How did Jazz become a 'high' art?

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Abstract

In American society, jazz is held in high regard as an authentic American art form. Currently, jazz programs receive a significant amount of government and private support. However in 1965, when the National Endowment for the Arts was formed, jazz was not funded. How did this popular dance music become viewed as a sophisticated, elite music? This study traces the evolution of jazz into a high art form. The study will examine three factors of this evolution: 1) societal values historically placed on jazz over the years 2) governmental funding of jazz programs and education, and 3) the reasoning behind policy decisions to fund jazz programs.

The study will first examine the evolution of jazz as a popular dance medium into a recorded medium. It will also explore the value society has placed on jazz from its peak in the 1930's, its decline in the 1950's and 1960's, and finally its reemergence as a high art form. Secondly, the study will examine the National Endowment for the Arts' gradual inclusion of jazz education and performance projects. Lastly, the study will analyze data National Endowment for the Arts officials use to justify funding jazz. It will also explain how societal values have affected their justifications.

Early Jazz: Popularity and Criticisms

"America's classical music" emerged in New Orleans around 1900 although it was in development as early as the late 18th century. It was a music that combined ragtime, blues, marches, African American religious music, European classical music, American popular song, and musical theater (Monson 145-146). The mass appeal and dissemination of early jazz can be accredited to three main factors: the advent of the recording industry, the dance boom of the early 1900s, and a core ideology of freedom and rebellion.

Early jazz, which took place roughly from 1900 to 1928, was propelled into the homes of many Americans by the recording industry. The first jazz recording was of, "Livery Stable Blues" played by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band in 1917 (Baker 1). This recording was very important in spreading this new dance medium. Irving Berlin released the famous song "Alexander's got a Jazz Band Now," in that same year, and by the summer the Ziegfeld show ended with the song, "When I Hear That Jazz Band Play." Other fad titles included, "Jazzing Around," Everybody's Jazzing it." W. C. Handy even recorded a song entitled "That 'Jazz' Dance (The Jazz Dance Everybody Is Crazy 'Bout)"; opposed to one of his popular blues songs. This new craze put jazz bands in high demand. However, it is important to note that during this time the requirements for a jazz band were not very extensive, which could explain why jazz was not taken as seriously. Wald explains that a jazz band was, "any group that could play fast and frantically" (58). Some bands simply changed their names in order to be a part of the new movement. Borbee's Tango Orchestra for example soon recorded under the name Borbee's Jass Band (Wald 58).

Another influential aspect of the spread of early jazz was the dance boom beginning in 1910. New couple dances such as trots and two-steps required music with uneven rhythms. The

natural swing of jazz made it the ideal choice for these dances. One reporter described this music, “The music had a weird minor strain and a rhythm so enticing that the temptation to dance was almost overwhelming… (qtd. In Wald, 55)” During the 1920s the infatuation with dance music had not dissipated. It was, “the only music that seemed to matter.” (Wald 50) Due to all of these factors, young Americans quickly embraced this new music as a symbol of rebellion and flocked to speakeasies, cabarets, and dance halls to enjoy it.

Early jazz also held wide appeal for young adolescents and World War I veterans because of societal views held at the time. For example James Collier states, “In the 1890s and an old American ethic of hard work and emotional constraint began to shatter before a new ideal that emphasized pleasure and self-expression as acceptable routes to personal well-being” (3). This ideology of freedom was intensified by the Prohibition law of 1920. Many young people saw it as, “a residue of the old Victorian repressiveness, directly opposed to their new ideals” (Collier 5-6).

The ideology of jazz can be illustrated further by interracial relations in the U. S. Jazz began to travel out of New Orleans by the way of African American vaudeville minstrel shows in

the early 1900s (Collier, 5). Jazz musicians also began to move to the North during the 1920s especially Chicago. Chicago was more liberal and hosted a larger amount of dance halls and cabarets. There was also a larger demand for jazz in the due to The Great Migration, a mass transfer of if over 50,000 African Americans surrounding World War I and World War II. In addition, Jim Crow laws in the south restricted interracial interactions in New Orleans; however, Chicago tolerated more intermingling (Monsoon 148). Ingrid Monsoon states, "Chicago's Southside clubs also became sites of racial boundary crossing in the 1920's, as interested young Whites came to enjoy and learn the music" (Monsoon, 148). The famous jazz saxophonist, Sonny Rollins, further illustrates this:

> "Jazz was not just a music; it was a social force in this country , and it was talking about freedom and people enjoying things for what they are and not having to worry about whether they were supposed to be white, black, and all this stuff. Jazz has always been the music that had this kind of spirit" (qtd. Levine, 15).

Unfortunately the racial attitudes conveyed at black clubs were not shared at white clubs. Blacks were still not allowed to attend black clubs during the period of early jazz. Nevertheless, this idea of freedom continued to be represented in jazz, and still managed to attract a racially diverse crowd.

Jazz was embraced by many young immigrants as well. In "Minstrelsy & Early Jazz, Berndt Ostendorf states,

> "… Jews, Russians, Italians, Germans, even Armenians. They appreciated the undercurrent of sorrow and welcomed the hedonism. Many of them were caught between a moribund European ethnic culture, represented by their grandparents, and a cold Victorian middle class American culture, into which they were pushed by their parents. They fled into a musical genre and life-style which promised them two things; greater libidinal freedom and instant Americanization" (597-598).

Early jazz was able to capture an anti-Victorian working class culture, and this culture eventually shaped American popular culture. Jazz as a symbol of freedom also expanded it abroad (Ostendorf 598).

The physical setting of jazz however also pointed to its perception in the eyes of larger society. Although jazz was becoming the popular music of the times, music critics and members of the elite viewed jazz as barbaric minstrelsy and a popular fad. One reason for this view by music critics could be that early jazz included simple harmonies, collective improvisation, and was usually learned by ear; while Western European music was more complex and was played meticulously from a score. European music was also very structured. Classical musicians aimed to play songs in the way the composer would have liked. Jazz on the other hand emphasized individuality through improvisation and was highly unstructured. Therefore, jazz represented a music that broke away completely from Western European values and was deeply criticized by elites.

In "Jazz and American Culture," Lawrence Levine argues that during the same time jazz was rising as a popular music, the definition of culture was changing. Instead of viewing culture as a way of life, it came to be closely associated with refinement and high class. The separation between high and low art was constantly reinforced in society during this time.

> One could understand what Culture was by looking at the characteristics of jazz and reversing them. Jazz was, or at least seemed to be, the new product of a new age;
>
> Culture was, or at least seemed to be, traditional-the creation of centuries. Jazz was raucous, discordant;
>
> Culture was harmonious, embodying order and reason. Jazz was accessible, spontaneous;
>
> Culture was exclusive, complex, available only through hard study and training. Jazz was openly an interactive, participatory music in which the audience played an important role, to the extent that the line between audience and performers was often obscured.

> Culture built those lines painstakingly, establishing boundaries that relegated the audience to a primarily passive role, listening to, or looking at the creations of true artists.
>
> Culture increased the gap between the creator and the audience, jazz narrowed that gap. Jazz was frequently played in the midst of noisy, hand-clapping, foot-stomping, dancing, and gyrating audiences (Levine 7).

Thus, during a time, where high and low brow culture was established with no middle ground; jazz was automatically categorized as lowbrow art.

Racial attitudes further influenced how jazz was received by elites, and it was many times dismissed as minstrelsy. Historically minstrelsy can be credited with bringing African American culture, though misrepresented, into the mainstream. Ostendorf states, "In minstrelsy American popular culture opened itself to the massive influence and influx of black American culture, however travestied the first items may have been" (585). He also argues that underneath minstrelsy was a 'genuine interest' in African American culture. However although minstrelsy helped infuse African American culture into the mainstream culture, it became a troublesome label to overcome jazz musicians. As Ostendorf states, "No matter how many whites learned to play jazz, for the larger American audience the music connoted "blackness" and therefore 'low culture plus exciting life-style" (596). In *How the Beatles Killed Rock and Roll*, Elijah Wald also points out this perception of early jazz, "black urban artists were having a profound effect on pop entertainment, but the stereotypes were still stuck on the plantation." The term minstrelsy was eventually eradicated from the vocabulary of jazz critics with the advent of swing.

The Swing Era

The Swing Era was jazz's most popular period. With radio and recording expansions, Swing became *the* popular music of the time. The Swing Era is said to have begun with Benny Goodman on August 21, 1935. The music Goodman played came from discouragement. His tour

had not been as successful as he wanted. At the end of the tour at the Palomar Ballroom in California, Goodman decided to “at least have some fun.” His fun included ‘hot jazz’ for which the crowd went crazy for. Goodman recalls, “To our complete amazement, half of the crowd stopped dancing and came surging around the stand. After traveling three thousand miles, we finally found people who were up on what we were trying to do, prepared to take our music the way we wanted to play it”(Wald, 118). Swing music was also more structured and had less improvisation. This development in jazz music made it easier to record and more suitable for ballrooms. However there is a debate on whether swing emerged with these musical characteristics or if it evolved out of its commercial stature. Either way swing expanded, was played at black *and* white clubs, and became *the* popular music of the time. There were over 300 entries in magazine polls such as Billboard and Downbeat, and hundreds of performance venues between 1935 and 1945(Baker 58).

Radio was once again very influential during the Swing Era, if not more so. During 1921, radio expanded to approximately 500 established stations. This number grew to over 1,000 by 1925. In a new practice, made possible by improved technology, radio broadcast were aired from major hotels, clubs, and dance halls. Two types of broadcast existed at the time and were very influential in growing jazz’s audience. Sustaining programs featured a variety of bands, aired late at night, and were recorded from hotels and clubs. Sponsored programs were funded by corporations such as Coca-Cola and featured specific bands for longer time periods. Although opportunities for this kind of exposure were limited for African American groups, they were still able to beat the odds in some cases. Clubs such as Cotton Club, the Savoy Ballroom and Chicago’s Grand Terrace did hire black performers (Monson 152-153).

However it is important to note that these clubs were the exception not the rule. Because of racial barriers many bandleaders such as Benny Goodman employed African American arrangers. Consequently audiences were hearing music composed by African Americans but performed through the medium of white performance. Most audiences were not aware of these collaborations, and jazz began to be less of a black music. Due to unfortunate societal views toward race, this made the music more acceptable to include in mainstream culture.

Another stone on the path to the legitimization of jazz can be accredited to the Swing Era. Because the music was more structured, it gave aspiring jazz musicians a large amount of preparation. "Many improved their music-reading skills, understanding of harmony, ensemble skills, and (for some) composing and arranging skills…" (Monson, 153). This is the first indication of jazz becoming a music that could be studied.

Swing's Demise

> *"The increasing popularity of swing arrangements on the Henderson model led to a general similarity of style in all the big bands, Negro and white. Goodman, Shaw, the Dorseys, Barnet, Hines, Calloway, Teddy Hill, Webb were all approaching the same standards of proficiency. There is a terrifying record, an anthology called The Great Swing Bands, on which most of these bands are represented. If they are played without consulting notes or label, it is impossible to distinguish on from another…By the early 1940s the gradual elimination of stylistic variations had killed big-band jazz. It was a death by entropy" (Shih 186-187)*

Swing began to decline during the Second World War due to the draft, racism, the restrictive elements of the music, and other socioeconomic issues. The draft left many big bands understaffed. Gas and tire rationing also caused transportation issues. There was also a 20% cabaret or amusement tax which cut down attendance. Max Roach however acknowledges this tax as a help to instrumentalists.

> "You had to really know your instrument. Those guys survived because people came to hear music. People began to sit down; they were sitting down listening to music because you couldn't dance in a club. If somebody got up to dance, there would be 20 percent more tax on the dollar. If someone danced on the stage it was 20 percent more. If someone got up there and sang a song, it would be 20 percent more tax on the dollar. In order to have any entertainment at all during that period, the people just had instrumentalist playing, and it was a wonderful period for development of the instrumentalist" (qtd. in Baker 83).

Racism also played a part in swing's decline. Although some black performers did gain wide acclaim, the majority of black musicians faced inequality. Most black musicians were paid considerably less than their white counterparts, and were treated disrespectfully. Roy Eldridge of the Artie Shaw band explains, "Man, when you're on the stage, you're great, but as soon as you come off, you're nothing. It's not worth the glory, not worth the money, not worth anything" (qtd, in Baker 82). Other performers such as Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker found big bands too restrictive as far as the length of solos, rhythm section, repertoire, and format (Baker 82). Gillespie and Parker were not alone in these sentiments and soon a new genre was created- bebop.

Bebop: The Turning Point

Bebop was a music that in essence rebelled against the restrictive big band form. The standard instruments involved the trumpet, saxophone, piano, bass and drums. It also included a larger amount of improvisation and indefinite solo durations. It was extremely chromatic, full of embellishment and complex rhythmic figures. It was essentially, music of virtuoso" (Baker 90). Because of its virtuosic elements, Bebop became music to listen to opposed a dance music. Musicians also began to view themselves more seriously. David Baker states,

> "From its inception bebop was characterized by major changes in philosophy as well as musical directions. Bebop had the effect of removing jazz from the

> mainstream of popular commercial music. Jazz musicians began viewing their music as an art music rather than dance or functional music and themselves as artists rather than entertainers."

Bebop also developed into a subculture that rejected the mainstream 'squares'. Bebop gained a deviant label because some musicians, such as Charlie Parker, were associated with heroin. There was also a belief among some members of the subculture that the drug could induce a higher sense of hearing.

In addition, bebop was affected by the recording ban of 1942. The Recording Ban of 1942 occurred when the American Federation of Musicians, led by James C. Petrillo, stopped all recording in an effort to gain compensation for songs played on the radio. Though a noble effort, this ban occurred while bebop was in its earliest forms of development. History tells us that many of the music's characteristics where results of jazz sessions. However, a very small amount of these jam sessions were recorded or made known to the public. Thus the recording band significantly disrupted the preservation and distribution of bebop.

The 'Cool School" and Hard bop also developed during the 1950's. Cool jazz was characterized by more laidback rhythm sections, softer tones, and an emphasize on the melodic line. Some champions of this style are Miles Davis and David Brubeck. Cool jazz also employed written arrangements more than bebop. Other forms such as, hard bob, funky jazz, fusion, and other jazz styles followed. However none of these styles were able to gain the level of popularity of swing music. The evolution of jazz into an intellectualized music outside of the mainstream was very influential in its funding later on. Its decline in popularity helped policy makers see that it needed to be subsidized.

Jazz and Politics

> *Jazz is a cross between total discipline and total anarchy. The musicians agree on tempo, key, and chord structure but beyond this everyone is free to express himself. This is jazz. And this is America. That's what gives this music validity. It's a musical reflection of the way things happen in America. We're not apt to recognize this over her, but people in other counties can feel this element of freedom. They love jazz because they love freedom"*
>
> - Willis Conover, host of Voice of America (qtd. Von Eschen, 16-17).

Although jazz was dismissed in America, it was held in high regard abroad from the beginning. Henry Osgood named jazz "a protest against… the monotony of life… an attempt at individual expression" (qtd. in Levine 13). This is largely due to the fact that jazz was seen as a symbol of freedom. It became an important element of the anti-fascist culture radical movement in Denmark, as well as other movements abroad (Levine, 15). Soon the American government began to recognize this ideology could be used in international relations.

Jazz gained a large amount of legitimacy at home during the Cold War and was frequently used by the State Department to improve America's international relations. In "Jazz and American Culture" Levine states, "It did not take the State Department long to understand that the visit of a musician like to Gillespie to Pakistan stimulated interest not only in jazz but in American culture in general" (Levine 17).

Louis Armstrong and other jazz musicians had already preceded the state Department. Von Eschen states, "Where the tours were concerned, Armstrong led the way and the State Department followed" (9-10). One Newsweek critic explained, "The simple emotional impact of jazz cuts through all manner of linguistic and ideological barriers" (Von Eschen 10). The *New York Times* Stockholm correspondent, Felix Belair, also stated, "America's secret weapon is a

blue note in a minor key" and dubbed Louis Armstrong as, "its most effective ambassador." He also wrote, "

> What many thoughtful Europeans cannot understand is why the United States Government, with all the money it spends for so-called propaganda to promote democracy, does not use more of it to subsidize the continental travels of jazz bands... American jazz has now become a universal language. It knows no national boundaries, but everyone here knows where it comes from and where to look for more" (qtd, in Von Eschen 10).

The Voice of America (VOA) radio broadcast also paved the way for jazz ambassadors. It was aired on January 6, 1955. *Look* magazine boasted, "Powerful VOA relay stations in Tangier and later Munich beamed the pilot program toward the jazz-happy Scandinavian countries, only to receive a flood of letters from points east as far as Iran" (Von Eschen 14). Voice of America was very influential in spreading jazz and American culture beyond the Iron Curtain. It reached over eighty countries and thirty million people by. VOA also had a large audience because of U.S. policy. The United States Information Agency (USIA) attempted to promote American consumer culture and defend U.S. foreign policy by distributing thousands of transistor radios throughout Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (Von Eshen 14-15).

Due to all of these factors, the President's Special International Program was established in 1956. It was originally supervised by The State Department and the American National Theatre and Academy. The programs supervised by these entities constituted of a variety of arts; however, the State Department quickly took over the jazz project. Jazz was of interest particularly because it was an art form that was distinctively American. The State Department also hoped to offset outside knowledge internal race relations in America by presenting interracial bands and black performers. In *Satchmo Blows Up The World Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War,* Penny M. Von Eschen states, "With America in the throes of a

political and cultural revolution that had put the black freedom struggle at the center of American and international politics, the prominence of African American jazz artists was critical to the music's potential as a Cold War weapon. In the high-profile tours by Gillespie, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and many others, U.S. officials pursued a self-conscious campaign against worldwide criticism of U. s. racism, striving to build cordial relations with new African and Asian states" (3-4).

Adam Clayton Powel Jr. also played an important role in getting these tours started. In 1955, he was quoted in the New York Times saying, "it would go along with his proposal to send fewer ballets and symphonies abroad and put more emphasis on what he called real Americana" (Von Eschen, 6). He also felt that the conflict would come down to new, "nonaligned and newly independent emerging nations of the Middle East, Asia and Africa" (Von Eschen 7) Thus the goodwill tours followed routes throughout these countries.

In 1956 Dizzy Gillespie and his integrated band went on the first government-sponsored jazz tour of the Middle East. Soon after the State Department sponsored tours for Louis Armstrong, David Brubeck, and Benny Goodman. In fact a *New York Times* headline boasted, "United States Has Secret Sonic Weapon- Jazz," with the sub-title "Europe Falls captive as Crowds Riot to Hear Dixieland."

Jazz ambassadors were even able to cross the Iron Curtain. Luis Armstrong's bassist recounts:

> "We opened in East Berlin, and after a couple of nights there was nothing to do. When we got off, the streets were dark. No restaurants- we were lucky to get a roll and coffee. West Berlin was swinging, and Louis said: "Let's go to West Berlin." Can't do that with papers from Russians in East Berlin and from the U.S. Louis said, "Let's go anyway." So we got on the bus- checkpoint Charlie- to go through the Berlin Wall. We got to the East German side and the Russian soldiers and East German police had their guns out. One of the guards looked at us and said. "Louis Armstrong." He called out all the guards, got Louis's autograph and waved us all on. And when we got to the American side, a six-foot-seven sergeant from Texas- oh, he was fierce! - said, "How'd you get through her? Where are your papers?" And he got out handcuffs. Sergeant looks and says' "Satchmo-

> this is Satchmo!" He called the guards and they got autographs and waved us on. Every night we went back and forth. Then the American ambassador hears, he said: "How'd you do that" I can't do that!" (qtd von Eschen 11-12).

Jazz was very important in international politics, and was legitimized even further by the support of the government. John Wiggin, the senior officer in the USIS told David Brubeck, "You reach people on a personal level. It's that simple" (qtd. Von Eschen, 51). Jazz's relation to politics and radio helped put it back into the realm of mainstream culture.

"*This is a diplomatic mission of the utmost delicacy. The question is, who's the best man for it – John Foster Dulles or Satchmo?"*

(Cartoon by Mischa Richter, published in the *New Yorker* on April 19, 1958. Copyright © by the *New Yorker)*

Jazz in Academia

The inclusion of jazz in higher learning played a large role in the legitimization of jazz as well. Following World War II enrollment and funding at colleges and universities grew

tremendously. The GI bill played a large part in this stage of growth as well as the advent of financial aid. In 1947 the President's Commission on Higher Education suggested that 32% of Americans had the ability to complete a four-year course of study compared to the 16% who actually did enroll in 1940. Ten years later the Soviet Union launched an unmanned satellite, which made Congress and the rest of Americans doubt America's superiority. This event provided the momentum to pass the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The act provided loans and graduate fellowships. The opportunity of funding allowed a larger amount of student access to college. In fact after the bill was passed enrollment went from 3.6 million students to 7.9 students.

The growth of enrollment consequently diversified the populations of colleges and universities. In order to better serve diverse populations, higher learning institutions began to restructure their curriculums. For example a "General Education" study, performed at Columbia and Chicago, proposed "a restructuring of course requirements to provide greater interdisciplinary emphasis and a broader base of social and intellectual skills" (Anderson 141). They also faced incentives from their student's future employers. Government and corporate employers encouraged "vocational studies with practical applicability" (Anderson 141). To meet the demands of a diverse population and future employers, colleges and universities created a larger range of non-major requirements in the arts and sciences.

Along with these modifications to curriculums, came an expansion of college music departments. These departments remained traditional until the sixties. By 1969, 135 colleges and universities offered jazz instruction for credit. By the mid-1970s, 400 offered at least one jazz course for credit. This expansion of jazz was once again due to future employers. After World War II many music education graduates were familiar with swing and began jazz-oriented stage

bands. Therefore colleges and universities were compelled by the demand for high school jazz band teachers. Despite these developments, it is important to note that jazz curriculums were not very extensive. Jazz legend and Indiana University Jazz Studies Chair David Baker states jazz was, “the academy’s neglected step child.” However, Jazz departments continued to grow throughout the 70s and 80s.

The population increase also meant that many different students with different interest and from multiple backgrounds were attending college. Due to this factor many students began to protest in the name of free speech, Civil Rights, and antiwar movements. The 1960s is also when black students were actively recruited to predominantly white schools. Black students began to protest for more black studies courses arguing that the current curriculums “excluded or distorted black history and culture, making academics irrelevant to their experiences and needs” (Anderson 143). Their demands were eventually met beginning with San Francisco State College in 1967. Cecil Taylor was also hired at the University of Wisconsin at Madison after a student strike that brought 2,100 National Guard troops to the campus. By 1970 roughly two-thirds of all four-year schools offered similar courses. Within this movement activist saw African American Art as an essential part of black studies because it conveyed African Americans contributions to the America’s culture (Anderson 143-145). Jazz was also seen as a black expression due to the Black Arts Movement which began in the 1960s.

The Black Arts Movement embraced this avant- garde form of jazz as a unique African American expression. This made jazz even more appealing to universities that faced pressure to diversify their art programs. Jazz commentators such as Amiri Baraka also perpetuated this view. “Writers increasingly abandoned terms such as free form, abstract jazz, atonal jazz, in favor of avant-garde. (Anderson 139)” Anderson also goes on to explain that the term avant-garde is

usually associated with an intellectualized musical clique. Thus jazz had completely moved from the popular music into 'head' music, one to be listened to and critiqued. Archie Shepp even shared a concern over the shift in his audiences, "We can't let the audience escape. We must bring into our music every stench of the streets, every tragedy, don't let them rest. (qtd. in Anderson, 139)" Despite Shepp's declaration, the audience for free- jazz was diminishing and consisted primarily of intellectual or artistic middle class whites. (Anderson 139). Due to a drop in interest, free jazz performers began to turn to colleges and universities for work.

As aforementioned, the Black Arts Movement re-claimed jazz especially free jazz as an African American art. This made free-jazz musicians very attractive to new and expanding black studies departments. For example Archie Shepp accepted a tenured position at the W.E.B. Du Bois center of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts. Jackie McLean also founded a Department of Afro-American Music at the Julius Hartt School of Music in Hartford, Connecticut. Some performers also accepted temporary positions which gave them a chance to build up their resumes before pursuing a commercial career (Anderson 143-145).

The movement of experimental performers into academia, "helped validate jazz as a subject for serious study in part by drawing attention to the aesthetic compatibility between free improvisation and other creative disciplines." The radical acts by students, future employer's demands along with developments in jazz helped solidify the position of jazz in academia.

Jazz and Governmental Funding

By 1965, when the National Endowment for the Arts began, jazz had made its imprint on American culture. Due to its role in academia, politics, and changes in its development jazz was finally beginning to gain some prestige. The National Endowment for the Arts established its first jazz panel in 1968. It included experimental jazz musicians such as Dizzy Gillespie, and

Jaki Byard. It awarded its first award to George Russell in 1969. The NEA also made grants to colleges and universities, elementary and secondary schools. Much of the rationale behind the NEA's sponsorship of jazz stemmed out of its earlier removal from the mainstream and commercial marketplace. Iain Anderson also argues that free jazz performers aided in transforming jazz's reception and funding. Lack of available capital and work for free-jazz performers helped policy makers see they could not survive without subsidy. The National Endowment released a statement saying:

> "Jazz has been one of the most important of our art forms, providing enrichment for Americans and for all the peoples of the world. Despite its continuing vitality, jazz is not sharing in the prosperity of other forms of music. For this reason, the Endowment established, in Fiscal 1970, a pilot program in support of jazz" (Anderson 150).

It was also once again attractive because Americans were beginning to embrace and accept diversity. In the 1973 reauthorization hearings, arts advocates praised, "the role of publicly funded art in counteracting adolescent violence and anomie, providing alternatives to drug addiction, discouraging crime, and relieving inner-city tensions." Distributing government funds as affirmative action also gained support during the 1970s.

NEA Chairman Nancy Hanks wrote:

> "The idea of an "American melting pot" went out of fashion with an aware- ness that the nation's mettle is strong because its elements are diverse, not homogeneous. Nowhere is this clearer than in the cultural realm. Our cultural heritage includes the traditions of countless immigrant and native peoples; the living traditions are as varied as George Balanchine's ballets and Aleut carvings ... jazz, steel beam architecture, modern dance and movies, to name just a few."

During the 1970s as the Endowment's budget grew under Chairman Hanks, jazz increasingly received more funding. By the fiscal year of 1975 allocation of funds to jazz had risen to $671,000, and by 1976 jazz spending through the music program had risen to $1 million.

Once jazz performers realized the new source of funding more and more jazz nonprofit organizations began to form. For example the newly incorporated Jazz Composers Orchestra Association won NEA grants in 1970, 1971, 1972, 1975, and 1976 (Anderson 152). The NEA's 'stamp of approval' also prompted other private donors and foundations to support jazz. For example, public policy analyst, Wyszomirski and Mulcahy argue that NEA grants helped to shape what types of art gets funding from private donors. The NEA's decision to fund a particular project or genre would help inform less knowledgeable corporate philanthropy offices (Anderson 153).

On the other hand in the 1960's, foundations were still reluctant to fund jazz efforts. Anderson argues that this might have been because of a misinformed assumption that jazz musicians had enough funding in the commercial marketplace- not because they questioned its legitimacy. For example in 1966 W. McNeil Lowry, Ford Foundation vice-president stated, we have nothing under consideration at this time for the new jazz. We consider it a legitimate part of the arts but nobody has come forward with a proposal about what we might do for this handful of musicians. We've always felt that jazz offers a much easier commercial place for the artist than a lot of other arts."Free jazz improvisers eventually were able to dispel this myth. For example Archie Shepp led the Black Artist for Community Action in a "play in" at the Guddenheim foundation's offices in 1971.The foundation did not respond to this radical act; however it made four awards to jazz musicians the following year and invited Ornette Coleman to join the music jury (Anderson 156).

Acceptance of jazz by the NEA and other arts supporters sent out a message to the rest of society. As Anderson states, "Although government subsidies and private philanthropy provided

little more long-term stability than the commercial world, they offered a new fount of prestige and revenue unavailable in the past" (Anderson 156).

Within this discussion it is important to note however, that jazz's initial inclusion in NEA grants was not the end of the battle. By the 1970's it still accounted for a smaller percent of appropriations. Nevertheless due to evolving societal views on multiculturalism and the work of arts advocates such as David Baker and A. B. Spellman, jazz allocation continues to expand. As Spellman states, "We see a much, much more inclusive arts world today than we had in 1975" (National Endowment for the Arts, 50)

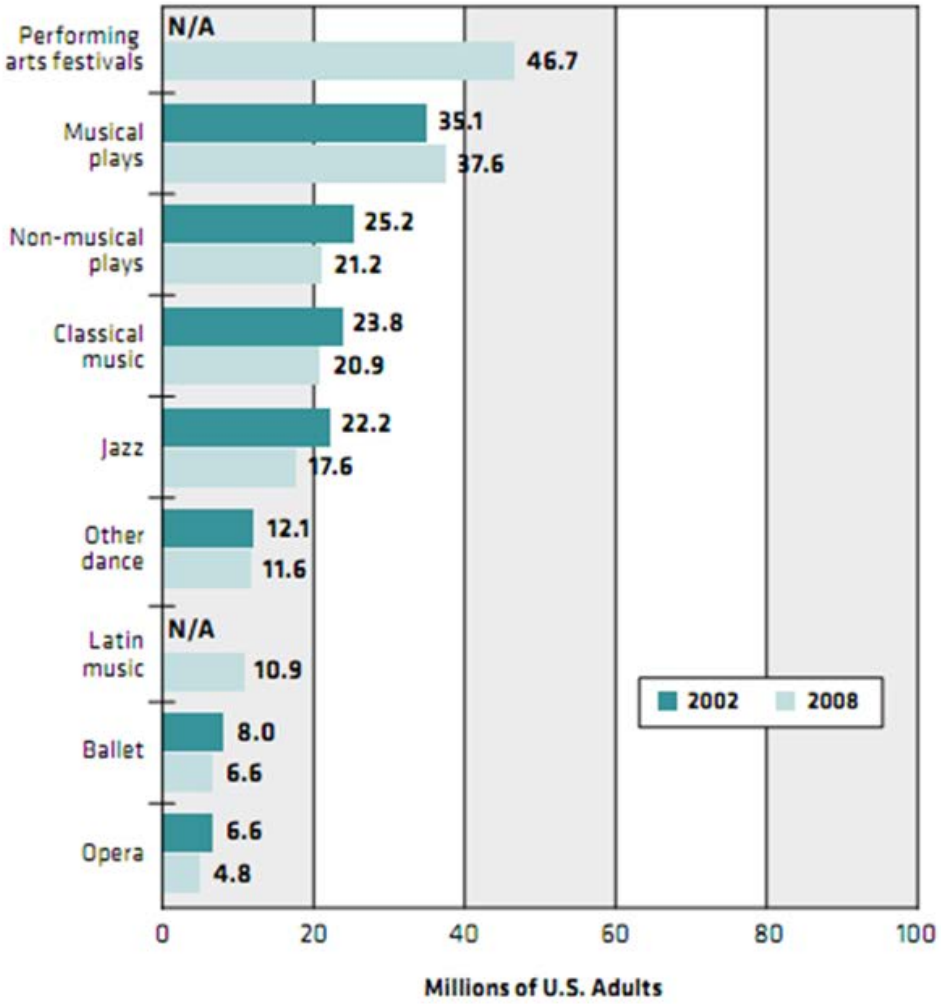
Conclusion

Some have said that jazz was able to break the line between high and low brow art. Others maintain the jazz has had a foot in both. However it is clear to see that jazz has come a long way from speakeasies and cabarets. It burst on the scene during the advent of the recording industry which greatly assisted in its dissemination. The swinging rhythms of jazz also made it a perfect choice for dancing. Although it was embraced by young people, it was criticized for its break with tradition and considered lowbrow culture. Nevertheless over time changes in the music itself as well as its musicians removed it from mainstream culture and into the hands of the very hands that condemned. It gained legitimacy from its inclusion into academia. Its ideology also made it a vehicle for American government's international relations and internal Civil Rights Movement. By the time the NEA was created, jazz was known as 'America's classical music," It had also been removed out of the mainstream since the emergence of bebop, and was worthy of subsidy. Currently the National Endowment for the arts funds many jazz initiatives such as *Jazz in the Schools*, *Jazz Masters Live!*, and *Smithsonian Jazz Oral History*

Project. The NEA also funds not only jazz, but many other art forms under folk and traditional arts grants.

Current Trends

Millions of U.S. adults attending a performing arts activity at least once in the past 12 months: 2002 and 2008



Demographic distribution of U.S. adults attending different types of performing arts at least once in the past 12 months: 2008

	U.S. population		Jazz	Classical music	Opera	Latin music	Performing arts festivals	Musical plays	Non-musical plays	Ballet	Other dance
	Millions	Percent									
Gender											
Male	108.6	48.3 %	47.6 %	44.3 %	41.4 %	47.9 %	47.9 %	41.6 %	41.8 %	36.4 %	41.4 %
Female	116.3	51.7	52.4	55.7	58.6	52.1	52.1	58.4	58.2	63.6	58.6
Total	224.8	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %
Race and ethnicity											
Hispanic	30.4	13.5 %	6.8 %	5.5 %	7.2 %	48.7 %	9.5 %	6.5 %	6.1 %	10.0 %	8.2 %
White*	154.5	68.7	77.5	83.3	82.3	43.9	76.7	82.5	83.2	81.9	79.0
African American*	25.6	11.4	12.5	5.2	3.9	3.7	8.3	5.8	6.6	4.2	6.5
Other*	14.3	6.4	3.2	6.0	6.7	3.7	5.5	5.1	4.1	3.9	6.2
Total	224.8	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %
Age											
18-24	28.9	12.8 %	11.9 %	9.5 %	7.4 %	18.2 %	13.2 %	11.1 %	11.2 %	10.8 %	14.0 %
25-34	39.9	17.7	17.4	13.3	13.9	21.8	19.4	16.9	17.2	14.1	15.9
35-44	41.8	18.6	17.1	17.8	21.9	24.0	21.7	20.2	17.7	21.8	17.0
45-54	43.9	19.5	24.4	21.4	21.6	17.5	22.0	20.3	18.1	21.2	19.8
55-64	33.3	14.8	18.4	18.5	16.6	13.8	14.7	17.3	19.5	15.4	19.0
65-74	19.9	8.8	6.9	11.6	12.1	3.6	6.6	9.5	10.3	13.0	10.5
75 and over	17.1	7.6	3.9	8.0	6.5	1.2	2.5	4.5	6.0	3.7	3.8
Total	224.8	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

- Performing arts attenders are increasingly older than the average U.S. adult.
- Jazz concert-goers are no longer the youngest group of arts participants. Since 1982, young adult (18-24 years old) attendance rates for jazz and classical music have declined the most relative to other art forms.
- From 2001 to 2008, 45-54-year-ods- historically a large component of arts audiences- shoed the steepest declines in attendance for arts events including classical music concerts, ballet and theater performances, and art museums visits. (*2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts)*

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