# Jazz in America: Who's Listening ? 

Scott DeVeaux
Research Division Report \#31


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## Introduction/Executive Summary

In 1992, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) funded a broad-based statistical investigation into the audiences for various art forms in the United States. The Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA) for 1992 was the third such survey over the past decade. ${ }^{1}$ As in the two earlier surveys (conducted in 1982 and 1985), the 1992 survey listed jazz as one of seven "benchmark" arts activities. It gathered detailed information on the size and demographic characteristics of the jazz audience: those adult Americans who attend jazz events, participate in jazz through the media, perform jazz, or simply say they like the idiom.

This monograph examines the data from the 1992 survey and provides a context for interpretation. Many items are compared with the findings from the 1982 SPPA. ${ }^{2}$ The information provided by the SPPAs, it must be emphasized, does not distinguish between potentially conflicting definitions of jazz-between, for example, the conventional definition of the "jazz tradition" favored by educators, critics, and the arts establishment, and the recent pop-oriented styles often referred to as "contemporary jazz." (Traditional jazz is nothing if not contemporary, with artists creating new music and charting new territory every year.) The SPPA figures should be understood as reliable data regarding the aggregate audience for jazz in all of its current manifestations. The respondents defined jazz as they saw fit.

## The Potential Jazz Audience

The potential audience for jazz has grown significantly. About one-third of American adults (up from 26 percent in 1982) reported that they "liked jazz," and about 5 percent (up from 3 percent in 1982) reported that they liked jazz "best of all" musical genres. In 1992, 25 percent of adult Americans expressed a desire to attend jazz performances more often than they do now, compared with 18 percent in 1982.

Only half of those who preferred jazz to any other musical form attended a jazz event during the previous year. Supply may have been a limitation, but there are few data on changes in the number of opportunities to participate in jazz. Anecdotal evidence indicates a gradual shift from private commercial venues, such as night clubs, to public sites, such as civic auditoriums and colleges. Record companies have greatly expanded their jazz output, focusing,
surprisingly, on the "authentic" kind of jazz as well as on its easily marketed "accessible" counterpart. Commercial and public radio have expanded jazz programming, and there are a few all-jazz stations. A jazz cable channel may be established in 1995.

## Size of the Jazz Audience

In 1992, approximately 10 percent of adult Americans ( 19.7 million) attended a jazz performance during the previous year, and 20 percent listened to a jazz recording. These figures are approximately the same as those reported for 1982. But 22 percent watched jazz on television in some form (broadcast or videotape), up from 18 percent in 1982; and 28 percent listened to jazz radio, a dramatic increase over the 18 percent a decade earlier. The growth in jazz radio is attributable in part to the spread of new pop-jazz formats (e.g., New Adult Contemporary) on commercial radio and to the increased popularity of more traditional forms of jazz on public broadcasting.

Ctoss-tabulations of the 1992 SPPA data show that most of those who attend jazz performances also participate in jazz through the media at a rate three times that of the population as a whole. Of those who attend jazz performances, 76 percent listen to jazz on the radio, 67 percent listen to jazz recordings, and 61 percent watch jazz on some form of television. About a third of those who listen to jazz recordings also attend concerts.

The 1992 survey provides, for the first time, data on the frequency of attendance. Those who attended a jazz performance during the previous year did so an average of 2.9 times-higher than comparable rates for any of the other benchmark performing arts. But a large majority of those attending jazz events did so less frequently than this average: 44 percent attended only once, while an additional 26 percent attended only twice. Thus, a small percentage of the jazz audience forms a disproportionately large share of the total number of attendees. Even so, the total number of attendances at jazz events was nearly as large as that for classical music.

## Demographic Characteristics of the Jazz Audience

The overall profile reveals an audience base that is affluent, well educated, youthful, and ethnically diverse. The frequency-of-attendance data show that the audience that frequently participates in jazz is strikingly male, well educated, well off, and black, in comparison with the general adult population. These findings are consistent with readership surveys by jazz magazines.

Participation in jazz correlates strongly with education and income. Nearly half of those attending jazz performances, for example, are college graduates; over three-quarters have had some college education. Those carning more than $\$ 50,000$ a year are more than twice as likely to attend performances as those earning less than $\$ 25,000$. In this respect, the audience profile for jazz resembles that of the other benchmark arts activities, for which the highest rates of participation are found among the most affluent and highly educated.

The jazz audience is predominantly youthful, especially when compared with the audiences for the other benchmark arts activities. Over two-thirds of those attending jazz performances are under 45 , with a peak in the age group of 25 to 34 . But comparison with the 1982 figures shows a distinct greying trend, with decreases in nearly all forms of jazz participation or preference in the 18 -to- 24 age group compensated by increases in groups over age 34 . The 1992 SPPA data show a striking increase in the participation in jazz through the media by respondents 75 and older. A possible explanation is that by 1992 this group had long been exposed to jazz during the years when musical tastes are likely to be formed.

The demographic profile of the audience with respect to gender and race reveals other qualities unique to jazz. Participation rates are consistently higher for men than for women; although men make up only 48 percent of the adult population in the United States, the audience for most forms of participation in jazz is 52 to 54 percent male. In contrast, in all other benchmark arts activities, participation rates are higher for women than for men. Similarly, participation rates for African Americans are consistently higher than for white Americans; although blacks make up 11 percent of the adult population, between 16 and 20 percent of the audience for various forms of participation in jazz is black. Jazz is unique among the benchmark activities in being derived from African American traditions.

The statistics on frequency of attendance and on those who prefer jazz to all other musical genres provide a way of focusing on the characteristics of the most loyal and intense sector of the jazz audience. Within this small but influential group, the findings with regard to race and gender, noted above for the jazz audience as a whole, become sharper, with males and African Americans showing strikingly high rates of involvement. Nearly a quarter of those who attend as many as nine jazz performances per year are black, and three-fifths are male. Approximately a third of those who report liking jazz "best of all" are black, and two-thirds are male. These findings are corroborated by demographic surveys conducted by major jazz specialty magazines, which find men and African Americans disproportionately represented among their readership.

## Other Findings

- In 1992, approximately 1.7 percent of adult Americans reported "performing or rehearsing" jazz over the previous year. Less than half this number ( 0.8 percent) performed jazz in public-roughly the same percentage reported in the 1982 SPPA. Performers are predominantly male, white (although blacks and Asians are somewhat more likely to perform jazz than whites), and youthful ( 71 percent under the age of 45 ). Ninety-three percent of the jazz performers have had some formal musical education.
- Although jazz retains a multiracial audience, it enjoys particular support in the black community. More than half ( 54 percent) of the adult African American population reports liking jazz, compared with only a third ( 32 percent) of whites. Roughly 16 percent of African Americans like jazz "best of all"-only religious music captured a larger percentage-compared with 4 percent of whites.
- The audiences for jazz and classical music overlap to a considerable extent: roughly a third of those who attend performances of one genre also attend performances of the other.
- Those who attend jazz performances are more likely than the population as a whole to participate in a wide range of leisure activities, such as movies, exercise, sports, or charity work.


# The Jazz Audience: How Big Is It and How Does It Participate? 

## Issues and Problems

The figures in the SPPA report the participation of adult Americans in jazz through several different means: attendance at live events, listening to radio and recordings, watching performances on TV (via broadcasts or vidcotape), and performing. The sheer numbers of those who participated in jazz in some form are both impressive and encouraging. But such aggregate figures must be treated with caution because they mask important distinctions within the jazz audience that anyone attempting to interpret these data should bear in mind.

The first is a consideration shared by other arts surveyed: the distinction between the casual consumer and the dedicated supporter of the arts. The aggregate jazz audience represents the broadest possible interpretation of "arts participation"-including casual, passive, or even unintentional listening to jazz through any medium. Out of the broadest possible audience of approximately 185 million adult Americans, about a third ( 34 percent), or roughly 63 million, say they "like jazz." Of these, no more than one in seven ( 5 percent of the broadest possible audience, or 9.5 million) reports liking jazz "best of all." And of those who preferred jazz to all other musical genres, less than half ( 44 percent) actually attended a jazz event over the past year. In other words, the more purposeful supporters of an art form-the regular concert goers, record buyers, and radio listeners that one ordinarily associates with the concept of "audi-ence"-undoubtedly constitute a fraction of the total reported jazz audience, and probably a small fraction at that.

Consider, for example, the statistics on frequency of attendance. The aggregate figure for the average number of attendances per attender for jazz is encouraging. It is, in fact, higher for jazz than for any other performing art sampled in the SPPA: 2.9 (as opposed to 2.6 for classical music, 2.4 for theater, 2.3 for musicals, 1.7 for opera and ballet). This brings the "total number of attendances" for jazz very close to the total attendances at classical music performances ( 57.1 million for jazz, 60.3 million for classical music). And yet, for all art forms surveyed, the overwhelming majority of attendances were casual-only once or twice a year. Because the numbers attending decline sharply with frequency, average attendance rates can be misleading. Figure 1 shows the number of times participants attended for all benchmark arts activities.

FIGURE 1. 1992 Frequencies of Attendance for Benchmark Arts Activities


The distinction between the casual and dedicated participant is significant insofar as the demographic profile changes. Generalizations that one might make on the basis of aggregate figures may not accuratcly reflect the characteristics of those who do the most to support an art form. Data on frequency of attendance and the portion of the SPPA in which respondents are invited to say which genre of music they like "best of all" provide a limited means of assessing the nature and extent of the dedicated jazz audience.

A second consideration has to do with the divergent and potentially conflicting definitions that lurk within the broad label "jazz." This consideration unfortunately has no easy solution. As with the earlier SPPAs, the 1992 SPPA avoids entangling itself in the possibly murky question of what "jazz" might mean. Rather than guiding participants toward a particular interpretation, the SPPA relies entirely on the technique of "respondent identification," allowing each individual to apply his or her own definition of jazz to the question. Respondents are simply asked whether they have attended a jazz event, listened to jazz on the radio, watched jazz on television or video, and so forth. Not until the end of the survey, in the section on music preferences, is any clue given that jazz is a gente distinct from, say, "blues/rhythm and blues," "soul," "big band," or "rock."

This all-inclusive definition is useful as a gross indicator of the relationship of American audiences with jazz. And yet, as the marketplace shows, consumer taste may be much more finely differentiated. Audiences may identify less with jazz as a whole than with one or more of its subgroupings. The sheer number and variety of genres can be bewildering. "In jazz, qualifiers rule," reports Billboard in a 1992 article on the state of jazz: "traditional, mainstream, electric, contemporary, straight-ahead, fusion, avant-garde."3

How to sort through this morass of conflicting definitions? Rather than examine the musical characteristics that might separate these categories, I propose to draw upon a useful distinction made recently by Richard Crawford that focuses instead on attitudes toward music by both musicians and their audiences. According to Ctawford, these fall into two broad categories. The first, accessibility, is "a statement of priorities. Accessibility seeks out the center of the marketplace. ... And it invests ultimate authority in the present-day audience [emphasis in original]. Performers driven by accessibility scek most of all to find and please audiences." In contrast, the second category, authenticity, invests its authority in traditions of creativity. Musicians who are guided by the "ideal of authenticity" feel that music at the time of its creation is guided by a "certain original spirit" (emphasis in original), and that the role of the present-day performer or creator is to remain faithful to that spirit-in short, to uphold the tradition. ${ }^{4}$

One normally assumes that these conflicting principles will result in sharply divergent music, with accessibility being the reigning paradigm of popular culture and authenticity the hallmark of art traditions. But they do not necessarily diverge. In jazz, they have coexisted, sometimes uneasily, for more than half a century. The Swing Era of the 1930s and 1940s is the high-water mark of jazz as an accessible species of popular music, an authentic form intimately connected with contemporary fashions in dance, popular song, and the intangible symbols of the youth subculture. But one need only look to the "funky" hard bop of the 1950 s, the bossa nova craze of the carly 1960s, jaza/rock and jazz/funk fusion in the 1970s, and the nascent jazz/hip-hop movement of the 1990s to see how persistent is the impulse to shadow the tastes and enthusiasms of the mass public.

Meanwhile the ideal of authenticity has a long history as well. As early as the 1930s, aficionados were distinguishing the "real" forms of jazz from the impure, commercial derivations and arguing loudly for the recognition and support due a fine art. Over time, the effort to define jazz as an authentic artistic tradition has gathered nearly irresistible momentum. Jazz is now a staple of university music departments and such granting agencies as the NEA. It is increasingly at home in the concert hall and on public television and radio. It is music that one approaches through experts and critics, to gain "cultural capital." It is widely, if
not universally, recognized as part of the cultural establishment; it is, in Billy Taylor's oft-quoted phrase, "America's classical music."

All of this is not merely a passive appreciation of jazz's virtues. It presumes an implicit responsibility on the part of the establishment to preserve the tradition it has inherited and to ensure its continuing survival in an indifferent or even hostile cultural environment. The listing of jazz as one of seven benchmark arts activitics in the SPPA is both confirmation of its newly official status and a sign of concern by the arts community about its future. Why gather detailed information about the audience for jazz if not from a desire to increase that audience?

I make these obvious points to contrast the characteristic concerns of "authentic" jazz advocates with the market-driven concerns of "accessible" jazz. The paradigm of authenticity presupposes a rich tradition for which one wishes to build a wider audience. The hope is to modify the consumer, through education and exposure, to accept and support a relatively stable body of artistic practices. The countervailing paradigm of accessibility, on the other hand, presupposes an audience for which one hopes to supply a product. The aim is to satisfy shifting consumer taste by creating new genres or by modifying existing ones through shrewd guessing and market research. The two aims can certainly overlap. For instance, during his heyday, Duke Ellington was simultaneously a popular celebrity and a touchstone of jazz authenticity. The two aims can also be at cross-purposes.

In carly 1987, Billboard changed the way it tracked the sales of jazz albums. Previously, it had published a single chart for Jazz. Now there would be two charts: one still called Jazz, devoted to recordings "in the traditional genre"; and a new chart, Contemporary Jazz, covering "jazz fusion, new age, and other new developments in jazz music." ${ }^{5}$

The phrase "traditional jazz" used to refer to revivals of the New Orleans jazz style popular since the 1940s. It now encompasses everything from New Orleans jazz to post-bop and the avant garde-the entire spectrum covered by the phrase "the jazz tradition." Even to be aware of these genres-to say nothing of understanding the complex and manifold ways in which they interrelate stylistically and historically-presupposes a considerable degree of education and sophistication. Its counterpoise, "contemporary jazz," carries no such intellectual baggage. It is a genre of pop music, distinguished from the rock mainstream by the absence of vocals and prominent use of traditional jazz instruments, such as the saxophone, and continually adjusted to suit the perceived tastes of its targeted audience.

The opposition implied by these terms is to some extent illusory. Traditional jazz is nothing if not contemporary, with artists creating new music and charting new territory every year. And the fluid interaction with popular culture repre-
sented by contemporary jazz has, as I have indicated, a long history, now thoroughly absorbed into the official jazz tradition.

Semantic confusion aside, the distinction is real and not to be lightly dismissed. Traditional jazz requires a commitment from its listencrs. Its potential audience must be carefully nurtured through such educational outreach efforts as college courses, CD reissues with painstakingly researched liner notes, public radio and television documentaries, or trade books aimed at the aficionado. Contemporary jazz welcomes the casual listener-anyone inclined to consider as "jazz" pop music that is obviously not rock. The potential audience for contemporary jazz is changeable but vast, and the boundary lines separating it from mainstream pop are fluid. Saxophonist Kenny G, considered by many the embodiment of contemporary jazz but deliberately marketed as a pop musician, has alone sold a reported 17 million records since the late 1980s. "People who don't know anything about jazz know Kenny G," says one critic. "He's their jazz" (emphasis in original). ${ }^{6}$

None of these considerations is directly ascertainable from the SPPA. The figures reported in this monograph are simply the aggregate of responses to the term "jazz" by the American public. Those who consider the likes of Kenny G to be unauthentic will have to make their own rough calculations or educated guesses to determine what percentage of the reported audience is listening to "authentic" jazz. Yet this larger, undifferentiated figure represents an upper boundary for that segment of the audience that is willing to identify itself with the umbrella term "jazz" and is therefore presumably more susceptible to educational efforts designed to bring them into the jazz tradition.


#### Abstract

Attendance The ovcrall rate for those reporting attendance at a jazz event over the past year has remained essentially stable over the past 10 years. The surveys show a slight increase (from 9.6 percent in 1982 and 9.5 percent in 1985 to 10.6 percent in 1992), but one that proves to be statistically insignificant. It is more realistic to say that the rate has remained stable at about 10 percent. Of course, this is a rate, not an absolute number. The size of the estimated audience has grown along with the growth in population, from 15.7 million in 1982 to 19.7 million in 1992.

This rate of attendance places jazz somewhere in the middle of the benchmark arts activities. Fewer people attend jazz performances than go to art museums ( 26.7 percent), musicals ( 17.4 percent), the theater ( 13.5 percent), and performances of classical music ( 12.5 percent); but more attend jazz events than attend performances of opera ( 3.3 percent), ballet ( 4.7 percent), and "other


dance" ( 7.1 percent). The audiences for jazz and classical music are not only similar in size, but also overlap to a considerable extent: 39 percent of those who attend jazz events also attend classical events, while 33 percent of those attending classical events also attend jazz events.

Has there been any change in the supply of concerts over the past decadeeither in quantity or in the kinds of venues in which jazz performances are offered to the public? Such information lies beyond the scope of the SPPA. However, anecdotal evidence, though sketchy and inconclusive, suggests a broad historical shift away from the private toward the public sector: from the traditional smoky nightclub operated on a commercial basis, to civic auditoriums and performing arts centers funded by colleges and local nonprofit arts organizations.

One explanatory factor, certainly, is the emergence of new sources of funding for local jazz organizations, which for years have struggled to provide sponsorship and alternative venues for a music that cannot always reach its audience through commercial means. The most dramatic effort in this dircction was the creation in 1990 of the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest National Jazz Network, a program administered by the New England Foundation for the Arts and the National Jazz Service Organization that provides financial and technical assistance to 20 local presenting organizations and 6 regional arts organizations. ${ }^{7}$ The funding provided by the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund for this network (supplemented by the NEA and local sources) has accelerated growth in nonprofit, public sector support of jazz. Nearly all of these organizations concentrate on sponsoring performances by the wide spectrum of traditional acoustic jazz artists-presumably under the assumption that the more commercially oriented contemporary jazz will thrive in the open market.

In spite of the anecdotal evidence, existing data suggest that where people attend jazz concerts has not changed over the past decade. A direct comparison with earlier figures on this issue is not possible, since the questions on venues that were part of the 1982 SPPA were not included in the 1992 survey. But such questions were asked in the 12 Local Surveys of Public Participation in the Arts. The weighted percentages for the 12 sites combined show little change from the 1982 SPPA results. Table 1 shows the jazz venues in 1982 and 1992.

Is there a potential for growth in the audience for live jaza performance? One encouraging sign is the increase in the number who expressed an interest in attending more jazz performances than they currently do. In the 1982 SPPA, 18 percent expressed such a desire; in 1992, this number had risen to a quarter of the adult population, or some 46.5 million people. Jazz was not alone in this regard: comparable increases were reported for virtually all of the other benchmark activities. ${ }^{8}$

TABLE 1. Jazz Venues in 1982 and 1992 (\%)

| Venue | $\mathbf{1 9 8 2}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 2} \mathbf{( 1 2 ~ c i t i e s )}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Concert hall/auditorium | 29 | 30 |
| College facility | 12 | 7 |
| Night club/coffee house | 23 | 26 |
| Dinner theater | 10 | 7 |
| Park/open-air facility | 20 | 20 |
| Other facilities | 7 | 10 |
| *Figures for 1982 do not add up to 100 hecause of rounding. |  |  |

## Recordings

The percentage of adult Americans reporting that they listened to jazz recordings over the past year has remained stable at about 20 percent ( 20.2 percent in 1982, 20.6 percent in 1992). And yet, industry observers are unanimous in proclaiming that jazz now enjoys a higher profile in the marketplace than it did just a decade ago. The latter half of the 1980s saw nearly all the major labels establish a strong presence in the jazz market. By 1990, such corporate giants as PolyGram (on the Verve label), Capitol (Blue Note), RCA (Novus), Sony (Columbia), MCA (GRP), and Warner Brothers had "simultaneously undertaken aggressive jazz programs that encompass[ed] virtually unprecedented artist development and marketing efforts.""

The most striking aspect of this activity is that it focused not on the easily marketed "accessible" kind of jazz, but its "authentic" counterpart. The bellwether was the emergence of Wynton Marsalis. Marsalis's youth, virtuosity, and outspoken criticism of commercially oriented jazz/rock fusion ("I just don't like it when people call it jazz when it's not" ${ }^{10}$ ) attracted a great deal of media attention. The success of his early albums for Columbia emboldened other record companies to promote a whole generation of youthful jazz musicians, dubbed "the young lions" by the jazz press. Some, like Marsalis, continued to act as spokespersons for a purist vision of jazz. Others-including Bobby McFerrin, Harry Connick Jr., and Wynton's brother, Branford-were widely recognized as "jazz, artists" but managed, in various ways, to reach a much broader audience. Of Connick's success as pianist, singer, and icon of big-band era nostalgia, Columbia's Gcorge Butler has said, "We didn't see him as, say, a jazz artist with a limited marketplace. We focused very broadly. We didn't go
to just certain radio formats and publications with his story. We treated him like a pop artist and pulled out all the stops." ${ }^{11}$

By the early 1990 s, the young lions were joined by veteran musicians, proving that the new commercial viability of "atthentic" jazz recordings was independent of youthful fashion and sex appeal. Recent recordings for Verve by Joe Henderson, Shirley Horn, and Abbey Lincoln have provided those artists with something like mainstream commercial success for perhaps the first time in their careers. The willingness of major record companies to devore their resources and attention to jazz artists (and, of course, the persistent championing of various subgenres of jazz by independent labels) has been at the heart of a resurgence of interest in jazz that has the potential to stimulate demand in all areas. As one booking agent put it, "The perception of jazz as a viable and hip art form makes the record companies happy, and then the people believe it." ${ }^{12}$

Nor is the activity in recordings limited to new artists. The major labels have enormous stockpiles of recordings covering the entire spectrum of jazz history. The industrywide conversion of recorded music to the CD format has meant that these recordings can be reissued, in effect, as "new" products: remastered in digital sound and presented either in their original packaging or with new cover art, new liner notes, previously unissued alternate takes, and extensive discographical information. Such recycled material keeps the idea of tradition alive in the marketplace and helps make jazz profitable for record companies: some 40 to 50 percent of total jazz sales for major labels are estimated to come from reissues. ${ }^{1.3}$

Meanwhile, the more frankly commercial varieties of jazz continue to thrive, exploiting the fluid boundary lines between jazz and mainstream pop entertainment. ${ }^{14}$ Whether much of this music ought to be considered jazz, with due respect to Wynton Marsalis, is an open question and one of potentially great interest for musicians, critics, and scholars. But for the purposes of interpreting the SPPA data, it is important to bear in mind that recordings by the Rippingtons, Bob James, Earl Klugh, Dave Grusin, and other "contemporary jazz" artists may be the kind of music that a significant portion of the listening public most closely associates with the word "jazz."

## Radio

Participation in jazz by listening to the radio provides the most striking contrast between the 1992 and previous surveys. In 1982 and again in 1985, radio had a participation rate roughly equivalent to other media (recordings and TV): about 18 percent. In 1992, that figure jumped sharply to 28 percent. When the increase in population during this period is taken into account, this
means that the audience for jazz via radio grew from just over 30 million Americans to 52 million-an increase of over 70 percent. ${ }^{15}$ (Similar dramatic increases were also reported for classical music and opera.)

Why this should be so and what implications it has for the jazz audience can only be matters for speculation. Unlike the recording industry, where jazz has long been established as a distinct and viable specialty market carefully nurtured by divisions of major labels and independent companies, radio has provided no firm institutional base for jazz. Even in major urban areas, there are only a handful of full-time radio stations devoted to jazz.

One factor, perhaps, has been the emergence of a new mixture of jazz/pop instrumental and vocal music, strategically situated on the shifting border between more traditional jazz and out-and-out pop styles. As early as 1981, one industry observer noted that radio programmers were already scrambling to devise formats to appeal to aging baby boomers who would, inevitably, lose their taste for youth-oriented pop. The key to tapping into this audience, he argued, was a new genre of jazz-derived pop instrumental music, which he called "jazzz" to distinguish it from the jazz of the purists. "Unhip jazz for unhip people," as he unkindly put it, would become "the 'soft rock,' 'beautiful music,' and 'adult contemporary of the eighties.'"16

By the decade's end, this prophecy had become reality. New radio formats, variously called "New Adult Contemporary" (NAC), "Adult Alternative," "Smooth Jazz," or "Lite Jazz," have brought some styles of jazz instrumental music to a wider radio audience. The targeted demographic audience consists of young adults, aged 25 to 44 - not coincidentally, the peak age group for jazz activity reported in the SPPA. "I want the people burned out on rock," said one producer of several syndicated NAC programs. "They're the ones who give me the ratings." ${ }^{17}$

And yet, traditional jazz has continued to maintain a presence in commercial radio. It crops up in special program blocks during the day (a "Sunday Brunch," for example) and as "spice' elements in regular playlists" in established formats, such as Adult Contemporary. ${ }^{18}$ Although it is unlikely that new stations entirely devoted to jazz will spring up, programmers are learning that the music has a market with demographic characteristics that can be very attractive to advertisers. KJAZ, the California radio station that is one of the few 24-hour jazz outlets, has recently started syndicating programs to be sold to other stations nationwide.

Meanwhile, jazz is well established on noncommercial radio, especially National Public Radio (NPR). Whether locally generated or broadcast in such syndicated programs as Marian McPartland's Piano Jazz, jazz has found a place alongside classical music in NPR programming. An estimated 80 percent of NPR stations in 1992 regularly included jazz programming. "Jazz has become
a force on these stations," notes one industry observer. "It's got listener viability, and the classical music audience is continuing to age. ${ }^{19}$ "

## Television/Video

The fraction of adult Americans who have watched jazz performances on television has increased slightly over the past decade, from 18 percent in 1982 to 21 percent in the latest SPPA. Added to this is a new category of participation via television-watching videotaped performances on a VCR. Although only 4 percent of adult Americans report watching jazz video, most of them also watch jazz on both television and VCR, and the total audience is 22 percent. ${ }^{20}$

The growth of the audience for jazz on television is probably attributable at least in part to the cable revolution. The prolifcration of cable channels over the past decade has inevitably led to a greater diversity in programming. Such new channels as Bravo and A\&E have provided broadcast time for jazz performances that otherwise would not have existed.

Although jazz's foothold on television continues to be tenuous, there are a few striking exceptions: Branford Marsalis upholding the tradition of live jazz performance on The Tonight Show, the indefatigable Billy Taylor on morning television, documentaries on the PBS series American Masters. But the revolution in music video that has transformed popular music-in particular, the interrelation between music-video cable channels and record promotion-has yet to affect jazz. The market for jazz recordings has been too small and the expense of producing music videos too great. Such jazz videos as have been produced tend to be of a more documentary nature and marketed to a relatively small group of dedicated jazz enthusiasts. This accounts for the tiny percentage ( 4 percent) of people that have watched any jazz video over the past year. Corresponding percentages for popular musical genres are not available in the SPPA, but given the populatity of MTV, VH-1, and country music video channels, it is a safe assumption that they are substantially higher.

Yet the continued expansion of cable will very likely pull more specialized music, such as jazz, into its wake. Black Entertainment Television has announced plans to establish a 24 -hour jazz cable channel by the end of 1995. Whether this ambitious project will become a reality is, as of this writing, impossible to say. But, should it come to fruition, the demand for material to fill programming slots would create an explosive demand for jazz video that would, more likely than not, have to come largely from videotapes of live performances. One nonprofit jazz presenting organization, the Manchester Craftmen's Guild of Pittsburgh, is preparing for the future by adding multicamera video recording capability to its performing facility. It has already
syndicated audio recordings of its concert series through NPR and is looking to similar possibilities on cable television. ${ }^{21}$

Obviously, the potential to build new audiences for jazz via television is incalculable. Veteran vocalist Betty Carter, who has seen her name recognition soar more as a result of a few appearances on The Bill Cosby Show than in her previous four decades in the music business, has recently said, "The big wave of change will be jazz on television. This is something I've been working on for years. You see, I can hire young musicians and encourage young players for the rest of my life and it won't develop an audience. This will." ${ }^{12}$

## Cross-tabulations

Some sense of the interrelation among the various types of participation in jazz--especially between attendance at live performances and media participa-tion-can be gained through cross-tabulation of the data in the SPPA. Although the tables of statistics are difficult to interpret, the following picture emerges.

Most of those who attend jazz performances are also exposed to jazz through the media. Over three-quarters ( 76 percent) listen to jazz on the radio. Twothirds ( 67 percent) listen to jazz on recordings. Fifty-eight percent watch jazz on broadcast television; 16 percent watch jazz on VCR; taking into account the 13 percent who say they do both activities, the aggregate audience for watching jazz on television in some form accounts for 61 percent of the jazz attenders. All of these figures, not surprisingly, exceed the national norm for participation in jazz via the media by approximately a factor of three.

Of the three main media, listening to jazz on recordings is the strongest predictor of jazz attendance: more than a third ( 35 percent) of those who listen to jazz recordings report attending a jazz performance. This is more than three times the national average. Somewhat smaller percentages of those who consume jazz. through the free broadcast media (radio, 28 percent; TV, 26 percent) attend jazz performances. The new medium of videotape also shows a strong correlation with jazz attendance: 30 percent of those who watch jazz only via VCR attend jazz performances, and 45 percent of those who watch both broadcast television and VCR attend.

# Demographic Characteristics of the Jazz Audience 

## Education

Sociocconomic background remains the strongest predictor of participation in the arts generally, and jazz is no exception. Participation in jazz through live attendance and the media rises steeply and steadily with socioeconomic attainment as measured through increases in education and income levels.

The rates for participation through attendance at live performances clearly exemplify this principle. Jazz events attract insignificant numbers of those with only a grade school education (fewer than 1 percent) and those with some high school education but no diploma ( 3 percent). At the other end of the scale, nearly a quarter of those with graduate education attend jazz events. Figure 2 shows the correlation between 1982 and 1992 jazz attendance and educational levels.

Since educational attainment is unevenly distributed in the population, another way of expressing this disparity is to consider what percentage of the total projected jazz audience is attributable to the various educational levels. Figure 3 shows the education distributions of the 1992 jazz audience for all kinds of participation. Although those with some college education amount to about 45 percent of the total population (i.e., combining the categories of "Some College," "College Graduate," and "Graduatc School"), they account for over three-fourths ( 78 percent) of those attending jazz events. Only 24 percent of adult Americans are college graduates (combining the categorics of "College Graduate" and "Graduate School"), but 49 percent of jazz attenders are. Figure 4 shows the percentage of the total audience who are college graduates for all benchmark arts activities.

Of course, similar disparities are reported for all of the other benchmark arts activities. If anything, the upward curves for classical music and opera are steeper, showing slightly more pronounced increases in the participation rates of college graduates and those with graduate education. While 49 percent of jazz attenders are college graduates, the corresponding rate is higher for attenders of classical music ( 54 percent) and opera ( 58 percent).

A comparison with the earlier SPPA shows jazz may be gradually attracting more adherents from this most highly educated group. In 1982, the attendance rates for college graduates and those with graduate education were essentially

FIGURE 2. Jazz Attendance and Education in 1982 and 1992


FIGURE 3. 1992 Education Distributions of Jazz Audiences


## FIGURE 4. College Graduate Component of 1992 Audiences for Benchmark Arts Activities

 (Percent of Total Audience)
equivalent. By 1992, the attendance rates for the latter group had jumped 5 percentage points. (This increase was offset by slight decreases for all educational groups below college level.) This shift toward a more educated audience was heightened by the general tendency over the 1982-1992 period for the population as a whole to become more highly educated.

For media participation, rates also rise steadily with educational attainment. Only 9 percent of those with a grade school education listen to jazz radio, but nearly half ( 49 percent) of those with graduate education do. However, the curve is far less stcep than that for attendance. Television and radio-those media most accessible to people with modest incomes-show the greatest participation by groups with low educational attainment, with distribution for recordings closest to the distribution found for attendance. Those with a high school diploma or less (i.e., combining the categories of "High School Graduate," "Some High School," and "Grade School") account for only 22 percent of the jazz attenders, but they comprise 30 percent of those listening to recordings, 36 percent of those listening to jazz radio, and 37 percent of those watching jazz on television. Similarly, 47 percent of jazz attenders are college graduates, compared with 42 percent for recordings, 38 percent for radio, and 37 percent for television.

## Income

As with educational level, participation in jazz through attendance at performances rises with income-with one exception: the participation rate for the lowest income group (below $\$ 5,000$ ) was slightly higher than that reported for the next two income levels. This discrepancy is probably attributable to the fact that the lowest income level is something of an anomaly, combining the poorest members of society with relatively privileged college students who have yet to enter the monetary economy.

Not surprisingly, those earning $\$ 50,000$ or more are disproportionately represented. Although people in this category represent only 19 percent of the total adult population, they make up 32 percent of those attending jazz events. Looked at another way, 18 percent of the people in this income group attend jazz events-the only income group to substantially exceed the national average. Those earning between $\$ 25,000$ and $\$ 50,000$-by far the largest group in the adult population as a whole ( 37 percent)—attend jazz events at only a slightly higher rate than the total population.

A similar pattern can be found for the benchmark arts activities as a whole: underrepresentation by lower income groups, overrepresentation by the $\$ 50,000$-and-above group, and the large $\$ 25,000$-to- $\$ 50,000$ group attending at a rate nearly identical with the national average. Similar patterns were also found in the 1982 SPPA, although inflation over the intervening decade makes a direct comparison impractical (those earning $\$ 25,000$ in 1982 were considerably more prosperous than their counterparts in 1992).

As with education, participation rates through the media also rise steadily with income, but less steeply.

## Age <br> The audience for jazz in live performance is predominantly youthful, especially when compared with the audience for most of the other benchmark arts activities. Participation rates for jazz pcak with the $25-$ to- 34 age group, with only slightly lower rates for the 35 -to- 44 group. They then decline rapidly with advancing age. By contrast, theatcr, musicals, opera, and classical music ali peak with the $45-$ to- 54 age group, with the next highest participation rate in the 55-to-64 age group. <br> Because the 25-to-34 and 35-to-44 age groups also happen to be the largest in the adult population as a whole ( 23 percent and 21 percent, respectively, or a combined 44 percent of the adult population), they are particularly well represented in jazz. Fifty-four percent of attenders at jazz performances fall

between 25 and 44 , compared with 44 percent for musicals, 43 percent for theater, 40 percent for classical music, and 43 percent for opera. Extending this comparison to include 18 -to-24-year-olds, over two-thirds ( 68 percent) of the jazz attenders are younger than 45 , compared with 56 percent of the audience for musicals, 55 percent for theater, 50 percent for classical music, and 53 percent for opera.

For media participation, the rates for radio and recordings peak with the 25-to-34 age group, while the rates for television peak with those aged 35 to 44. This corresponds with the general perception by industry observers that the audience for recordings in particular is to be found primarily among younger Americans. ${ }^{23}$ In general, the audiences for the free broadcast media (tclevision and radio) are older than those attending performances: 23 percent of those who watch jazz on television and 19 percent of those who listen to jazz radio are over age 55 , compared with 16 percent of jazz attenders. The age distribution of the audience for jazz recordings corresponds almost exactly with that of the audience for live performance.

Analysis of trends over time for the demographic information on age is more complicated than for other factors because two different broad approaches may be taken. One may consider the behavior of any one age group- 25 -to- 34 -yearolds, for example-at different times. Or one can take into account the fact that the 25 -to- 34 -year-olds of 1982 will inexorably become the 35 -to- 44 -year-olds of 1992, and compare the behavior of that age "cohort" (i.e., those born within a given 10 -year span over time). "Cohort analysis" adds an invaluable dimension to the interpretation of age data because it begins to show how arts participation may evolve with age and how different generations, or "cohorts," may differ from one another.

A direct comparison with statistics from the 1982 SPPA shows a significant "greying" trend. In 1982, the highest participation rate (18 percent) came from the youngest age group-those 18 to 24 . The rate declined slightly (to 15 percent) for the 25 -to- 34 group and dropped off more sharply thereafter. A direct comparison of participation rates across age groups shows a sharp decline between 1982 and 1992 for the 18 -to- 24 group, compensated by increases for the age groups above 34 .

Because the population as a whole was younger in 1982 (18-to-24-year-olds then accounted for 17.4 percent of the population, as opposed to 13.0 percent in 1992), the youthfulness of the jazz audience in 1982 is particularly notable. Two-thirds of jazz attenders in 1982 ( 67 percent) were under age 35; four-fifths (81 percent) were under age 45 .

One striking finding concerns the behavior of the oldest age group. In 1982, participation rates by those over 75 were insignificant. This is not surprising for jazz attendance, since advanced age inhibits the ability to attend live perform-
ances across the board. But the figures for media participation were also very low: only 4 percent watched jazz on television, only 2 percent listened to jazz radio, only 1 percent listened to jazz recordings. The corresponding figures for the over-75 group for 1992 were much higher: 12 percent for television and radio, 7 percent for recordings.

One logical explanation for this phenomenon is that the over- 75 group in 1982 consisted of those Americans born before 1907, who became young adults in the years before 1925. The bulk of this group came of age before the emergence of jazz in the 1920 s or overlapped with the earliest jazz styles that have largely passed from favor with mainstream audiences today. If musical tastes are formed in youth, it is not surprising to find this age cohort indifferent to jazz.

For many within the over-75 group in 1992, however, jazz was part of their youthful experience. They came of age in the years from 1915 to 1935-thus overlapping not only with early jazz, but with the swing dance band styles that were part of the musical landscape in the early 1930s and that found widespread acceptance by the end of the decade (the Swing Era). This suggests that the "greying" trend for jazz in the future may not be limited to a shift of the core audience from the youngest adults to the 25-to-44 group, but may involve increasing participation in jazz by older Americans.

Cohort analysis shows that members of the baby boom generation (which roughly corresponds to the 25 -to- 44 age groups in the SPPA and includes those born between 1948 and 1967) are declining in their rate of attendance at live jazz performances, while the participation rates for older cohorts have increased.

The NEA monograph on age gives more detailed information on cohort analysis. ${ }^{24}$

## Race

One of the most intriguing-and controversial—areas for demographic analysis is race. Any discussion of the racial makeup of the jazz audience inevitably raises the contentious social issue of ethnic cultural identity.

Ethnicity is a potentially divisive issue in the arts and often not directly addressed. In the spirit of pluralism and democracy, one may prefer to gloss over the ways in which art articulates ethnic difference, celebrating instead its capacity to transcend racial, national, and religious divisions. Mozart is not thought of as a Viennese composer but as an artist with "universal" appeal. To the extent that race surfaces at all in classical music, it is with reference to an imperfectly realized ideal of inclusion. Once African Americans were barred from the concert hall, both as performers and audience. Today, arts adminis-
trators worry over perennially low rates of participation by minorities and plan strategies to include and involve them.

Why, then, should the question of ethnicity be so contentious for jazz? The answer is that alone among the art forms surveyed by the SPPA, jazz has historic roots in African American culture. Given the tangled and tragic history of race relations in this country, it is hardly surprising to find conflicting interpretations of the place of jazz in American culture and its ultimate political significance. Is jazz best understood as the music of black Americans-an art form shaped by, and uniquely expressive of, the struggle of an embattled minority for cultural autonomy? Or is it a music that demonstrates through its widespread appeal the irrelevance of race in a pluralistic society?

These are not questions that an appeal to the historical record can easily resolve. On the one hand, the distinctive musical language of jazz clearly derives from African American (and ultimately African) folk traditions. Many of the most important creators and innovators within the jazz tradition-Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, Thelonious Monk, Miles Davis, John Coltrane-have been black. On the other hand, jazz has from its inception depended upon white audiences for support and has been shaped by the contributions of white musicians. Nearly all serious treatments of jazz have emphasized its ethnic character; and yet many (if not all) underscore the complex interactions between black and white that have given the lie to the myth of unbridgeable racial division.

The broader philosophical and political implications of these arguments are obviously beyond the boundaries of this monograph. I have broached them here not only because they must be borne in mind when interpreting the data, but because statistics from the 1982 SPPA have already been drawn into the debate. In his 1993 book, Jazz: The American Theme Song, James Lincoln Collier argues forcefully against the interpretation that would situate jazz unambiguously within black culture:

There are thousands of white jazz fans who have devoted lifetimes to the music, and bitterly resent being told that jazz is not theirs. Nonetheless, the official position, which obtains in college and university programs, granting organizations, and scholarly institutions like Lincoln Center, is that jazz is black music. ${ }^{25}$

To reinforce his argument, Collier draws on the summary by Harold Horowitz of the data on the jazz audience drawn from the 1982 SPPA, emphasizing both the modest size of the total audience for jazz and the overall predominance of whites. While noting that "fifteen percent of blacks, as against nine percent of whites, attended a jazz performance in the surveyed year," Collier argues,

> The black audience for jazz is relatively [emphasis in original] larger than the white audience; but it is also clear, given that a lot of the respondents had only listened to jazz a few times in the course of a year, that jazz is of serious interest only to a small percentage of blacks--probably not more than ten percent. It can hardly be said, therefore, that jazz today somehow reflects anything that can be called a "black ethos." And it is also clear that the bulk of the audience for jazz is white. ${ }^{26}$

Statistics alone cannot resolve this complex and emotionally charged debate. But the figures from the 1992 SPPA provide at least an updated empirical foundation upon which to attempt a reconsideration of the issue.

As with other aspects of jazz participation, there are different ways of assessing the quantitative differences between black and white participation. One is to point out that the audience remains predominantly white. White Americans make up 81 percent of the jazt attenders, 78 percent of those watching jazz on television or listening to jazz recordings, and 79 percent of those listening to jazz on the radio. This simply reflects the numerical predominance of whites in the population. African Americans, who account for 11 percent of the population as a whole, make up 17 percent of jazz attenders, 18 percent of the radio audience, 19 percent of the television audience, and nearly 20 percent of those who listen to jazz recordings. The remainder ( 2 to 3 percent) is accounted for by the category "other" (Asians, Native Americans).

Another approach is to underscore the difference in participation rates. African Americans consistently participate in jazz at a higher rate than white Americans: they are one and a half times as likely to attend jazz performances and even more likely to participate in jazz through the media. Figure 5 shows the 1992 racial distribution of jazz audiences for all forms of participation. The data, comparing as they do the relatively expensive activity of live attendance with the free media of radio and TV and the easily shared medium of recordings, suggest that economic factors have limited the ability of black Americans to attend jazz performances. It is also possible that black Americans feel less comfortable attending public events in which they are likely to be a decided minority and more comfortable with the relative flexibility and privacy of media participation. ${ }^{27}$
'The contrast with other benchmark arts activities is striking. Jazz is the only art form in which African Americans are more likely to participate than white Americans. Moreover, this disparity has been consistent over time. Figures from 1982 show the same pattern: blacks participating in jazz at significantly higher rates than whites, while participating in other art forms at significantly lower rates. If one is looking for evidence of a cultural divide-a polarization in patterns of arts consumption along ethnic lines-one need look no further than jazz.

FIGURE 5. 1992 Racial Distributions of Jazz Audiences


The data on those who express a desire to attend more concerts suggest that the black audience for jazz performance could easily be considerably larger. Overall, 25.2 percent of the population expressed a desire to attend more jazz concerts. Breaking this figure down by race shows that while less than a quarter (22 percent) of whites expressed such a desire, nearly half ( 49 percent) of African Americans did. Granted, expressing the desire to attend is not the same thing as attending; but this figure exceeds the percentage of any ethnic group expressing an interest in attending more of any art form. The projected potential audience for jazz of 46.5 million would still be predominantly white, but black involvement would be 22 percent-double the percentage of African Americans in the population as a whole.

The NEA monograph on race gives more information, including the use of Multiple Classification Analysis to separate education as a factor. ${ }^{28}$

The polarity of the data for black Americans and white Americans in jazz participation makes it easy to overlook the additional miscellaneous ethnic grouping of "other" in the survey. For the most part, those identifying themselves as "other" participated in jazz at roughly the same rates as white Americans. The only noticeable difference came with attendance, where the rates for "other" were significantly lower ( 5.5 percent, as opposed to 10.1 percent of whites and 16.2 percent of blacks). This does not correspond with the 1982
figures, where the reported attendance behavior for the category "other" was indistinguishable from that of white Americans.

Additional information on racial polarization in musical taste appears in the sections on frequency of attendance and musical preferences.

## Gender

The racial politics of jazz has understandably overshadowed consideration of its sexual politics. And yet the audience for jazz shows an unmistakable tilt toward males that is anomalous among the benchmark arts activities surveyed by the SPPA.

The participation rates for attending jazz performances were 11.9 percent for men and 9.4 percent for women. Were men and women evenly distributed in the population, the audience would consist of 56 percent men, 44 percent women. But since women outnumber men by a ratio of approximately $13: 12$, the actual disparity in the audience is somewhat less: 54 percent men, 46 percent women.

These figures are striking, however, in the context of the other benchmark arts activities. For art museums and opera, women are as likely as men to participate; for the remaining genres (classical music, musicals, theater, and ballet) women are significantly more likely to participate. Jazz thus stands out as an arts discipline in which men predominate. Compare, for example, the figures for jazz with the participation rates for attendance at classical music concerts. For men, the rates are essentially equivalent to those for jazz: 11.5 percent for classical, 11.9 percent for jazz. The rates for women, on the other hand, diverge sharply: 13.4 percent for classical, 9.4 percent for jazz. The result is that for classical music, the gender disparity runs in the opposite direction: 44 percent men, 56 percent women.

Among those who express a desire to attend more jazz performances, the gender disparity widens slightly. Twenty-nine percent of men, as opposed to 22 percent of women, express such a desire, resulting in a potential audience for jazz that is 55 percent male, 45 percent female.

A slightly less pronounced gender disparity is found in participation in jazz through the media. For TV and recordings, 23 percent of men and 19 percent of women report participation, resulting in a projected audience that is 53 percent male, 47 percent female. The figures for radio (participation rates of 31 percent for men, 26 percent for women) result in an audience that is 52 percent male, 48 percent female. (The sense of many in the music industry is that the audience for jazz radio and recordings is even more heavily male, especially for those above age $35 .{ }^{29}$ But it must be emphasized that the figures make no
distinction between casual and dedicated consumers.) As with attendance, the gender disparity runs counter to the data for other benchmark arts activities, in which women are at least as likely, and often more likely, to participate through the media.

A cross-tabulation of sex and race for jazz attendance shows a slightly greater gender disparity among African Americans. Fifty-six percent of the black audience is male, compared with 53 percent of the white audience.

Additional information on gender disparity can be found in the sections on frequency of attendance and musical preference.

## Geography

Geographic measures derived from the SPPA are relatively coarse. The data distinguish among populations in areas of various densities: those living in the central city of a metropolitan area (or SMSA), those living within an SMSA but not in the central city (i.e., in suburbs), and those living in rutal areas. The data are also broken down into four broad regions: West, Midwest, South, and Northeast. Figure 6 shows the geographic distribution of the 1992 participants in jazz through the media.

Of the four geographic regions, the West shows significantly higher levels of participation in all forms of media. This disparity is most pronounced in jazz radio: 35 percent of those in the West report listening to jazz radio, compared with the national average of 28 percent. But figures for recordings ( 24 percent in the West, 21 percent nationwide) and TV ( 25 percent in the West, 21 percent nationwide) confirm a broad-based trend.

Other regions are somewhat less casy to characterize. The Northeast is close to the national average in all three categories, the Sourh slightly below (especially in radio). The Midwest is more noticeably below the national average in all three categories.

## Demographic Profiles by Frequency of Attendance

The new questions in the 1992 SPPA concerning the frequency of attendance at live performances over a 12 -month period make it possible to explore new aspects of audience participation. For one thing, the data clearly show that the majority of those reporting jazz attendance are what one might call "casual" consumers. Of the roughly 10 percent of the adult population who have attended a jazz performance, nearly half ( 44 percent) did so only once. Another quarter ( 26 percent) attended only twice. This means that adults who attended

FIGURE 6. 1992 Media Participation in Jazz by Geographic Region

jazz as little as once every four months make up about 3 percent of the total adult population.

And yet that 3 percent attended often enough to pull the average number of attendances up to 2.9 per year. (This figure is based on the average number of attendances for those who reported attendance, not the population as a whole.) This figure is higher than those reported for classical music (2.6), plays (2.4), musicals (2.3), opera (1.7), and ballet (1.7). The dedicated jazz audience may be relatively small (relative to popular music genres, not other art forms), but it is loyal and intense.

What are the demographic characteristics of this more dedicated group? There are two trends that clearly emerge from the data and reinforce earlier findings in this monograph: as the audience becomes more dedicated, it becomes more male and more African American.

## Frequency of attendance and race and gender

The relatively casual consumers who attended only one jazz event show few of the distinctive characteristics of the jazz audience. First of all, 54.4 percent
are female-much closer to the population as a whole ( 52.1 percent) than to the figure for all attenders ( 46.2 percent). The racial mix also more nearly corresponds to the population as a whole. Whites account for 85.8 percent of those who attended only once (and they account for 85.3 percent of the population as a whole, 81.2 percent of jazz attenders), while blacks account for 12.3 percent of those who attended only once (and 11.4 percent of population as a whole, 17.3 percent of jazz attenders).

As the frequency of attendance increases, the gender and racial disparities characteristic of the jazz-attending audience as a whole steadily emerge. The characteristics of those attending at least three times a year (the average for the group as a whole) correspond roughly to the characteristics for the group as a whole: the percentage of males rises to 54.7, of African Americans to 17.9. By the time one reaches the relatively tiny numbers that attend nine or more times a year ( 0.6 percent of the total population), nearly 60 percent are male and nearly 25 percent are black. While it is risky to place much weight on precise numbers for samples as small as these ( 74 people out of the 12,739 interviewed for the SPPA), the overall trend is unmistakable.

Of course, these figures do not take into account the disproportions in the population at large. In other words, there are more females than males and significantly more white Americans than African Americans. As frequency of attendance increases, the participation rates for males and African Americans become much higher than corresponding rates for females and white Americans. Male participation rates run roughly 60 percent higher; black participation rates more than double. Table 2 shows the distribution of frequency of attendance at jazz performances by race and gender.

## Frequency of attendance and age

Figures 7 a and 7 b present two illustrations of the distributions of frequency of attendance and age at jazz events. The age distribution of those who attended only one event in the last year corresponds closely to the age distribution of jazz attenders as a whole-with one significant exception: the age groups 55 years and older are disproportionately represented. This is hardly surprising, since the older age groups (especially the 75 -and-older group) can hardly be expected to share the stamina for late-night music shown by the younger groups. As frequency increases, the participation by older age groups (including, in this instance, the 45 -to- 54 group) begins to decrease noticeably. But interestingly, so does participation by the 18-to-24 group, which peaks at "at least two" attendances ( 13.4 percent) and drops off thereafter. The group that absorbs the slack is the 25 -to- 34 group, which accounts for more than 40

TABLE 2. Frequency of Attendance, Gender, and Race (Unweighted)*

| Times attended | \% Male | \% Female | \% White | \% Black |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Once only | 45.6 | 54.4 | 85.8 | 12.3 |
| At least 2 | 51.2 | 48.8 | 81.7 | 16.7 |
| At least 3 | 54.7 | 45.3 | 80.1 | 17.9 |
| At least 4 | 56.1 | 43.9 | 78.8 | 19.6 |
| At least 5 | 54.9 | 45.1 | 78.3 | 20.1 |
| At least 6 | 57.7 | 42.3 | 78.8 | 20.4 |
| At least 7 | 58.2 | 41.8 | 76.9 | 22.0 |
| At least 8 | 59.6 | 40.4 | 76.4 | 22.5 |
| At least 9 | 59.5 | 40.5 | 74.3 | 24.3 |

*The term "unweighted" means that the percentages have not been adjusted for the fraction of the adult American population each group composes.

NOTE: The percentages for race do not add up to 100 because they do not include the category "Other."

FIGURE 7a. 1992 Frequency of Attendance and Age


## FIGURE 7b. 1992 Frequency of Attendance and Age

 (Alternative Presentation)

percent of all of those who attended at least six times (i.c., an average of every two months).

## Frequency of attendance and education

No clear trend emerges to describe frequency of attendance and education, except a confirmation of the general finding that lower educational levels (grade school, some high school) are significantly underrepresented in the jazz audience, while higher levels are overrepresented.

## Frequency of attendance and income

As with education, frequency of attendance shows no dramatic correlation with income. The demographic profile for income of those who attended only one jazz concert in the previous year corresponds closely to the profle for jazz attenders as a whole. The absence of change is striking, for one might expect
the more frequent attenders to be more affluent. But in fact, the petcentage of frequent attenders who earn more than $\$ 50,000$ actually declines with frequency, from just over 30 percent of one-time-only attenders to about 20 percent of those attending at least seven times. The percentage of those earning between $\$ 25,000$ and $\$ 50,000$ rises slightly, from 33 percent of one-time-only attenders to just under 40 percent of those attending at least seven times. Again, because the samples are so small at these levels, one should not place any weight on these findings. But they do suggest that one need not enjoy a high income to find a place in the inner circle of jazz aficionados.

## Demographic Profile of Subscribers to Jazz Magazines

Another way of obtaining a more detailed profile of the most dedicated jazz. audience is to examine the readership profiles of national jazz magazines. Two such magazines, Jazz Times and Jazziz, have cooperated by releasing the results of their current demographic research. ${ }^{30}$ The audiences of these magazines are small; Jazziz, for example, has a paid circulation of 93,600 and an estimated readership of approximately 250,000 (or slightly more than 0.1 percent of the adult population). But this self-selected group is intensely involved in jazz. Approximately 50 percent of the readership of Jazziz attend a jazz performance at least 12 times a year (i.e., once a month). About a third of the readers of Jazz Times report that they attend jazz performances more than once a month.

Because the groupings for age, income, and education used by Jazziz and Jazz Times do not correspond to the categories used in the SPPA (or with each other), direct comparisons are not easy to make. The majority of readers of both magazines fall between the ages of 25 and 44 : approximately 44 percent of Jazziz readers and 32 percent of Jazz Times readers fall into the 25 -to-34 age group, while 34 percent of both Jazziz and Jazz Times readers fall into the 35-to-44 group. (The figures for Jazziz ate actually for ages 26 to 35 and 36 to 45.) This indicates a somewhat greater concentration of the audience in these age groupings than that reported for the jazz audience as a whole, corresponding roughly to the findings from increased frequency of attendance. Of those who reported attending at least six jazz events, for example, about 64 percent fell between 25 and 44 , compared with 53 percent of those who attended only once.

Jazz magazine readers are on the whole more educated than the jazz audience in general. Eighty-two percent of Jazz Times readers and 92 percent of Jazziz readers report at least attending college, compared with 78 percent of the jazz audience as a whole (and 45 percent of the total adult population). And they are considerably more affluent-not surprisingly, since subscription to a specialty magazine is a good indicator of economic stability. Among Jazziz readers,
62.2 percent had a household income of at least $\$ 50,000$, with a median household income of $\$ 71,000$. Ninety percent of Jazz Times readers had a household income of at least $\$ 40,000$, with an average household income of $\$ 67,000$. The affluence of the readership of these specialty magazines can be measured through consumption as well. Seventy percent of Jazz Times readers purchase jazz videos (an average of nine per year), and 77 percent purchase jazz books (an average of four per year). They purchase an average of nine compact discs per month. Sixty-six percent attended jazz festivals in the United States, and an additional 11 percent attended festivals overseas. Among Jazziz readers, 28 percent own more than 300 compact discs, 78 percent attend jazz festivals, and 64 percent purchase jazz videos.

The most distinguishing demographic characteristics, however, are gender and race. Both Jazzizand Jazz Times report a surprisingly high (and surprisingly identical) figure for the percentage of their readers that is male: 89.4. While this corresponds to the general trend toward an increasingly male audience noted in the frequency statistics, the extreme disparity merits additional consideration. Perhaps some magazines are read by a married couple, but the subscription is held in the husband's name. But it is certainly possible that the desire to augment the passion for jazz with such ancillary patterns of consumption as magazine subscriptions and the purchase of jazz videos is a distinctively male trait (or, to put it in the vernacular, a "guy thing").

Both magazines also show a disproportionately high percentage of African American readers. For Jazz Times, the reported black readership is 24 percent; for Jazziz, 29.9 percent. (Bear in mind that African Americans make up 11.4 percent of the total adult population.) Given that these magazines draw upon a readership that is disproportionatcly affluent and well educated-sectors of the population in which African Americans are underrepresented-the exceptionally high participation of African Americans suggests a strong link between ethnicity and intense dedication to jazz.

## Musical Preferences

## PART <br> III

One of the most revealing sections of the SPPA is the portion that assesses musical preferences, for here, jazz is not simply one of several officially sanctioned arts but must be situated against the complex and shifting background of popular musical taste. The survey asked respondents to identify which of 20 musical genres they "liked" and subsequently which of these genres they preferred above all others ("liked best of all"). Thus, respondents were invited to distinguish between jazz and other related genres, such as blues, soul, big band, or new age, as well as to compare their feelings about jazz with their feelings about such diverse genres as country, bluegrass, reggae, and parade music. The list also included hymns/gospel, choral/glee club, mood/easy listening, contemporary folk, ethnic (national tradition), rock, Latin/Spanish/Salsa, rap, operetta/musical comedy, opera, and classical/chamber music.

## Those Who "Like Jazz"

The overall demographic profile for those who express a liking for jazz corresponds closely to the demographic profiles for the various forms of participation in jazz. The rates climb steadily with income and education (although, as before, the percentage of the income group "under $\$ 5,000$ " is anomalously high). The highest rates are found in the 25 -to- 34 age group, declining steadily thereafter. Blacks and males show higher rates of preference than whites and females.

The numbers, however, are considerably higher than those for participation. More than a third ( 34 percent) of adult Americans, or approximately 63 million people, express a liking for jazz. Moreover, these numbers show a sharp increase from 1982, when the comparable figures were 26 percent, or 43 million.

Table 3 shows the age distribution of those who "liked jazz" in 1982 and 1992. The comparison shows a significant change in age distribution over the decade.

There are several ways of examining these data. The first is to look at the percentages within each age group who report liking jazz (the number not in parentheses). By this measure, only the 18-to-24 age group has remained stable. All the remaining groups show a sharp increase, with the largest increases coming

## TABLE 3. Age Distribution of Respondents Who Liked Jazz in 1982 and 1992

|  | 1982 |  | 1992 |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Age | \% who report <br> liking jazz | \% of total <br> "jazz likers" | \% who report <br> liking jazz | \% of total <br> "jazz likers" |
| $18-24$ | 32 | $(21.5)$ | 30 | $(11.8)$ |
| $25-34$ | 33 | $(29.7)$ | 40 | $(27.4)$ |
| $35-44$ | 23 | $(14.7)$ | 38 | $(24.5)$ |
| $45-54$ | 27 | $(14.0)$ | 32 | $(14.4)$ |
| $55-64$ | 23 | $(11.9)$ | 29 | $(9.9)$ |
| $65-74$ | 17 | $(6.3)$ | 26 | $(7.7)$ |
| $75+$ | 8 | $(1.9)$ | 21 | $(4.3)$ |

in the 35 -to- 44 and 75 -and-over age groups. This reflects the overall increase in the numbers of those who like jazz. The overall distribution in both surveys is the same-a peak in both rate and sheer numbers at 25 to 34 -but the rise to this peak is more steep in 1992 than in 1982, and the falloff much more gradual.

Another way of examining the data is to consider what percentage of the total is attributable to each age group (the number in parentheses)-to see, in other words, how the uneven patterns of growth have redistributed the relative sizes of the various age groups that report liking jazz. This measure shows a sharp decline by the 18 -to- 24 group, and sharp increases by the 35 -to- 44 and 75 -and-over groups.

Finally, one may cxamine the tastes of age cohorts. This suggests that the relatively high enthusiasm for jazz by 18 -to-24-year-olds and 25 -to-34-year-olds in 1982 has translated into correspondingly high enthusiasm for jazz by 25 -to-34-year-olds and 35 -to-44-year-olds in 1992 (even if the enthusiasm has not necessarily been translated into greater participation through attendance or the media). Similarly, one can connect the preference for jazz of the 65-to-74 group in 1982 with the higher rates for those 75 and older in 1992.

Not surprisingly, the third of all adult Amcricans who "like jazz" participate in jazz at much higher rates than the population as a whole: 49 percent watch jazz on television in some form, 50 percent listen to jazz recordings, and 67 percent listen to jazz radio. Even higher percentages of those who participate say that they like jazz: 77 percent of those who watch jazz on television, 81 percent of those who listen to jazz radio, and 86 percent of those who listen to
jazz recordings. This still means, however, that sizeable percentages of those who participated in some way in jazz do not report that they like the music. These percentages are higher for the free broadcast media (19 percent for radio, 23 percent for television) than for recordings.

## Those Who Like Jazz "Best of All"

The percentage of the adult population who say they like jazz "best of all" musical genres is considerably smaller than those who simply say they "like jazz": 5 percent as opposed to 34 percent. But this still translates into approximately 9.5 million Americans for whom jazz is preferred above all musical genres, and it represents a substantial increase over the comparable figures ( 3 percent, or 5 million) reported for 1982.

The demographic profile of this more dedicated audience reveals the same tendency toward disproportionate representation by males and African Americans already noted among those who attend jazz. performances more frequently. Slightly more men ( 54 percent) than women "like jazz"; among those who like jazz "best of all," the ratio of men to women widens to nearly 7:3 ( 68 percent to 32 percent). African Americans constitute 18 percent of those who "like jazz," but 33 percent of those who like jazz "best of all." The percentage of African Americans who belong to this latter category ( 16 percent) is four times as great as that for white Americans (4 percent).

Shifts in age and education between those who "like jaz7", and those who like it "best of all" are more subtle. Those who like jazz "best of all" are slightly less likely than those who "like jazz" to be either very young or very old: the highest rates are found in the $35-$ to -44 age group ( 6.4 percent). They are also slightly more likely to be more highly educated. Income figures, on the other hand, are essentially identical for the two categories.

Quite logically, those who "like jazz best" are much more inclined to participate in jazz. Forty-four percent attend jazz performances; 74 percent watch jazz in some form on television; 79 percent listen to jazz recordings; and 89 percent listen to jazz radio-indicating that radio is a medium for dissemination of the music to nearly all serious jazz fans.

Nevertheless, the broad audience for jazz radio shows the lowest proportion of dedicated jazz fans-albeit by a narrow margin: 16 percent of those who listen to jazz radio report liking jazz best, compared with 18 percent of those who watch jazz on television in some form, 20 percent of those who attend jazz. performances, and 21 percent of those who listen to jazz recordings.

## Preference for Jazz in Relation to Other Musical Genres

The detailed demographic information on those expressing preference for the other 19 musical genres surveyed in the SPPA provides an intriguing and highly useful way of situating the taste for jazz in a broader social context.

Where does jazz fall in this broad spectrum of musical taste? All 20 musical genres are included in the discussions of music liked "best of all." Unfortunately the data are flawed for those who "like" the four categories of new age, mood/casy, choral/glee, and gospel/hymns. These genres are therefore omitted from the following discussions of music "liked." Of the 16 other genres, jazz ranks fifth, between big bands and classical/chamber music. Country and western is the most popular genre, as it was in 1982 and 1985. It is the only musical genre that more than half of adult Americans say they like, while jazz and classical music are liked by about one-third of them. Table 4 shows the percentages of respondents who said they "liked" the 10 genres that were most popular.

The position of jazz is approximately the same when the question is which genre is preferred above all others. Several genres-blues, bluegrass, and show tunes-prove to have wide but shallow appeal and drop in rank. Others, such as jazz and classical, have a more dedicated following and rise in the standings, which now include mood and gospel. Country and rock, the dominant genres of popular music, lead the list (followed by the 13 percent who declined to name a favorite genre). Religious and mood music follow, with the two dominant "art music" genres, jazz and classical, not far behind. (Opera reports a much smaller audience.) Table 5 shows the percentages of respondents who reported liking I of 10 musical genres "best of all."

\section*{TABLE 4. Percentages of Respondents Who Liked the 10 Most Popular Musical Genres <br> | Genre | Percentage |
| :--- | :---: |
| 1. Country/western | 52 |
| 2. Rock | 44 |
| 3. Blues/R\&B | 40 |
| 4. Big band | 35 |
| 5. Jazz | 34 |
| 6. Classical/chamber | 33 |
| 7. Bluegrass | 29 |
| 8. Show tunes/operettas | 28 |
| 9. Soul | 24 |
| 10. Folk | 23 |}

## TABLE 5. Percentages of Respondents Who Liked a Musical Genre Best of All*

| Genre | Percentage |
| :--- | :---: |
| 1. Country | 21 |
| 2. Rock | 14 |
| 3. Hymns/gospel | 9 |
| 4. Mood/easy | 9 |
| 5. Classical | 6 |
| 6. Jazz | 5 |
| 7. Big band | 4 |
| 8. Ethnic | 3 |
| 9. Latin | 3 |
| 10. Blues | 3 |
| *13\% of the respondents indicated they preferred "no one type." |  |

Where does the distinctive demographic profile of the jazz audience fall in relation to those of other genres? To answer the question, each demographic factor must be considered separately.

## Education

The rates for liking a given musical genre tend to rise steadily with educational level (the exceptions are country and rock). Jazz rises more steeply than most, from 10 percent of those with a grade school education to nearly half of college graduates, but it does not show the substantial increase for graduate school that classical, opera, and musicals show. Among those with some college education, rock ( 54 percent), country ( 50 percent), and blues ( 50 percent) show a broader appeal than jazz ( 42 percent). Among college graduates, rock ( 54 percent) and classical music ( 51 percent) are liked by more respondents than jaze ( 50 percent) and blues ( 50 percent). Among those with graduate degrees, the number expressing a liking for jazz ( 54 percent) trails classical music ( 65 percent) and blues ( 59 percent). Figure 8 shows the percentages of each educational group that liked some selected genres in 1992.

The percentage of people in each education category who "like jazz best" increases steadily with increasing education. Rock and country attract sizeable percentages for all groups (although country steadily declines), white classical music shows the strongest gains. Those with graduate education are the most likely to report preferring no one genre ( 17 percent), followed by preferences

FIGURE 8. Musical Taste and Education, 1992 (Percentages Who Reported "Liking" Various Genres)

for classical ( 15 percent), rock ( 12 percent), country ( 9 percent), and jazz ( 8 percent).

## Income

The patterns for income are similar to those for education: steady rises with income for most genres, including jazz. (The exceptions are rap, soul, Latin, and country.) For jazz, this ascent is preceded by a relatively high rate for the income group under $\$ 5,000$ noted carlicr-a pattern shared by reggae and blues. In this lowest income group, substantially higher percentages express a liking
for country ( 43 percent), rock ( 36 percent), and blues ( 35 percent) than for jazz (27 percent). More people in the highest income group ( $\$ 50,000$ and above) like rock ( 55 percent), blues ( 52 percent), and country ( 48 percent) than jazz and classical ( 47 percent each).

The rates of those who "like jazz best" similarly rise with income, although far less steeply. Those in the $\$ 25,000$-to- $\$ 50,000$ and the $\$ 50,000$-and-above groups are only slightly more likely than the national average to prefer jazz to all other genres ( 6 percent and 7 percent, respectively). In the highest income group, jazz advocates ( 7 percent) are outnumbered by devotees for rock ( 17 percent), "no one type" (14 percent), mood (13 percent), country (11 percent), and classical (10 percent).


#### Abstract

Age Several distinct patterns appear for musical taste with respect to age. One large category shows markedly increased interest with age, with the most notable increase occurring for big band. Others in this category are classical, opera, and musicals. Another category consists of genres for which interest decreases steadily with age: reggae, rap, soul, and rock. Jazz fits into a third category: those genres that rise to a peak somewhere in the middle before declining with age. Folk, blues, country, and bluegrass show the same trend. The peak for jazz is in the 25 -to- 34 age group, where it appeals to 41 percent, placing it behind rock ( 59 percent), country ( 50 percent), easy ( 47 percent), and blues ( 46 percent) in popularity. Figure 9 shows the percentages of each age group that reported liking some selected musical genres in 1992.

The rates of those who "like jazz best" show a far less clearly defined pattern. Slightly above-average percentages are found in the broad range of 25 -to-64-year-olds, with significantly lower figures in the youngest and oldest groups.


## Race

The data on musical preference clearly show that musical taste in this country is stratified by race. Only a few genres are relatively "race-neutral." The remaining genres tend to be strongly identified with one race or another. White Americans show strong likings for country ( 57 percent), rock ( 46 percent), big band ( 37 percent), classical ( 35 percent), and bluegrass ( 33 percent). (The corresponding figures for black Americans are much lower: country, 19 percent; rock, 23 percent; classical, 18 percent; bluegrass, 12 percent.) Black Americans show strong likings for soul ( 68 percent), reggae ( 43 percent), and rap ( 34 percent).

FIGURE 9. Musical Taste and Age, 1992 (Percentages Who Reported "Liking" Various Genres)


There are two genres that, although most strongly liked by black audiences, also have a significant white audience. Blues is liked by 59 percent of black Americans and by 38 percent of white Americans; jazz is liked by 54 percent of blacks and 32 percent of whites. Because white Americans greatly outnumber black Americans, the racial distribution of the jazz-liking audience is still roughly the same as for participation: 80 percent white, 18 percent black, 2 percent "other." (The distribution for blues is essentially the same: 81 percent white, 17 percent black, 2 percent "other.") But the figures clearly show that more than half of all black Americans report a liking for jazz-a percentage that is comparable to the number of white Americans who like country music. Table 6 shows the 10 musical genres that black respondents most frequently said they

TABLE 6. Musical Genres Liked by Black Americans

| Genre | Percentage who <br> "liked" the genre |
| :--- | :---: |
| 1. Soul | 68 |
| 2. Blues | 59 |
| 3. Jazz | 54 |
| 4. Reggae | 43 |
| 5. Rap | 34 |
| 6. Ethnic | 30 |
| 7. Latin | 25 |
| 8. Rock | 23 |
| 9. Big band | 22 |
| 10. Classical/chamber | 18 |

"liked" and the percentages who liked them. Table 7 shows the counterpart genres and percentages for whites.

The figures for the genres liked "best of all" show an even more prominent racial polarization. There is very little overlap in the top seven genres by race, and even with these, racial disparity is evident. Religious music (gospel) is by far the genre most preferred by blacks ( 30 percent), while it commands the allegiance of only 7 percent of whites. Nine percent of whites prefer mood music above all other genres, compared with 4 percent of blacks. Country and rock, preferred above all others by large percentages by white Americans ( 24 percent

## TABLE 7. Musical Genres Liked by White Americans

| Genre | Percentage who <br> "liked" the genre |
| :--- | :---: |
| 1. Country | 57 |
| 2. Rock | 46 |
| 3. Blues | 38 |
| 4. Big band | 37 |
| 5. Classical/chamber | 35 |
| 6. Bluegrass | 33 |
| 7. Jazz | 32 |
| 8. Show tunes/operettas | 30 |
| 9. Folk | 24 |
| 10. Ethnic | 21 |

and 16 percent, respecrively), show relatively little support among black Americans. Similarly, soul, blues, rap, and reggae have significantly higher percentages of black adherents than white.

Jazz lands in the top seven genres for both races-testimony once again to its cross-ethnic appeal. But jazz ranks second only to religious music among blacks, with a remarkably high 16 percent preferring it above all other types of music. Only 4 percent of white Americans express a similar commitment to jazz-well behind the numbers for country, rock, mood, religious, classical, and big band.

The racial distribution of this dedicated audience for jazz is still predominantly white ( 63 percent), but a third ( 34 percent) are black-three times the percentage of black Americans in the population as a whole. Jazz joins soul, reggae, rap, blues, and religious music as genres for which the dedicated audience is at least one-third black.

Table 8 shows the percentages of blacks who liked particular genres "best of all." Table 9 shows the equivalent percentages for the top seven genres for whites.

Table 10 shows, for six of the most popular musical genres, what percentage of the audience that liked this genre best is black. These percentages should be compared with the 11 percent of the U.S. population that is black.

TABLE 8. Musical Genres Liked Best by Black Americans*


## TABLE 9. Musical Genres Liked Best by White Americans*

| Genre | Percentage who <br> "liked best" |
| :--- | :---: |
| 1. Country | 24 |
| 2. Rock | 16 |
| 3. Mood/easy | 9 |
| 4. Hymns/gospe! | 7 |
| 5. Classical | 6 |
| 6. Big band | 4 |
| 7. Jazz | 4 |
| *13\% of the respondents indicated they preferred "no one type." |  |

## TABLE 10. Black Audiences for Musical Genres

| Genre | Percentage of "liked best" <br> audience that is black |
| :--- | :---: |
| 1. Soul | 61 |
| 2. Reggae | 42 |
| 3. Rap | 37 |
| 4. Blues | 37 |
| 5. Hymns/gospel | 36 |
| 6. Jazz | 34 |

## Gender

The 20 genres surveyed in the SPPA can be grouped into three categories according to gender preferences: (1) those liked disproportionately by women; (2) those liked more or less equally by both genders; and (3) those liked disproportionately by men. The female-dominated category includes classical, soul, opera, and musicals. The gender-neutral category includes country, big band, folk, and blues. Jazz falls into the third, male-dominated category, along with rap, rock, parade, and bluegrass.

In the figures for genres liked "best of all," the gender disparity is much more pronounced. Indeed, the dedicated jazz audience is tilted more toward the male side than the audience of any of the other 19 gentes surveyed, even more than the ostensibly macho genres of parade, rock, and rap. Tables 11 and 12 show the percentages of males/females for selected male-dominated and femaledominated genres.

## TABLE 11. Gender Preferences for Male-Dominated Musical Genres

|  | Percentage who like the <br> genre "best of all" |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Genre | Male | Female |
| Jazz | 68 | 32 |
| Parade | 65 | 35 |
| Bluegrass | 63 | 37 |
| Rock | 61 | 39 |
| Rap | 60 | 40 |

## TABLE 12. Gender Preferences for Female-Dominated Musical Genres

|  | Percentage who like the <br> genre "best of all" |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Genre | Male | Female |
| Opera | 30 | 70 |
| Hymns/gospel | 32 | 68 |
| Musicals | 35 | 65 |
| Choral | 37 | 63 |
| Mood | 37 | 63 |
| Soul | 39 | 61 |
| Classical | 42 | 58 |

## Cross-tabulations

What other kinds of music do those who "iike jazz" like? Perhaps the best way to address the question of the musical taste of the jazz audience is to see how its preferences for other genres deviate from the national average.

On the whole, jazz listeners have catholic tastes and state a liking for nearly all genres at a higher rate than the population as a whole. But certain genres are clearly more appealing than others. Topping the list with the largest margins over the national average are blues and soul, two of the most popular genres among black Americans, followed closely by big band music, a genre with close ties to jazz of the Swing Era. Classical music, musicals, and reggae also show large margins. Only country music shows a neutral relationship. Table 13 shows

| TABLE 13. Percentage of Those Who Like Jazz Who Also Like Other Musical Genres, Including Comparison with Population as a Whole |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Genre | Those who like jazz | Population as a whole | Difference |
| Blues | 75 | 40 | +35 |
| Big band | 57 | 35 | +22 |
| Classical | 53 | 33 | +20 |
| Rock | 52 | 44 | + 8 |
| Country | 52 | 52 | + |
| Soul | 48 | 24 | +24 |
| Musicals | 46 | 28 | +18 |
| Bluegrass | 43 | 29 | +14 |
| Reggae | 39 | 19 | +20 |
| Latin | 34 | 20 | +14 |
| Ethnic | 34 | 22 | +12 |
| Folk | 30 | 23 | $+7$ |
| Parade | 26 | 18 | $+8$ |
| Opera | 19 | 12 | $+7$ |
| Rap | 18 | 12 | + 6 |

the percentage of those who "like jazz" who also like other genres and compares these percentages with percentages for the population as a whole. What musical genres were "liked best" by those attending jazz performances? Jazz, not surprisingly, leads the list, followed by "no one type"-suggesting that a consistent percentage of those who decline to name a favorite genre are, in fact, jazz fans. Of the largest groups, rock fans participate in jazz in large numbers but are somewhat underrepresented, compared with national averages, as are fans of religious and mood music. Fans of country music are significantly underrepresented. Blues, classical, big band, new age, and reggae music typically show above-average representation. Tablcs 14,15 , and 16 show the percentages of those participating in jazz through attendance, radio, and recordings, respectively, who "like best" the various genres, compared with the national averages.

Another way of examining the same data is to see what percentage of those who "like best" each musical genre participate in jazz through attendance at jazz events or via the media. The youthful, dedicated fans of reggac, blues, and new age show a strong inclination to participate in jazz in all forms. The somewhat older groups whose favorite music is opera, big band, soul, classical, or musicals participate in jazz somewhat more than the average (although fans of soul listen

| TABLE 14. Musical Genre Preferences of Jazz Performance Attenders, Compared with Population as a Whole |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Percentage |  | Difference |
| Genre liked best | Jazz attenders | Population as a whole |  |
| Jazz | 20 | 5 | +15 |
| Rock | 12 | 14 | - 2 |
| Classical | 7 | 6 | + 1 |
| Hymns/gospel | 6 | 9 | - 3 |
| Mood | 6 | 9 | - 3 |
| Country | 6 | 21 | -15 |
| Blues | 5 | 2 | + 3 |
| Big band | 5 | 4 | + 1 |
| New age | 3 | 2 | +1 |
| Reggae | 2 | 1 | + 1 |
| "No one type" | 17 | 13 | $+4$ |

TABLE 15. Musical Genre Preferences of Listeners to Jazz Radio, Compared with Population as a Whole

|  | Percentage |  | Difference |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Genre liked best | Jazz radio <br> listeners | Population <br> as a whole |  |
| Jazz | 16 | 5 | +11 |
| Rock | 13 | 14 | -1 |
| Mood | 8 | 9 | -1 |
| Country | 8 | 21 | -13 |
| Hymns/gospel | 7 | 9 | -2 |
| Classical | 7 | 6 | +1 |
| Big band | 5 | 4 | +1 |
| Blues | 4 | 2 | +2 |
| Soul | 3 | 2 | +1 |
| New age | 3 | 2 | +1 |
| Latin | 2 | 3 | -1 |
| "No one type" | 17 | 13 | +4 |
|  |  |  |  |


| TABLE 16. Musical Genre Preferences of Listeners to Jazz Recordings, Compared with Population as a Whole |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Percentage |  | Difference |
| Genre liked best | Listeners to jazz recordings | Population as a whole |  |
| Jazz | 21 | 5 | $+16$ |
| Rock | 13 | 14 | -1 |
| Classical | 7 | 6 | +1 |
| Mood | 6 | 9 | - 3 |
| Hymns/gospel | 6 | 9 | - 3 |
| Country | 6 | 21 | -15 |
| Blues | 4 | 2 | $+2$ |
| Big band | 4 | 4 |  |
| New age | 3 | 2 | + 1 |
| Sou! | 3 | 2 | $+1$ |
| Reggae | 2 | 1 | $+1$ |
| "No one type" | 17 | 13 | $+4$ |

to a lot of jazz radio). Again, of the four largest groups, rock fans participate at a slightly below-average rate, religious and mood fans somewhat below average, while country fans participate hardly at all. Tables 17,18 , and 19 show the percentage of those who "like best" a given genre, who participate in jazz through attendance, radio, and recordings, respectively, compared with the national average for those activities.

TABLE 17. Jazz Performance Attendance in Order of Genre Preference

| Genre liked best | Percentage who attended <br> a jazz performance |
| :--- | :---: |
| Jazz | 44 |
| Reggae | 28 |
| Blues | 25 |
| New age | 21 |
| Choral | 16 |
| Opera | 15 |
| Big band | 14 |
| Soul | 13 |
| Musicals | 13 |
| Classical | 13 |
|  | (National average: 11) |
| Folk | 10 |
| Rock | 10 |
| Rap | 9 |
| Mood | 8 |
| Hymns/gospel | 8 |
| Ethnic | 6 |
| Bluegrass | 6 |
| Parade | 5 |
| Latin | 4 |
| Country | 3 |
| "No one type" | 15 |

## TABLE 18. Listeners to Jazz Radio in Order of Genre Preference

| Genre liked best | Percentage who listen to <br> jazz radio |
| :--- | :---: |
| Jazz | 89 |
| New age | 51 |
| Soul | 48 |
| Blues | 48 |
| Reggae | 46 |
| Opera | 39 |
| Folk | 38 |
| Bigband | 34 |
| Classical | 33 |
| Choral | 32 |
|  | 26 |
| Rock | 24 |
| Musicals | 24 |
| Mood | 23 |
| Rap | 21 |
| Hymns/gospel | 19 |
| Bluegrass | 19 |
| Latin | 12 |
| Ethnic | 12 |
| Parade | 10 |
| Country | 35 |
| "No one type" |  |

TABLE 19. Listeners to Jazz Recordings in Order of Genre Preference

| Genre liked best | Percentage who listened <br> to jazz recordings |
| :--- | :---: |
| Jazz | 79 |
| Reggae | 46 |
| Blues | 35 |
| New age | 35 |
| Soul | 30 |
| Folk | 28 |
| Opera | 27 |
| Choral | 24 |
| Classical | 24 |
| Rap | 22 |
| Big band | 22 |
| Rock | 18 |
| Musicals | 15 |
| Mood | 14 |
| Hymns/gospel | 14 |
| Parade | 11 |
| Latin | 9 |
| Bluegrass | 8 |
| Ethnic | 7 |
| Country | 6 |
| "No one type" | 26 |

## Performers

The numbers of adult Americans who actually perform jazz rather than simply listening to it are, not surprisingly, quite modest. Approximately 1.7 percent ( 3.2 million) reported "performing or rehearsing" jazz. Less than half of these performers ( 0.7 percent, or 1.3 million) performed or rehearsed for a public performance. The 1982 SPPA reported approximately the same percentage ( 0.8 percent) for public performance of jazz. Substantially larger numbers (4.2 percent, or 7.8 million) report performing classical music, although the percentage for public performance of classical music ( 0.9 percent) is nor much higher than that for jazz.

What are the demographic characteristics of jazz performers as a whole? They are predominantly male; the male/female ratio is roughly 60:40. They are predominantly white, although blacks and Asians are somewhat more likely to perform jazz in private or in public than are white Americans. (The rates for performance are 2.2 percent for blacks, 2.9 percent for Asians, and 1.7 percent for white non-Hispanics; blacks account for 15 percent of the jazz performers; Asians, 5 percent.) Jazz. performers are predominantly youthful, with 45 percent under age 35 and 71 percent under age 45 . The highest rate ( 2.5 percent) is reported for the 18 -to- 24 group (suggesting that many performers may be students), followed by the $35-$ to- 44 group ( 2.1 percent) and the 25 -to- 34 group (1.9 percent).

Inclination to perform rises steadily with education: over 3 percent of those with graduate education perform jazz, and all those with at least some college education are more likely to perform jazz than the population as a whole. The correlation between performance and income is much less clear. The highest percentage of performers appears in the $\$ 5,000$-or-below group ( 2.7 percent), again suggesting a significant number of student performers. The next highest rates are for those with an income from $\$ 15,000$ to $\$ 25,000$ ( 2 percent) and over $\$ 50,000$ ( 1.9 percent).

Demographic analysis of the tiny number of public performers is risky because the sample is so small. But the data suggest that the gender disparity widens further (a male/female ratio in excess of $7: 3$ ), and that blacks are disproportionately represented (they account for about 25 percent of the total number of public performers). Public performers are somewhat less youthful
than jazz performers generally (only about 30 percent are under age 34 ), with the greatest concentration in the 35 -to- 44 range.

Not surprisingly, there is a strong correlation between performing jazz and attending jazz performances. About 60 percent of jazz performers attend jazz performances; they make up 9 percent of the attending audience. About 70 percent of those who perform in public attend-a high percentage, but one that means that nearly a third of those who perform in public evidently do not count their own performances and did not attend performances of others.

## Music Education

I there a correlation between music education and jazz participation? It should be remembered, first of all, that music education does not necessarily mean jazz education. Jazz has only recently attained even a modest profile as an officially sanctioned art and has made only modest inroads into educational networks that remain overwhelmingly committed to the European art tradition.

Nevertheless, the basic technical training for performance of European music has served well as a foundation for most varieties of American music, including jazz. The image of the autodidact may loom large in jazz mythology, but the large majority of jazz performers since at least the 1930 s have been litctate in Western musical notation, and most have received some conventional training on their instrument. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that 93 percent of the jazz performers have at some time taken music lessons (compared with 40 percent of the adult population as a whole). Four percent of those who have taken music lessons perform jazz (compared with less than 2 percent of the adult population as a whole). Moreover, those who have taken music lessons attend jazz performances at a higher rate ( 17 percent) than the national average ( 11 percent) and make up 61 percent of the audience.

Music appreciation courses, on the other hand, probably have a far more indirect relationship to jazz per se. While many colleges and universities now offer courses in jazz history or appreciation, the large majority focus on European music and include such genres as jazz only as ancillary topics.

There is, in fact, a strong correlation between taking courses in music appreciation and participating in jazz. Although only 18 percent of the population as a whole has taken such courses, 40 percent of jazz attenders and 62 percent of jazz performers have done so. This relationship, however, probably reflects two factors: (1) the audience for jazz is considerably more educated than the population as a whole and therefore far more likely to take courses that are usually only offered in institutions of higher education; and (2) the audience for jazz is more interested in European music than the population as a whole (about half of those who "like jazz" also like classical music, and vice versa) and therefore is more inclined to take advantage of opportunities to learn more about the subject.

## Leisure Activities

On the whole, those adult Americans who attend jazz performances are more inclined than the general population to participate in a variety of leisure activities. This is not surprising, since participation in both leisure activities and jazz is strongly correlated with education and income.

The activities favored by jazz attenders broadly mirror those favored by the population as a whole, with going to the movies ( 84 percent), exercising ( 82 percent), and going to amusement parks ( 66 percent) leading the list. The SPPA showed that jazz attenders participate at substantially higher rates than the national average for all activities surveyed. The two activities that showed the smallest increases over the national average-gardening and home improve-ments-were also the only two activities strongly associated with older Americans. The highest rates of participation for these activities occurred among 35-to-64-year-olds for home improvements and 45-to-74-year-olds for garden-ing-well past the peak of jazz interest in the 25 -to-44-year-old group. Two of the activities that showed the most substantial rate increase above the national average--"participation in sports" and "attendance at sports events"-were also the most male-dominated in the population as a whole. Table 20 shows the percentage of those attending jazz performances who also participated in nine surveyed leisure activities, compared with the national average for those activitics.

| TABLE 20. Jazz Performance Attenders' Participation in Other Leisure Activities, Compared with Population as a Whole |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Activity | Percent of jazz attenders who participate | Percent of population as a whole who participate | Difference |
| Movies | 84 | 59 | +25 |
| Exercise | 82 | 60 | +22 |
| Amusement parks | 66 | 50 | +16 |
| Participation in sports | 62 | 39 | +23 |
| Gardening | 61 | 55 | +6 |
| Attendance at sports events | ts 59 | 37 | +22 |
| Home improvements | 57 | 48 | +9 |
| Charity work | 51 | 33 | +18 |
| Outdoor activities | 50 | 34 | +16 |

## Conclusions

 he decade from 1982 to 1992 has scen a crucial generational shift in jazz. Many of the giants from the formative years of swing and modern jazz passed from the scene during this period, among them Thelonious Monk (1982), Count Basie (1984), Benny Goodman (1986), Miles Davis (1991), and Dizzy Gillespie (1993). Their deaths symbolize the end of an era and have caused some longtime observers of the jazz scene to wonder whether the links between contemporary forms of music making and the jazz tradition have become attenuated. "Jazz has always lived not by the hipness of the public," writes Eric Hobsbawm, "but by what Cornel West calls 'the network of apprenticeship,' the 'transmission of skills and sensibilities to new practitioners.' The cords of this network are fraying. Some of them have snapped."31And yet the contemporary image of jazz-as exemplified by the new generation of performers led by Wynton Marsalis, if not by Kenny G-is not only young, black, and hip, but ftercely committed to ideals of tradition, artistic discipline, and education. Jazz is undergoing a historic transition from a music embedded in popular culture (though carving out an ironic stance to it) to an official, if belatedly recognized, part of the art establishment. "Straight-ahead jazz almost died in the 1970s," wrote a correspondent for Time in 1990, "as record companics embraced the electronically enhanced jazz-pop amalgam known as fusion. Now a whole generation of prodigiously talented young musicians is going back to the roots, using acoustic instruments, playing recognizable tunes and studying the styles of earlier jazzmen."32 These two assessments-one pessimistic and elegiac, the other optimistic and celebra-tory-sum up the ambiguous position of jazz as it approaches the end of the century. Compared with other "official" arts, jazz still retains traces of its origins in popular culture: the relative youthfulness of its audience and the associations with old (blues) and new (rap, reggae) forms of African American music. But contemporary audiences are increasingly likely to encounter jazz in settings carefully sealed off from the marketplace: college classrooms, PBS specials, concert halls. As the new century nears, jazz will continue to compete with the European "classical" tradition as the music of choice for the training of young musicians. ${ }^{33}$ And knowledge of jazz, its history, and its major performers will increasingly be seen as a desirable outcome of education, a crucial component of American "cultural capital."

This presents advocates of jazz-those who wish to see it thrive as an American art form-with a peculiar challenge: to marshal the prestige and financial resources of the arts and educational establishment on its behalf without endangering its appeal to a youthful, pop-oriented audience. Whether the current audience profile for jazz will persist into the future is a key question. Will jazz become even more the special province of the affluent, the educated, and the middle-aged; or will it continue to be, as it is now, the favored music of the 25 -to- 44 age group, delicately balanced between the adolescent enthusiasm for pop music and the considerably older audience for most other official arts? Will the African American audience continue to embrace jazz-perhaps as its own officially sanctioned art-or will jazz be displaced by newer forms of vernacular African American music that speak more directly to current concerns and tastes? As jazz becomes more integrated into existing arts nerworks and less associated with the insular, intense world of enthusiasts, will the imbalance in participation between men and women gradually disappear?

These questions cannot be answered by the current survey; the information it contains can only provide fuel for speculation. And yet for those who cherish jazz as a uniquely American form of artistic expression and who have some sense of the extraordinary path it has taken over the past century, these figures cannot help but encourage a feeling of optimism. The audience for jazz is " modest, but diverse and expanding; in the language of market research, it "reaches all demographics." ${ }^{34}$ For the foreseeable future, the music will continue to be heard.

## Appendix A

## Survey of Public Participation in the Arts Questionnaire, 1992








\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { CHECK } \\
& \text { TTEM M }
\end{aligned}
$$} \& \multirow[t]{2}{*}{```
Refer to item 440
Is box }1\mathrm{ or 2 marked in item 44b?
\squareNo - Skpp to Check item N

```

```

$$
\text { Yes - Ask item } 44 c
$$

```} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{45c．Wat this class offered by the elementary or high school you were attending or did you take this class elsewhere？} \\
\hline & & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{2}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
IDElementary／high school \\
2 aElsewhere \\
3口Вoth
\end{tabular}}} \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{2}{*}{44c．Was this class offared by the elementary or high school you were attending or did you take this class elsewhere？}} & & \\
\hline & & CHECK TTEM P & Refer to itern 45b \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{2}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
\({ }^{26}, 2\) \\
，DEtementary／high school 2 DElsewhere 3［8olh
\end{tabular}}} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{4}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
If box 4 is marked in item 45b．ASK item 45d． \\
If not－Is box 2 or 3 marked in item 45 AND the respondent is under 25 years old？ \\
CNo－Skip to item 46a \\
DYes－Ask tem 450
\end{tabular}}} \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline \multirow[t]{4}{*}{CHECK ITEM N} & \multirow[t]{4}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
Refer to item 44b \\
If box 4 is marked in item 44 b．ASK item 44d． \\
If not - is box 2 or 3 marked in tem 44b AND the respondent is under 25 vears old？ \\
FNo－Skip to tem 45a \\
5．）Yes－Ask tem \(44 \sigma^{\circ}\)
\end{tabular}} & & \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline & & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\begin{tabular}{l}
45d．Did you take this class in the past year？ \\
1口No \\
DYes
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline & & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{46a．What is the bighest grade（or year）of eegular school your FATHER completed？} \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\begin{tabular}{l}
02［－8th grade \\
\({ }_{03}\) C 9 th－ 1 th grades \\
04 D 12th grade
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{45a．（Have you EVER taken a class）in music appreciation？} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\begin{tabular}{l}
asLCollege（did nol complete） \\
\({ }_{0}\) CCompleted college（ \(4+\) years） \\
07口Post graduate degree（M．A．，Ph．D ，M．D．J．D ，etc
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\[
\begin{array}{|l}
\text { 129. } 1 \text { No - Skip to tiem 46a } \\
2 \text { 2СYes }
\end{array}
\]} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{b．What is the highest grade（or year）of regutar school your MOTHER completed？} \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{b．Did you take this class when you were Read categories．（Do not read category 4 if respondent is under 25 years old． Mark（ \(X\) ）all that apply．} &  & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ih grade or tess \\
th grade \\
th－1 1th grades
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{1－Less than 12 years old 2i．］12－17 years old \(3-18-24\) years old 4 25 or older} & \multicolumn{2}{|r|}{\begin{tabular}{l}
or 12m grade \\
os［̌］Coltege（did not comptete） \\
ash Completed college（ \(4+\) years） \\
a）C．Posl graduale degree（M．A．Ph．D．MD．，JD ，etc． \\
© D．Don＇t know
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { CHECK } \\
& \text { ITEMO }
\end{aligned}
\]} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{```
Refer to item 450
Is box 1 or 2 marked in item 45b?
\squareNo - Skp to Check tem P
DYes - Ask tem 45c
```} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { CHECK } \\
& \text { ITEM } 0
\end{aligned}
\]} & Is this the LAST houschold member to be interviewod？ \\
\hline & & & \begin{tabular}{l}
ПNo－Go back to the NCS．I and interutes the next eligible NCS househord member \\
ПYes－END NTERVIEW
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Notes} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Notes}
1. Dara collected by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in this survey were analyzed by Jack Faucett Associates, Inc., and John P. Robinson of the University of Maryland. The results of the analysis were published by the National Endowment for the Arts as Arts Participation in America, 1982-1992, Research Division Report \#27.
2. Data on the jazz audience derived from the 1982 SPPA were analyzed by Harold Horowitz, Director of Research of the National Endowment for the Arts. The results of this analysis were published in 1986 by the Nacional Jazz Service Organization as The American Jazz Audience (available through the Education Research Information System [ERIC] as ED 280757), and summarized as the opening chapter of New Perspectives in Jazz, ed. David N. Baker (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), pp. 1-8.
3. Jeff Levenson, "Who's Listening, Who's Buying?" Billboard, 4 July 1992, J-2.
4. Richard Crawford, The American Musical Landscape (Berkeley: Universiry of California Press, 1993), pp. 86-88. Crawford's argument is designed to describe the sharp distinction between composition and performance prevalent in the European art music tradition and its derivatives in America. In jazz, of course, the improvising performer assumes much of the responsibility normally assigned to the composer.
5. "Jazz Charts Debut," Billboard, 28 February 1987, 6.
6. Hank Bordowitz, "Letter Perfect," Jazziz, January 1994, 32.
7. The regional arts organizations are Arts Midwest (Minneapolis), Mid-America Arts Alliance (Kansas City), Mid-Atlantic Arts Foundation (Baltimorc), New England Foundation for the Arts (Cambridge, MA), Southern Arts Federation (Atlanra), and Western States Arts Federation (Santa Fc). The presenting organizations are Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum (Philadelphia), The Artists Collective (Hartford, CT), ArssCenter (Carrboro, NC), Carver Cultural Center (San Antonio), Cityfolk (Dayton), Contemporary Arts Center (New Orlcans), District Curators (Washington, DC), Earshot Jazz (Searte), Flynn Theatcr (Burlington, VT), Helena Presents (Helena, MT), Jazz Institute of Chicago, Jazzmobile (New York), Kenrucky Center for the Arts (Louisville), Koncepts Cultural Gallery (Oakland), Manchester Craftsmen's Guild (Pittsburgh), Northeast Ohio Jazz Sociery (Cleveland), Northrop Auditorium (Minneapolis), Outpost Productions (Albuquerque), Folly Theater (Kansas City), and Sum Arts (Houston).
8. Jack Faucett Associates, Inc., John P. Robinson, comp., Arts Participation in America, 1982-1992, Research Division Report \#27 (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 1993), p. 47.
9. Neil Tesser, "March of the Majors," Billboard, 7 July 1990, J-5.
10. A. James Liska, "Wynton and Branford Marsalis: A Common Misunderstanding," Down Beat, December 1992, 64.
11. John McDonough, "Harry Connick, Jr. Monk? Sinatra? Try Cab Calloway," Down Beat, January 1993, 19.
12. Personal communication, 13 January 1994.
13. Don Jeffrey, "Reissuc Fever," Billboard, 4 July 1992, J-4.
14. The top "contemporary jazz" label for 1992, according to Billboard, December 1992, was GRP, followed ar some distance by Warner Brothers and Columbia. The top "jazz" labels were Vervc, Columbia, GRP, Blue Note, and Warner Brothers.
15. Jack Faucett Associates, Inc., John P. Robinson, comp., Arts Participation in America, 1982-1992, Research Division Report \#27 (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 1993), pp. 29, 32.
16. Mike Harrison, Billboard, 15 August 1981, 31. Harrison later explained, "The reason I choose to spell jazz with the extra z . . is to emphasize the point that among the new breed of commercial jazz musicians and broadcasters there is an emerging broad-minded attitude about the music, its expanded boundarics, and new potential for being competitively marketable. Not surprisingly, the purist jazz community is resentul and resistive of this growing movement to 'bastardize' and 'sell-out' jazz. Hence, the 3rd z clearly separates the philosophies and avoids the long-standing and obvious pitfalls of becoming caught up in the 'what is the definition of true jazz' syndrome." Billboard, 22 August 1981, 23.
17. Personal communication, 13 January 1994.
18. Kim Freeman, "Jazz Carves a Niche on the Airwaves," Billboard, 20 Junc 1987, 13.
19. Jeff Levenson, "Who's Listening, Who's Buying?" Billboard, 4 July 1992, J-8.
20. Jack Faucett Associates, Inc., John P. Robinson, comp., Arts Participation in America, 1982-1992, Research Division Report \#27 (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 1993), p. 26.
21. Personal communication, 25 January 1994.
22. Quoted in Larry Blumenfeld, "Forecast: The Future of \}azz from the Inside," Jazziz, January 1994, 93.
23. Tom Evered of Blue Note Records said in 1992, "My feeling is that there are mostly young people buying records." According to Willard Jenkins, executive director of the National Jazz Service Organization, "The demo has shifted to a younger audience, much of that owing to the young lions proliferating on various labels." (Quoted in Jeff Levenson, "Who's Listening, Who's Buying?" Billboard, 4 July 1992, J-2). Nevertheless, "youth" is a relative concept. In a pop music market dominated by teenage consumers, the maturity of jazz record buyers may be more striking than their youth. "The mainstay of the record industry was always 13-18 ycar olds," according to GRP executive Larry Rosen. "But the average age of American consumers is now 32. And as they're getting older, they're looking for a more mature music." (Quoted in Neil Tesser, "March of the Majors," Billboard, 7 July 1990, J-5.
24. Richard A. Peterson and Darren E. Sherkat, Age Factors in Arts Participation, Research Division Report \#35 (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, in press).
25. James Lincoln Collier, Jazz: The American Theme Song (New York: Oxford University Prcss, 1993), p. 185.
26. Ibid., p. 215.
27. Because the audience for jazz is predominantly white, relatively few jazz venues are situated in neighborhoods where blacks are the majority. One such venue is Manchester Craftsmen's Guild, a nonprofit arts center located in the historically black Manchester area of Pittsburgh. Its jazz programs attract a higher percentage of African Americans than most commercially run nightelubs in the city. Personal communication, 25 January 1994.
28. Jeffrey Love and Bramble C. Klipple, Arts Participation and Race/Ethnicity, Research Division Report \#36 (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, in press).
29. See, for exampic, Mike Shalett, "On Target," Billboard, 1 March 1986, 23, which describes the audience for various contemporary jazz artists as malc-dominated above age 35 (although the under-18 audience is "mostly girls"). The 24 -hour "straight-ahead" jazz station KJAZ reported targeting men between 35 and 44 . Sce Kim Freeman, "Jazz Carves a Niche on the Airwaves," Billboard, 20 June 1987, 18.
30. Jazziz Magazine, "Readers Demographics, 1993"; Jazz Times, "Reader Profile 1992/1993."
31. Eric Hobsbawm, The Jazz Tradition (New York: Panthcon Books, 1993), xxii.
32. Thomas Sancton, "Horns of Plenty," Time, 22 October 1990, 66.
33. According to sources quoted by James Lincoln Collier, it is now rare for a college or university not to have a jazz component in its music program; and more than half of America's secondary schools have jazz programs. Sec James Lincoln Collier, Jazz: The American Theme Song (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 145.
34. Mike Shallett, "On Target," Billboard, 1 March 1986, 23.

\section*{About the Author}

Cott DeVeaux is Associate Professor in the McIntire Department of Music Sat the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. He has written articles on jazz for the Journal of the American Musicological Society, American Music, the Black Music Research Journal, and the Black American Literature Forum. He is series editor of Readers in American Music from the Smithsonian Institution Press, and coeditor of the book The Music of James Scott.

\section*{Other Reports on the 1992 SPPA}

\(T\) Thhe following publications report on various aspects of the 1992 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts. Information regarding availability may be obtained by writing to the National Endowment for the Arts, Research Division, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC, 20506.

Age Factors in Arts Participation, Richard A. Peterson and Darren E. Sherkat
American Participation in Dance, Jack Lemon/Jack Faucett Associates
American Participation in Opera and Musical Theater-1992, Joni Maya Cherbo and Monnie Peters

American Participation in Theater, Chris Shrum/AMS Planning and Research
Americans' Personal Participation in the Arts, Monnie Peters and Joni Maya Cherbo

Arts Participation and Race/Ethnicity, Jeffrey Love and Bramble C. Klipple
Arts Participation by the Baby Boomers, Judith Huggins Balfe and Rolf Meyersohn

Cross-Over Patterns in Arts Participation, Richard J. Orend and Carol Keegan
Effects of Education and Arts Education on Americans' Participation in the Arts, Louis Bergonzi and Julia Smith

Hold the Funeral March: The State of Classical Music Appreciation in the U.S., Nicholas Zill

Patterns of Multiple Arts Participation, Jeffrey Love
Reading in the 1990s: Turning a Page or Closing the Books?, Nicholas Zill
Socialization in the Arts-1992, Richard J. Orend and Carol Keegan
Tuning in and Turning On: Public Participation in the Arts via Media in the United States, Charles M. Gray

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