# tune gender and ideology 

Final Chapter in
Ten Little Title Tunes
(Tagg \& Clarida, 2003)

## Conclusions?

In this book we have tried to explain how the responses provided by our listeners relate to the music of the ten title tunes they heard. Those explanations involved unearthing large amounts of IOCM, tracing the etymophony of musematic structures, and suggesting musicogenic categories of connotation. It was also necessary to pursue a few 'big' issues of method, theory and ideology which arose, willy-nilly and often unexpectedly, from our examination of the music and our listeners' VVAs.

Some of the methodological and theoretical issues are addressed in the discussion of: [1] a simple sign typology for music (Chapter 3); [2] the VVA taxonomy (Chapter 3); [3] processes of gestural interconversion in (Olwen, Tune 1); [4] synoptic and episodic time (Streetcar, Tune 8). Among the more ideological issues we had to confront were music's role in communicating: [1] differences between romantic and parental love (Tune 1); [2] differences between Hollywood and Spaghetti Western narratives (The Virginian, Tune 2); [3] the confusion of war with fun (Python, Tune 3); [4] ethnocentric notions of the 'ethnic' (Romeo \& Juliet, Tune 4); [5] contradictory notions of 'normality' (Sportsnight, Emmerdale); [6] the alienating character of urban crime and its detection (Tune 8); [7] differences between youth as a social group and as a target group (Deep Purple, Tune 9); [8] the inherent obsolescence of recent fashion (Miami Vice, Tune 10); [9] views of 'other' times, cultures and places (Olwen, $R \& J$, Sayonara); [10] differences between town and country, nature and culture, male and female (almost all tunes).

Any one of the issues just enumerated warrants its own complete book. However, since this book is already long enough, we will restrict this concluding chapter to just one 'big issue' and to a short explanation as to why we hold that musicogenic categories are at least as important as any other type of systematic cognition in determining the values and attitudes we assume in relation to the world around us. The 'big issue' we have chosen is gender. As can be gathered from the description of test procedure and hypotheses in chapter three ( p .111 ff .), we had no intention of studying any of the ideological issues listed in the previous paragraph. Although we had a few hunches (p.114,ff.) about the musical mediation of different types of love, about the use of the minor-add-nine chord, and so on, we had no idea that we would have to deal with any of those 'big issues'. It was first when we began classifying responses that the matter of gender struck us: MALE and FEMALE were, it seemed, categories which related not only to notable musical differences but also to obvious differences in patterns of other responses to different tunes in the test battery.

In what comes next we shall therefore: [1] identify, on the basis of listener responses, each of the ten tunes as more MALE than FEMALE or vice versa; [2] summarise musical-structural traits common to each of those two categories; [3] examine responses other than those classified as explicitly MALE or FEMALE but which occur overwhelmingly in conjunction with one or other of those categories. The hypothesis here is, as just stated, that musicogenic categories play an important part in forming the values and attitudes of any cultural community and that gender may be one such category. If this chapter draws any conclusion, it is likely to be along the lines of that hypothesis which, for the time being, remains just that: a hypothesis.

## Gender in the ten tunes

## Statistics for male and female person VVAs

Table 11:1 shows the permille values, for each tune, of VVAs specifying male and female humans. The VVA categories counted in this exercise were: 2011 (male, virile, etc.), 2012 (female, feminine), 211 ( 1 male figure), 221 ( 1 female figure), 221 ( 2 males), 222 ( 2 females), 231 (several males), 232 (several females), 241 (many males) and 242 (many females). Occurrences for categories ending in ' 1 ' and ' 2 ' were totalled separately, producing the permille figures shown in Table 11:1.

Table 11:1 Gender-specific VVAs for human beings (\%) ${ }^{\mathbf{1}}$

| $\downarrow$ VVA Cat. \| Tune $n^{\circ} \rightarrow$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 male | 5 | 226 | 55 | 48 | 122 | - | 41 | 258 | 166 | 76 |
| 2 males | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 10 |
| several males | - | 138 | 61 | - | 41 | - | - | 105 | 221 | 116 |
| Total (males) | 5 | 367 | 116 | 48 | 163 | - | 41 | 363 | 387 | 202 |
| 1 female | 40 | 2 | 8 | 52 | - | 8 | 67 | 49 | - |  |
| 2 females | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| several females | 7 | 3 | 12 | - | 8 | - | 8 | 16 | 14 | 10 |
| Total (females) | 47 | 5 | 20 | 52 | 8 | 8 | 75 | 65 | 14 | 10 |
| Couples | 81 | 2 | - | 117 | 8 | 33 | 57 | 16 | - |  |

The first thing to notice about table 11:1 is that men were seen far more often than women. Even though a mere ten pieces can in no way be regarded as representative of film and TV signatures as a whole, it should be pointed out that five of the pieces were connected to moving pictures starring women in one of the two main parts, and that women occur visually in all the other productions, except for the Deep Purple track (Tune 9). ${ }^{2}$ It should then follow that women account for half the genderspecific human beings mentioned in connection with six out of ten tunes and, say, one quarter of the other four productions starring men. In figures, this means that $40 \%$ of the male-female person VVAs ought to have been female. Instead only $18.5 \%$ of gender-specific human beings mentioned by our respondents are female. ${ }^{3}$ This decrease in female representation from $51 \%$ in reality to $40 \%$ in the films whose title themes were chosen for this study, and the even more drastic decrease from $40 \%$ to $18.5 \%$ from presumed visual representation of females to those visualised in responses to the same music, raise important issues that could be of interest to feminist theories of mass media and culture. ${ }^{4}$

1. For details of which male(s) or female(s), please consult the List of VVAs following the initial transcription of each tune (see Table of Contents). Please remember that tune numbers and names are as follows. 1-Olwen, 2 - Virginian, 3-Monty Python, 4-R\&J, 5-Sportsnight, 6-Emmerdale, 7 Sayonara, 8-Streetcar, 9 - Owed to 'g', 10 - Miami Vice.
2. Tune 9 was never been used for a film or TV series and could, at least theoretically, have been connected visually to persons of either sex.
3. The $40 \%$ is calculated as follows: if six films out of ten co-star a man and a woman in equally important roles, that means that $(6 \times 10) \div 2=30 \%$ of gender specific person VVAs should be female. If women are visible for only $1 / 4$ of the time in the other four productions, this means that another $(4 \times 10) \div 4=10 \%$ of such VVAs should also be female: $30+10=40$. The $18.5 \%$ is calculated as follows: the male percentages in table 2 are summed to 134.0 , the female ones to 30.4 , making 164.4 in all. 30.4 is $18.5 \%$ of 164.4 .

The second point to observe in Table 11:1 comes across clearer in Figure 11:1: each tune has its own gender response profile. ${ }^{5}$

Fig. 11:1 Human gender count (VVA categories 201, 221, 231, 241 - male; 202, 212, 222, 232, 242 - female)


Four tunes (Olwen, $R \& J$, Emmerdale and Sayonara) clocked up more female- than male-person VVAs, while all the others were predominantly male. In fact, maleperson VVAs for these other six tunes outnumbered their female counterparts by a factor of between 12 (Miami Vice) and 73 (The Virginian), except in the case of Monty Python (a factor of 6) and A Streetcar Named Desire (only 4 times as many men). Although there is plenty to say about the role, type and proportions of men and women envisaged in connection with hearing Python and Streetcar, we shall, for reasons of space and clarity, exclude those two tunes from the discussion that follows. ${ }^{6}$ We are left with four tunes whose female-person VVAs outnumbered their male equivalents and four tunes whose male-person VVAs vastly outnumbered their female counterparts. In the interests of brevity we shall refer to the former (Olwen, R\&J, Emmerdale, Sayonara - tunes 1, 3, 6 and 7) as the female tunes, to the latter (Virginian, Sportsnight, Owed to ' $g$ ', Miami Vice - tunes 2, 5, 9 and 10) as the male tunes.

[^0]
## 'Male' and 'female' music

We have already presented transcriptions and structural descriptions of all ten tunes. Here we will do no more than recap some of the musical traits that distinguish the four female from the four male tunes. 7

1. The average tempo marking for female tunes is $25 \%$ slower than that for male tunes (83 against 109 bpm ). This suggests that men were heard as slightly faster than women.
2. Surface rates (see Glossary) are $200 \%$ higher for the male than for the female tunes (208.5 against 416 tone beats per minute). This suggests that our male title tunes are probably perceived as much more up-tempo (and our female signatures correspondingly slower) than their metronome markings seem to imply. 8
3. Legato e cantabile melodies and legato accompaniments, especially of arpeggio or tied-over string-pad type are exclusive to the female tunes, staccato phrasing and quick repeated notes to the male tunes.
4. There are changes in overall volume, mainly in the form of crescendo and/or diminuendo in the female tunes. No such variation occurs in the male tunes.
5. The bass line of male tunes is almost always more rhythmically and intervallically active than that of the female tunes.
6. Male melodic lines contain more rhythmic irregularities (e.g. 6/8 quavers plus crotchets, syncopations, repeated notes) and shorter note values, but less by way of 'normal' dottings and $6 / 8$ crotchets plus quavers than female melodies.
7. The first destination of melodic motifs in male tunes (first accentuated tone beat in a complete motif) tends also to be the highest in pitch, while the female tunes almost never exhibit this trait. Instead, their melodic contours have either UP-AND-BACK-DOWN, or DOWN-AND-BACK-UP, or generally descending contours, sometimes including drops of a sixth that never occur in the initial motifs of male melodic phrases.
8. The female melodic leads are played by piano (Olwen, Emmerdale), strings (R\&J, Sayonara), flute and mandolin (R\&J) and oboe (Emmerdale). Male melodic leads are taken by electric guitar or guitar synth (Virginian, Owed to ' $g$ ', Miami Vice) and trumpet plus xylophone (Sportsnight). Only in the second half of The Virginian do strings carry a male melody and only the second 8-bar period of the electric guitar's initial 16 bars of the same tune is doubled by oboe. The Virginian is of course a Western and therefore has its historical location set much earlier than those of the other male tunes. All this seems to suggest that female figures (melodies and characters) are generally more CLASSICAL and SERIOUS than the more UP-TO-DATE males. Even a nineteenthcentury cowboy, The Virginian, is partially electrified.
9. Please observe the caveat that female and male refer in what follows to the four-plus-four test pieces enumerated in the previous section and not to any wider cultural notion of the words.
10. Surface rates are calculated as follows. Olwen's sextuplets covering $\delta$ at $\downarrow=92 \rightarrow 276$; The Virginian's 6 semiquavers per $\bullet .=76 \rightarrow 456 ; R \& J$ 's oscillating quavers at $\bullet=87 \rightarrow 174$, Sportsnight's 4 semiquavers per $\bullet=126 \rightarrow 504 ;$ Emmerdale's 3 quavers at.$=72 \rightarrow 216$; Sayonara's 2 quavers at $\bullet=84$ $\rightarrow 168$; Deep Purple's 2 quavers at $\bullet=120 \rightarrow 240$; Miami Vice's 4 semiquavers at $\bullet=116 \rightarrow 464$. The average surface rate for the 4 male tunes is $416(1664 \div 4)$, for the female tunes $208.5(834 \div 4)$.
11. Similar observations can be made about the orchestration of accompanying parts: the female melodies are all backed by strings, either on their own or boosted by piano or woodwind. All male figures (melodies) move in the accompanimental environment of strumming or riffing guitars, of punchy brass chords (Sportsnight) or of bubbling synths (Miami Vice). Once again, The Virginian is the only male tune to contain any string writing, and all male tunes feature percussion (least in The Virginian and Sportsnight, most in Owed To ' $g$ ' and Miami Vice). Feminine accompanimental environments are on the other hand totally percussionless. 9
12. The tonal language of the female tunes is either classical-romantic (Olwen, Emmerdale Farm) or classically modal (Romeo and Juliet, Sayonara). All male tunes except The Virginian (folksy modal) are couched in the harmonic language of rock or diluted fusion (Sportsnight).

These ten points of musical-structural description lead us to hypothesise the general polarities of gender set out in Table 11:2.

Table 11:2 Hypothetical polarities of musical male and female

| male | female | male | female |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| quick | slow | sudden | gradual |
| active | passive | dynamic | static |
| upwards | downwards | outwards | inwards |
| hard | soft | jagged | smooth |
| sharp | rounded | urban | rural |
| modern | old times | strong | weak |

These hypotheses seem quite sexist, to say the least. It may therefore be wise to check such connotations by examining which other VVAs occur consistently or exclusively in connection with our male and female tunes.

In a memo handed to me after working on gender aspects of this study, Anahid Kassabian reported:10
'I began... by looking through the statistics on the verbal-visual associations to find out which ideas are associated with male characters and which with female characters. Certain ideas, such as tranquillity, were predominantly associated with women, or strength with men. Others, such as quiescence, were exclusively associated with women (or weapons with men).'

## 'Male' and 'female' VVAs

After making a raw list of such 'male' and 'female' associations, Kassabian soon realised that they did not all belong to the same cultural image.
'For example, tranquillity did not seem to belong to the same set of associations as danger. I organised the associations intuitively into four lists each for male and female, quickly realising that I was using character "type" and genre images.'

[^1]For female associations she called these lists: Romantic Nature/Reflection, Breakin’ up is hard to do, Marlene Dietrich or Lauren Bacall, and Innocent GIRLHOOD. These associative categories aligned conveniently with library music catalogue classifications and, she points out, 'fit very neatly with various theories of gender difference and power relations', theories that were 'developed to explain the same cultural stereotypes that our test pieces seem to communicate'. The sort of categories referred to here are echoed by our respondents' VVAs in terms of the rural-urban dichotomy (figures 11:2-11:4).

Fig. 11:2 Nature responses: outdoor, rural, water, etc. (VVA categories 300-301, 841P, 303, 310-311, 312, 313-315, 316, 330-339).


Fig. 11:3 Urban responses: city, traffic, urban artefacts, etc. (VVA categories 3540, 2652, 2566, 3232-5, 3501, 3510-1, 3522-3, 3532-8, 3551-X


Fig. 11:4 Weather, season, time of day (VVA categories 391-393) ${ }^{11}$

11. Please note that the time of day for A Streetcar Named Desire, Miami Vice and the Deep Purple track was night (in the city), and that time of day, not weather or season, accounts for most maletune responses in category 39.

According to Kassabian, the three most obvious theoretical alignments were with anthropological theories of the nature/culture dichotomy, structuralist narratology, particularly Jurij Lothman's plot typology, and theories of the ideology of separate spheres. The nature/culture theory argues that women are connected with nature in the cultural imagination: reproduction, maternal instinct, 'bodilyness', 'earthiness', etc. Men, on the other hand, are supposedly associated with culture: with production, art, architecture, law, social order, technology, modern medicine, etc. The VVAs that best align with such theories are summarised in Table 11:3.

Table 11:3 Female/male tunes: nature/culture dichotomy

|  | average\% VVA occurrences |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VVA category | female | male |
| outdoors | 9.6 | 4.2 |
| indoors | 8.4 | 83.9 |
| clubs, bars | 2.1 | 71.1 |
| secluded spot | 6.7 | - |
| cars | 4.6 | 92.3 |
| rural | 273.8 | 23.8 |
| urban | 22.8 | 167.8 |
| weather | 76.4 | 12.0 |
| seasons | 42.1 | 3.0 |

Kassabian's report continues:
'The differences in the categories 'rural' and 'urban' are particularly striking; the study's respondents were absolutely sure, it would seem, that women belong in 'green' settings while men are most at home in concrete. Quite clearly, the study's respondents associated women with nature and men with culture'.

After a short discussion of film theory and gender, ${ }^{12}$ Kassabian concludes that mobile characters (heroes) in traditional Western film narrative
[...] 'must be men, since immobile characters, features of the topological space, are morphologically women. Consequently, men act, cross boundaries, etc. while women accept the hero's entry into and emergence from the space they represent. ${ }^{13}$

Table 11:4 Narratological VVAs and female/male tunes

|  | average \%o occurrences |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VVA category | female | male |
| reflection | 43 | 1.7 |
| stasis | 28 | 7.5 |
| dynamism | 37 | 113 |
| subcultural | - | 48 |
| destiny | 12 | - |
| against the will of | 10 | - |
| stationary acts | 15 | 3.3 |
| conflictive | 4.6 | 35 |
| transferential | 1.3 | 114 |

12. Kassabian quotes Jurij Lothman and Teresa de Lauretis but gives no further details of reference.
13. This observation helps explain why the The Virginian, the only non-urban male tune, outdid the female tunes in Panoramic Scenery category 32.
'In light of the responses in the categories reflection and dynamism alone, there can be no question that the study's respondents are sufficiently ideologically competent to understand that men move and act, while women sit by quietly and patiently' (Table 11:4).

The next classical gender distinction reflected by our responses is that between the private and public spheres. This distinction, says Kassabian,
[...] 'is connected to gender ideology by the construction of a gendered division of labour and space. With the rise of the capitalist mode of production came the ideology of the separation of state and economy. Supporting this separation was the ideology of separate spheres: the public and the private. The public sphere includes free exchange of ideas (newspapers, town meetings, etc.) and social space (parks, town square, etc.) and is male. The private sphere, also known as the domestic sphere, is the home and all of its activities (food, clothing, child-rearing, affective values, etc.). It is female'.

Table 11:5 Public/private sphere
and female/male tunes
Responses to our eight title themes seem once again to agree with such a view of male and female characteristics. These ideological formations appear in table 11:5. Kassabian's comments to these responses are terse and to the point:
'The overwhelming association between women and love assures that affective values are still ideologically the domain of women; moreover, the strong connection

|  | average\%o occurrences |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| VVA category | female | male |
| tranquillity | 44.2 | 0.3 |
| strength | 0.9 | 12.7 |
| asociality | - | 16.5 |
| love | 217.9 | 8.8 |
| weapons | - | 3.0 |
| festive | 2.1 | 26.7 |
| presentational | 3.6 | 118.7 | between 'maleness' of tunes and the public activities of the categories 'festive' and 'presentational' demonstrates that the public/private distinction is an operative one'.

Judging from the presentation so far, our ten little title tunes seem to have sorted our respondents' notion of gender into extremely conservative categories that no self-respecting individual would dream of bringing out into open verbal discourse. This impression does not improve on discovering that our title-tune females are 'everything nice like sugar and spice' (fig. 11:5), nor on perusing the most common responses to the two groups of tunes (Table 11:6).

Fig. 11:5 Culturally positive attributes (VVA categories 110-119)


Table 11:6 VVAs to male and female tunes in order of response frequency
$\dagger=$ exclusive to 'male' tunes, * = exclusive to 'female' tunes

| male tunes (1) | male tunes (2) | female tunes (1) | female tunes (2) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| cars | bustling $\dagger$ | love* | 19th century |
| chase | crowds | sad* | ending |
| city | rebellious $\dagger$ | couple | destiny* |
| young people | threat $\dagger$ | countryside | coast* |
| action | video $\dagger$ | grass | evening |
| Western $\dagger$ | sports $\dagger$ | parting* | neutral |
| fast $\dagger$ | smoke | melancholy* | flowers* |
| detective $\dagger$ | slums | loneliness | against will...* |
| riding | about to... | summer | Russian* |
| USA $\dagger$ | motorways | syrupy | dark* |
| horses | thriller $\dagger$ | scene | fog |
| cowboys | comedy $\dagger$ | calm | remembering |
| excitement | business $\dagger$ | pastoral | small town |
| tough $\dagger$ | performance $\dagger$ | tragic* | kissing* |
| modern | disturbing $\dagger$ | sea | always has been* |
| rock music $\dagger$ | shooting $\dagger$ | sunrise* | two people |
| stress | disaster $\dagger$ | walking | sitting* |
| traffic $\dagger$ | robbery $\dagger$ | British | sailing |
| cruel | space $\dagger$ | beautiful | white* |
| cigarettes | the future $\dagger$ | emotion | rivers* |
| social rejects $\dagger$ | living it up $\dagger$ | family | springtime* |
| driving | war | crying* | gliding |
| hard $\dagger$ | planning $\dagger$ | old times | lakes |
| spies | alcohol | after something* | ecstatic |
| introduction | ladies | sun | secluded* spot* |
| concrete $\dagger$ | 'hot stuff' | meeting | park* |
| desert | bad | nostalgia | France* |
| streets | machines | sentimental* | waves* |
| aeroplanes | chromium | green* | wind |
| villains | pulse | boats | harmonious* |
| night | skyscraper | death* | upper class* |
| heroes | to and fro | caressing* | outdoors |

In fact, comparing responses to the two sets of tunes from another angle produces an even more conservative set of notions about gender.

- Women are twice as likely as men to be associated with the outdoors.
- Women are 7 times more likely than men to be related to seasons or the weather.
- Women are 12 times more rural than men.
- Women are 13 times more likely than men to be associated with quiet and calm.
- Women are $25 \%$ more likely than men to be associated with love. ${ }^{14}$

14. In fact, if heterosexual couples [c2212] occurred in response to one of our ten tunes, it did so only if the female-person count was greater than the male-person count.

- Women are never asocial and never carry weapons.
- Women may often be sad, melancholic or nostalgic.

On the other hand:

- Men are 8 times more urban than women.
- Men are 9 times more likely than women to be indoors.
- Men are 20 times more likely than women to be associated with cars.
- Men are 35 times more likely than women to be in clubs and bars than women.
- Men are $33 \%$ more likely than women to be in meetings, parades, etc.
- Men are $50 \%$ stronger than women.
- Men are never seen or heard in isolated or secluded spots.
- Men can be asocial and carry weapons: women do not.
- Men are never sad.

Of course, the statements are offensive and ridiculous, but, like it or not, they do posit the existence of an important musicogenic category, brought to light by listener responses to ten little title tunes.

Now, one obvious reason for the highly conservative stereotypes just presented is that we chose responses to the most obviously single-gender-orientated pieces of our ten tunes and ignored the male tunes in whose responses men did not so overwhelmingly outnumber women (Monty Python, Streetcar). In fact, A Streetcar Named Desire elicited more female VVAs than any other tune except Sayonara, although its men outnumbered women by a factor of four to one (see table 11:1 and figure 11:1). Streetcar's women were, unlike the VVAs of the four female tunes, described either as women in black asking 'got a light?', or as vamps, or as prostitutes, all frequenting a club or bar, while Monty Python's females were largely drum majorettes, royalty and a cheerful-spirited soldier's girl. These female figures nuance the picture to some small extent, since their spaces and activities differ from those described earlier.

It might also be objected that all the test pieces are, musically speaking, quite stereotypical and that such music will automatically give rise to connotative categories that are correspondingly stereotypical. Indeed, readers may recall that one important criterion behind the selection of the ten pieces was that of semiotic and musicological methodology - to opt for the everyday norm rather than occasional exception when trying to establish a rule. 15 For this very reason the ten pieces were chosen partly because they were perceived before the test situation as stereotypical. However, although there is much validity in this objection, it does not refute the empirical evidence, presented in this book, that musicogenic categories do in fact exist, and that one such category has to do with gender. Nor does the objection take into account the fact that the musically stereotypical can, under certain circumstances and in the ears of certain listeners, be heard as parody (as we saw in the

[^2]case of Monty Python), or fall from fashion into dated obsolescence (as with Miami Vice). More importantly, though, the objection that stereotypical music will give rise to stereotypical patterns of response in no way falsifies the hypothesis that musicogenic categories in the public unconscious work at symbolic levels that are more deep-rooted, maybe more archaic, than explicit visual or verbal representations of similar types of external reality. 16

The counter-argument just put forward is supported by the fact that responses to the ten title tunes included less than half the number of women who would have been seen on-screen in connection with the same music if our respondents had been watching as well as listening. The argument that deep-rooted categories of male and female do exist in music for film and TV is also substantiated by analysis of productions in which women are the main characters ('goodies' or 'baddies'), and in which they drive the action. For example, the Cagney and Lacey theme (Conti 1981), though scored with BIG BAND = BIG CITY drive, includes one clearly 'female' ingredient: the final phrase, highlighted by a break in the accompaniment, features two saxophones cackling in parallel thirds. 17 Neither Angie Dickinson as Police Woman (M Stevens 1975), with her title music resembling a rhythmically simplified minor-key version of the Starsky and Hutch theme (Scott 1975), nor the leading Laura of Remington Steele (Mancini 1982), with her intimate SAX AND VIBES variant of classical minor-key jazz detectives, are specially convincing either: they both sort musically under the 'high-heeled city dame' category, which corresponds to Kassablian's MARLEne DIETRICH/LAUREN BACALL archetype, or to the SADIE THOMPSON VAMP, or femme fatale category discussed in our Streetcar analysis. 18

Similar gender-stereotypical trends emerge even in music for heavier feature films sporting screenplays that otherwise seem to have paid attention to the gender debate of the 1970s and 1980s in Europe and North America. For example, the leading roles in Black Widow (1986) are both female: the murderess is a clever, devious and worthy opponent to the courageous, humorous, and equally clever female detective-cum-journalist. Apart from the obvious visual differences, the only main gender differences of screenplay between this film and standard male-dominated multi-murder thrillers are: (a) that murder victims are poisoned rather than blown, hit, cut or mangled to pieces; (b) that, Humphrey Bogart notwithstanding, both murderess and heroine are portrayed as more credibly vulnerable human beings than most of their male counterparts. Nevertheless, both female characters show great ingenuity, determination and daring and the heroine acts in a truly heroic fashion. Of course, Michael Small's music reflects the different character of this film: there are no heroic horn calls à la Star Wars, no Superman-like trumpet blaring, because our heroine does not charge around on horseback, nor in a fast car, helicopter or space ship beating the living daylights out of her opponents. On the other hand, she is strong-willed and has definite goals, chasing her prey with a sense of both justice and retribution. A man endowed with such non-gun-slinging characteristics of per-

[^3]severance (for example, a young Maigret or a philosophical Sam Spade) would almost certainly have warranted a thoughtful but melodically strong leitmotif, perhaps something along the lines of the theme for Hassel (Neglin 1989) or Philip Marlowe (Matlovsky 1989). However, Small provides the Black Widow's heroine with no such musical identity, with the risk that she comes over as a weaker person than she is in the verbal-visual narrative, as though it were affectively inconceivable for women to act with such determination and courage. The psychological thrust of the screenplay, showing that vulnerability does not imply weakness, is, it seems, dissipated by the heroine's lack of a commensurately strong musical identity. Although she 'drives the action', she has no 'driving' melodic theme.

Are the gender stereotypes discussed in this chapter really representative of how men and women are mediated musically in the mass media? Is the unconscious public patterning of gender really as conservative and as deep-seated as our respondents and the ten title tunes seem to be telling us? Will women ever be given strong, 'driving' themes without being ridiculed as 'butch'? Will men ever be allowed to come across musically as beautiful and innocent without being thought of as 'pansies'? We can provide no answers to these questions, except to say that nothing will change in our society or culture if there are no human agents of change, and that the effectiveness of change brought about by those agents will depend on their ability to identify the causes and internal mechanisms of a particular problem. Such analysis and knowledge is essential in the development and implementation of viable strategies for the solution of any problem, including the deep-seated power of non-verbal categories. This activist perspective takes us right back to the initial quotes on page 3 of this book, back to the notion that we 'liberals listen to the words while the man on the street listens to the music'.

## Indeed, so what?

Listening to music is exactly what this book is about more than anything else. Hundreds of respondents listened to the test tunes and the authors spent incalculable hours hunting down, listening through and transcribing IOCM. Music is the central issue because, as Pentagon hawk Richard A Viguerie rightly remarked, it is 'music' or music (without the inverted commas), not words like these, that the 'man in the street' will hear and understand. ${ }^{19}$ This is probably why the List of Musical References is twice as long as the Bibliography, and why there are far more music examples than verbal quotations. Music is at the centre of the book because we are convinced, not least by the responses our listeners provided, that it is central to the way in which attitudes are formed in our culture towards a whole host of phenomena: nature, town and country, male and female, hegemony and opposition, war and fun, children, love, loneliness, crime, fashion, normality, death, the USA, Russia, 'old' Europe, the exotic, young people, old people, olden times, today, the future etc., just to name some categories we have had to examine in conjunction with the ten little title tunes, not to mention the virtually infinite amount of other music audible almost anywhere in the world at any time.
19. Quoted in L'Unità, Rome, 12 July 1987:2.

However, music's central position in this book in no way implies that it is just about music as sound. As the categories just listed suggest, it is about music's relationship to almost anything except 'itself". Nevertheless, without music at the centre it would be impossible to examine such relationships, not least because patterns of cognition suited to the categorisation of verbal or visual messages do not necessarily apply to the way in which music arranges our experience of reality. To put it in the terms we introduced on page 10, we have taken the receptional aspect of musical knowledge (knowledge in music) as a starting point and used both metatextual and metacontextual discourse (knowledge about music) to shine some light on how music can communicate ideas and attitudes in the mass media. Indeed, this was one of the aims with this book, an aim relating to articles 18 and 19 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and to the right for anyone to form and express their own opinion. ${ }^{20}$ In explaining that aim we wrote:
'Words and numbers may be the symbolic systems privileged in public education, but it is the audiovisual media rather than the written word that carry the most pervasive and persuasive messages influencing which political candidates are elected and which governments are toppled, not to mention which commodities are sold, lifestyles led, fashions followed, myths maintained, and ideologies embraced. For most of its programming time, television, still the most pervasive of audiovisual media, favours non-verbal aspects of sight and sound, the latter incorporating no mean amount of music.' (p.7)

Whether this book brings us any closer to the sort of musicology that can help us deconstruct some of those non-verbal messages influencing our values and behaviour, is not for the authors to decide. One thing is certain: the mediation of audiovisual messages has continued unabated since we formulated the aims of this book in 1988. The most obvious sources of manipulation in today's industrialised world are corporate advertising, branding, marketing, etc. (Klein 2000), but manipulation by advertisement, including its music, is just the tip of the iceberg. Beneath the surface of implicitly 'shared values' lurks the propaganda of a corrupt and mendacious system ('free' competition, 'free' enterprise, 'free' market, 'something for nothing'21 etc.) which moulds our subjectivity, spreading irrational fears about our appearance and acceptability. The propaganda rarely tells us straight to our faces that we're 'too fat', or 'unpatriotic', or not 'real men' or 'real women', or that there's something wrong with us if we don't want to amass wealth at the expense of others. ${ }^{22}$ It works by insinuation and by assumptions about 'shared values', which may also be musically mediated, as in the case of Sousa marches (Tune 3), or as our account of 'title tune gender' clearly suggests.
20. |www.unhchr.ch/udhr| (020323).
21. The SOMETHING FOR NOTHING syndrome is symptomised in advertising by words like win, save, only, free, extra, more, reduced, sale, bargain etc. which focus consumer attention on how much you'll get - ' $n_{2}$ for the price of $n_{1}$ ', 'free with every 999 you buy', ' $x \%$ off - not on how much you'll have to pay. Of course these illusions merely reflect the even greater fallacies of share holding and finance capitalism, i.e. that money, the abstraction of human labour, can increase in value without any investment of anyone's labour or without causing harm to anyone.
22. According to Prof. Jan Ling, visiting Liverpool in March 2000, the Stockholm daily Svenska Dagbladet featured, some time in February or March 2000, an article in which some Swedish management theory guru declared altruism to be a danger to 'free' society, because altruism by definition precludes greed as motivation for action. This is one of those rare occasions when the ghouls of capitalism do come out into the daylight to show their true face.

Now that capitalism has ruled the world unchallenged by any other geopolitical system for a decade and a half, it has become increasingly difficult for many people to imagine alternatives to the seemingly monolithic culture of greed and fear we are supposed to think of in terms of 'freedom'. Under such circumstances it is all the more essential to challenge, as vociferously and as eloquently as we can, the unjust world system in which we live. More than ever before, critical thinking needs to play a central role in education, and it is in that context that the musical and ideological issues discussed in this book can, we would hold, play a small but important part. Indeed, twenty years of researching and writing up the topics accounted for in this book, twenty years of teaching Music and the Moving Image, and twenty years of running seminars in the semiotic analysis of popular music, have all demonstrated that there is broad interest among young people in general (not just among music students) in understanding how they are affected by music. This interest, combined with considerable everyday experience of music and moving image, acquired ever since TV and the video player were first used to baby-sit them, has produced a remarkable competence in distinguishing nuances of connotation brought about by nuances of structural difference in the music they hear and of the context in which that music is heard.

In our day-to-day jobs as music teachers, we can at least try to provide our students with some sort of anti-manipulative first-aid kit which will hopefully allow them to understand the basic mechanisms of communicating moods and attitudes through music. Together with greater knowledge of musical manipulation from the media business side, with the democratic potential of new technologies used wisely, with a truly anthropological approach to our own culture (not just to other cultures), with a re-evaluation and defalsification of European and North American music history, and with new insights into other ways in which music interacts with the cultural and natural world around us, it is possible that the research presented in this book can be useful. As authors, we hope that that the results and ideas we have presented will contribute in some way to empowering young people so that they can make their own choices about which emotional messages, musical or not, they want to create, accept or reject. After all, they will be the ones using and creating music when we are long gone, they who will be bombarded by media messages in the unjust and manipulative future that we seem to have prepared for them.
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[^0]:    4. This is even clearer from the scores for the following male and female person VVAs with their total $\%$ occurrences (in brackets) and their order of frequency as type of response [in brackets]: ONE MALE (99.6) [2], SEVERAL PEOPLE (90.5) [5], SEVERAL MALES (42.9) [20], ONE PERSON (39.3) [23], COUPLE (31.4) [28], ONE FEMALE (22.3) [40], MANY PEOPLE (13.4) [66], SEVERAL FEMALES (7.7) [94], TWO PERSONS (7.3) [98]; TWO MALES only clocked up $1.3 \%$ and there were no TWO FEMALES. According to Anahid Kassabian, such responses seem to follow the cultural patterns that feminist scholars like De Lauretis have described in her critique of Lothman's typology, i.e. that human beings are defined men, and everything else is 'not even 'woman', but not-man, an absolute abstraction'. Kassabian writes in a memo on this reception test material: 'By a huge margin, the study's participants found it easier to imagine a single individual as specifically male, and in general found it difficult indeed to picture specifically female people in the scenes they imagined. This is, of course, related to the 'men act and women sit' distinction; humans (men) are agents of narratives, individual/individuated subjects, and consequently easier to imagine'. (Text supplied on diskette to the author).
    5. Please note that heterosexual couples are included in the female-person count in fig. 11:1. We will return to this matter shortly.
    6. Python's men were mainly soldiers and performers, its women drum-majorettes or college girls. However, Python's dignitaries were just as likely to be female (The Queen, usually) as male. Streetcar's men were overwhelmingly detectives or gangsters, while its women tended to be of the vamp or femme fatale type.
[^1]:    9. Percussion is used here in the everyday, popular-music sense of the word, i.e. excluding fixed-pitch instruments like piano, vibraphone, etc.
    10. In 1988 Anahid Kassabian, then a postgraduate at Stanford University, assisted me with gender aspects of this research while on a scholarship in Sweden. All the indented text on the next few pages are from the report she wrote at that time.
[^2]:    15. The argument went along the following lines. Just as there would be no point in trying to construct a semiotics of modern language on the basis of Shakespeare's sonnets, avant-garde poetry or slang, it would also be a dubious intellectual strategy to describe basic elements of musical signification in our culture on the basis of Beethoven quartets, avant-garde minimalism or hip-hop.
[^3]:    16. See start of section 'VVA classification', p. 123
    17. See transcription in Karlin \& Wright (1990:479).
    18. Originally we had, with excessive interpretative zeal, qualified the Remington Steele music, with the closely-miked female voice-over, as SAX AND VIBES IN UP-MARKET ESCORT AGENCY.
