Sundays' or 'Pink Thursdays' were advertised at various venues. Venues typically tried to cater for a wide variety of audiences rather than specialize in one genre or audience. Many nightspots presented live music one night and a dance DJ the next. Some dedicated genre-specific venues attracted faithful audiences, for example, the Radium in Orange Grove mostly showcased Jazz, Big Band and Blues with some unplugged rock/pop artists from time to time, largely concentrating on the Acoustic Music genre. The Linder Auditorium in Parktown housed orchestral and chamber music concerts in the classical music genre.

Ticket prices varied across venues and genres. For festivals, an international line up at My Cokefest was priced at R330.00 per ticket (*Mail and Guardian* 14/03/2008). Other festivals also held over the Easter period ranged between R250.00 and R400.00 a ticket. A few venues offered free entrance with some dance venues offering free entrance before 10pm and a cover charge after that time. Also, venues that were restaurants offering live music did not necessarily charge an entrance fee. Generally speaking, there seemed to be

a cover charge at most venues. The average entrance prices ranged between R20.00 and R60.00 with a few venues charging up to R80.00 per entry. In one case the R80.00 entrance fee included a magazine and a CD (*Mail and Guardian*: 'The Bohemian' 27/06/2008). One particular venue charged up to R700.00 for a once-off concert by a Jazz instrumentalist. The price included a three-course meal and a copy of the Jazz artist's CD (*Mail and Guardian*: The Hyatt Regency in Rosebank 07/11/08). Aside from this example, live music generally speaking was not beyond the reach of the average middleclass patron at R20.00 - R60.00 per evening door charge (food and drinks not included).[24]

An average small live music venue that attracted 25 -100 customers per night (as music venues differed from intimate to midsize, 25 - 100 gave a rough estimate) at R40.00 cover charge would make R1000.00 to R4000.00 on the door sales. Profit margins would also add to food and drinks purchased at the venue. Generally though the band or musicians would receive the lion's share of the door proceeds and would earn extra income from CD/merchandise sales.

Interestingly, the survey and interview sample did not utilize live music venues as their primary performance space. Among the survey sample, performers rated performance space at 57% for restaurant use and 52% for live music respectively.

As seen from the chart below, live venue listings averaged 39 listings in the Gauteng region per week. The seasonal nature of live performances at live music venues was evident in this graph. There was a significant drop in the venue listings over the Easter period (week 6 - 8). Over this time many people were away because of various religious festivals and school holidays. Various music festivals also took place during this time such as the Splashy Fen festival in the Drakensberg, My Cokefest in Johannesburg /Cape Town and the Cape Town International Jazz festival. There was a less pronounced dip during Easter in 2009 in April (weeks 47 - 49). The other significant dip occurred during

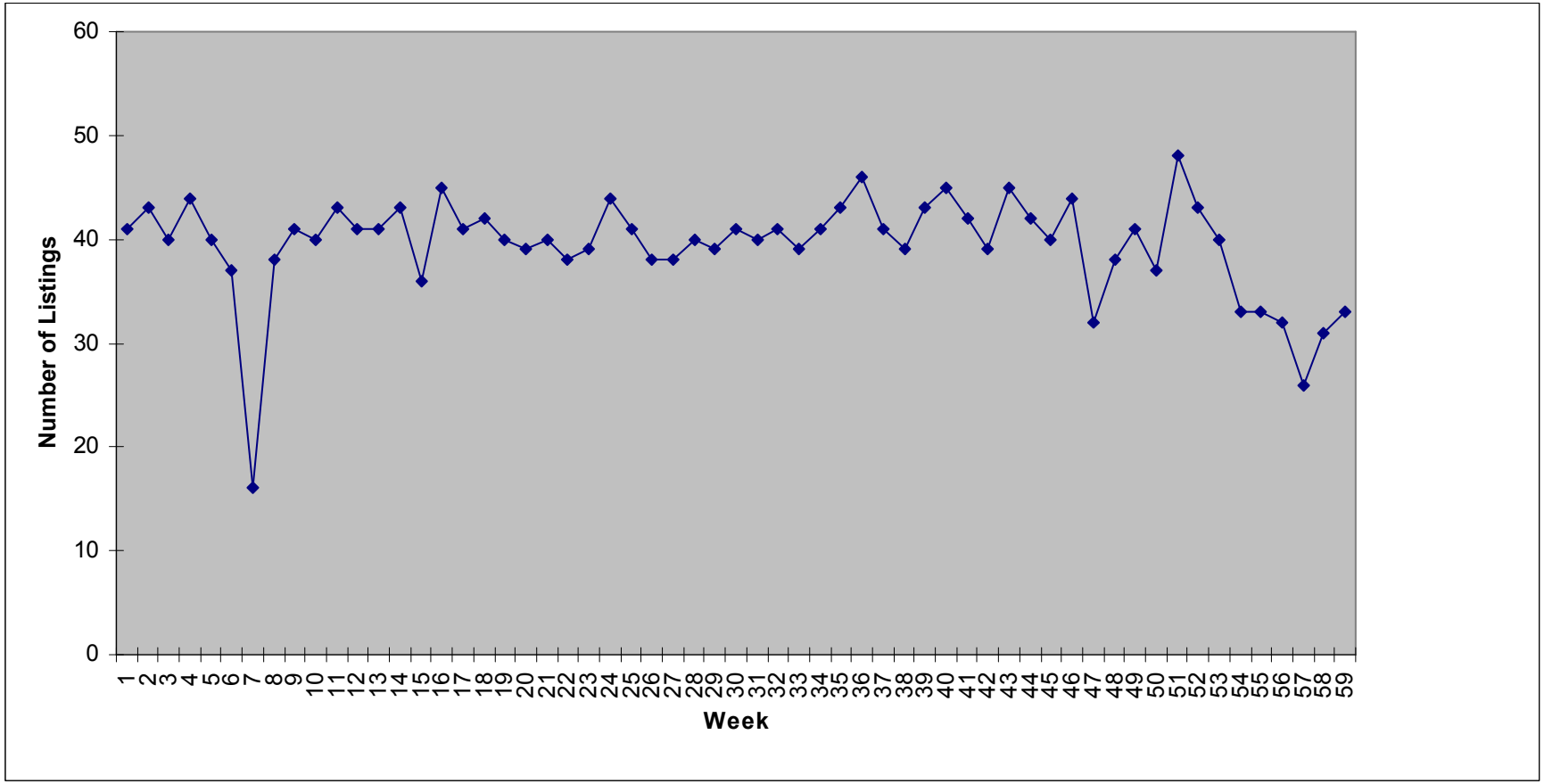
[24]At the time of writing (2009), a movie ticket was in the region of R45.00 - R50.00

weeks 55 - 59. This period overlapped with the winter school holidays, the winter months as well as the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown. A similar dip occurred in winter 2008 during weeks 15 to 18.

The researcher found that during the festive period in December-January, the *Mail and Gaurdian* publication supplied venue listings for the Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal region in the Gauteng edition, presumably to audiences that would not be in Gauteng during this holiday period.

Weeks 1-3 represented data from the month of February 2008;
weeks 4-6 March 2008;
weeks 7-10 April 2008;
weeks 11-14 May 2008;
weeks 15-18 June 2008;
week 19 -23 July 2008;
week 24 -28 August 2008;
weeks 29- 31 September 2008;
weeks 32-37 October 2008;
weeks 38-41 November 2008;
weeks 42-43 December 2008;
week 44 February 2009;
weeks 45-46 March 2009;
weeks 47-49 April 2009;
weeks 50-54 May 2009;
weeks 55-58 June 2009;
week 59 July 2009.

Table 9 Venue listings chart



In a comparative study, The Micro Economic Development Strategy Music Industry in the Western Cape (Ansell 2007:68) undertook research with small to medium live music venues in the region. In this report, live music activity was found to be grouped around weekends, month-ends and holiday periods (Ansell 2007:68). Live performers reported to have booked these gigs themselves at their own expense (travel, phone calls, emails, instrument delivery and set up etc.) (Ansell 2007:68).

The study surveyed six various live music venues in the region in order to collect data on capacity, attendance and cover charge. Of the venues surveyed, the average capacity was 263 people/seats, with the average attendance on weekdays at 77 and on weekends at 122. The average cover charge on weekdays was R31.00 and on weekends was R48.00 (Ansell 2007:69).

In the region of the Western Cape, live music performances tended to increase over holiday periods, while in the Johannesburg context, live performances decreased over these periods, presumably as audiences go on holiday to coastal destinations. Cover charges at Johannesburg live music venues ranges between R20.00 -R60.00 thus in a similar range to the Western Cape regions. It was not possible form the venue listings data to determine capacity and attendance figures in the Johannesburg context, though this would be useful for future studies.

6.2.6 Types of Performances

Performance work was often of a freelance nature and as such was difficult to track in terms of how much work it provided, where it was provided and to whom (Towse 1993: 87). The type of performances as described by the respondents to this research was fairly consistent between the first interview group and the survey groups with concerts or shows being the most frequent, corporate functions second, followed by session work, private social functions and restaurants performances.

The survey group's performance breakdown was as follows:

Table 10 Types of performances (survey group)

Restaurants	57%
Live Music Clubs	52%
Concerts/Shows	71%
Tours	24%
Corporate Functions	69%
Private Social Events (parties, weddings etc.)	68%
Session Work	34%
Religious Services	25%
Busking	14%
*Other	6%

Similar trends in types of performance appeared when comparing the survey results to the interview results.

Table 11 Comparison of performance types between survey and interview group

Survey Group	**Interview Group**
1. Concerts/Shows	1. Concerts/Shows
2. Corporate Functions	2. Corporate Functions
3. Private Social Events	3. Session Work
4. Restaurants	4. Private Social Events/Concerts
5. Live Music Clubs	5. Restaurants

Concerts and shows were the most performed type of live gig for both groups. Corporate work was similarly second place for both groups. Both these first two categories are typical once-off performances. The interview group appeared to be more active in terms of session work than the survey group. Perhaps this difference occurred as the interview group was largely full time and the survey group part time. Session work often occurred during the weekday period and could come up at a moment's notice. Private social events ranked third and fourth and included various social occasions such as parties and weddings

Very few musicians performed regularly at restaurants. Given the apparent shortage of dedicated live music venues, restaurants may provide an alternative venue for live performances. Restaurants provided high public visibility but might not have a significant budget to pay performers. Such venues though were often frequented by the public and could be a good way to increase market exposure for a performer. These venues may offer a performer a residency, which would provide more regular work
'Concerts' or 'shows' as described above refers to a large, generalized type of once-off performance, or series of performances that run over a few weeks to a few months.

Concerts/shows could refer to a soiree recital or a festival performance to a band tour or an opera season. Generally speaking, a concert or a show would be a performance that is actively listened to as opposed to a background music performance where the audience is not expected to give full attention to the performers. The type of concerts or show would be dependent on the music genre. As this research did not account for differences in genre, the description of a concert or a show is rather broad and generalized.
∗Other types of performances described by the interview and survey sample included festival performances and other outdoor-type performances, ballets and operas and military parades.

6.2.6.1 Musical theatres

The venue listing published in the *Mail and Guardian*, as collected for this research did not include listings for musical theatres or theatre venues and casino performances. As a result, these venues were largely under-researched by this study. There are a fair number of musical theatres and theatre venues in Gauteng, not to mention that various casinos employ live performers in a musical 'cabaret' context. A survey respondent from this research sample noted that 'theatre shows, casino gigs' offered great opportunities to the live performance industry. Musical theatres such as the Barnyard Theatres were very active, employing a wide range of performers locally and abroad. : An electronic discussion with the Barnyard Theatre in November 2008 established that 'The Barnyard hires about 90 musicians at the same time. Obviously we have a huge database of artists, but don't use them all'. Other figures were not available for other musical theatres but the figures fluctuated from show to show

In a magazine interview with the Barnyard Theatre company in 2006, the owners disclosed that the various franchises across the country sell between 50 000 and 60 000 tickets a month. This is compared to a well-established Johannesburg theatre, the Market Theatre, which was said to sell 60 000 tickets per year. (Maverick Magazine, November

2006: 71). Judging from the ticket sales data, musical theatre appeared to be a thriving area of live performance locally.

6.2.6.2 Orchestral performances

Information on orchestral performances was not sufficiently evident from the venue listings source. The promoters for such concerts appeared not to target the weekly Mail and Guardian publication as much as other publications such as the monthly 'Classic Feel' magazine and other media not consulted for this research.
In discussion with some orchestral players, it appeared that orchestral rates varied from organization to organization. During the research time frame, professional orchestras present in Gauteng included the Johannesburg Philharmonic Orchestra (JPO), the Pro Musica orchestra and the Johannesburg Festival Orchestra (JFO). Other non-professional orchestras were present, but were not included as part of this discussion. The JPO it was reported paid monthly salaries to full-time contracted performers with extra players receiving a once-off fee.

Orchestras were reported to have a separate rehearsal and performance fee. Principal musicians in the orchestra in some cases earned more than tutti players. Various concerts were a part of the orchestral concert calendar. The JPO held regular seasonal concerts throughout the year, with some of the other orchestras putting on once-off shows for functions or open-air events while others supported opera or ballet performances. The performance schedule was partly regular and partly variable.

6.2.6.3 Corporate performances

The corporate market for musicians appeared to be very active, though with a seasonal tendency (for example, end of year functions or product launches). Musicians claimed that the remuneration was fairly high, with some commanding high fees, depending on their status as artists and the work involved. Seventy per cent of performance activity occurred at corporate functions according to the survey group. Corporate work for a

performer could include work as a soloist or group of performers, where the performer(s) would be a featured artist or artists at an event or be a part of a crucial element of the event such as performing a work chosen to represent a product or launch. The performer(s) could also provide background music at such events where the artist(s) would perform as guests arrived or during meals etc. Corporate work for a performer could include work as a soloist, where the performer would be a featured artists at an event or be part of a crucial element of the event such as performing a work chosen to represent a product or launch, or background work where the artist would perform as guest arrived or during meals etc. The nature and frequency of corporate work tended to be variable and seasonal. The work appeared to be secured either through booking agents and event managers or sourced through the performer's own contacts.

6.2.6.4 Weddings and private functions

Weddings and private functions offered lucrative earning potential to musicians. South African wedding venues attracted not only local couples, but also many tourists wishing to tie the knot in South Africa's favourable climate. Weddings in South Africa offered international clients excellent services, which were inclusive of beauty packages as well music and décor etc.

Weddings typically employed string quartets, harpists, solo musicians (violinists, trumpeters, guitarists, organists etc.) and DJs or live wedding bands: 'The total number of marriages in South Africa as recorded by the department of Home Affairs in 2007 was 180 030. The 2007 figure represents a decline of 1,0% compared with the 2006 figure of 184 860' (Source www.statssa.gov.za/newsletters/StatsOnline18December2008.htm).

As not all marriages celebrated with a wedding and not all weddings required the services of musicians or DJs, it was difficult to ascertain from the statistics how much work was created for musicians in the line of wedding work; however the potential and opportunities did seem to be available to local performers.

Weddings typically occurred on Friday afternoons, Saturday mornings/afternoons and Sunday mornings/afternoons across many dedicated wedding venues in the greater Johannesburg/Pretoria region. Weddings tended to be seasonal in nature, owing to weather and holiday concerns, with March/April/May being the most popular months in the Gauteng region.

The survey group rated live performances at private functions (such as birthday parties, weddings etc.) at 68% and as an active area of the local live industry.

Other avenues open to local performers would include concert venues at institutions such as universities and colleges. American performers such as string quartets had the option of seeking residences at universities, which provided some career security for performers. Universities offered resident performers access to performance venues or concert halls, a press release office, a basic salary or medical and pension fund assistance in return for teaching or performing for the institution. (Millett2007: 67).
The idea of securing a residency as a performer at a University was not an idea that any local performers interviewed mentioned. The idea of developing a resident concert circuit at universities or colleges could be further developed locally to the benefit of local performers. Gauteng institutions such as UNISA and the University of Johannesburg (UJ) did run weekly concert series, though the performers were typically not resident lecturers or staff at the institutions.

6.3 CONCLUSION

Live performance was facilitated by performance spaces. Such spaces occurred in many forms from once-off venues through to festivals large and small. The performance spaces available locally, as discussed above, offered various opportunities for local live performers.

The critical issues affecting live performance locally included the quantity and quality of live music venues, which could inhibit the growth of the live performance industry. Local performers should be in discussion with venue owners in order to overcome challenges facing the industry in this area.

Live performance faced various challenges in South Africa. There was a sense from the conference floor that while MOSHITO concentrated largely on important issues related to recorded product (piracy, local content, needle time, trends), issues relating to live music should receive greater attention. Live music and performance preceded a recorded product in many instances and thus to tackle issues of recorded product without seriously looking at live performance, was putting the cart before the horse.

A difficulty in discussing live music issues was the presence of all the relevant stakeholders. It was important to have the relevant roles players round the table in a discussion on live music, including promoters, managers, performers, technical crew and venue owners. During this research period, there were no venue owners represented on the discussion panels at the conferences such as MOSHITO. Venues owners were often music-loving non-musicians that ran establishments, or businessmen and women in their own right than might run a couple of different venues or businesses. Some venues that offered music to their patrons (say a restaurant) might view live music as an ancillary service and not consider their establishment as a live music venue. It would be beneficial at future conferences to invite a few venue owners into the discussion on live music so

that the music industry could understand the challenges that a live venue faced locally. The goal of such discussions would be to create a vibrant public live music culture in the larger city areas.

A large investment needed to be made by the broader music industry (including performers) in terms of live music performance from venues, to audiences and to performers' product.

Nick Motsatse, CEO of SAMRO discussed various aspects of SAMRO's current initiatives in the industry at the South Atlantic Jazz Conference in 2007. According to SAMRO's records, many musicians were earning fair revenue from live music performances. He described live music performance as '… contributing to effective economic activity, especially with the creation of employment for performing artists and those providing technical services' *(*Conference Booklet South Atlantic Jazz Conference 2007:15).

SAMRO collected royalties on behalf of live performers for 'live performances' of their own work and as such would have some insight into the earnings of performers that write their own music. Motsatse cited that the global trend of declining CD sales in the USA, had given rise to the notion that live music can be a more sustainable source of revenue for musicians. In this regard, live music venues festivals and audiences should be encouraged and developed with the cooperation of live performers. Big festivals tended to attract sponsors, yet small venues, which were crucial to nurture music appreciation and talent, often remained underdeveloped (Conference Booklet South Atlantic Jazz Conference 2007: 16).

The Development Works report noted that a variety of live venue types were necessary to impact the live performance industry. The report asserted that small live music venues limited the size of a performer's audience and would in turn limit the performer's earning potential (Development Works 2004: 20). A venue circuit comprising of a balance of small to big venues would be ideal for the earning and creative potential of the performer.

The experience of the audience at a performance venue was critical for repeat business. Audience members expected a comfortable listening environment. A comfortable listening environment could be specific to a genre (a comfortable jazz club was different from a comfortable classical setting) though the points highlighted in the Pitts (2008) study were fairly general to any genre application

The study revealed that adequate legroom, comfortable distance from the stage with a good view and easy access to the refreshment station were important considerations for an audience (Pitts 2008: 227). Accessible and secure parking at the venue were also important factors. A performer might not often have control over the facilities that venues offered, though certain considerations could be discussed with a venue ahead of time such as the seating plan or refreshment station etc. Other logistical issues raised by the respondents related to public transport schedules with relation to concert starting times. Times of performances were of concern to the audience, as they required sufficient time to reach the venue while facing challenges relating to public transport, traffic and parking etc. Interval refreshments were also listed as high priority for audiences.

Regular attendants at the music festival studied by Pitts and Spencer returned year on year owing to the convenient location and high standard of music (Pitts 2008: 237).

CHAPTER 7: THE PERFORMER

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The central subject of this research is the live performer in the local live performance context. In this chapter, the professional lives of performers are given a close-up investigation. The chapter also aims to analyze both the work life of live performers from their training through to their working context and the role they play in the industry The analysis considers the various areas of skill and knowledge required by local performers in the workplace with the aim of evaluating how they function in their work environment. An important role of local performers is that they are in a position to grow the local live music industry, thus the study of the performers' training, work life and work experience would assist this study in evaluating how performers are managing this role.

For the purpose of this study, a live performer is broadly defined as one who performs a musical instrument (or a singer), alone as a soloist or with a group of performers (in some professional capacity) in a public context. Shaw (2007: 22) defined performers as

> …a solo singer, a band, a disc jockey,[25] a duo or a group of musicians …They are the entities who perform music product live and in the studio. Their image or brand is an important part of gaining popularity. Their remuneration comes from royalties on music record sales or through money received for live performances of their music.

In the literature covered for this research, interchangeable terms for 'performer' include ‘musician’ and ‘artist'. These terms are used interchangeably throughout this report. It is worth noting that not all performers are artists in the sense of recording and writing their own music. Many live performers locally have made careers by performing works written and scored by other musicians or ‘artists’.

[25]This research focused mainly on performers of musical instruments rather than disc jockeys, though some of the material would be applicable to disc jockeys as well.

In a broader definition, the 'Performer's Protection Act' (Act 11 of 1967, amended 24 April 2001) defines a performer as '…an actor, singer, musician, dancer or other person who acts, sings, delivers, plays in or otherwise performs literary or artistic works'[26]

Another description of performers by a local performer states:

> Performers are by definition public figures. Their following includes the informed and the uninformed; they have to satisfy a far more diverse public than composers … constantly evaluating their performance with criteria that are entirely different from ones which would come from an academic institution (a local performer cited in Lucia 2005: 100).

In the above quote the performer is described alongside the public, the audience. Here the audience is portrayed as diverse (non-homogenous) and critical and the performer as a service provider, constantly evaluating his/her work.

In defining who would be a performer, the following description from a promotional brochure shed some light on the various types of performers. Career opportunities in live music as described in the promotional brochure[27] for Berklee College of Music (an American music college) 2008/9 included the following description of careers open to graduates that studied a performance major at the college:'…background vocalist, floor show band member, general business musician, group member, instrumental soloists, orchestra member, performing and recording artists, session musician, vocalist' (promotional brochure obtained from a faculty representative at the MOSHITO conference 2009).

7.2 THE ROLE OF THE PERFORMER

This growth of live music, which includes opportunities for growth and recognition, also includes roles and responsibilities for the performer. As previously highlighted in this research, an important role for the local live performer is to participate in growing the

[26]See Appendix for a copy of the Performers' Protection Amendment Bill.
[27]The brochure from Berklee College of Music was made available at MOSHITO 2009 by a representative of the college.

local live music industry, thus benefiting themselves, other musicians and the greater music sector. The performer may also have various other roles and responsibilities which overlap with this role of development. In directly referring to the music field, Bourdieu pointed out that musicians were responsible for the canon of repertoire that audiences came to expect. This particular reference was directed at classical music practices, but could also extend to other genres. Bourdieu (cited in Lucia 2005: 101) singled out the practice of performing over and over, well-known classics from the 18th to early 20th century. This practice in effect limited the repertoire and thus predisposed audiences to old classics over newer or original works. In the jazz idiom, it was possible to play many 'jazz standards' that were familiar to audiences. This in turn reiterated the classics and hindered the audience from expecting new repertoire. One local performer in Lucia's sample complained that local classical performers were not original in their repertoire selection. Such performances merely repeated old material and performance practices. A performer cited in Lucia 2005: 101 '… complained that classical performers in South Africa repeat the same tropes28, not bringing anything original to the old material'.

A following was important to a performer as a poor reception from a live audience could, so to speak, put a performer out of work. It was thus a difficult balance for a performer to maintain an audience and at the same time, develop an audience in terms of repertoire. Aside from repertoire responsibilities, the performer would also be responsible for expressing identities and experiences. Coplan (2007) described live performance as '… a form of social practice that orders experience and brings values and identities to life' (405) and 'Performers both express and are a part of city life' (404).

Coplan viewed performers and the role of performance as an expression of identities and a part of a specific locality. Performances according to Coplan also organized life experiences through their depiction of life. The Creative Economy Report (2008: 118) described the role of the performing arts as cultural, educational, commercial and recreational. The cultural exchange and diversity of performing were highlighted when a touring artist promoted his or her cultural identity to various audiences.

[28] 'Trope' in this context refers to a 'device'. Local musical performers resort to using and repeating the same performance devices or repertoire.

A survey respondent from the research sample commented:

> There seems to be a growing awareness locally that musicians are an important and valid part of the business community. When I started out, it was not considered a 'real' job. There is a tremendous amount of talent, and it now gets developed through tertiary education, which is not just available to classical musicians.

This survey respondent asserted that live musicians had not always been viewed seriously as contributing role players to commerce and society. As per the above definitions and roles of a live performer, the role of a local performer was important and strategic to both commerce and society.

The role of a performer could be further expanded to include the role of a researcher. Creative work such as performing and composing has recently been recognized as research (Lucia 2005: 83). Lucia (2005: 85) reported that the National Research Foundation (NRF) had considered ratings for such creative research. Such accreditation elevated the work of performers and composers somewhat to show that live performance and composition could be assessed as a process and outcome and that the disciplines of performance and composition included rigour and made a contribution to intellectual debates as was the case with conventional research. In contrast though to conventional research, performers and composers addressed a public audience, far wider than the reach of conventional research.

The term ‘performer’ in Lucia’s study referred to a classical performer and a jazz musician. Similarly, ‘composer’ referred to art music composition and jazz performer-composer.

What were considered fairly average activities for a performer/composer, were being likened to the research process. For example, conducting a rehearsal for a first performance of a work could be considered part of an editing process. A live or studio

recording of a work or performance could be considered as a publication. Even peer–review processes could exist in the daily work of a performer/composer.

Lucia (2005: 88) maintained that performance outcomes were measured ‘in-the-moment’. Similar to an athlete, a musician was required to be physically and mentally prepared for a performance. Music had to be embodied into the performer in a way similar to how a researcher got to know the literature of a particular field (Lucia 2005: 88). Performers, however, often had to locate themselves in various fields – nationally and internationally, academically and publicly – simultaneously as opposed to a traditional research, which is often located in one or two fields. Lucia’s paper on the performer /composer as researcher was relevant to this study as it defined a role for performers that went beyond a mere entertainment view of performance. A performer as researcher was no longer merely an entertainer. The role of a performer was thus complex, with the potential to reach and affect various fields.

Each of the above definitions touched on some aspects of the roles and responsibilities present in live performance. Thus a live performer was not merely one who presented concerts on a musical instrument. A live performer had various important roles to play in preparing for and presenting a live show. Aspects of importance to the role of a live performer included culture, identity, experience, public, education, commerce, research and recreation. These aspects will be further discussed in this chapter through the research findings conducted with the survey and interview group as well as other literature sources.

7.3 THE PERFORMERS' INFLUENCE

Lucia (2005: 96) pointed out that performers' recognition was value-based on their reputation. In order to gain recognition and progress as a performer, smaller performances, such as session work, added up over a period of time to build a reputation. in the industry which was earned by being visible at lower levels of performance. The attitude, skill and professionalism of a performer tended to be discussed by peers and

spread via word of mouth: ‘Visibility is what counts for performers, and this is where the limited field is heavily interdependent on the second field of power, in which agents, venue managers, and publics are situated (Lucia 2005: 96).

Another way for performers to increase their influence among their colleagues or audiences was involvement in crossover practices. Crossover practices included performing in across genres, performing and composing, performing and conducting or researching (Markusen 2006: 7). Crossover practices could occur as a result of a small sized limited field (Lucia 2005: 104). Musicians could make a good living from their chosen pursuits; though they could not afford to rely on their earnings from that one pursuit. Alternative streams of income available through crossover practices should be encouraged within the music industry, as they not only benefit the performer with additional income, but also add higher visibility to the second field.

Higher visibility could also be achieved through the use of technology and media. An interesting find by Towse (1993: 201) was that performers who took on only live work, earned less over time than those that took on live work complemented with recorded work. The reasons for this could be supported by a number of factors, one being that live musicians that had recorded received additional income through royalties., However, another factor might be that recorded work might also increase a live performer’s exposure and visibility, thus helping to secure future work. The performer's influence thus could be spread across various platforms such as live performance, recordings and broadcasts and would assist in building a public reputation. As influence and reputation were strongly related to future work for a performer, it was to a performer’s benefit to have not only knowledge of various platforms but also the roles and responsibilities of performers as discussed above.

7.4 TRAINING

Performers in today's music industry required a range of non-musical skills, relevant to their field. Knowledge of royalties and intellectual property as they pertain to performance was required as was an understanding of the roles and functions of the various aspects of the music industry. The following quote, published in an article in the *Strad* Magazine (January 2009), highlighted the broad range of non-musical skills required to survive as a musician currently. The author, Canonici, himself a musician turned agent, had dealt with countless musicians:

> ...these days a musician needs to create a credible image, offer an interesting choice of repertoire, cultivate a very wide network and have a clear understanding of where he or she wants to be placed in the music world. I've seen many talented musicians not achieve what their talent deserved, mostly because they relied on only their talent and had almost no business skills. (Canonici 2009:36-39).

A musician required knowledge of the various roles and functions of the links in the value chain that comprised the music industry. The performer was one link in the value chain and was thus dependent on the other links for his/her productivity. For the music industry to function smoothly, knowledge of the other entities and their functions was needed by the performer. Various respondents that were interviewed for this research stated a lack of support for their chosen career in music from their families because of negative or immature views of the music industry or the earning potential of a musician. In some cases performers entered a career in music without an understanding of what the music industry entailed.

The music industry was generally not well understood. Shaw and other sources noted that the recording industry was often confused with the music industry, whereas recording was only an aspect of the entire music industry (Shaw 2007:20).

The aim of this research was to show that many live musicians might not be sufficiently trained in aspects of the music industry and consequently were ill equipped to improve their working conditions and grow the local music industry. As a result of insufficient training, musicians might make career strategy decisions based on industry hearsay rather than on data-based trends. Similarly, policy makers that influenced the lives of performers made ill-informed decisions for the music industry where little information was present in order to make sound decisions. For example, Kristafor and Budhram (2003:45) in analyzing the performance sub sector in the Western Cape in order to develop strategies that would help grow such creative industries concluded that there was no data available to assess any challenges or opportunities that the performing arts sub-sector might have.

An example of such industry hearsay would be the American study conducted by Filer (1986), which proved the notion of a starving artist to be a myth. This 'myth' persisted as some musicians interviewed for this study reflected that their parents and or teachers had passed on the impression that musicians did not make money. Some comments from the interview sample included:

My parents thought it was not a good profession to follow.

Not much information was passed on by my teachers (about the music industry).

My parents, peers and the media perpetuated a 'Hollywood' myth' (on the music industry).

The relevance of Filer's (1986) study to this research was that it indicated a career as a musician as an economically viable option for a performer. That the romanticized notion of a 'starving musician' persisted was the result of teachers, students and parents adhering to industry hearsay. The findings of Filer's study (1986:56) concluded that artists (including actors and dancers as well as musicians) did not earn less than other professionals with similar training and personal characteristics. Furthermore Filer (1986:74) described artists as 'normal, risk-averse, income-seeking individuals' as many other professional workers might be.

Filer's study complemented the research findings of this paper as a number of the musicians surveyed and interviewed for this research were in full-time employment in the local music industry with frequent performance schedules. This information suggested that local performers enjoyed active, gainful employment. Yet many employed graduates or self-employed musicians had not received formal instruction on their career path or industry. An important aspect raised by Filer was that of risk and appetite for risk. As discussed earlier in this research, the element of risk was very present in the music industry. Local live performers required some appetite for risk in order to grow the local live music industry and thus grow opportunities for themselves.

Predating Filer's work, Peacock and Lazarus surveyed music students at a York institution in the early 1970s.While their survey return rate was low, it became apparent to the researchers that music students in general had very little idea about life in their chosen profession after graduating (Peacock 1993:143).

Subsequently, Peacock shifted his focus to better informing musicians about their industry and the perceptions of their employers and audiences. He suggested that music schools should offer career advice, which could include the structures of various organizations in the music industry as well as a broad understanding of remuneration. Marcone (1984: 39) urged music academies to train musicians in industry skills, as there was a need for qualified creative people to work in the broader music industry: 'Courses concerning the music business must be included in any well-rounded programme. They will give the musician a better chance to improve the quality of music we listen to'.

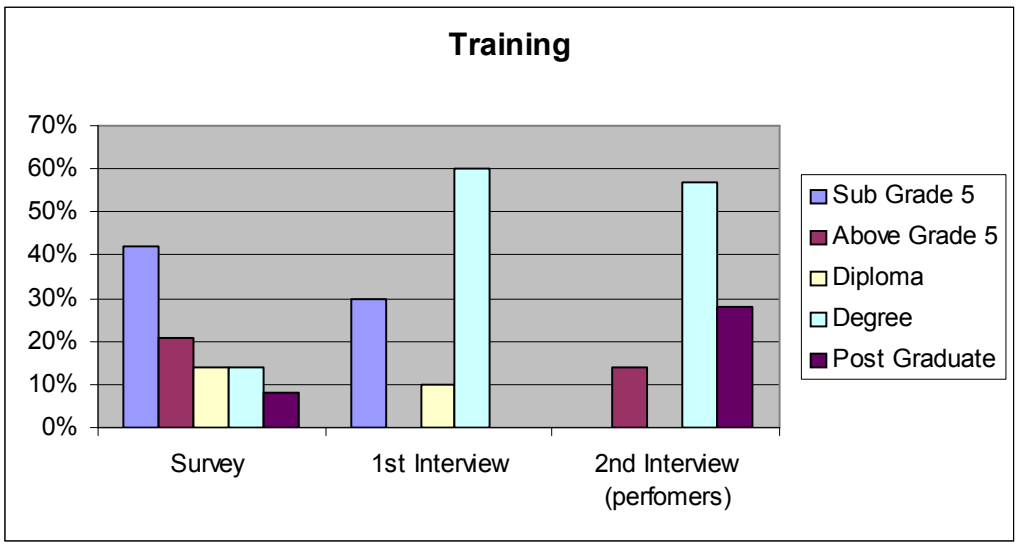
Such training, argued Marcone, would not only benefit the performer, but also the greater industry and the audiences would benefit from better-equipped musicians. A delegate at the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference (2007:69 commenting on training noted that what was important was '…how jazz musicians were taught to market themselves to become celebrities and to acquire business skills … educational and practical assistance were needed'.

This delegate highlighted the important aspect of marketing, which many performers questioned in this study, rated their competency on as fairly low (see competency rating chart).

Evaluating industry specific training among performers was a research objective of this study. The training of musicians was complicated by the fact that there were some musicians that were self-taught, or musicians that had achieved a high level of training, say with a private tutor, but had never encountered training on the music industry as part of their course. One survey respondent commented on a lack of industry training and industry relevant skills: 'We don't always have enough people training muso's [sic] and performers as a full package'.

Interview and survey respondents were questions on their level of training in order to gauge the educational level of musicians that were active locally. One of the aims of this study was to evaluate the industry-relevant knowledge of musicians, but in order to assess whether musicians were trained for the industry one should first establish what level of formal training local musicians had acquired.

Table 12 Level of formal music training (survey and interview groups)



A large number of survey respondents were therefore not formally trained to a high level though a small number of those active as performers were formally trained to a high level. As the survey group had not received much formal training, they would also not have been instructed in music industry skills via their training.

Interestingly, most of the interview respondents were highly trained with tertiary qualifications either in music or drama or a high level of independent music qualification such as a music Grade 8 certificate. There was thus a significant difference in training levels between the survey and interview group.

The qualifications of the interview group were mostly obtained at tertiary level in music or drama (in some instances in musical theatre). 10% of the interview sample had graded music qualifications above Grade 5. The remaining 30% had received music lessons while at school and were largely self-taught. The survey group reported a lower level of music training with only 21% of survey respondents having trained above Grade 5 music level.

Once the level of training was established, interviewees were asked whether they had received formal industry training. Formal industry training would include courses incorporated into a music student's curriculum that covered aspects (among others) of other role players in the industry, copyright, concert management and other music business related topics.

Table 13 Level of formal industry training (interview group)

25% had received formal industry training.
37% had picked up information informally
37% had received no industry training.

The performing sample of the second interview group were then asked to rate their peers in terms of formal industry relevant training levels

Table 14 Training Level of formal industry training (second interview group)

42% Musicians are not formally schooled in aspects of the music industry.
14% Yes musicians are formally schooled in aspects of the music industry.
42% Seldom are musicians formally schooled in aspects of the music industry.
14% Training dependent on school or teacher.

The peer group was rated very low in terms of industry related training. Some of the respondents described some level of training formally , but that this was not consistent or comprehensive

One respondent replied:

No. At least not adequately… the BMUS [Bachelor of Music Degree] *includes a course on copyright law as it applies to intellectual property, but there is nothing on the industry and issues relating to working in the industry.*

Another respondent felt that music industry training was not the norm locally and as a result performers had to learn about their industry via trial and error.

I think it's more from their colleagues and learning the hard way!

From these results, very few trained musicians working in the field of live music were well equipped for their music careers through their institutions.

In an interview with the Alexander Quartet and other professional musicians, Luckey, VanClay, Weinberger, Eisler, (May/June 1999,13,8.p. 32) the authors of the article 'In the real world making the most of your degree' (*Strings* undertook to discover how fresh music graduates embarked on a full-time career as musicians in the American context.

The article focused on the educational training of American graduates in order to highlight benefits or shortcomings in the syllabus.

> Young players need to be prepared for the logistical and economic realities of making a career, such as the hours they'll spend coordinating schedules … getting themselves and their instruments to performances … publicizing their activities and handling their financial accounts

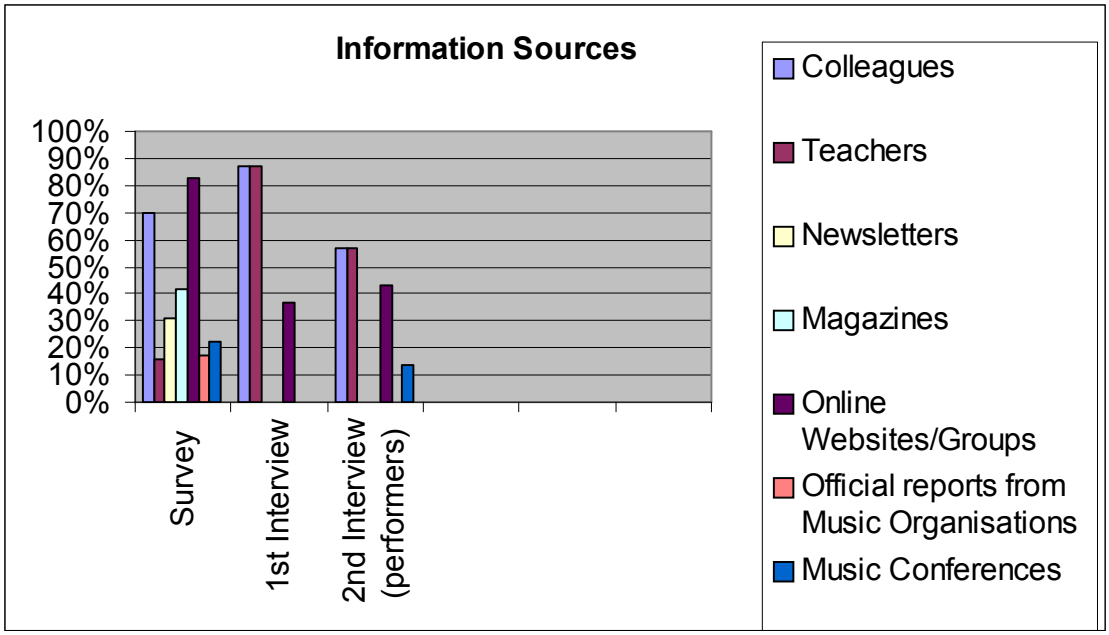
Marin Alsop, a music director interviewed in this article, felt that simply to master one's instrument at tertiary level was no longer enough to guarantee a career as a full-time performer. Among other skills, Alsop (1999:34) noted that orchestral musicians were increasingly required to have public speaking and programming skills. One experienced musician, Scheirich (1999:35) described the legal aspects of the industry that she had encountered; for contracts for solo and orchestral work that had to be negotiated, a teaching studio was set up which required various contracts and invoices to parents and studio space and business registration etc. for which she felt unprepared.

7.5 INFORMATION ON THE LOCAL MUSIC INDUSTRY

On the basis that only 25% of interview respondents had received industry training, this research presumed that many performers had not received instruction on the business aspects of the music industry. The survey group was asked where they accessed information on their industry. This question aimed to gauge how musicians gathered information on their industry, which also highlighted the information that was available to them. As a result of such information, musicians made various decisions related to their careers.

Information on the South African music industry would supply a local performer with knowledge of legal and professional practices relevant to the local context as well as supply information on trends and opportunities in the live music sector.

Table 15 Access to information on the local music industry



The survey group accessed most of its industry information online at 83%. Such resources could include social networking groups, chat rooms, industry sites such as MIO (Music Industry Online etc.). Various industry organisation typically communicated formal reports or information via online methods by sending out emails to mailing lists or by posting such information on the relevant newsletter sites such as MIO or Artslink
The survey group was accessed online, so it is consistent that this group would access most of their information online as well.
70% relied on colleagues for information, which was similar to the interview sample finding. Information from music teachers was the lowest source.
This was unfortunate as a music teacher may often have industry relevant, practical experience to impart to their students. A music teacher with practical performing experience would be in a position to prepare a prospective student for their world of work.
In comparison most interviewed musicians relied on word of mouth information (from colleagues) at 87% and 37% used online resources and a few respondents relied on agents for information. That the interview group did not access much of information online

would disadvantage this group from more formal sources of information such as organizational reports.

This is an important finding for this research, which aims to understand how musicians make career decisions. The information utilized by a performer to make performing career decisions is of interest to this study as it reflects how the local live industry is functioning. From the above results, performers have fairly limited access to reliable industry information. This is combined with little industry-relevant training. Word-of-mouth information can be second hand and subjective and thus often unreliable. This research will hopefully provide some measurable information on which local musicians can base decisions and strategies to implement in furthering the growth of the local live music industry

A noticeable difference between the survey group and the interview group was the access to online information. The survey group primarily accessed information on the local music industry though online groups and sources (82.8%), The interview group though tended to use online sources far less than the survey group (37%). The survey sample was accessed via an online link and as a result may have more of a tendency to utilize the Internet, as opposed to the interview sample, which were accessed in a live music setting.
The performing sample of the second interview group was asked how their peers access information on the local music industry. Interestingly, only 14% felt that local performers accessed information from their colleagues and teachers.
28% felt that most information was gathered via experience and thus not communicated by teachers or colleagues. One respondent described a situation where a music teacher as deliberately avoided teaching issues relating to music industry training, as they themselves feared competition from their students.

> ‘One … professor …lamented to one of his students that "why should I teach you- I'm teaching you and your going to take my work...." …Many music teachers have the perception that there is so little work out there so they are not motivated to really give real business wisdom to their students.’

28% felt that there were some teachers that passed on valuable information on the music industry to their students, however this was the exception rather than the rule. One of the

respondents argued that the onus of accessing reliable industry information was the responsibility of the musicians themselves: ‘It is really up to the muso really. If he/she wants the right info, its usually out there’ [sic].

This research implied then that the unreliable dissemination of information might result in a perceived ‘lack’ of information for performers in the local music industry.

7.6 ATTITUDES OF PERFORMERS TOWARDS THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

Respondents interviewed and surveyed for this research were asked to comment on strengths and weaknesses perceived in the music industry locally and globally. Using this question as a device, the research generated among other issues, the attitudes of local performers.

A similar study conducted by Kubacki and Croft (*Paying the piper: A study of musicians and the music business* 2005; 226) asked Welsh and Polish respondents (musicians) to give their opinions on the music industry. This research based its perspective on the conflict between 'for profit' and 'not for profit' organizations active in the music arena, and the jazz/classical musician. The aim of the paper was to examine how musicians viewed their industry in light of the money-art dichotomy (2005, 226). The findings highlighted issues of artistic integrity and a resistance to music as an industry among the survey group.

South African performers, however, tended to focus on local issues regarding the quality and quota of local music, competition and the work ethics of local performers. Generally, there were many positive comments about the local music industry. Various issues were highlighted in these comments though attitudes were varied on certain issues. Among other issues was the industry-relevant skill among local performers. Issues of integrity were raised in relation to educating audiences to appreciate ‘better’ music in South Africa. This aspect related to audience development. Other attitudes related to work ethics and the local community of performers. Some respondents applauded the unity in

the music industry, while others commented on the disharmony. Issues of professionalism and work ethic were often commented on. Issues pertaining to the money-art dichotomy were not raised, however. Some comments from the local survey group interviewed for this study included:

Music community

Music community sticks together well.
Political infighting.

The strengths and opportunities that I perceive in the local live music industry are the often helpfulness and professionalism from other groups when organizing shows.

Work ethic and competition

Lack of commitment from artists to projects; sloppy work ethic of artists.
Perception that there isn't enough work to go around so no sharing, Lack of diversified market.

Quality

*Growth in the local market is completely suppressed by people celebrating mediocrity***.**

7.7 PROFESSIONALISM

The issue of professionalism and work ethic came up in the interview and survey groups. Similarly, other researches had encountered such issues in other countries as well. Towse (1993: 8) recalled an example where some singers she interviewed had no idea of how much income they earned. All discussions relating to fees were left up to their agents. Many agents and employers researched by Towse (1993: 13)complained that many graduates did not know how to write letters of application or curriculum vitae (CVs). Other common complaints were lack of professionalism; being late or presenting illegible

music scores to pianists and not bothering to find out the plot of the role they were auditioning for.

The term 'professionalism' has differing connotations when applied to musicians and is thus problematic. It could imply that one's work is in demand; constantly producing new work or having lots of performances (Lucia 2005: 97). It could also imply a professional attitude; a work ethic or being trained in a particular craft or skill. Two views on professionalism are thus apparent. Views on professionalism thus change according to one's perspective. For example, a musician can be a trained professional in the sense of having studied his/her craft. However this musician may not be considered professional by the public as he/she teaches a craft without ever performing publicly. It can be used, therefore, to denote a professional attitude, a working status or a degree of learning.

Interestingly, of the interview sample, most performers rated themselves very highly in terms of their own professionalism,[29] yet many complained of a lack of professionalism in the music industry. This could highlight two issues, first that performers could be referring to a different meaning of the word 'professionalism' in rating themselves and rating others. Second, it could be that performers subjectively rated themselves highly on professionalism while rating others lower than themselves. Lack of professionalism was a frequent comment from the survey sample. One such comment on professionalism from a survey respondent was 'Still a serious lack of discipline and professionalism in the local community. Arriving late, lack of preparedness, "jamming" during sound checks, and the like' (sic).

Survey respondents for this research were given an opportunity to discuss any positive or negative aspects of the local industry. The above comment reflected an area where the local music industry required some attention. The issues relating to professionalism should be addressed early in the training phase of a performer.

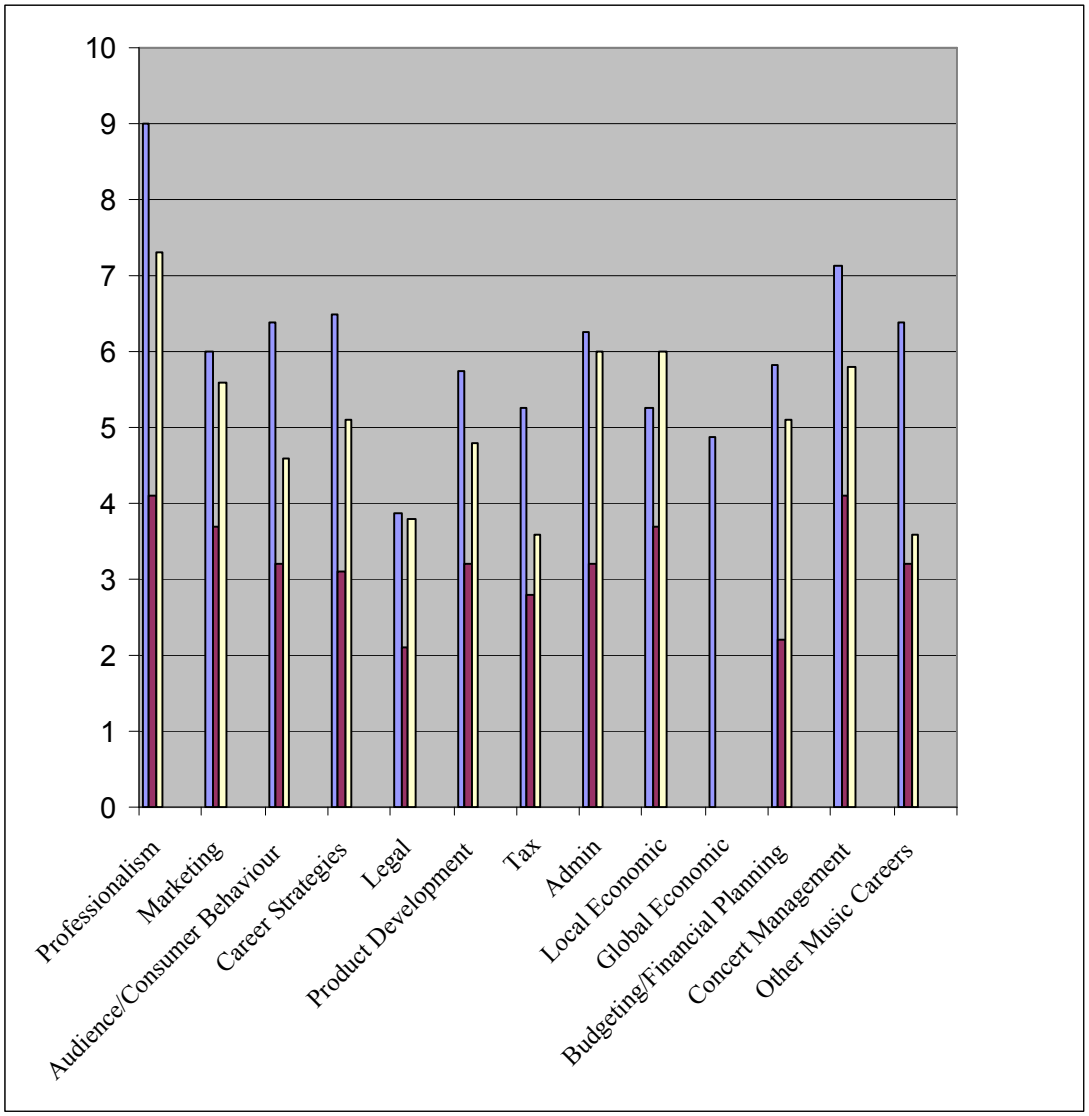
[29] See Competency Rating Chart.

7.7.1 COMPETENCY RATINGS

The first interview group was asked to rate themselves on a scale of 1 to10 according to various non-performing skills or tasks they would encounter as a live performer. The second interview group were then asked to rate their peers and colleagues on the same skills. The findings of these results, while subjective,[30] reflected the performers' perceptions of their levels of skill in the following areas: professionalism, marketing audience/consumer behaviour, career strategies, legal issues, product development, admin (emails/phone calls), tax, local economic framework, global economic framework, budgeting/financial planning, concert management and knowledge of other careers in the music industry. Interestingly, the performers in the second interview group rated their peers quite harshly or critically, whereas the non-performing group tended to be more moderate in their responses to their own ratings and their ratings of their colleagues. All the responses were subjective and thus not to be taken as empirical; yet the correlation of the groups' ratings provided some insight into the competencies of local performers.

[30]For example, most performers subjectively rated themselves highly for professionalism.

Table 16: Competency Rating Results



1 Initial Interview Group

2.Second Interview Group (performers)

3.Second Interview Group (non-performers)

The lowest areas of competency highlighted important issues affecting performers in their working environment. This research has taken the areas of least competency to be those with a mean less than 6. The mean breakdown was as follows:

Professionalism	7
Marketing	5
Audience/Consumer Behaviour	5
Career Strategies	5
Legal Issues	3
Product Development	5
Tax	4
Administration	5
Local Economic Framework	5
Budgeting/Financial Planning	4
Concert Management	4
Other Music Careers	4

These areas included marketing, audience/consumer behaviour; career strategies; legal issues (relating to the music industry); product development; tax, administration; local economic framework; budgeting/financial planning; concert management and other careers in music. Legal knowledge relating to the music industry was the most poorly rated skill by the sample. This correlated with a subsequent question on unfair treatment in the music industry and professional conduct in terms of contract use. Contract use appeared to be infrequent. Most often contracts were reported to be verbal, as performers did not insist on written contracts. A lack of written contract use could result in misunderstandings and unmet expectations. Also a lack of written contracts left the performer exposed to exploitation or unfair treatment.

Tax issues were the second lowest rating with many performers ignorant of their tax profiles and the expenses that were legitimate tax claims (see appendix for interview results on taxable expenses).

In discussing administration, one respondent from the second interview group replied that: ‘admin takes a lot of time. It takes time to get a system for everything to work smoothly... from advertising to booking a gig and getting details in place for doing a gig.’

Marketing ability was not necessarily an essential skill for most musicians. Yet marketing was a vital element in the music industry. A local musician could outsource marketing or public relation activities. According to this research, however, most of the musicians interviewed and surveyed reported to be self-sufficient in terms of marketing and managing their work (81 % of surveyed respondents self-organized their gigs). In the case of the self-organized musician, poor marketing skills would be a hindrance future growth.

Millett in ‘Making It’ (*Strings* Oct 2007, 22, 3: pp. 65-71) researched the innovative ways performers were trying in order to be heard in a cluttered market place. In her discussions with various quartets in America, Millet reported that many of the performers interviewed were using online methods to draw attention to their performances. The world of artist websites, Facebook and MySpace pages revealed a new way for artists to disseminate information on their performances as well as building relationships with their fans. Musicians using such online resources required a new set of skills, including writing and communication skills (aside from technical skills required to use the Internet and computer services). Online sites could attract a wide, diverse readership and poor communication skills could reflect negatively on professional artists (Millett 2007: 68). Music manager, Richard Weinert (in Millet 2007: 71), felt that while it was vital for young graduates to play as many concerts as they could, playing concerts alone would not develop an audience base. Good communication was a necessary skill in order to succeed: ‘The essence is not the notes … it’s the communication.

A public relations specialist interviewed by Millet claimed that many performers did not have the skills to do their own marketing. Publicity could also be a time-consuming activity for a performer thus taking valuable time from other necessary tasks such as rehearsals etc. ‘Most musicians don’t have the skills to do this themselves and it takes a

lot of time to develop the lists [followers' emails] and write the press release' (Morton in Millet 2007:70).

Product development was described as developing and distributing your own product. Musicians offered their music skills to producers or audiences, but in many instances the performer could become a product, or produce a product unique to him/her. In the view of Towse (1993: 155)) performers wishing to command higher earnings had to make themselves less substitutable: 'The more easily one singer can be substituted for another the smaller the earnings differentials between the sub-groups will be … because substitution is easy and the supply of substitutes plentiful'.

Therefore if performers were able to develop their 'product' in such a way as to differentiate themselves from other similar performers, they would become less substitutable and able to command higher earnings. Performers then had a monetary incentive in developing their own unique product offering. Product development could also be driven by artistic incentives as well, whereby a unique artist (show/repertoire etc.) was able to stand out from the crowd.

Erika Elk at the South Atlantic Jazz Conference described product development as '…taking the right product, to the right market, at the right time'. (South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference Booklet 2007: 21).

Product development required knowledge of target audiences and trends and an ability to create artistic offerings that would meet these requirements. Local and global economic factors affecting the music industry were useful to the performer in making strategic career moves. This information was accessed through music industry indabas, music company's year-end results and relevant news/magazine articles. It was a task a performer should undertake regularly as new information was continually updated. A recent example of how local trends could vary from international trends was cited in a recent Business Day article: 'South Africa is experiencing a slight year on year growth in

sales at a time when the rest of the world experiences sharp falls in sales' (Shoba 2008: 2 in a report citing RISA's 2007 results).

Financial planning or budgeting was a useful life skill, as was tax knowledge, for anyone earning an income. Again, as most musicians reported to be self-organized, a competency in financial planning made good business sense.

The Kronos Quartet has become a good example of a group of self-organized musicians who have achieved considerable success and acclaim owing largely to their active involvement in their own careers. The quartet realized that they would need to develop non-musical competencies in order to maximize their growth as a performing group.
In an interview with the well-known Kronos quartet, Derek Richardson described for the readers of *Strings* (Jan 1999, 13,5 pp 48-54) what made the quartet's journey long-term and successful.

The quartet, beginning in 1973 was self-organized with one of the performers taking on the role as artistic director. The quartet only later signed with an independent record label (Nonesuch) in 1985. Up to that point, the Kronos Quartet had taken full control of their artistic development and career strategy. From the start the members of the quartet adopted a 'do-it -yourself' approach to their performances. This was largely the result of a lack of interest from managers at the time, but also the quartet realized that in order to explore the avant-garde repertoire of music as they intended to, they would have to drive their own agendas: 'Nobody would manage us and let us do what we wanted to do' (member Jeanrenaud 1999:54)

Areas that they handled themselves included booking their own concerts, writing proposals for grants/funding and managing the groups finances (1999:54). The members were very aware of their costumes, image and onstage lighting and managed their onstage 'brand' through their own control of costumes, image, lighting etc. They attributed their longevity as a respected quartet to their experimentations early on their careers: 'We would question everything … where we played, what clothes we wore, how the stage

should be lit ...Why should you always just play in a concert hall? Why not play in a jazz club or a night club?' (Jeanrenaud 1999:54)

From the above statement, it is clear that the Kronos quartet had a high appetitie for risk and was eager to experiment with all aspects relating to their performances.

7.8 THE WORK LIFE OF THE PERFORMER

Earnings in professions in which most workers are self-employed, were often skewed. This was a longstanding economic characteristic that portrayed higher earnings by a few workers and lower earnings by a larger group of workers. The distribution of earnings varied considerably from performer to performer (Towse1993: 158). Economist Sherwin Rosen in 1981 (cited Towse 1993: 159) attributed this disparity to the rise of the media. In a mediated culture a few big names were able to dominate the market and thus command greater earnings. Current technology trends such as the Internet provided all performers with a larger target audience without having substantially to increase the costs of production. The efforts of the performer involved in a live event were the same whether a few or many viewed it. Therefore, the services of the performer were multiplied by a greater number of viewers, increasing their earning potential.

The earning potential of a performer varied considerably owing to various considerations. For example, once-off events were usually paid at a higher rate, as the cost of learning the repertoire could not be spread over numerous performances. Operas, musicals or shows etc. as a result, paid a lower fee as the cost of learning the repertoire could be spread over numerous performances. Towse (1993: 135) reported that many singers had a basic idea of their set fee, but were open to negotiation, depending on the concert or event. Locally, there existed an idea of what the 'going rate' for performers would be for particular types of work among performers and agents though it was not often published. The researcher uncovered such information from discussions with the interview groups. It was evident that various 'going rates' existed locally. For example, a 'going rate' for a corporate function varied from a private social 'going rate'. Also, rates did vary from region to

region. Johannesburg and Cape Town rates tended to be higher than rates in Durban and the Eastern Cape. The idea of what the market would bear in terms of pricing though was still applicable to each performer according to the existing market conditions.

Both performers themselves and the market tended to rank performers in terms of their fees. Fees became an index of talent and quality (Towse 1993: 135). Some performers would rather choose to sing for no pay (an act of charity) than drop their fees as a lowered fee could send a negative signal to the market about the performer. Pecuniary earnings refer to being able to do a job that one enjoys even if it does not pay that well. The rewards of such work are referred to as 'psychic income' (Towse 1993: 164). Artists that did earn lower incomes might rationalize their earnings through their 'psychic income' benefits or job satisfaction. Psychic benefits for a performer could include among others things, travel opportunities, flexible family opportunities or the opportunity to meet interesting people.

Fees tended to increase annually. As some concert bookings were made long in advance, a performer should factor yearly increases into their pricing to keep a performer's fee in line with inflation. In principal, if a performer's popularity was rising, the performer could then command higher fees, whereas if his/her popularity were waning, it would be better that the fees remained at a set price. For a performer to gauge or measure his/her popularity was a complicated issue that was not entirely objective. It would be important for performers to keep their names in circulation to maintain their current level of performing ability. Boosts to their popularity would come though good performance critiques, a high profile concert, a CD launch or even collaborating with another performer (in a similar genre or cross-genre). Such publicity involved interaction with the press and other media role players in the music industry.

The earning potential of performers was skewed. A few performers might command high rates of pay while a larger number of performers might only be able to charge a lower rate of pay. Many factors contributed to this situation, though this was not a unique feature of the music industry. It was quite a common characteristic of self-employed

professions. Explanations for the disparity of payment included levels of ‘talent’ and media exposure that created a perceived brand value.

Branding of artists or creating ‘brand value’ referred to how an artist created a distinct image in the minds of the consumer about their ‘product’, differentiating themselves from competing artists (Shaw 2007: 215). Towse made the point that ‘talent’ was hard to describe objectively. A performer that earned ten times as much as another performer was not necessarily ten times more talented (Towse 1993: 159), but the higher price sent a signal to the market that the more expensive artist was more talented.

Performers were likely to over-evaluate their chances of success in the marketplace. This could be partly motivated by witnessing the success of a ‘star’ performer, making such a career seem attractive. As a result, supply to the market of performers increased. The more entrants there were to the performing market, the lower the earnings of such performers would be. This widened the gap between the few ‘stars’ that commanded high fees and the larger segment that earned a lower rate (Towse 1993:179). In order for students to make realistic decisions about a career in the performing industry, information about the music industry, especially in terms of earning potential and the dynamics of supply and demand should be included in music courses.

7. 9 EARNINGS OF LOCAL PERFORMERS

Peacock (1993: 49) conducted research in the early 1970s among British composers to establish where their earnings came from. His results showed that many composers relied on streams of income other than their main activity (composing). Only 35.7% of income earned was derived from composition. Other musical activities (teaching, performing, reviewing and conducting) made up 37.1% of income earned. The remaining 27.2% came from non-musical activities. Similarly, this research questioned live performers on their income streams. It was found that many performers considered themselves to be employed full time as they relied on multiple streams of income aside from their main

activity such as teaching, conducting, arranging and reviewing, all closely related to the music industry and the performer's product or environment in some way.

While Peacock's study would now be outdated, its findings suggest that earnings from various streams of income were a characteristic of a music career. This research indicated, however, that performers were not always aware of the multiple income stream opportunities available to them.

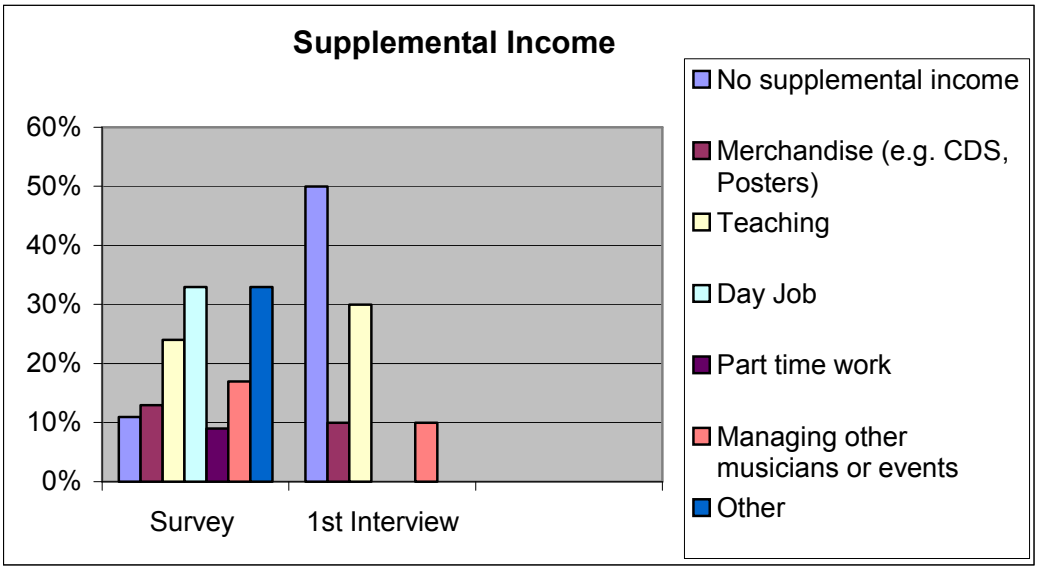
Among the interview respondents 37, 5% said they did not supplement their income and that their only source of income was through performances. The same percentage (37.5%) did supplement by teaching; 12.5 % sold CDs (merchandise) and 12.5% reported that they were involved in other areas of the music industry, for example, one enterprising respondent rented out rehearsal space and was involved in studio work as well.

Another source of income for local performers was live performance royalties. Performers were entitled to a live performance royalty for performances of their original material. Needle time royalties could also be an additional source of income for local performers[31]

[31]The live performance forms could provide some insight as to the number of live performances locally as SAMRO does track the live performance of works through the 'Live Performance Sheet' (see appendix). This provides some insight into the vibrancy of the performing world locally, though not all performers submitted (or knew about) such forms. Some artists that did submit 'Performance Sheets' to SAMRO only listed their original works performed, as they would be entitled to a royalty for performances of their own works. Not all performers perform only original music; many perform covers and may not fill in 'Performance Sheets'. Thus the 'Live Performance Sheet' indicates some level of local activity and content, but is not fully reflective of the local music industry.

Seasonal earnings presented a challenge to the local live performer. The Micro Economic Development Strategy for the Music Industry in the Western Cape (2007) suggested that other streams of income should be sought out by performers in order to mitigate the effects of seasonal earnings (Ansell 2007:87) Seasonal earnings may force a live performer under financial constraints to leave the industry in order to pay their monthly bills or support their families. Also seasonal earnings had an influence over creative periods and rehearsal periods for a live performer (2007:87). This in turn may affect the productivity of live performers. The Micro Economic Development Strategy for the Music Industry in the Western Cape recommended that strategies that include other role players such as the tourism sector should be included with local performance strategies in order to help overcome the challenges of seasonality in live performance (Ansell 2007:115) Supplemental income would thus be an important source of revenue for performers to even out the affects of seasonal earnings.

Table 17 Supplemental incomes of performers (survey and interview groups)



The majority of the survey respondents were not full-time musicians and therefore relied on other sources of income primarily and supplemented their income with their musical

earnings. On the whole, though, the survey responses showed a keener entrepreneurial spirit when compared to the interview responses (the interview respondents were largely full time) it was clear that supplemental sources of income were necessary to the survival of a musician.

> Such evidence as is available on earning … demonstrates that the serious composers may be quite comfortably off. What is undeniable, however, is that if they were forced to rely on earnings from compositions alone, then their economic conditions would indeed be very poor (Peacock 1993: 51).

Composers and performers could make a good living from their chosen pursuits, though they could not necessarily rely on the earnings from that one pursuit. Many performers did supplement their income by taking on all sorts of extra work including work for films, jingles and managing other artists. Other types of *ad hoc* work suggested by Towse (1993: 92) could include giving lectures, master classes and adjudicating in exams or competitions. Some performers preferred to supplement their performing income with part-time yet more regular basic income from teaching or a church position. Towse's research (1993: 92) indicated that a teaching post was often considered a part-time appointment. *Ad hoc* work was always circulating in the music industry and could keep a musician busy at any level of experience. Networking was often the key to getting *ad hoc* work as it was generally offered via word of mouth or advertised on music notice boards or online groups. *Ad hoc* work was also not uncommonly offered to a particular person based on his/her reputation or skill. For example, a session for a film score could often be offered to a soloist whose reputation or skill was fairly well known by the producer. *Ad hoc* work could involve an audition process, but often the work was offered to an individual or group whose reputation was well known. Some areas of the music industry simply did not have the budget to conduct big audition processes. These areas (session work, concert/club venues etc.) often relied on word-of-mouth referrals instead.

In terms of a performer's main activity, performing, Towse (1993: 99) asserted that the more work a performer did, the easier it would be to get future work. This could be the result of gaining experience and reputation, making good contacts or simply a process of 'natural selection' exerted by market forces. Also peer reviews from colleagues for work

opportunities were often an indication of one's reputation among the field of performers. Prior performances served as a CV for future performances and could be used to attract new work.

On the side of the employer, someone wanting to hire a musician for a concert or event might have to go through many CVs or biographies of musicians. This process could be both time consuming and costly to an employer. To be more efficient, an employer would often hire someone who had done similar work previously or rely on a word-of-mouth referral of a suitable applicant. Thus in order for a musician to get work, he/she needed to overcome the issues related to information in the music industry. It was often too costly and tedious a process for an employer to seek the information regarding performers. As a result, a strategy needed to be developed by performers to become more visible to employers.

7. 9.1 FREQUENCY OF PERFORMANCES

The survey and interview groups were asked as the frequency of their performances per week and per month.

Respondents were asked about the frequency of their performances in order to gauge: the profitability of a performing career and the amount of work performers are doing on average. A number of respondents highlighted that the nature of their work is seasonal and therefore not consistently frequent. They were asked to describe the number of their performances per week and per month to account for this. Variations in numbers from week to month may reflect the seasonal nature of performance work. The differences between the two groups may reflect the higher percentage of part time performers in the survey respondents and the second interview group (performers) and the more full time capacity of the first interview group and the non-performing second interview group. The non-performing interview group were involved with the highest number of performances over the week and the month period. Bearing in mind that this group was composed of these booking agents, event manager and promoters, these results could reflect that the nature of their work. A Booking agent for example could be involved with more than one event on the same day.

Musicians then were performing between two and five gigs per week and between 7 and nineteen gigs per month.

In a similar study Rose (2008) cited an Australian study which found that of a sample that defined themselves as live performers (hobbyists and professionals) 37% worked less than three hours a week, 47 % worked between three and ten hours a week and 15% worked ten or more hours per week (Rose 2008:15). This study asked a similar question though in terms of hours, not performances. Terminology could be misleading here as an orchestral musician in South Africa may play only two concerts per week, but work more hours per week due to paid rehearsal time. The hourly work of a musician would also differ from genre to genre. Assuming that many performers would perform at least one set of an hour each, a three-hour working week would amount to two performances per week. Some local performers though may perform two sets per night at 3 hours each, thus clocking up a three-hour working week in one performance. The majority of Rose's sample worked between three and ten hours per week. For a local South African this would be similar to roughly three performances per week.

Table 18: Results of Performance Frequency

Survey results averaged 2 performances per week and 8 per month.
First interview sample averaged 5 performances per week and 19 per month.
Second interview sample (performers) averaged 2 per week and 7 per month
Second interview sample (non-performers) averaged 7 per week an 27 per month

7.9.2 Length of Experience as a Performer (Survey Group):

Earnings for performers appeared to be age-related. Earnings for singers rose by age up to a point, and then fell. In Towse's study (1993:165), this peak was between the ages of 40 to 50 years for singers.
One might assume that experience could account for the age-related rise in earnings. An older musician would have performance experience and would already have learnt large portions of repertoire.

As Towse's study sample included singers only, age-related peaks in earnings might be different for other instrumentalists. This would be as classical vocalist's voices only mature in their twenties to thirties, whereas instrumentalists are able to start performing professionally at an earlier age.

The survey and interview group for this study were not questioned on age-related earnings, though judging from the length of time that surveyed performers had spent in the music industry, age-related earnings would be applicable locally.

According to Towse (1993: 165), a correlation did exist between the length of study and rate of earnings. A longer training period did relate to higher earnings over time, though a longer training period also deferred earnings to a later period in life. The higher training costs of longer study must be recouped over time and thus a better-trained performer was able to charge more over time in order to recoup the training costs. An interesting point in contrast to academic learning was that in some instances a performer could learn more from practical learning as opposed to academic learning.
A number of the interview and survey sample were highly trained in music. The above table indicated that many local performers had managed to carve out careers for themselves for over 10 years. Thus there were many experienced performers locally. The age at which local performers' earnings peak was not evident from this study, but the

longevity of the performer's careers might suggest that age-related earnings might be in effect locally. Further investigation into this, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

7.9.3 Expenses

Some references have been made to the costs involved in staging a production or event. The production company through ticket sales or funding usually recouped such costs. Individual costs to the performer though were less obvious. Performers themselves might not even account for individual costs. Such expenses could include lessons or coaching which were often ongoing expenses throughout a performer's career. Other typical expenses, according to Towse (1993: 148), were instrument costs, performing wardrobe, professional photographs, medical specialist fees, hair and make-up costs, magazines and newspapers and insurance and medical aid.

An overlooked cost to performers was opportunity cost. Performers had to spend individual time rehearsing new repertoire, or in individual practice. Time has an opportunity cost attached to it. For freelancing musicians, the time spent learning once-off repertoire was often not charged for. The performer then faced the dilemma of how best to spend his/her time. The performer could decide to practice less and rather use the available time to teach, as it would earn more income.

Even in situations where rehearsals were paid for, rehearsal became a time cost to the performer. Rehearsal periods could begin months before the scheduled performances and this placed a high opportunity cost on performers (Towse 1993: 147-149). The younger a performer was, the higher his or her opportunity costs tended to be as they were more likely to have to learn new repertoire. Older more-experienced performers could leverage their existing repertoire knowledge.

Time is such a valuable resource to performers, the opportunity costs to a performer's career should form part of the individual's career strategy. It is suggested that courses in time management would be highly useful to performers. An advantage for local performers is that many of the above expenses are tax deductible.

7.9.4 Taxation

Taxation was a largely misunderstood topic for musicians. Among the interview sample, tax competency locally was rated among performers at 4 out of 10. The South African Revenue Service (SARS) gave an insightful and helpful presentation to the seminar group at MOSHITO 2008. Here SARS explained clearly their functions and objectives in relation to the music industry. The collection of revenue was not merely punitive; it was used to assist with economic growth.[32]

As musicians earned varying amounts from month to month from various sources, and were thus categorized as provisional taxpayers, it should be remembered that provisional taxpayers were entitled to make deductions of expenses deemed necessary for the production of income. Royalties and foreign earnings were included as part of the overall earnings of a musician and as such were part of taxable earnings. SARS ran an easy-to-use system that could be accessed online, making the submission process more convenient for taxpayers.

As a result of the low competency rating from musicians on tax issues, an interview was conducted with a South African tax accountant who had dealt with some issues related to the earnings of musicians. Issues that were discussed related to profiling musicians for tax purposes and descriptions for musicians as to the deductions they could claim. Findings were then discussed further with a second accountant for verification and additional information.
A practical guide was written out after the interview with the accountants and distributed among performers that showed an interest through the interview and survey sample and delegates at the MOSHITO 2008 conference. The results of the tax interview are included in the Appendix.

[32]SARS is also closely involved in the prevention of counterfeit goods entering South Africa or being manufactured illegally within our borders.

7.10. Unfair Treatment in the Live Music Industry

The Creative Economy Report (2008: 118) described most performing artists as self-employed which was line with the findings of this research. In this capacity, such artists had limited medical and pension cover. This combination of self-employment, contract work and lack of services such as medical cover etc. provided a potentially unstable working environment for the local performer. Various labour-related issues might arise for which the self-employed musicians might not be adequately prepared or skilled to deal with.

Areas of poor competency as highlighted above under 'Competency Ratings', combined with a poor written contract culture also opened up the performer to exploitation and unfair treatment in the world of work. The following discussion on unfair treatment in the local music industry served to highlight some areas where performers were vulnerable.

Experiences of the musician's world of work could only be asked of the interview sample in a face-to-face context. Interview respondents that did divulge such information, felt a level of trust and security in doing so. Performers were asked if they had been unfairly treated in their world of work. The aim was not to look for petty occurrences of unfair treatment, but for larger issues such as discrimination or lack of contractual agreement. The respondents subjectively recounted the issues discussed and in many instances the stories were not verifiable by the researcher. While the stories were subjective, the highlighted issues reflected some current issues present in the local music industry. Many of the issues relating to unfair treatment were owing to a lack of a clearly laid out written agreement. The informal nature of verbal agreements might lead to misunderstanding, unmet expectations and unfair treatment. As most of the interview sample reported to be self-organized in terms of their performances and or their careers, when faced with an unfair work situation, it was difficult to seek the necessary support. In such a situation, a performer would have to deal with difficult situations on his or her own, without the support of an agent or manager or intermediary. In some instances the

performers felt they had to put up with the unfair circumstances in order to make their living. They felt that confronting the issues would jeopardize their earnings.

7.10.1Contractual and Verbal Agreements

The interview groups were asked how they conducted their work in terms of contracts. As previously described, much of a performer's work was project based and thus of a contractual nature. The use of written contracts among the first and second group was fairly poor.

Of the first interview group, 50% insisted on written contracts though were prepared to accept verbal agreements from longstanding employers that they trusted. Thirty per cent acted on verbal agreements and 30% said they did not insist on written contracts or verbal agreements.

The second interview group gave more descriptive answers to the matters arising over the use of contracts. Of the performing sample of the second interview group, 50% said that verbal contracts were the norm, 16% insisted on contractual agreements, 16% said that contracts were not always possible and a further 16% said that verbal contracts were often concluded musician to musician, with written contracts reserved for use with clients.

Of the non-performing group, written contract use was described at 80% and verbal contracts at 20%. The non-performing group was largely made up of booking agents and other non-performing professionals. It is likely that this group did make use of written contracts more frequently than the performing groups did.

The use of written contracts locally was not standardized or regulated in any way.
One performer in the second interview group commented that relationships were a key factor in concluding contracts: 'I insist on contractual agreements, except in rare

circumstances (where asking for a contract may detract from a firm "gentleman's agreement'").

A non-performer stressed that he communicated with large volumes of musicians via SMS (mobile text messages). If the musicians accepted his text message with an affirmative reply, they were in fact accepting a type of written contract.

What was evident from this information was that a culture of clear communication via written contractual agreement was not being followed locally. The following examples were described to the researcher in the interview process. Many of the problem situations such as the one that follows highlighted a lack of agreement via written contracts: 'Yes, (… I have been unfairly treated by) a breach of a verbal contract with threatening legal letters being sent when I complained about the breach' (Interview respondent commenting on a musical collaboration project that soured.)

Expectations in the above example were not clearly understood by both parties. The working situation according to the respondent deteriorated and became threatening with legal letters. The matter was not taken further in this situation as the threatening legal letters seemed intimidating to this artist. The artist felt the breach did not warrant further action though the professional working relationship had broken down.

> A 30-something female musician was offered a verbal agreement to play a 3-month show out of town. In the agreement, accommodation was to be included in the form of her own flat. She reported to eventually being housed in the domestic quarters on the sound technician's property where she had to share cooking facilities with him. She complained that he was difficult and of dirty habits. She complained to the organizer that the accommodation was not what she had been offered originally. After the complaint was made, she found that relations with the sound technician deteriorated considerably and she felt he deliberately compromised her sound onstage in retaliation. There was no recourse for her to pursue for this action. The living arrangements and subsequent harassment caused her to have a minor psychological breakdown while she was away.

In this situation verbal promises were made that were not upheld. Yet the musician felt that there was no recourse or support for her. If she pursued a legal route she feared that she would be jeopardizing future employment with the employer in question. Perhaps if

there had been a written contract from the outset, the musician would have felt more empowered to deal with the situation.

Other legal issues related to royalty earnings and record company contracts. In some cases fellow musicians and other industry role players exploited naïve yet talented musicians.

> An elderly traditional singer was spotted singing at a public celebration event. A prominent musician approached her and asked her to perform on new recordings and live concerts. She was very excited to have been picked and was unaware of contractual procedures and copyright issues. Over a period of about ten years she was involved in numerous recordings, seven CD releases and toured abroad to perform. She signed to two record labels but was not made aware of her rights. She felt exploited by the producers as she was given a composing credit on the CDs but has never received any royalties for her work. At the time of this interview, she was unaware of composing and performance royalties. She had gained a vague idea of royalties, but had no idea how the system worked. She recalled sometimes signing contracts and sometimes not for recordings. When she became aware (albeit vaguely) of royalties, she began to ask the producers she worked with what was owing to her. She said they would promise to look into it, but nothing transpired. When she pursued the subject, she found it spoiled the working relationship as the producers stopped asking her to perform. In terms of live performances she found that the fee would be agreed to verbally, yet once payment came though, she was shortchanged. Upon enquiring about her fee, she was told that various deductions had to be made. Nothing was specified and the performer felt that the producers had become greedy and taken more from the performer's fee.

7.10.2 Payment

The length of time expected before payment was due should be worked out in a contractual agreement. Expectations of how long payment should take varied widely. Some performers expected to be paid on the night or the day following a performance; in other instances a week following a performance was considered standard. In some instances where monies owing had to be cleared through corporate accounts, payment could take up to a month or two. In some instances payment was disregarded

> A young male musician who performed in the backing band of a fairly well known local original artist reported that payment was made erratically to the backing band, sometimes weeks or months after a performance. The interviewee would have to phone the artist to ask for outstanding monies owed to him for gigs that had already been played. The artist would often turn these phone calls around, asking the musician if he was having financial

> problems and thus needed money. The musician found this frustrating as he felt his legitimate concerns had not been heard. It got to a stage where the musician was explaining that he needed the outstanding gig fees to pay his monthly rent. The artist understood that the musician would be requiring a place to stay and offered him accommodation at his house. The interviewee, not able to resolve the payment issues, was eventually worn down by the stress of calling the artist and sought regular paying music work elsewhere.

Another female singer complained: 'People take too long in paying artists and at times the system of remuneration is biased, depending on who you are or who you know'.

Issues relating to payment should be discussed clearly by both parties. The interview sample did not rate themselves highly on budgeting and legal skills. Perhaps poor remuneration was an indicator that overall financial skills and contractual writing could be improved among performers in order to improve this situation.

7.10.3 Social Factors: Crime

Crime has had an impact on various musicians locally.

> A band reported that all their equipment (guitars, amps, mics) and a band member's car were stolen after they had played a gig at a trendy Melville live music spot. The band had packed up their gear and locked it in their cars after their performance and was having a parting drink together. When it came time to leave, they realized they had been robbed of their car and all their music equipment.
>
> In another incident, a valuable instrument was stolen from a classical performer in a smash and grab incident at a traffic light. The performer was en route to a rehearsal for an upcoming concert.

Not only musicians, but some venues too had fallen victim to crime attacks. This in turn had affected some audiences that might have become reluctant to go to such venues. This issue needed to be further discussed with other role players such as the police and government.

7.10.4 Social Factors: Sexual Harassment

> A 30 something female instrumentalist reported an incident of sexual harassment at a corporate event where she was performing alone. She confronted the man that attempted to corner her and touch her inappropriately and left the gig early; then phoned her booking agent who had arranged the gig, to report the situation. The agent did not take the matter further and the performer felt that the issue had not been resolved.

This situation highlighted the potentially dangerous situations a performer could encounter in their world of work. Solo female musicians were particularly vulnerable. As the booking agent did not take the matter further, the question arose as to whose role it would be to address the issue of sexual harassment in the performers' workplace?

7.10.5 Social Factors: Discrimination

Gender and race issues in the music industry were difficult to identify. Some of the musicians interviewed raised the issue of discrimination based on language, culture or race. Some interviewees also felt that certain genres were ‘male-dominated’ and thus females would be excluded from such genres or certain bands based on their gender.
In Towse’s research (1993), more women than men were training to be singers. As a result, women had fewer opportunities in terms of work and pay because of a high supply. Female singers, however, were less likely than male singers to leave the profession as alternatives for women did not pay as well and the nature of their singing work provided flexibility in terms of children and family (Towse 1993,157).
Demographic results from this survey sample seemed to differ from Towse’s results. 67% per cent of respondents were male and 33% female, whereas the interview sample reflected a balance of a 50/50 split among males and female performers.
Discrimination in terms of race or gender was difficult to gauge in the music industry as placements for roles might be based on ‘talent’ or ‘marketability’. Definitions such as ‘talent’ and ‘marketability’ are hard to quantify objectively.

> In a profession in which a great deal depends upon luck and the taste and preferences of those who audition singers [performers], and where there are few objective criteria for excellence, it is even more difficult than usual to establish whether or not there is … discrimination (Towse1993: 15).

Protection from discrimination and sexual harassment though does require further investigation in the music industry locally. Performers could alleviate in part some of the above unfair treatment in their industry, by acquiring better skills in concluding contracts and insisting on written contractual agreements. Self-organized musicians also needed to establish ways to manage potentially difficult situations as described above through some kind of intermediary. Knowledge of the music industry and its various role players would also alleviate some of the abovementioned situations.

That said, there are some serious issues highlighted in the above examples. A self-employed and reliant performer often has no protection against unfair treatment. It is, therefore, necessary for performers to have some protection in the form of an industry body such as a union or a guild.

Similar issues raised by the second interview groups. Many in this sample repeated issues concerning irregular payment, unfair dismissal and sexual harassment. This group also highlighted issues relating to event management that constituted unfair treatment in the workplace. Issues highlighted included poor facilities relating to sound engineers or equipment, staging and lighting, last minute changes by the client to repertoire, performance times, payment details and even last minute cancellations of events.

7.13 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the performer in depth in the context of the workplace and the experiences of working in the local performance environments. The role of the performer is important to a vibrant live performance industry. The competency ratings reflect that while many local performers have managed to construct viable careers, there could be room for further growth and expansion of the individual performer if the skill gap were corrected. In terms of the Development Report's description of the local performer as a

‘musicians corps’ (2004:28), the local regiment according to their own competency rating is poorly trained for their task ahead as the foot soldiers of the local music scene. The findings of this chapter reveal that local performers have successfully managed to carve out careers for themselves; however there is room for further growth among performers in terms of industry specific skills. There are also potential pitfalls that a performer may encounter in the world of work. Without support structures and adequate knowledge, the performer is left vulnerable to such pitfalls. These issues are important to this research as such pitfalls could hinder further grow in the local live music industry.

This chapter highlights that performers may attain success as artists through their own entrepreneurship; however, even a completely self-organised musician may not be in a position to deal with difficult circumstances on his/her own. Live musicians are encouraged to develop their industry specific skills in order to their industry and their own careers better. However such skills would not replace the importance of consulting other skilled professionals in the value chain.

CHAPTER 8: SHOWTIME: THE PERFORMANCE

INTRODUCTION

Having established where live performances took place locally and discussed the live performers involved, this study moved to analyzing what occurred in such performance spaces. Issues relating to the content of local performances were explored in this chapter. These relate to repertoire performed, the standard of local shows and issues of local identity. As described earlier, discussions by genre were difficult to track and as a result the content of local performances was reduced in this study to local or international product rather than a breakdown by genre. Further genre studies would be an important area of study in future for the live music sector. Data was collected on local genre studies[33] in the recorded music sector, but these findings did not directly translate into a live context. For the purposes of this study, which aimed to study how local performers engaged with their industry, a study on local versus international product was important as this content had a direct economical benefit or loss for the local music industry. In this instance, performers could aid in growing the local music industry simply by choosing a repertoire selection that reflected more locally produced works. Other relevant topics discussed in this chapter include the presentation of live performances and the issues around South African identity in terms of local content.

8.2 THE CONTENT OF PERFORMANCES

Audiences attended live concerts for reasons that varied from musical to non-musical (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 227). Among the musical reasons for attending a concert would be an affinity to the repertoire being performed or the performer, or a desire to expand one's musical tastes, or even to listen critically to familiar or unfamiliar music. To carve

[33]Record companies and award structures have information as the top-selling genres produced locally.

a lasting career as a performer, a time or financial investment should be made in producing good quality shows. According to a panelist at MOSHITO 2008, many performers simply rode on the popularity of a work (or a good song) or an album and neglected their overall show as a result. This strategy could lead to poor quality shows being presented. The better quality the shows, the more likely it was that sponsors and audiences would like to be involved with a project or live event (MOSHITO 2008).
The motivations for attending live concerts were not purely musical; they were closely tied with personal and social motivators. A night (or day) out at a concert might be for social reasons, or an escape from daily routine and stress. It might be out of a sense of obligation or duty or it could be an impulsive decision taken on the spur of the moment (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 227).

The social experience at a live performance played a substantial role in securing repeat audiences. The experience of collective listening was an important reason that audiences attended live concerts. Collective listening appeared to be of a different intensity (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 228) from listening to a recording alone. Audience members also reported a sense of 'like-mindedness' and friendship among those listening (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 228) to the same performance. People attended live concerts, as the experience of listening with friends or strangers was unique and different. This set live performance apart as a unique experience that musicians could heighten for their audiences. Other factors that seemed to affect concert attendance were psychological or financial factors (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 232). Attending live concerts could also be a lifestyle decision, based on self-realization, educational or social drivers (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 231).

Some genres such as South African Jazz had become a social badge. A rising black middle class viewed their taste in jazz music as representative of some social status (Coplan 2007: 343). The same could be said of any genre. In terms of audience development, artists could market their genre and develop their product more appropriately to the right target market, once they understood what the social significance of their genre or performance was.

The experience of the audience could be greatly affected by stage presence. Stage presence included all the visual aspects as seen by the audience at a live concert ranging from the performer's attire, movements, facial expressions, condition of instruments and equipment through to stage management, lighting and sound (Hagberg 2003: 2). Good stage presence could go a long way towards enhancing the audience's enjoyment of a concert, whereas poor attention to detail resulting in poor stage presence might detract from the live performance.

Hagberg (2003: 82-84) suggested that it was the responsibility of the performer to discuss the detailed aspects of an upcoming performance with the venue manager, lighting and sound technicians to achieve a faultless live performance. Performers who mainly tended to concentrate on their repertoire might thus overlook many aspects of a live event. Hagberg (2003: 85) stressed that even the ushers employed at a concert venue could add to or detract from the audience's concert experience. Many factors of a live performance were out of the control of the live performer and yet an attention to such detail would enhance the experience of the audience in attendance. This in turn would reflect well on the performer. In order to achieve a more enjoyable concert experience, greater communication and cooperation should be established between performers, technicians and live music venues and venue staff.

Elements of a good performance as described by composer John Adams (Richardson 1999: 55) included elements of adventure, provocation and entertainment. According to Adams who had worked closely with the respected Kronos quartet, the quartet in incorporating these elements into their choice of performance repertoire had differentiated themselves from other classical performers.

8.3 Repertoire Selection in Local Performances

What was performed locally was of importance in terms of royalty revenue and in terms of fostering a local sense of cultural identity. Andre Le Roux from SAMRO raised concern over the number of cover versions performed locally. Monies that accrued from live performances were paid to the composers of the works. If the work was written overseas, then revenue vital to the local music industry was lost to overseas market (Conference Booklet 2007: 53). Performing more local live content would then inject resources into the local music industry.

The content of local music performed was increasing, according to Dave Alexander, from the South African Music Export Council (SAMEX). He quoted figures that claim the income derived from local product performed as live music and radio play had increased by 10 % in 2007 (South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference Booklet: 56). Currently the only way of assessing the live content performed locally was through the 'Live Performance' sheets submitted to collecting societies such as SAMRO. Information gathered from such sources was not complete as not all performers submitted such sheets and not all performers were members of such organizations and the system relied on performers' accurate capture of their live repertoire per event.

As previously stated, SAMRO indicated that the more original or local music that was performed by local musicians, the more money the local industry generally would make. Through performing international covers vital copyright payments left the country, rather than injecting resources into the local economy though the performance of locally produced works. Survey respondents were asked to describe their performance repertoires as 'original' or 'covers'. The question aimed to get an idea from the performers as to the content they performed locally.

To take the question further, respondents were asked whether they performed local or imported music (as not all performers composed their own music, a performer could perform a cover of a local work). The second interview group was asked the same question though this group was given an option of either original or covers or a combination of both. This group largely reported that they performed a combination of both local and imported (covers) music. Interestingly, one respondent from the non-performing interview group reported that in classical music most of the repertoire fell under public domain and thus while it was not 'local', live performance royalties would not be payable to foreign authors. This respondent also reported the use of local music arrangers to arrange 'covers' for a classical context. In this situation a royalty would accrue to the foreign author but also to the local arranger of the work.

Table 19 Content of performances: original or covers/local or imported (survey group):

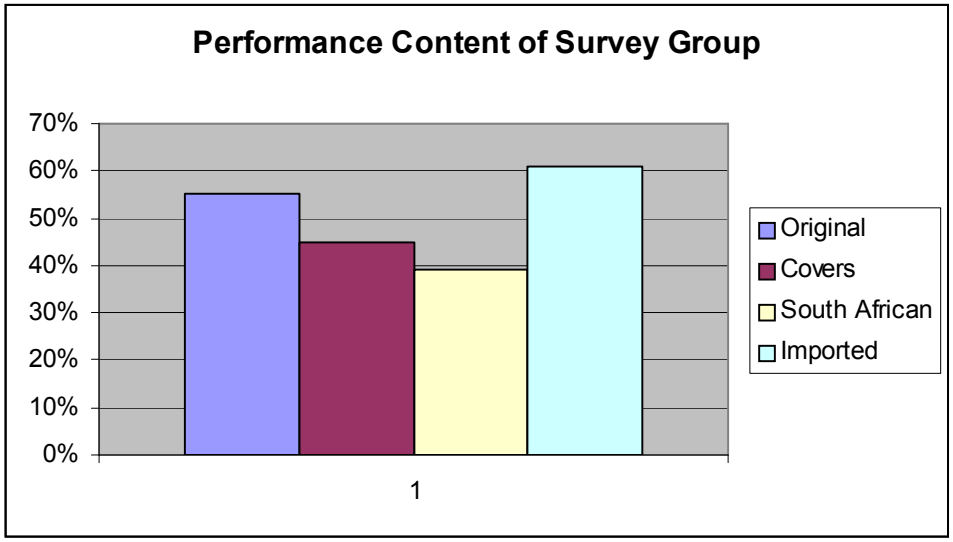
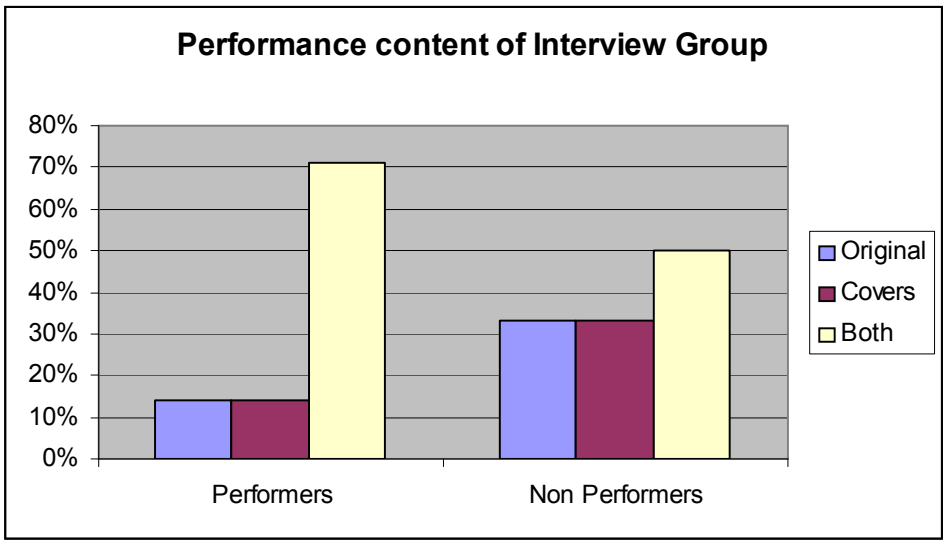


Table 20 Content of performances: original or covers/local or imported (interview group):



In discussing repertoire and canon in the field of music, Bourdieu pointed out that musicians were responsible for the canon of repertoire that audiences came to expect. Bourdieu explained that the role of the performer within their field of performance was crucial in establishing the canon of repertoire. This particular reference was directed at classical music practices, but could also extend to other genres. Local performers thus had an important role to play in familiarizing local audiences with a local canon. Performers themselves according to Bourdieu had control over establishing the canon that audiences would come to expect. Repertoire selection thus required thoughtful consideration by the local live performer. Coplan (2007) remarked that the performer had a critical role to play in presenting works or repertoire to a local audience.

> In the middle of the agitated trading floor of selectivity, innovation and reinterpretation was the performer, playing the role of " cultural broker". A cultural broker is a kind of entrepreneur in situations where alien and imposed cultural models need reinterpretation for the benefit of their own people… (Coplan 2007: 404).

8.3 THE SOUTH AFRICAN BRAND

8.3.1 Introduction

The notion of a South African ‘flavour’ or ‘sound’ in local music came up unexpectedly in the course of this research. Many performers commented on issues relating to a South African identity. This issue is briefly covered in the following paragraph to highlight the concerns that identity poses to local performers. It is, however, a much bigger issue that cannot be fully addressed in this study.

8.3.2 South African Flavour

As noted in the discussion on the creative industries, live performance and indeed the music industry as a whole was closely linked to other sectors such as the tourism industry. Tourists visiting South Africa were interested in sampling the local music flavors on offer at live performances or on purchasing fixed product souvenirs such as CDs.

Pallo Jordan, Minister of Arts and Culture stated at MOSHITO 2007: ‘As a country, we are now a recognizable name brand at international music trade fairs’. .

Visitors to South Africa seemed to want to sample the South African sounds. The question of identity as a South African artist seemed to unsettle many of the artists surveyed for this research. This question probed what sounds or styles would be considered recognizable as uniquely South African. The question of local identity was broad and required more research than was possible in this study, though it was worth noting that local performers were psychologically and artistically grappling with this question.

In discussing the following comments from the survey group about the brand of South African music, various issues were highlighted. Many performers felt that South Africa had finally been recognized internationally for its cultural products and performers. There

was an overwhelmingly positive response to the potential growth of the South African music industry though there were some genres such as classical music, which were not seen as offering much room for growth.

In the literature, other researchers also raised the issue of local identity. Coplan (2007) noted that postcolonial and post apartheid performers might question what made for a South African performer. He offered his opinion on this question: 'Performances or works are African not because they display a preponderance of "indigenous" elements, but because Africans have chosen to perform them'. (Coplan 2007: 355).

Abrahams (2003) noted that South African music was music that spoke to the broad South African audience (2003: 11) and was not of a particular style or genre. Lucia (2005) argued that local composers had been more conscious of developing their South African flavour than their performing counterparts.

> South African performers have not experienced a sense of alienation in South Africa … since the kind of public performers address has existed for centuries. Perhaps for this very reason, performers do not seem to have taken advantage of the possibilities to redefine themselves in relation to the 'difference' of being in South Africa, rather than subsume difference into a borrowed mode … composer [is] conscious of the imperative of a more African ideoscape (Lucia 2005: 96).

Respondents to Rule's (2008) research also highlighted a low sense of cultural pride in South African music. One music journalist commented that:

> …we [South Africans] generally have a low opinion of our own arts and cultures … South Africans have been making superb music for well over a century now … yet they are still seen , by a general majority as being inferior to their American or British counterparts (Caravan cited in Rule 2008: 76).

Some comments from the survey group for this research included:

SA music being taken more seriously & promoted more; growth of SA brand (2010 & successful SA artists overseas.

SA music/shows do not have to stand back for any overseas competition!

There is a notion among many of the performers that the standard of local music has 'improved'. Some areas of 'improvement' relate to specific skills such as songwriting and technical abilities say in sound and lighting.
The increase in sound and sound engineer quality at local live venues

Standard of songwriting on the up (locally)

Issues relating to the multicultural environment in South Africa affected performers. Some performers felt that they did not relate to the music associated with their cultural background. Others felt their culture was marginalized by international imported product:

Afrikaans market seems to have better opportunities, but it's not really my cup of tea!

There is not much of a market for classical live performances – excluding weddings, functions, etc – and the pay is not great. It's difficult to make a name for yourself or your group.

The 'white English' essentially compete with an international industry, which is almost impossible.

Thirst for truly South African music but dependent on your skin colour.

Performers felt that local genres should reflect local culture more rather than imported genres/styles:

There is too much rock and not enough pop/world music.

The issue of recognition was closely tied in with identity. A study conducted by the International Labour Organization in 2003 (cited in The Creative Economy Report 2008: 43) found that visual artists perceived that their level of success was defined by their international recognition. Perhaps a similar trend could possibly be at work amongst local live artists that perceive international milestones to be of more value that local ones.
A respondent from the second interview implied the above principal was at work with local performers and teachers. The respondent commented that South Africa had very

good teachers and talented students, but that the trend seemed to be that local talent left the country in order to receive recognition in the international market.

'The SA [South African] standard still holds: Grab amazing skills from the few brilliant teachers and performers that are left the leave the country and get famous somewhere else...'

8.4 CONCLUSION

The content and quality of shows presented by local performers was a critical aspect of the live performing industry. Quality shows attracted potential funding and encouraged audiences to attend future concerts thus encouraging growth in the live music scene. The local quota of repertoire performed locally was an urgent issue for performers to address not only in terms of injecting local resources into the industry, in order to develop a local canon but also to introduce local audiences to new material. Composer John Adams maintained that other role players in the industry felt success and growth in the live performance sector. For Adams, the composer or songwriter had benefited from a working relationship with a successful performing group such as the Kronos Quartet (Richardson 1999:51). Performing more local content by various composers thus would benefit other units of the music industry value chain locally. In addition, performing more local content, accustomed audiences and artists to discerning a 'South African sound', which in part might help alleviate some of the questions raised around local identity. From the discussion in this chapter, the local live performer was shown to have the responsibility of presenting a good quality live performance and a carefully constructed repertoire. In following these two duties, local performers would greatly assist in growing the local live music industry.

CHAPTER 9: THE AUDIENCE

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The term ‘audience’ could broadly encompass fans through to casual attendees at a concert performance. A following is a social construct that operates on a micro and macro level (Lucia 2005: 103). On a micro level, the following was often comprised of a community drawn together by cultural heritage. On a broader scale, the following was what created national and international recognition.

According to Lucia (2005:103), whether large or small, a following constituted a particular public for whom the value of a [performer’s] work as symbolic capital was often more important than its aesthetic value. The audience existed in the second field of influence, which exerted a lot of power over the first world of the performer (Lucia 2005: 96). Venue owners, agents and managers and the public were situated in this second world.

The audience was a vital component in the live performance industry, yet an audience was not a given for a performer; an audience or following needed to be attracted and nurtured by the performer in some way. Lucia (2005:95) argued that the notion of ‘public’ was very important to a live performer more than say for a composer or songwriter. An important point raised by Lucia (2005:96).was that there existed a reciprocal relationship between the performer and the audience: ‘…the reciprocal performer-audience relationship provides the means by which performance can do its work. The notion of “public” it might be argued, then, is far more important for live performers than it is for composers’.

This reciprocal relationship highlighted that there was a role for the performer to be involved in some measure of audience development.

One survey respondent in this research stressed that the low attendance of audiences at various local shows was a threat to the live performance industry: 'Low live music attendance figures'.

The attendance figures of live music audiences was a matter for various role players in the value chain to address including the live performers themselves. Audience development as discussed in this chapter was not the sole responsibility of the local performer, though the performer could play a vital role in this area. Performers could be involved with audience development initiatives in their communities or directly with their own audiences. The benefit of taking on the role of audience development would be advantageous both to the performer's career and to the local live music industry.
Dave Laing (Clayton 2003: 312) cited research findings by Negus conducted in 1999 that showed that markets (and thus audiences) for music products required construction and maintenance. This was the case even for large record companies: '…markets have to be carefully constructed and maintained'.

Similarly, live performers and their markets (audiences) required careful construction and maintenance. This chapter discusses aspects of audience development, which aim to construct and maintain audiences for live music.

Live performers faced the challenge of being heard and seen in a crowded marketplace. There were many competing products that vied for a consumer's leisure time and disposable income. To overcome this challenge, musicians could examine their target markets and develop strategies and tactics to reach the targeted audience. The scope of this study did not include direct studies with local audiences as the main research was interested in the local performer. Literature studies, though, local and international that have examined audience and consumer behavior, have been consulted for this chapter. An audience was a vital driver in the demand for live performance and in this regard studies relating to the audience and audience development were necessary for performers to better reach, maintain and grow their audiences.

Audiences for cultural products could be sought in many places. Also these markets were dynamic and constantly changing. The Creative Economy Reports (2008:77) described how consumption patterns for the creative industries were continually shifting. For example, as populations aged and retired with disposable income and time in developed and developing economies, they tended to spend their resources on cultural consumption. Young consumers too, were important buyers of cultural products. Another source of cultural consumers included tourists with discerning and undiscerning tastes for cultural products (2008:77).

9.2 AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT

Live performance depended on venues and audiences. As previously mentioned, the issues relating to a shortage of venues and an appreciative live music audience were raised by many of the respondents in the interview and survey groups. Similarly these themes were echoed at conferences such as MOSHITO. Developing this area of the music industry required input from performers as well as other role players in the industry.

Audience development was a crucial aspect to live music performance. A local survey respondent commented on an uncultivated aspect of local audiences. ‘A serious shortage of live music venues is being worked on and improving slowly, but an uneducated audience will take more time to develop in SA’.

Some other comments obtained from the research sample reflected the same issues with listenership:

Not enough live venues, ignorant audience.

Audience development by genre is necessary as some local genres are not well supported simply as they are not well understood.

Lack of interest from general public on certain genres

Some performers felt that talented South African musicians went unnoticed by the public, as local audiences were unsophisticated. Such audiences it could be argued tended to be enthralled by showmanship: Uninformed audience easily fooled by the slightest showmanship (glitz and glamour) that on the other hand, takes away musical growth in South Africa, especially in the 'Afrikaans' industry, people (audiences) are really uninformed and are blown away by mediocrity! [sic].

Some performers felt that the audience expected a certain type of repertoire and that local audiences would generally not accept new and interesting live music material:
'I think we may be flooded by random performers with a CD writer, who give the public what they want so there's no space for new exciting artists to try stuff' [sic].

Another indication of need for audience development came from a recent study undertaken by the Jazz Foundation of South Africa.[34] Oupa Salemane, CEO of the Jazz Foundation, presented research that his foundation had paid for at the South Atlantic Jazz Conference 2008. This study, commissioned by the Jazz Foundation, revealed the attitudes of the South African audiences to local music. The relevance of these findings revealed that local audience attitudes were not overwhelmingly positive towards local music. Such results indicated that there was room for much audience development locally in order to encourage more local live performance attendance.

While the research was not fully available to this researcher (as the Jazz Foundation funded the research), permission was requested to mention some aspects of the findings. The findings revealed that the youth and young adults tended to be most optimistic about South African music. Audiences over 40 years were the least optimistic about local music. By race, Africans were the most optimistic and whites were the least optimistic. Significantly, in urban areas, optimism was lowest, whereas more remote and informal areas reported a strong positive attitude towards local music.

[34] Oupa Salemane indicated that the study was undertaken within the last four years. As the results have not been published publicly, the only record is from the notes obtained at the conference. Permission to mention the general purposes and a few key points of the study was requested from Mr Salemane.

Audience development demanded some active involvement from a performer. Levels of activity might vary from performer to performer because of time constraints or resources, though some level of engagement was necessary on the performer's part. A speaker at MOSHITO 2008 argued that, as a fan would be obsessed with an artist, so too the artist should be obsessed with the fan. Some performers might argue that they would prefer to concentrate on their musical skill than engage with their audience. While a balanced approach to audience development and personal musical development might be found, performers should recognize that an audience was crucial to their survival as performers.

Storr in *Music and the Mind* (1992: 31) made the case for live performance. He stressed that seeing the movements of musicians at a live concert was an important reason for audiences to enjoy going to live events instead of merely listening to recordings*:* '… some listeners confess that their appreciation of a particular work is increased by observing the gestures of a conductor'.

Thus the live performance of a work, complete with visual and ambient aspects, enhanced the appreciation of the work. Aspects of the performance, as discussed in the previous chapters (stage presence, content etc.), were, therefore, important considerations in audience developments.

Lebrecht (1997 cited in Kubacki 2005: 229)1997) viewed the needs of the audience as being neglected by those (concert promoters etc.) that wanted to make too much money from the music industry. Audience development was time consuming and, therefore, required an investment from the musicians or the promoters. Lebrecht argued that the interests of the concert-going audience had to make way for more affordable entertainment. If profit were the only motivation in providing entertainment, then certain costs should be cut where necessary. This cost cutting in terms of production was sometimes at the expense of the audience experience. Thus decisions made by the business role players (promoters etc.) might not be in the best interests of the artists or their audience.

9.2.1 Audience Behaviour Studies

In the study conducted by Pitts and Spencer (2008), the researchers examined the motivations behind a faithful audience that regularly attended a chamber music festival series in the United Kingdom. The article on 'Loyalty and Longevity in Audience Listening' (2008: 227)), aimed at understanding more about the audience's expectations, behaviors and reasons for audiences attendance at concerts. Through interviewing audience members that attended the regular festival in 2003, Pitts and Spencer profiled what might constitute a fan. While the genre, chamber music, would attract a particular type of audience profile, the findings would be worth considering in other genres as well and perhaps be tested in future for other genres in the local context. It would be helpful for performers to understand the benefits their services offered to their audiences, so that they could offer consistent or better service at future performances. It was also useful to understand the psychology of the audience in developing a strategy for audience development.

Audiences for genres such as classical music were reported to be in decline (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 227). Therefore a study of audience experience was most useful to performers and concert organizers to '… identify the barriers and opportunities for future audience growth and satisfaction' (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 228).

An interesting aspect of this study was the role the performers (in this example the performers were part of a string quartet) played in actively engaging with their audience. The string quartet showed great initiative and a willingness to take on risks by starting their annual festival.[35] The musicians initiated the series, ran the festival and grew an audience base for the genre of music.

[35] The Festival was titled 'Music in the Round' (Pitts 2008: 232).

Their efforts resulted in a faithful audience whose average length of attendance was 15 years (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 232). That the genre was classical, generally seen as a declining market, made this example even more remarkable. This example showed how much performers could accomplish in getting involved with aspects relating to developing their audience.

Audience development involved understanding the current audiences' needs while developing new audiences for one's music. Audience development strategies could thus take different forms. Millett cited a chamber music duo that made 138 seat cushions to soften the pews of the church venues where they regularly played (Millett 2007:71). The duo remarked that considering the comfort of their audience was an important aspect in developing their audience base.

One performer remarked to Millett that classical performers were beginning to understand the importance of being involved in all aspects of their careers, including marketing and audience development: '… we're seeing a more entrepreneurial spirit in classical music' (Millett 2007:67).

Millett noted that as competition for an audience was fierce, owing to a saturated market place, performers were finding new audiences by combining genres. An example cited by Millet was a string quartet that performed at various nightclubs by collaborating with a folksinger. The quartet played a classical set first and then joined in with the folk singer's music for a second set. This way the quartet was able to expose their music to audiences that would typically not have heard them in a concert hall (Millett 2007: 68).

A local study conducted by Sheckter ('A Holist Approach to Consumption Analysis in the Popular Music Market' 2006) revealed some consumer behavior trends in the South African market. Some of Shecker's research, largely focused on the recorded pop market, rather than the live music sector and with local music consumers was of relevance to this study. Sheckter (2006) conducted a series of surveys with festival-goers at the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown. His aim was to collect data on trends in local consumer consumption.

Sheckter's sample was aged 16 to 35 years and the sample size was 70 respondents to his survey with the majority of respondents coming from the Eastern Cape (though respondents representing Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban were also present).

Sheckter's sample (2006:199) were asked which aspects of music appreciation they found the most important The results were particularly intended for popular recorded music not live performances, though the findings did highlight aspects that were important to local audiences.

Lyrical content (reflecting pop songs therefore not inclusive of instrumental music) was rated most important at 71%; vocal quality at 54%; emotional stimulation at 51%; cognitive stimulation at 40%; 'easy to dance to' at 24% and the creed of the artists, that is, what the artists stood for was rated at 17% (2006:199). Not all of these elements would be applicable to the live music context, though it would be of interest for future studies to note what aspects of music appreciation local live audiences found most important. The abovementioned aspects merely highlight some areas that the audience might find important but that the artists might not expect. For example, the creed of the artist was not of great importance to the music appreciation of their work, whereas for the artists themselves, their creeds or what they stood for could be of high importance to their perceived musical appreciation.

9.2.2 Audience Development Strategies

9.2.2.1 Marketing

Consumers with limited disposable income and leisure time, faced a wide range of entertainment products to choose from. The KPMG (2001) report listed the National Lottery and cell phones as competing for the same resources (disposable income) as music products (KPMG 2001: 8). As leisure time and resources were limited, consumers might choose to support artists with high brand salience rather than taking the time to

discover less widely known artists. Thus a live show would have to provide a good experience that would encourage repeat business from an audience.

Sheckter's (2006) findings revealed how local consumers sourced exposure to new music in the South African context. Friends were rated highest as being their first source of exposure to new music (2006:191). Live music in terms of live performances was rated fairly low at 24%. This would indicate that local consumers tended not to go to a live performance of unfamiliar music unless they had been invited or recommended by friends to do so. Each audience attendant thus had the potential to spread via word of mouth in order to grow an audience for a live performer.

Table 21 How Local Consumers Source Exposure to New Music
(Results from Sheckter 2006: 191).

Friends	**69%**
Radio	**63%**
TV	**43%**
Internet	**30%**
Clubs/pubs	**27%**
Live music	**24%**
Other media	**16%**

Competition was stiff for audiences and funding across the arts. Live music as part of the nightlife economy, competed with a variety of nightlife. In developing a strategy for competing in this environment, visibility and branding of live music venues required evaluation. Some artists in the survey sample complained that live music venues locally did not advertise to the public. In some instances the respondents reported that there was an expectation that the musicians or bands would have to shoulder the advertising or bring their own crowd to a venue:

> The threats and weakness I perceive in the local music industry boils down to, you guessed it, money. All to often band are exploited by clubs who insist on giving band the 'opportunity' to play for free for 'publicity' in return. I would guess that the only way to solve this problem it to educate the many ignorant out there. I know, we were one of those bands (and we sometimes still are) [sic].

Research by Fillis (2002: 135) in the field of visual arts drew attention to inadequate marketing practice in the sector. Marketing budgets might be prohibitively costly to a performer or a venue. To overcome this challenge, Fillis (2002) urged artists to use their creativity and entrepreneurial spirit to find creative solutions to marketing and funding constraints. Through finding such entrepreneurial solutions, performers would be able to market their performances to a wider audience.

Technology was one platform that could provide a cost-effective strategy for marketing. Millet (2007: 70) reported that using technology to develop email databases of audiences was a highly effective means of advertising live performances: ‘Clubs are especially attracted to groups that have established a following. E-mail lists cultivated and customized by the performers themselves work better overall than posted signs and newspaper listings (Morton in Millet 2007).

The study by Pitts and Spencer (2008) revealed that fans of a performer appreciated some form of engagement with the performer and wanted details of the artist. Audiences that had become fans of the string quartet relished: ‘… knowing details of the players’ health relationships and personalities, and this apparent intimacy increased the sense of loyalty to the festival and to the players in particular (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 235).

Thus the role of a carefully crafted biography, press release, radio interview or online blog or fan group could play an important part in cementing an audience.
Technology had made it possible for performers to engage with their audience through a number of platforms. The web 2.0 developments in social networking for example, allowed the artist to interact directly and en masse with their fans. Many musicians were

able to communicate with their audience online though Facebook groups, blogs or Myspace sites. From these platforms user recommendations and viral advertising might help to attract future audiences.
A visible Internet presence was one cost effective approach to increasing artist visibility and interacting with audiences.

9.3 MUSIC APPRECIATION SOCIETIES

On the ground in suburban and remote areas, various music appreciation societies have emerged. Oupa Salemane reported from his research for the local Jazz Foundation at the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference 2008 that there were 1490 jazz appreciation clubs in South Africa. Music appreciation clubs or societies are community-organized efforts that often support live music. Often the community or organization such as a church initiated these societies. Platforms such as music appreciation societies fostered keen audiences for certain genres. Live performers could develop strategies to interact and engage with such community efforts in order to grow the local live music scene. These societies could be useful tools in developing audience development strategies.

9.4 PERFORMANCES IN SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC PLACES

In countries such as Australia, live music has been in decline for a number of years owing to various factors such as popularity of dance music and the drink-and-driving legislation. In an attempt to foster a culture of live music appreciation, audience development strategies targeting schools were developed in Australia (speaker at MOSHITO 2007). Live concerts were staged at schools during lunch breaks. Learners were thus exposed to various types of music and performers. The impact of this strategy was feeding into festivals and events management. Various learners at schools had since been inspired by the school concerts to become promoters or event managers. A loyal fan base had continued for the artists that did perform at the schools reported.

School music concerts were also successfully introduced in Norway. A speaker from the Norwegian Government initiative that promoted and managed school music concerts reported at MOSHITO 2009 that children from a very young age were exposed to various genres and styles of music through such school concerts. School music concerts were held twice a year in most schools. In the remote areas of Norway, the entire community would often attend the school concert. A sophisticated system had been developed whereby elements of the music style to be played at the school concerts were included in the curriculum so that the children could develop an understanding and appreciation of the style or genre of music presented. The speaker reported that this system of school concerts had positively influenced live music appreciation in Norway.

Performances in high visibility areas could also promote audience development. For example, performing at a shopping mall or market could expose new audiences to live music. Such performances were not lucrative in the short-term, but in the long-term might increase the performance base of the live performer.

9.4.1 Education

Other educational strategies for audience development include exposure and 'consumptive skills'.

Kurabayashi and Matsuda (1988: 398) noted that educational efforts by the orchestras in Japan needed to be intensified. In order to appreciate music and develop the ability to listen to 'serious' music, one required some knowledge of and exposure to the art forms. The authors argued that in Japan, a heavy emphasis was placed on productive skills in their economic and educational policy that had crowded out consumption skills. Consumption skills were acquired through the humanities and arts. Without consumption skills, audiences would not be equipped to appreciate the arts. Learning consumption skills would thus benefit audience appreciation.

Repeated exposure to live performances or experiences might also reinforce this process: '… the increasing sophistication of tastes results from accumulation of learning and experience' (Kurabayashi 1988: 398).

Improving the audience base of live music would also have creative benefits for the performers. Kurabayashi and Matsuda (1988: 396) recognized the need to widen the audience base for orchestras (in Japan) in1988 as a limited audience size would not allow a performer or group of performers, in this case an orchestra, to expand in repertoire or activities. Thus a limited audience could potentially limit the creative possibilities and growth of the performer. Pitts and Spencer (2008) in reflecting on audience development, remarked that a nurtured audience would be more accepting of change from a performer:

> This is a poignant reminder … of the need to nurture established audiences as well as attracting [new] ones, since the longevity of these listeners' relationships [with the performer was a] powerful factor in their continued support and acceptance of change (Pitts 2008: 239).

9.5 A LOCAL CASE STUDY

The success story of the Afrikaans music market could be attributed to the supportive audience for that genre. The high sales recorded for Afrikaans music are remarkable given the relatively small sample size of its target market in relation to the country's demographics. In analyzing the success of Afrikaans music, which has been one of the top selling genres in the country, Sheckter (2006: 151) identified three factors influencing its success. First, Afrikaans music was produced and sold cheaply. In decreasing the price, the producers of the music thus increased the demand and, therefore, sales volumes increased. Second the audience for Afrikaans music was loyal to its culture and thus supportive of its music. The third factor was the promotion strategy for the genre, which often involved persistent touring to various Afrikaans communities large and small, scattered throughout the country.

The success of the touring strategy was in promoting live music in remote towns as a primary social event thus the live music event became tied into significant social value

(2006:152). From Sheckter's findings, it was possible to argue that the success of the Afrikaans music genre locally was in some part based on the audience development strategies that were employed by the various role players in the genre. Important strategies were to develop a loyalty to the Afrikaans culture and the persistent touring of live acts, especially to remote areas. By incorporating the live tours into significant social events, the live musicians were able to gain considerable cultural capital.

9.6 CONCLUSION

The nurturing and development of local audiences was an important task facing the live performance sector. The responsibility for this rested with various stakeholders such as venue owners, performers, governments and educational bodies etc.

A nurtured audience was of benefit to the performer in many ways. Economically a faithful, appreciative audience would offer repeat attendance at shows. Creatively, an appreciative audience would allow a performer room to grow or develop new ideas. On a bigger scale, a more developed, appreciative audience would attend more live music concerts, thus growing the local live music scene.

Work and understanding were required to develop regular concerts-goers. Feedback structures would assist a live performer to help with audience development and research data. Audience members from the Pitts (2008) study interviewed about their frustration experienced at live concerts revealed that frustration would impair the concert experience and thus discourage further attendance. It appeared as though small irritations such as poor environment factors were enough to deter audiences from attending similar future live music performances at the venue.

Live performances that were visible and audible to all ages would have an educational effect that encouraged a wider listenership in the music industry. Educational initiatives should be aimed at a wide age group, but especially at children. This was as not all music venues were family-friendly and in instances where the venue was suitable for all ages, the concert programme might be over the heads of young listeners. Performers might also

utilize different platforms to reach a wider audience of different cultural backgrounds or ages. Performers had an important role in educating audiences through live performances, thus widening the audience base of the music industry locally.

CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSION

10.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF LIVE MUSIC

The role of live music is thus changing from a support role to a central role. The model of live music in support of a recorded based product is changing, as live music becomes an end point for many performers. The *Micro Economic Development Strategy for the Music Industry in the Western Cape* argued that live performance had become a valuable end point for a musician, no longer tied to a recorded product (Ansell 2007:67) Recorded product has since become an optional extra for live performers to sell as merchandise at their shows with live music thus becoming a new growth area for the music industry.
In support of this point, Collins (2008) asserts that it is the unique social experience of a live concert that distinguishes live performance from recorded music product. This has only occurred as a result of the saturation in the recorded market.

> 'Recording… has also, ironically made the act of creating music, live and in person, a signally "special" event. It seems as though the isolation of ear-buds and the ephemerality of digital files have actually served to highlight the social significance and sweaty substantiality of live performance' (Collins , N 2008:7).

As various markets report growth in the live performance sector, for example the value of the live music industry in the United Kingdom was reported to have grown by up to 8% in 2007 (Mintel research cited in Ansell 2007:67) the local market is set to follow a similar trend.
Local live performers thus find themselves in a fluctuating environment of new growth, combined with new challenges and opportunities.

This research undertook to examine this new environment and the opportunities roles and challenges it presented to local live performers. The majority of the research undertaken in this study was centered in the Johannesburg region, as it was the most active region musically. Johannesburg, as the economic hub of South Africa offered much activity for live performers, whilst other centers such as Cape Town and Durban also had varied and interesting musical offerings. Smaller and more remote towns too contributed to the local live economy by staging yearly music and arts festivals or hosting tours.

10.2 THE ROLE OF THE LIVE PERFORMER

The *Development Works Report* (2004:28) describes the role played by live music performers in the sub-Saharan region in militant terms as a 'musician corps' of foot soldiers out in the field of the local music industry. The goal of this 'army' of live performers would be to grow the local music industries of the region. Musicians have a critical role to play in not only growing live music, but also in redefining the new expanding territory of the live music scene. *The Micro Economic Development Strategy for the Music Industry in the Western Cape* described the purpose of strengthening the local industry to be to generate a basic level of income for musicians and to serve as a pipeline for the creation of innovative new music (Ansell 2007: 116). This would apply to the greater South African music context as well. Strengthening the local live industry would also benefit other units of the value chain such as composers, sound engineers etc. which would have an overall benefit for the music industry.

As this research aimed to study changing roles and possibilities of the live sector, live performers were questioned as to their current live practices and working experiences. This was undertaken in order to compare the research data with the literature findings on live music trends. An important question posed by this research was whether or not local live performers were sufficiently skilled and informed of their industry in order to develop this sub sector adequately. The research findings showed the musicians corps to be a fragmented force which rated their own competencies as fairly low. In this respect the local live music troops would not be adequately skilled in developing a vibrant new terrain in South African live music Various roles of a live performer have been discussed in course of this research, many of which would stretch the live performer beyond their musical training or talents into areas such as marketing, audience development, repertoire selection through to public speaking. The skill set of local live performers has thus been described in this research

Some performers have responded to this change in roles by adopting do-it-yourself attitude, owing partly to lack of support from the major recording industry (which had previously taken on the role of grooming artists). Many of the live musicians questioned for this research reported to be self-organised in terms of their careers and thus many in this sense had adopted a 'do-it –yourself' approach. The intention of this research would be to empower local performers to be more involved in their careers and world of work than was previously expected. This does not imply though that local musicians should carry all the responsibility for their sector alone. By partnering other role players in the value chain and forming unified, strategic interventions, local performers could achieve great gains for the local music industry. By gaining new skills and roles, the performer should maintain that their primary role would still be as a live performer.

Canonici (2009) emphasized the important role that music industry skills played in the supporting career of the performer:

'…you are first of all a musician. The point of applying business skills to your music career is for your art to reach more people and bring enjoyment' (Canonici 2009: 39).

One interview respondent replied that he had learnt vital skills for his music career from his working experience in the business world.

> I'm pretty new to this, but I'd say that my background in business has been as valuable as the artistic ability I have. I'm convinced that survival in the South African music industry is at least as dependent (if not more dependent) on business-savvy as it is on artistic ability...

10.3 DATA

In assessing the opportunities and challenges of the live performance sector, reliable data would be required in order for all role players to form strategic plans for the industry. Kristafor argued that this task has been difficult due to a lack of data on the live performance sector (Kristafor 2003:45). There is data on many aspects relating to fixed product such as recorded sales and production. Live music in comparison is more informal and thus fewer figures are typically available. Sales figures for example of live music concerts at small venues charging at the door are largely untraceable. Merchandise sales (such as CDs) at shows may also be untraceable.

This research interviewed many live musicians that were not recording artists who would not be highly visible as public brands, yet these performers had managed to sustain longstanding careers as live performers. The activities of this type of musician have been largely undocumented, as their earnings do not relate to recorded product. Other useful records would include data on where performances occur, how often they occur and the type and genre of the performance. Such data would be useful in order for the 'generals' as it were, of the 'musician corps' to make sound decisions on behalf of the troops in influencing their efforts for the music industry. Documentation thus is a critical aspect contributing to the growth of the local live music industry. Without some level of documentation, it would be difficult to even measure growth year on year in the live sector.

Data on the live music industry would thus be valuable for statistical analysis and proper strategic planning and improvement in the live music industry. With the assistance of the live performers that participated in this study, some aspects of live music data were collected. The data uncovered by this research is not conclusive as the research findings were collected with the intention of uncovering the working world of local live musicians. The data findings of this research however are useful in evaluating the current position of live performance and performers and in identifying some trends in the sector Various other literature sources such as *The Micro Economic Development Strategy for the Music Industry in the Western Cape* (Ansell 2007) have uncovered complimentary research findings that add to a growing data base on local live music. Continuing research in the field of live music locally would be necessary.

An important element of the efficacy of the data collected lies in its dissemination. The live performance music industry is a sub sector of a larger cultural industry. As cultural industries are knowledge based a key factor to the success of the cultural industries is information creation and dissemination (Ansell 2007:65). A challenge identified by this research and the *The Micro Economic Development Strategy for the Music Industry in the Western Cape* (2007:65) was that of information creation and dissemination to the various role players in the industry. Many of the respondents in this

research reported to access their information on the live music industry via word of mouth and not via formal informative portals.

Key findings from this research included a description of types of performances, content of performances, frequency of performance, profile information of local performers (age, training and experience), level of employment (part time or full time) of musicians active in the Johannesburg live music scene. The earnings, professional practices, opportunities, environment and working conditions of the local performer were also researched in this study. These findings shed light on a largely self-organised, freelance career. The intention of these finding was to provide some data for future planning and strategizing by local performers and the role players in growing the live music industry and accessing new opportunities.

10.4 RECOMMENDATINS FOR GROWHT IN THE LOCAL LIVE MSUC INDUSTRY

The following recommendations by Homan (2008) in *A Portrait of the Politician as a Young Pub Rocker: Live Music Venue Reform in Australia* provide a checklist for fostering growth in the live music industry. Homan's research concluded four main areas of recommendations for the live music industry in Australia. Although his comments were directed at the events in the Australian live music scene, there is some merit in his suggestions for the South African scene, providing this research with some benchmarks for the local context.

Firstly, Homan recommended consulting all role players to create a community of all stakeholders involved in the live music field (2008: 248). Conferences in South Africa, such as MOSHITO and the South Atlantic Jazz Music Conference provide a setting for all stakeholders in the local music industry to consult together. Such conferences are a source of centralized information for local musicians, offer a platform where local issues can be discussed and provide networking opportunities.

At the MOSHITO discussions (2007/2008/2009) on 'Live Music' in South Africa however, a contingent of venue owners has not been represented. Various other role players have been active participants; though contributions from live venue owners would be important for future planning in the South African live music sector.
A challenge from this recommendation to the local context is the level of disunity present in the local music industry in general. The issue unity in the local industry has been discussed in this research. Kristafor (2003:43) highlighted a lack of unity as a key challenge for the regional music industry in the Western Cape as a lack of coordinated strategy in terms of development.
As performers, the 'corps' does not yet present a united front to other music industry role players and is thus not a disciplined, focused force to ready to adequately grow the local industry on the ground. The 'corps' of performers also lack support from the greater music industry in terms of strategies and planning.

Secondly Homan recommended that a favourable economic climate be worked out with funding bodies. This initiative would require consultation amongst various role players in different fields of the music industry, which in turn could produce beneficial results. Conferences in South Africa have provided a platform for various role players to meet and draft collaboration projects as well as disseminate information on funding initiatives. The respondent from this research sample showed a positive indication of funding locally in various areas from education to recording and instruments. Further in depth study in to funding initiatives locally would be beneficial to better understand the local position. In terms of the literature sources consulted for this research, investment and development resources for local artist are not likely to come from the major record companies. Alternative resources thus need to be soured by local musicians.

Thirdly, Homan suggested that the licensing and legislation process regarding live music venues in Australia would need to be reviewed. This recommendation arose out of a situation where government regulations regarding music venues and drinking laws had negatively impacted on the live music industry. In the South African context, the legislation is protective and supportive of local performing artists. Current legislation

protects the live performance and ‘Needle Time’ rights of local musicians. Active colleting societies regulate music performed in public spaces and over broadcast mediums. A debated issue locally is the quota of local music performed on radio and television. Some local musicians interviewed for this research felt that stricter regulation would be required to enforce a greater number of local artists to be played. In terms of regulations in the industry, the project-based nature of the performers work would benefit from some regulation. As previously discussed in this research, many performers work without the protection of a clearly laid out written contract. As a result many perfomers have been vulnerable to unfair treatment in their work situations. The presence of a unified collective representing the performers such as a union is not strongly felt in the local context. Various organizations do exist, such as a Creative Workers Union and a South African Guild of Actors (which includes some musical theatre performers), however these organizations do not have a strong representation of local performers at the time of writing.

Fourthly, Homan recommended that education programmes be developed. Such initiatives would aim to raise community awareness to live music. School campaigns could be among such initiatives (Homan2008: 248). Audience development strategies would similarly be vital for growth in the South African music industry. Local performers could directly initiate audience development interventions with their audiences through the various means as discussed in the chapter nine. More generalized music appreciation could (and in some areas does) occur on a local community level in schools, churches and at music appreciation societies etc.

Educational programmes should also encompass the skill training of local musicians. Efforts to equip the performing troops are evident. Such efforts are springing up from within the local corps itself as well as from various institutions. Performers would typically gain the relevant skills from institutions such as tertiary bodies or through private music tutors. According to the research conducted for this study, performers that have trained at tertiary institutions were under skilled for the music industry. Older, experienced musicians have set up short courses for local performers in a private capacity and many contemporary music colleges also include modules on the music industry as

part of their course offerings. Various other individuals and organisations within the South African industry have since started up ‘music business’ training courses, which run over the course of a few weeks or months.

Performers across genres require training in music industry relevant skills. The following quote from a classical music agent highlight the shortcomings of under skilled classical performers.

> '…more and more well-qualified musicians enter the business every day, at the same time that orchestra promoters and record labels are tightening their belts and the audience for classical music is getting older. Classical musicians of the future will need to know how to cope in this changed environment by developing their business skills, and by understanding how to connect with new audiences and genres’ (Canonici 2009: 36-39).

One respondent replied that much needed to be done to improve the standard of artists industry education locally.

> I think there is a lack of structure, education as well as standards in the industry. It seems that whomever enters the industry has to start from scratch in terms of learning the "hard way", as opposed to having more formalised avenues for obtaining info and work.

Career development, argued another interview respondent was an offshoot of reliable information systems and industry infrastructure: ‘Lack of information or formal and reliable sources of information, and the lack of broad-based or even localised infrastructural systems to facilitate career development.’[sic]

This research intended to highlight where and how local performers accessed industry relevant information. This research concluded that as most of the performers interviewed for this research accessed information via word-of –mouth (through colleagues) a lack of information may be a fault of information dissemination rather than of an actual ‘lack’ of information. Greater involvement and networking from local live performers with other role players and organizations that operate in the South African music industry would facilitate the performer access to other information sources.

10.5 CHALLENGES

A number of challenges confront the growth and development of live music in South Africa. Issues raised by performers in the research sample, highlighted a lack of unity, a lack of live music venues and poor professional practice to be key areas of concern. The performers surveyed and interviewed for this research reported that skill training for the local music industry previously had not been adequate. Many of the respondents in the research sample rated their personal industry-relevant competencies as fairly low. The levels of local content quotas were another challenge raised by the sample group. Other hindrances included unfair treatment in the workplace of the local performer and the lack of a well-supported, organized union. Practical concerns included the quality of sound equipment and 'backline' (basic drum-kit, and perhaps bass amplifier and keyboard) installed or used at various live music venues to be a challenge to the touring live musician. Performers also risked working uninsured at some venues (Ansell 2007:69). Local performers had to supply their own health and pension provisions due to the temporary, contract nature of their employment.

Challenges raised in the literature covered for this research included the seasonality of live music performance, strategies and planning, Internet accessibility and dissemination of information.

10.6 OPPORTUNITIES

Through the discussion in this research it has been shown that live performance has been recognized as a valuable end point for performers with room for future growth. This growing field thus offers new opportunities for local live performers to explore.

There appear to be many opportunities for live musicians as many of the local performers interviewed for this research had carved out long-lasting careers as performers in South Africa. There were many avenues of live performance for a variety of types of performers

and shows thus increasing the scope for local live performers. Local legislation is protective of local performers and may provide additional streams of income through 'Live Performance' and 'Needle Time' royalties. The use of technology has lowered costs in the live performance sector in areas of such as marketing, audience development and recording of material to sell as merchandise at concerts. Online platforms such as Artslink (www.artslink.co.za) and Music Industry Online (www.mio.co.za) amongst others, facilitate information dissemination. Annual conferences such as MOSHITO (Johannesburg) and South Atlantic Jazz Festival (Cape Town) are regularly held and provide networking opportunities for live performers as well as assist in dissemination of information and provide platforms for discussion. A vibrant live music scene in South Africa would benefit local performers as well as other role players such as composers, publishers, promoters, booking agents etc.

The South African live musician has a critical role to perform in growing and redefining the scope and appreciation of local live concerts. This role is required by the performer as an individual in his or her own field of influence, but also as a collective of performers that can influence a wider field.

This study found the 'musician corps' interviewed for this research to be a dedicated and mostly positive group of performers that in spite of a lack of training and industry skill, and other challenges had managed to carve sustainable careers in the live industry. Looking forward, the interview groups were questioned as to the opportunities they perceived for the South African live music sector. At the time of writing this research, the 2010 World Cup Soccer event was due to start. Many respondents from the interview sample felt that the media exposure for the country would pique the interest of the visiting nations to South African cultural products as well and thus give a significant boost to the local music industry: 'Yes 2010 is said to hold great promise... With the ever-increasing quality of South African music, I think people are more and more interested in seeing South Africa

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: List of Abbreviations

Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire

Appendix C: Interview Questionnaire

Appendix D: Interview with Tax Accountant

Appendix E: SAMRO Live Performance Sheet

Appendix F: Performers Act

Appendix A: List of Abbreviations

AIRCO Association of Independent Record Companies

CWUSA Creative Workers Union of South Africa

DTI Department of Trade and Industry

RISA Recording Industry of South Africa

SAMRO South African Music Rights Organisation

SARRAL South African Recording Rights Association Limited

SARS South African Revenue Service

Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire

Type of Performer

This question was aimed at assessing how many of the performing musicians would be in "full-time" performance employment in the industry. This is hard to gauge as some performers supplement their income from other work within the music industry. This question aimed to give an indication of how viable a profession, being a performer is.

Professional

This question was aimed at getting an indication of the professional capacity of the musicians. A large portion of the respondents, charge for their services. This indicates healthy trade in the industry.

Performing Areas

To assess where the most active performing areas are. Musicians perform in many places, so the question asked where they perform the most.

Supplemental Income

Many musicians worldwide are remunerated from multiple income streams. Usually these income streams are related to the music industry and the performers product or environment in some way. Performers though are not always aware of the multiple income stream opportunities available to them.

Level of Training

This question was asked to gauge the educational level of musicians that are active. As part of this study I aim to evaluate the industry relevant knowledge of musicians. In order to assess whether musicians are trained for the industry one needs to first ask what level of formal training they have.

Demographic Information

Gender

Age

Information on the Local Music Industry

This was an important question as it was aiming to gauge how musicians gather information on their industry, which also links to what information is available to them. As a result of such information, musicians make various decisions related to their careers.

Types of Performances

Performers were asked what types of gigs they typically performed at. This was to gauge what performance spaces were available to musicians.

Frequency of Performances

Respondents were questioned on how often they perform in a week and a month. Although performances can be seasonal, this question was asked to get an idea of the frequency of gigs. From this, one is able to assess a level of activity in the live music industry. Frequency depends on the type of performances. Shows tend to be more frequent in a week than one off gigs. The averages were calculated from the responses.

Sponsorship and Funding

Sponsorship and funding help boost the music industry in various ways. As music tuition and instruments are often expensive, sponsorship and funding go a long way to assist musicians. Recording and marketing costs are also out of the reach of many artists.

Original Music or Covers

SAMRO have indicated that the more original or local music that is performed by local musicians, the more money the local industry makes. Playing international covers means the copyright payments leave the country, instead of improving the local music economy. The question was simply to get an idea of how many performers perform original music compared to covers.

Furthermore, respondents were asked whether they performed local or imported music.

Gig Management

The music industry is based on a value chain system. Networking with other entities in the chain helps an artist to expand his or her influence.

Respondents were asked how they manage their gigs. This question intended to get an idea of how performers are using the value chain, if at all.

What strengths or opportunities do you perceive in the local live Music industry?

(Comment)

What threats or weaknesses do you perceive in the local live music industry?

(Comment)

Appendix C: Interview Questionnaire

Profile Information

What level of formal training do you have?

What institution or exam body did you study your highest qualification through?

Are you a full or part time performer?

How may years have you performed professionally?

What areas do you perform the most in?

Do you supplement your performing income? If so, how? (Teaching, odd jobs, day jobs, merchandising, managing other musicians etc.).

Demographics:

Gender

Age

Industry Information

1.Did you receive any music industry training?

Formally (through the institution)

Informally (through teachers, colleagues etc).

2.How do you access local music industry information?

3.What views of the local and or music industry in general, were passed on to you by?

Your teachers/coaches

Your parents

Your peers

Media

4.Describe the types of live gigs you perform at. Indicate frequency in terms of regularly, less regularly, infrequently, never.

Corporate functions

Restaurants

Concerts/Shows

Private venue/house concerts

Session work

Social events (such as parties, weddings, funerals)

Busking

Other? (Please specify)

5.On average, how many gigs do you perform in?

A week

A month

6.How do you market most of your gigs?

Advertise in publications

Interviews

Posters

Flyers

Internet

Word of mouth/ Referrals

Outside help (e.g. enlisting a manager, agent or promoter)

7.How do you manage your gigs?

Through an Agent

Manager

Self organized

8.Have you received any sponsorships or funding? (Please specify).

9.Have you utilized the services of:Agents

Promoters

Managers

Accountants

Lawyers? (State which of these is indispensable to you)

10.Do you perform mostly Original music (composed locally by you or other local composers)

Covers (non local product)

Both?

11.Please rate (scale of 1-10) your level of understanding of or efficiency in *(1 being poor, 10 excellent)*

Professionalism

Marketing

Audience Development and consumer behaviour

Career strategies

Legal issues

Product (developing and distributing your product).

Admin (calls, emails).

Tax

Local economic framework

Global economic framework

Financial planning (budgeting)

Concert/Event management

Knowledge of other careers in the music industry

12.Are you aware of industry governing bodies such as SAMRO, RISA, NORM, MUSICIANS UNION, COMPOSERS ASSOCIATION, REGIONAL SECTOR BODIES etc.? (Or other bodies?)

13.Are you a member of any such body (please indicate)?

14.Do you insist on contractual agreements or verbal agreements for gigs?

15.Have you been unfairly treated in your performing career? (In terms of unfair dismissal, lack of contract or fair representation, or not being paid etc.)

16.How have you dealt with such situations? (Where do you seek help or advice?)

17.What strengths or opportunities do you perceive in the music industry?

Local industry

Global industry

18.What threats/negatives do you perceive in the music industry?

Local industry

Global industry

Appendix D: Interview with a local tax accountant

Most local musicians are considered provisional taxpayers. That is, they earn their income from many different sources as opposed to one employer. The tax authorities though may see some musicians as earning income from only one employer and therefore different rules apply. Also musicians that are registered for VAT will have different rules. Before discussing guidelines that musicians should be aware of, it must be stressed that each tax claim is unique and individual. It is therefore important to get professional tax advice before submitting a claim, as there is no one-size-fits all formula. Any professional fees charged for this service can be claimed on as part of the tax return, so there is no reason to avoid professional advice.

A provisional taxpayer will be taxed twice a year. The first session is around February and the second around August. It is important as a provisional earner to be putting money away for these tax sessions throughout the year. An advantage of being a provisional taxpayer is that one can make deductions from taxable income. If a performer only has one employer, they would not have this advantage. A deduction is simply an expense necessary to produce income. If one can justify an expense was necessary to produce income, then it is deductible. This is where provisional tax becomes an individual case-to-case scenario.

The following suggestions for deductions have been checked for the South African context and were based on South African regulations are taken from the Tax Guide 2008/2009 (SARS).

The list of deductible expenses is not complete though it presents an idea of the types of expenses that are reasonable to deduct.

Table 22:Tax-deductible expenses for performers

• Printing costs of business cards, posters.
• Home office purchases such as paper, printer cartridges, CD's etc.
• Home office rent, water and lights etc.
• Communication costs including phone calls and email. Calls are subject to 'personal use' which means that 20% of the total calls mount is not deductible as this portion is considered for personal use.
• Purchasing CD's, concerts tickets or magazine subscriptions.
• Concert expenses relating to parking or PA hire, instrument repairs etc
• Stage wear (costumes). In some instances this can include; hair appointments and professional stage make up etc
• Insurance on equipment.
• Strings, sheet music, reeds etc.
• Equipment (value less than R2000.) Wear and tear on equipment under R2000.00 can be claimed in the year they were bought.
• Equipment over R2000.00 see 'Depreciation".
• Rehearsal space rental.
• Accommodation whilst touring
• Travel allowance refers to work travel away from home. Travel allowance is split into domestic and overseas work travel. If a musician from Johannesburg plays a gig in Cape Town for a night and then returns, he is able to claim R63.50 as subsistence rate per day. The R63.50 is the domestic rate that is charged per day or part thereof. So playing a gig on a Thursday evening, returning on the Friday equals two days. This rate can be claimed over consecutive days, but is limited to a six-week period. This allowance is termed a 'deemed expense', which means that the musician does not have to prove that amount was spent, or even have spent the money at all. The same principles apply with overseas work travel,

though the rate per day is charged at $200.
• Donations to approved charities that meet certain criteria may be deducted. The charity must be PBO registered, that is a 'Public Benefit Organization'. The amount an individual is able to deduct though is limited to a percentage of taxable income (taxable income means the portion left after deductions).
• Medical expenses are claimable and related to the taxable income .The first 7,5% of medical expenses is for the musicians own account, there after deductions can be made.
• Entertainment expenses are deductible if they are justifiable as expenditure in the production of income. For example, attending an industry party that will produce networking contacts.
• Car/transport costs are deductible. A rough guide is to tally the total transport costs and subtract 20%from that for personal use.
• Depreciation is basically wear and tear on equipment split over a number of years. The logic of this is that over time the item loses value and the original cost cannot be recouped. This would include a car or an instrument over R2000.00. If however the item does not loose value over time, you may have to pay in if the item is sold.
• WCA (workman's compensation). This is a minimal monthly contribution that provisional taxpayers can use as a deduction.
• Retirement annuities are deductible providing that it is 15% of taxable income. If however an individual paid in more that 15% in one year, they may in some instances claim the excess the following year.
• Professional fees are deductible. These may relate to accounting or legal advice or be payments for some extra music classes.
• Recording or production costs.