

© 1976

LOUIS HERMAN LEVY

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THE FORMALIZATION OF NEW ORLEANS JAZZ MUSICIANS:
A CASE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

by

Louis H. Levy

Dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
Sociology

APPROVED:

G. A. Hillery, Chairman

C. D. Bryant

S. K. Paulson

J. A. Blake

M. A. Pearson

March, 1976

Blacksburg, Virginia



VIRGINIA'S LAND-GRANT UNIVERSITY

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

GRADUATE SCHOOL

The format of this dissertation is not acceptable according to the Graduate Manual, in particular regards to the tables which are to be on separate pages.

Acknowledgement

First, I would like to acknowledge the jazz musicians who were directly involved in this study. They have given me hours in both private and group sessions and they encouraged me to complete this work by their interest in it. The invitations to their clubs, their homes and their offices have provided opportunities for which I am grateful. Also, I thank Danny Barker, musician and author, Dick Allen, curator of the Tulane University Jazz Archive, Don Perry, owner of Heritage Hall and David Winstein, President of Local 174-496, for their assistance and guidance.

Second, I acknowledge my dissertation committee. Dr. George A. Hillery, Jr. was my major professor. His help in the area of community and general sociology was a necessary condition for the completion of this dissertation; his help in other more or less academic matters was also beneficial to my work. The other committee members included Dr. Joseph A. Blake, Dr. Clifton D. Bryant, Dr. Stephen K. Paulson and Dr. Michael A. Pearson. They have been an integral part of my education; in particular, their numerous suggestions have improved this work considerably.

Third, I thank my parents, two friends and my wife. My parents helped me survive the various stages of graduate school. Dr. Andrew J. Hirt and Dr. Jerome J. Salomone provided friendship and motivation. Finally, my wife has been a research assistant as well as an understanding spouse.

Lastly, I would like to express sincere appreciation to the staff and faculty members of the Department of Sociology, Social Welfare and Law Enforcement at Southeastern Louisiana University for their tolerance and encouragement. Mr. George Bedsole is especially acknowledged. Also, Dr. Wilbur Gardner provided the encouragement essential for the completion of a dissertation. Ms. Judy Raymond patiently typed four drafts of this research and was tireless in her task.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Acknowledgement	ii
Table of Contents	iv
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Statement of the Problem	2
Initial Conceptualizations: Orientations, Hypotheses and Level of Abstraction	4
Additional Specifications: Definitions and the Purposes, Scope and Significance of this Study	11
Methodology	20
Summary and Forecast	26
Chapter 2 Review of the Literature and Previous Findings	27
Literature Concerning Jazz Musicians and Related Areas	28
Literature Concerning the Concepts	35
Chapter 3 Methods	46
Techniques for Gathering Data	46
Sampling	51
Chapter 4 The History of New Orleans Jazz: An Overview and Some Implications for Data	55
Before Jazz: Theses and Antitheses	57
The Emergence of Jazz in New Orleans Society: Voodoo, Funerals,	63
From Then to Now	74
Social Functions of Jazz	77
Summary	79
Chapter 5 Presentation of the Data	81
Description: the Actors, the Setting and the Show	82
Interview Data	88
Background Information	90
Family Involvement in the Organization of Jazz Musicians	93
Socialization into Jazz	94
Band Cohesion	96
Musician-Audience Relations	100
Commercialism	103
Formalization	106

Conflict	110
Institutional Data	112
Summary	119
Chapter 6 Discussion of the Data: the Emerging Theory	121
Explanations of the Hypotheses	122
Implications for Theory	129
Chapter 7 Conclusions	141
Analytical Conclusions	141
Generalizations	143
Contributions	144
Areas for Further Research	146
References	154
Appendix I A Map of Part of New Orleans	164
Appendix II Interview Guide	165
Appendix III Contract Blank	169
Vita	170
Abstract	

Two of the most common elements of identification with the city of New Orleans are jazz music and the French Quarter. (See Appendix I.) These two elements have been correlated historically and geographically. Much of the jazz played in New Orleans has emerged from the French Quarter bars, clubs and "strip joints." Neither of the two elements has been historically static. In fact, jazz music is one of the most dynamic aspects of the New Orleans culture. How could it be otherwise? Musically, jazz is basically a creative art; it is innovative by its very nature. Politically, from 1700 through 1803, when its culture was emerging, New Orleans was under the control of the Spanish (1764-1800), the French (1718-1764; 1800-1803) and finally, the United States (1803 to present). Demographically, the population of New Orleans has been drawn from diverse areas. The French, the Spanish, the West Africans, the English, the Caribbeans and the Eastern United States all supplied part of the New Orleans population from the late eighteenth through the twentieth centuries (Jones, 1963: 138). All of these people made their respective marks on New Orleans culture and especially on jazz music.

But, contrary to the melting-pot theory (e.g., see Stearns, 1956: 37), some people were more important than others vis-a-vis New Orleans jazz. In fact, it was the unique combination of European and West African music juxtaposed in the New Orleans scene which gave birth to jazz in New Orleans (Berendt, 1962: 278; Etkorn, 1973:

212; Stearns, 1956: 33). It would appear that there were at least three types of components to this birth; two musical (European and African) and one social (New Orleans). All three were necessary. Hence, jazz could not have prospered unless New Orleans did. From the 1700's until the early 1900's New Orleans not only managed simply to survive, it managed to grow radically. Along with its geographical and economic growth patterns, there were naturally various patterns of social organization that evolved. As we shall see in the chapter which presents the historical data, there were specific structures and processes within New Orleans society which resulted in the emergence of jazz in New Orleans. These include the practice of voodoo, the presence of a red-light district (Storyville), the funeral practices, the secret "societies", as well as other traits; all of these traits provide the unique social environment for the beginning of a new folk art which today we call jazz.

Statement of the Problem

In more recent times, jazz as a music form has changed dramatically. For example, as jazz has become the property of the (white) middle class, it has become "imitation" jazz music, according to Buerkle and Barker (1973: 121). Also, as it has migrated North, it has become less innovative and improvised and more "establishment" in character (Hennessey, 1974). Even in black New Orleans culture, the jazz funeral (with its West African roots) has been nearing extinction. However, other forms of jazz, for example night club jazz, are as prevalent or more prevalent

than ever (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 187-197; Stearns, 1956: 48-52). Since it appears that jazz music in New Orleans has been and is a dynamic phenomenon, it would also appear that the social factors surrounding the playing of jazz might also have changed. More explicitly, it would appear that factors such as the organization and orientation of jazz musicians, the degree of formalization attached to the playing of jazz and other selected social facts might reflect these dynamics within jazz music. For example, it would seem that the social organization of Charles "Buddy" Bolden's band of the 1890's was different from the social organization of some of the modern New Orleans jazz bands.

This dissertation is an exploratory study which taps one of the dimensions of change in the social organization of New Orleans jazz musicians. The basic problem centers around the concept of formalization as a social process and its relationship to selected other social processes and structures. More concretely, the problem can be stated as follows: What is the relationship between formalization of jazz musicians, on the one hand, and the commercialization, the goal specialization, the socialization of jazz musicians, the social distance between the jazz musicians and the audience and the type of organization that the jazz musicians manifest (i.e., is it communal or formal?), on the other hand? Moreover, the process of formalization is to be discussed within the framework of social organization rather than such areas as the sociology of occupations or industrial sociology.

Initial Conceptualizations: Orientations, Hypotheses
and Level of Abstraction

It would appear to be clear at this point that this dissertation must deal with social change on the empirical and the theoretical levels. One of the classic ways in which sociologists conceptualize social change in both organizations and societies is through the analytical utilization of dichotomies. The classical orientation toward social change presented by Emile Durkheim is an example (1966). Durkheim's insight was that if one wants to understand how societies change, then one must deal with the changing types of societal order and solidarity which characterize different types of societies. The same can be argued on the organizational level; i.e., organizations can change in relation to the types of social order and solidarity that they manifest. For Durkheim, societies evolve from homogeneous, mechanical types to heterogeneous, organic types. Social organization becomes based upon differences between people rather than upon their similarities. Norms and associated sanctions change from informal to formal, from folkways to laws, from verbal agreement to written contract. Following Durkheim's orientation at the organizational level, it would seem that organizations tend to become increasingly formalized in the sense that codification and written contracts become pervasive.

Another classical sociologist had much to say concerning the effects of social change on social organizations. Max Weber (1963) discussed the process by which the authority in an organization is legitimized. For Weber, Authority or legitimate power is routinized in different ways. Typically, the process consists of an evolution of

the method of legitimation from a charismatic-traditional base to a legal-rational base (Weber, 1963: 59-82). In the legal-rational method of legitimation, there are written rules to fit a bureaucratic form of social organization. "The rules which regulate the conduct of an office [in a bureaucracy] may be technical rules or norms. In both cases, if their application is to be fully rational, specialized training is necessary" (Weber, 1963: 66). This specialized training is accomplished through an organization that can develop a formal type of organization. Hence, although Weber discussed rationalization within music as "predominantly suggestive of an acoustal analysis of the various tonal systems" (Etzkorn, 1973: 14), another dimension to his concept of rationalization will be used. That is, his concept of secondary socialization into formal organizations will be employed.

As roles in an organization become more formal, differentiation among roles and social distance between complementary roles (e.g., between customer and clerk) typically increase (Bogardus, 1959). In-groups and out-groups develop (Becker, 1951). Role relationships become secondary-instrumental relationships with primacy given to specific goals (Hillery, 1968, 1972) instead of primary-expressive relationships without primacy given to specific goals. Again, socialization into organizational roles often takes the form of education or training instead of apprenticeship or tutoring (Harvey, 1967; Weber, 1963).

Finally, as the organization of jazz musicians becomes formalized, its field of eligibles is drawn from the urban bourgeoisie rather than

from the rural proletarians (Cameron, 1969: 109-117; Harvey, 1967). Harvey (1967: 37) comments that with respect to the image of the jazz musician, "the image of 'lower-class deviant' is being replaced by that of 'middle-class artist'." Along with this change in class is a change in places of birth among jazz musicians. While Cameron (1969: 112) claims that "the jazz man goes to the city . . . [and] is not necessarily nor even typically born there," it would seem that there could be a shift to urban places of birth associated with the changing class origins of jazz musicians.

From the concepts suggested in the problem statement, general orientations and literature* presented, the following hypotheses are proposed as initial steps in the process of generating emergent theory or theory based on data. The understanding is that since this investigation is exploratory, the hypotheses are subject to acceptance, modification, specification or even negation after the data have been analyzed. The focus is not on the hypotheses themselves; rather the focus is on where the hypotheses will lead. Hence, "there is no quarrel with this [the use of pre-established images] . . . practice if the given research inquiry is guided by a conscientious and continuous effort to test and revise one's images . . . (Blumer, 1969: 37)." Five hypotheses are now stated and they will be recast as the research proceeds.

Hypothesis 1: There is a direct relationship between the formalization and the type of socialization that jazz musicians experience. More specifically, high formalization is associated with secondary socialization while low formalization is associated with primary socializ-

*Due to its length, the review of the literature is contained in a separate chapter; see Chapter 2.

ation (the musician).*

Hypothesis 2: There is a direct relationship between the formalization and commercialization of jazz musicians. That is, as the organization of jazz musicians becomes more formalized, the musicians develop commercial (rather than traditional) orientations (the musician).

Hypothesis 3: There is a direct relationship between formalization and the social class of jazz musicians; the greater the formalization, the higher the social class. Moreover, formalization tends to be directly related to urban places of birth among jazz musicians (the musician).

Hypothesis 4: There is a direct relationship between formalization and the amount of social distance between the jazz musician and the audience. Holding distance between the band and the audience constant, band-audience interaction decreases as formalization increases. Also, as formalization increases, the in-groups commitment among the musicians decreases while the hostility toward the audience increases (the musician).

Hypothesis 5: There is a direct relationship between formalization and the type of organization manifested by the musicians; more specifically, a high degree of codification is associated with formal organization, while a low degree of codification is associated with communal organization. In addition, the higher the formalization, the

*The unit of analysis will be specified as follows: the independent variable (formalization) is a structural variable which is initially defined at the occupational level; the dependent variables are at varying units, as indicated by the parenthetical references after each hypothesis. The structure of these hypotheses can change as the research proceeds.

less the involvement of the family in the activities of the group (the band).

Note that Hypothesis 5 is not a tautology. If the type of organization is defined as Hillery suggests, then it is very possible to have a highly formalized (many rules) communal (family is included) organization as well as a formal organization with relatively little codification of rules. Also, it should be reiterated that in Hypothesis 5 we are dealing with community as a distinct form* of organization, rather than with community as commitment or community as territory. It is possible to have groups which are communally organized, but which lack the commitment and sentiment sometimes associated with the term community. For discussion and disentanglement of the terms, see Hillery's (1972) essay on issues in community theory; especially see his discussion of the Navajos.

These hypotheses are applicable to a given level of abstraction which will be elaborated. When one is attempting to develop a theory, it is always important to delimit the level of abstraction that the theory will encompass. The highest level of abstraction has to do with theoretical domain assumptions and world hypotheses (Gouldner, 1970). Any study which becomes fixated at this level of abstraction runs the risk of being referred to as Grand Theory (Mills, 1959). On the other hand, the lowest level of abstraction has to do with empirical facts which are presented as if they comprised a theory.

*Hillery (1968; 1972) suggests that the communal-formal dichotomy is a discrete one. There is no continuum between communal and formal types of organization.

Again, studies at this level of abstraction have been termed studies in abstracted empiricism (Mills, 1959).

While the scope of a theory has to do with "the substantive range of reference and the spatiotemporal range of reference contained in their explananda," the level of abstraction of a theory has to do with "the closeness of that theory's concepts to actual observations" (Wallace, 1971: 106-112). In terms of this study, we will operate somewhere between Grand Theory and abstracted empiricism. However, the data of abstracted empiricism and the orientations of Grand Theory will be useful in both the formulation of concepts and finally in the generation of theory.

The level of the theory which will be generated here conforms closely to what Glaser and Strauss (1967: 79-99) call both substantive and formal theory. Substantive theory is theory that is "developed for a substantive or empirical area of sociological inquiry." This type of theory will comprise the primary focus of the dissertation. Formal theory is theory that is "developed for a formal or conceptual area of sociological inquiry" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 32). Both of these types of theories are "middle-range" in the sense that they fall between Grand Theory and abstracted empiricism (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 33).

An example of substantive and formal theory might be useful at this point. Suppose it is found that jazz musicians who form communal organizations are less hostile to their audiences than are jazz musicians who form formal organizations. Furthermore, the research suggests that the lack of hostility toward audiences among communally

organized musicians is in part due to the fact that the audiences are primary group affiliates of the jazzmen. On the other hand, the research suggests that the formally organized musicians serve clients (or audiences) who are secondary group affiliates with the musicians; moreover, the musicians are very hostile toward audiences. If it was important to move these findings into a more formal format, then it would be possible to say that artists who enter into communal relationships with other artists and who serve a "primary" public are less hostile toward the "primary" public than are artists who are formally organized with each other and secondarily related to the audiences.

This study will attempt to develop emergent* theory that is substantive in nature (i.e., that relates to New Orleans white jazz musicians) and then suggest some possible formal implications of these substantive theories. The formal implications can constitute the basis for further research. "While the process of comparative analysis is the same for generating either substantive or formal theory, it becomes harder to generate the latter because of its more abstract level and wider range of research required" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 82).** Our formal conclusions will be bold in the sense that they will require additional research for supportive evidence.

*Emergent theory is theory which comes from data; it is a result of the research act. It is the type of theory which can be spawned by exploratory research. That is, emergent theory is a product of exploration and inspection (Blumer, 1969: 40-42).

**These references to Glaser and Strauss should not imply that this research comprises grounded theory. In this case, we are simply using their definition of theory, not their methodological position.

Additional Specifications: Definitions and the Purposes,
Scope and Significance of this Study

At this point, some specific conceptual definitions are in order so that we can begin the process of refining the categories and investigating relations between categories. These definitions may or may not be applicable to the population of interest; they are really starting points for research. The most important one vis-a-vis this study is the one for formalization.* Generally, formalization " . . . refers to the degree of codification of jobs in an organization" (Hage and Aiken, 1973: 43). Formalization, as the degree of codification present in an organization, can be measured by the mere existence of controls or written contracts, both between the band and the employer and within the band itself. Hence, " . . . if there are a large number of rules or regulations, the organization is highly formalized" (Hage and Aiken, 1970: 22). These contracts are increasingly numerous and comprehensive as the degree of formalization increases. Moreover, the degree of formalization can be indicated by the increasing number of rules to which a professional organization (e.g., a union) holds the band and/or the employer. Finally, increasing formalization is indicated by an increasing membership in these types of organizations by musicians. As musicians become formalized, one might

*Formalization should not be confused with formal organization; this will be clarified later. Also, it was decided that formalization might be an explanatory variable. Hage and Aiken (1970) and Hall (1972) in their models of social change suggest that formalization is an important independent variable. The concepts given here follow the general paradigm for exploratory research (e.g., see Blumer, 1969: 151). They are sensitizing ones which are refined by the process of research. For example, while the definition of formalization sensitizes the researcher to certain aspects of the social world, there will be a recasting of this concept throughout the investigation.

expect a change in orientation vis-a-vis musical orientation.

Next, there is a conventional distinction made within the sociology of musicians between commercial and traditional musicians. Traditional jazz musicians are musicians who value their music primarily for its own sake rather than for the sake of economic reward. Commercial jazz musicians, on the other hand, primarily value the economic rewards which jazz can offer them. Thus, traditional jazz musicians value jazz as an art form (Berendt, 1962: 3; Cameron, 1963) rather than as an economic activity; they feel that they are sharing with their fellow musicians in jazz music without the electronics usually associated with commercial music. For these traditional musicians, "satisfaction with the music was their first concern and money their second" (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 161). It would seem that the commercial musician is a capitalist first and musician second; he competes with other musicians primarily for economic profits (salaries and royalties) rather than for musical reward or expression. He is more likely to use electronic equipment to amplify and to alter the "natural" sound of the music.

Socialization of jazz musicians can either be primary or secondary. Primary socialization into jazz is detected by the amount of family, kinship, or primary group involvement in the process of learning jazz music and culture. Secondary socialization into jazz is detected by extrafamilial, institutional training (e.g., formal education); secondary groups are the agents of socialization.

The social class of the jazz musician is determined for the purpose of this study by the formal education and income of the individual. The class origin of the musician is also indicated by

parental education and income (as well as by occupation).

The social distance between the jazz musician and his audience is determined by the amount of identification the musician has with the audience. The less the identification, the greater the social distance, as well as the converse.

Finally, it has been said that jazzmen form a community. We wish to analyze this statement from two perspectives, one organizational and one social psychological. First, there has been a distinction made between communal and formal organizations (e.g., see Hillery, 1971: 51-65). Communal organizations do not give primacy to specific goals; they have different goals for different actors (Bates and Bacon, 1972). On the other hand, formal organizations do give primacy to specific goals. Ordinarily, one identifying feature of communal organizations (as developed by Hillery) is the amount of participation or presence of the family in the activities of the organization (Hillery, 1963, 1968). If the jazz musicians are organized communally, then the family should have an integral part in the functioning of the group. If they are organized formally, the family should be secondary to the functioning of the group (Hillery, 1971).

The social psychological dimension of community has to do with identification with the organization. As Hughes (1974: 83) points out, "one's degree of commitment to an identity may range from full commitment at one extreme to complete 'situational adjustment' or variability at the other." This is also true of commitment to organizations (communal or formal).

Having specifically defined a set of concepts, it is also necessary to specify how we intend to use these concepts; i.e., we must specify the purposes of this research. The major sociological purpose of this paper is to generate substantive emergent theory by exploring the problem at hand. The focus of the theory will not be limited by the hypotheses; but, it will concern the formalization of jazz musicians and the effects of this process. "Accurate descriptions" and "verification" of earlier theories are of interest only to the extent that these research activities help substantiate or spawn emergent theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 28). The specification of a logico-deductive system (Zetterberg, 1965), a Grand Theory or an abstracted empirical paper (Mills, 1959) is not of central importance here.

A second purpose of this dissertation is to inspect the parameters of certain concepts that have been used in the sociology of jazz musicians (e.g., the commercial-traditional distinction). While some of the concepts might apply to Chicago musicians, these same concepts might be irrelevant to New Orleans musicians. Or, the properties of the concepts might be different for different populations. Even with the New Orleans jazz scene, there can most certainly be changes within the society which require the sociologist to use different concepts at different times; we may be culture-bound since our study concerns New Orleans jazz musicians. The third purpose is interrelated with the second; an analysis of the emergence of jazz in New Orleans, which is both empirically grounded in historical as well as other types of data and theoretically meaningful in terms of the conclusions reached, is proposed.

In passing, it may be noted that white jazz musicians have been neglected in the literature of the sociology of jazz, especially New Orleans jazz. The usual attitude toward New Orleans jazz by investigators involved feelings toward the facts about black jazz musicians in New Orleans. In this research, previous studies are used as benchmarks for an analysis of white New Orleans jazz musicians.

It should be clear that the specification of the purposes of this study entails a more or less arbitrary focus for the research. Thus, several limitations of scope are necessary at this point so that our problem will remain manageable. First, throughout this study, an attempt will be made to side-step the perplexing questions concerning changes in the nature and quality of jazz music itself. These types of questions form part of the history of the sociology of music as well as a critical history of jazz itself. For example, consider the following statement which Georg Simmel proposed: "music begins with the rhythmic organization of speech sounds and the concurrent variation of pitch, that is, the use of different registers or pitches for contrastive effects" (Etzkorn, 1973: 15). While it will be possible to make some very general comments about jazz music, none of these comments is intended to be a substantive or critical analysis of jazz as a musical form. Hence, this is primarily a study in the sociology of jazz musicians; things which would interest musicologists and discographers might be of little worth to the sociologist attempting to generate theory.

The second limitation of scope has to do with specifying the population to be studied. Clearly, it is impossible to study all

jazz musicians; hence, we will limit ourselves to jazz musicians who have played in New Orleans for the major part of their careers. There are several important reasons for this particular limitation. First, jazz has a home in New Orleans. Some claim that New Orleans jazzmen were from the New Orleans area and thus, it would seem that the Crescent City is a good place to begin our analysis and collection of data (Stearns, 1956; Williams, 1967). Second, the city of New Orleans was the author's home for twenty-seven years. This gives him a slight advantage in terms of an initial understanding of certain important things (e.g., the ecology of the city). Third, it would be financially impossible to study a large number of cities. There are other, more technical reasons as well* and these together with the three mentioned above will limit the research to the Greater New Orleans Metropolitan Area.

The third limitation is a methodological one. Some types of New Orleans jazz musicians have been investigated by countless other investigators. Most of the black, traditional musicians in New Orleans have been studied by many different types of researchers; jazz historians (e.g., Williams, 1967), sociologists (Buerkle, 1973), and jazz musicians themselves (Buerkle and Barker, 1973) have all studied the black New Orleans jazz musician from their individual perspectives. However, the more modern, commercial jazz musician in

*Note that a shift to another city would introduce the additional city as a confounding variable. Limiting this study to New Orleans thus holds the geographical focus constant.

New Orleans seems to have been relatively neglected, at least neglected by the sociologists and the musicians. Many of the younger, commercial jazz musicians are defined as jazz musicians by tourists and laymen in general. Moreover, many of the black, traditional jazzmen define these younger, white musicians as jazzmen. Further, because commercialization is one of the variables to be studied, it is important that data on commercialized bands be obtained, so that the data has meaning within the larger body of research.

Since there is a relatively small amount of secondary information concerning these younger musicians, there will have to be more primary types of methods used in data collection. Hence, the scope of the population which is to be interviewed will be mostly limited to the more commercial jazz musicians in New Orleans. On the other hand, mostly secondary methods will be used on the more traditional musicians. (See chapter 3).

It should be noted here that these limitations of scope and the general type of investigation being conducted make this study complementary (rather than verificational) in regard to earlier work in sociology relative to a different population of jazzmen.

Any contradictions between this and earlier studies will not necessarily negate either study; this could happen if our study was verificational in nature. The goal of generating theory also subsumes this establishment of empirical generalizations, for the generalizations not only help to delimit emergent theory's boundaries of applicability; more important, they help to broaden the theory

so that it is more generally applicable and has greater explanatory and predictive power. By comparing where the facts are similar or different, the generation of categorical properties that increase the categories' generality and explanatory power is attempted. A word of caution is needed here. In this investigation, we have used earlier work to give guiding, but tentative hypotheses. It would be very surprising indeed, if in the actual primary research, the data would conform to earlier studies completed as much as thirty-five years ago under different social conditions.

Given a specific set of concepts and a problem which are similar to those employed in earlier studies, it is a fair question to ask how this study advances knowledge in sociology. First, this research will augment the existing sociological literature concerning organizational change and its effects. In other words, this dissertation will augment the existing literature concerning the formalization process within social organizations, the nature of communal and formal organizations, the conceptual distinction of traditional and commercial jazz musicians, the nature of socialization into musical careers and musical expertise, the dynamics of band-audience interactions and attitudes, as well as the social class, place of birth and family relations of the jazz musicians. Most earlier studies in the sociology of jazzmen have either been ahistorical or factual in nature. Few have been historical and theoretical (See chapter 2).

Second, this research will add to the growing literature in the sociology of musicians with its classical roots in the works of Georg Simmel and Max Weber. This literature forms a part of the

broader area called the sociology of arts. More recently, there has been a revival of interest in the sociology of art, music and jazz music. Journals such as Ethnomusicology and Journal of Jazz Studies are just two of the growing number of publications devoted to the investigation of the arts. Articles in the sociology of art are appearing in the major journals of the respective social science disciplines (e.g., see Becker, 1974). Hence, this dissertation has classical and contemporary relevance.

Investigations such as this one should be significant to the development of jazz music in New Orleans. Certainly New Orleans is the "most important city in the genesis of jazz" (Berendt, 1962: 4) and it continues to have an influence on jazz music. Any study which investigates and illuminates the collective lives of the people who create this music at the same time becomes part of that music's history. As more than one white jazz musician has commented during the interview sessions: "We need some studies on young white jazz musicians." The fact that they can see this need and sociologists seem to have neglected it is itself a matter of interest. Of course, this is not a study of those who have just begun their jazz careers. But, the men being investigated are in fact younger than the black "old timers."

Third, this dissertation will add to the knowledge that modern New Orleans jazz musicians have of themselves as members of the human group. This could be useful to the extent that they can better determine the nature of their collective biographies within the realm of social organization in New Orleans. As C. Wright Mills (1959: 5) suggests, "the first fruit of this [sociological] imagination -- and the first

lesson of the social science that embodies it -- is the idea that the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate by locating himself within this period, that he can know his own chances in life only by becoming aware of those of all individuals in his circumstances." Thus, this knowledge of biography, history and social structure should be sociologically significant to the musicians and to sociologists. Later, in the final chapter, more specific contributions will be given; these contributions will emerge from the process of research.

Methodology

This investigation is an exploratory one in the sense that there have been virtually no studies relating to the formalization process among jazz musicians and in the sense that Herbert Blumer (1969: 40-41) argues for research flexibility and depth. Formalization is initially conceptualized as an independent, explanatory variable and the other concepts are considered dependent variables. (Hage and Aiken, 1970). The methodological position in this investigation comes primarily from Blumer's cardinal principle of empirical science; i.e., "one has to respect the obdurate character of that empirical world." The researcher must first of all devise images of the empirical world and second, test these images (Blumer, 1969: 23; Denzin, 1970).

Therefore, we have presented some initial images. The theory in this paper will interact with the data collected in such a manner that the final product can readily transcend the initial orientation. Thus, we will have a set of orientations and hypotheses which are spelled out in

advance of the collection of the data.* Let us discuss the methodological problems that exist in this type of study and the precise existemological precEDURE which we will use to attack our problem.

Many of the problems of a methodological nature in the sociology of jazzmen can be solved by taking into account changes in the jazz musician and changes in jazz music (see chapter 4). Some historically oriented studies in the sociology of jazzmen try to correct the ahistorical nature of some interview-type studies of jazz musicians by using statistical techniques (i.e., controlling for age) to show differences in variables along age categories which imply (by their logic) historical changes (e.g., See Harvey, 1967). One of the errors in this type of reasoning is that one cannot be sure the results are a function of historical change rather than individual "musical maturation."

In addition to the problem of diachronic historicism discussed in the previous paragraph, there is also a problem of synchronic representatives (Hughes, 1974: 81). "Four major empirical studies of jazzmen stand out as landmarks in the short history of the sociology

*Glaser and Strauss (1967: 3) say that "the researcher does not approach reality as a tabula rasa. He must have a perspective that will help him see relevant data and abstract significant categories from his scrutiny of the data." In this paper, the orientations and hypotheses will be taken primarily from the classical sociological literature (e.g., Emile Durkheim), from the literature which relates to the concepts and from the literature in the relevant substantive area (i.e., the sociology of jazz musicians). Also, we will make the orientations and hypotheses explicit. As Gouldner points out (1970), social research is full of "domain assumptions" and "world hypotheses" which need to be stated as postulates. Moreover, in terms of overall purpose, this research is an exploratory one; the emergent theory is not a product of verificational research which tests relative fixed (i.e., precasted) propositions. In this research, we use initial "stereotyped" images to start the investigative act. However, we go directly to the empirical world to examine these images (see Blumer, 1969: 35-37).

of jazz. The three earliest of them have been used as the basis for extensive generalization. Such generalization is not without its hazards" (Hughes, 1974: 81). This problem of representativeness was a partial motivation for the initiation of this study. First, it was considered that the city which is the cradle of jazz has had very few studies completed on its jazz musicians and virtually none (of a sociological nature) focusing directly on its modern, commercial jazz musicians. This leads directly to the question of sampling procedure, which will be discussed in the next section (on theoretical sampling). First however, a practical, technical question needs to be answered.

Most research in sociology is fairly "objective" in terms of its methodological discussions. It might be valuable at this point to outline the actual rules for collecting the data. That is, an answer to the following question will be attempted: What are the "rules of the game" in the field? These rules are practical hints for research. First, "all studies require respites from data collection for the relief and health of their personnel . . . If he does not take respites for reflection and analysis, he cannot avoid collecting a large mass of data of obvious theoretical relevance" Glaser and Strauss (1967: 72).

Second, "most generating of theory should be done in uninterrupted quiet, away from the field or the machine room. This is true especially during earlier stages of the project . . ." (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 72). In order to comply with this rule, the author requested and received office space in a university approximately sixty miles from the research site. All of the theory construction was done there. It was found that a series of interviews (usually between two and four) could be completed

and then it would be necessary to return to the office for examination of the data. Also, the observation and collection of institutional and library data paralleled the interviewing.

Third, a straight-forward approach will be used in the presentation of this research. The preconceptions are well defined and articulated. The data are presented virtually as they were collected. Then the results of the investigation will be reported at the appropriate place (Becker, 1958). Hence, the "finished product" will not be a set of hypotheses which were formulated after the data were collected. In this paper, the initial hypotheses are statements which follow from general orientations and specify a relationship between concepts. The data will generate our theory which will be relevant to our sample at a specific point in time. Table 1.1 summarizes the relevant methodological procedures.

Fourth, it is not possible at this point to specify the nature of the purposive sample to be employed in this research. As we will see, the sample is in part a function of the nature of the emergent theory and the information collected. The theory and data guide the nature and size of the sample. The sample will initially consist of a commercial jazz band and the "experts" within that band will point out other sources of information. Moreover, as the theory develops and the concepts are recast, new information will be demanded.

Basically, the methodology can be summarized as an act of exploration and inspection (Blumer, 1969:40), the two fundamental parts of exploratory research. Exploration roughly corresponds to steps 1 through 3 in Table 1.1; it is "a flexible procedure in which the scholar shifts from one to another line of inquiry, adopts new points of observation as

 Table 1.1 The Methodological Procedure

<u>Step</u>	<u>Task</u>
1	Development of a Prior Picture or Orientation
2	Specification of the Problem
3	Determination of the Data
4	Determination of Relations Between the Data
5	Interpretation of the Findings vis-a-vis Theory
6	Conceptual and Theoretical Clarifications and Implications

Source: Blumer (1969: 25-26).

he acquires more information and better understanding" (Blumer, 1969:40). As the process of exploration advances, the focus of the investigation becomes "progressively sharp."

Next, the researcher concentrates on analysis or "inspection." That is, "by 'inspection' I mean an intensive focused examination of the empirical content of whatever analytical elements are used for purposes of analysis, and this same kind of examination of the empirical nature of the relations between such elements" (Blumer, 1969: 43). Thus, inspection corresponds roughly to steps 4 through 6 in Table 1.1. The parts of research and the steps of research are distinguished here for explanatory purposes; in actual research, inspection and explanation often occur simultaneously at some stage of the project. Also, the steps outlined in Table 1.1 are not as discrete as the model would suggest.

Several summary comments are appropriate at this point. First, it

would seem that methodology embraces the entire research act (Blumer, 1969: 23-25). That is the "principles underlying the conduct of inquiry" are relevant to every aspect of research. Second, methods or technique, which will be elaborated in Chapter 3 are "subservient to the empirical world" which is the point of departure and return of the testing of images (Blumer, 1969: 23-25).

Finally, it is a fair methodological task to answer the following type of question: how can one who is not a professional musician understand jazz musicians and the intricacies of their organizations? Buerkle and Barker deserve extended mention here in relation to the self-oriented research of some jazz musicians:

Several of the sociologists writing about jazzmen and popular musicians were professional musicians themselves either before or during graduate school. Regrettably, when they write about either popular musicians or jazzmen, their reports are essentially conjectural and certain personal memories of the music business and the speculative material of others, or they are after-the-fact accounts of musicians they knew and worked with in the 1940's to mid-fifties (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 201-202).

Hughes (1974: 93) seemingly echoes this perspective by suggesting that the sociologist of jazz must keep an objective stance instead of slipping into the "normative conceptions" of the jazzmen. However, it is also true that, "if the scholar wishes to understand the action of people, it is necessary for him to see their objects as they see them" (Blumer, 1969: 51). Hence, the appropriate methodological stance is one of empathetic understanding instead of "going native" or "academic indifference."

Summary and Forecast

In this chapter, the preliminary foundation for this investigation has been given. Certain hypotheses, definitions and perspectives have been suggested. The next chapter will review the literature of the concepts involved in the hypotheses and the substantive area on which we will focus. This review should produce a "feel" for the importance of the hypotheses in relation to the sociology of musicians. Then a set of methodological techniques consistent with the goal of generating grounded theory is elaborated. Finally, the data is presented in chapters four (historical) and five. Chapters six and seven complete the task of "deriving" theory from data.

This review of the literature will be divided into two sections. In the first section, an attempt will be made to present a general overview of the literature in the sociology of jazzmen. Some of the studies which are most relevant to this dissertation will be summarized, while other studies will be cited without discussion. It should be clear that a penetrating discussion of every investigation into the sociology of jazzmen is impossible here. Rather, what follows is a view of the breadth of this subject as well as a view of the depth of certain selected studies which bear most directly on this one.

Second, we will present some of the work that has been done concerning the concepts that have been used to form the hypotheses. Again, some abstracting will be necessary in order to present the studies which most directly bear on the way terms such as social class, community, commitment, social distance and formalization have been conceptualized. There will be a certain amount of overlap in the two sections. For example, when reviewing concepts such as commercial orientations to jazz music, one is in the substantive area of the sociology of jazzmen. Hence, the literature relevant to concepts in the sociology of jazzmen will mainly be covered in the review of the concepts section. After a review of the literature and a methodological note, the data will be presented in chapters four and five; the "grounded theory" will then develop.

Literature Concerning Jazz Musicians
and Related Areas

The amount of literature concerning the general study of the sociology of music and musicians is monumental; therefore, what is given is a brief account of the literature in this specific area and in some tangent areas here. First, there have been studies which analyze the psychology of jazz (Margolis, 1954) and which tend to portray the jazz musician as a person with psychological deviance (e.g., a repressed id drive). There have also been studies which utilize a psychiatric frame of reference; Keil (1966: 198-202) in a study of blues uses Erik Erikson's schema of the stages of ego development to investigate selected blues singers (e.g., B. B. King).

Especially relevant to the fourth chapter is the literature on the history of jazz (Berendt, 1962; Blesh, 1946; Finkelstein, 1948; Goffin, 1945; Grossman and Farrell, 1956; Hentoff and McCarthy, 1959; Jones, 1963; Lax, 1974; Longstreet, 1956; Osgood, 1926; Paul, 1957; Ramsey and Smith, 1939; Schuller, 1968; Stearns, 1956; Tanner and Gerow, 1964; Ulanov, 1952, 1957; Wilson, 1966). Some of these studies have been more scholarly than others. For example, Osgood (1926) in a book about groups such as those of George Gershwin, Paul Whiteman and Irving Berlin does not mention some of the most important early black jazzmen (e.g., "Buddy Bolden and Louis Armstrong). On the other hand, Blesh (1946) seems to overemphasize the "purity" of what he calls African Jazz. Of the aforementioned studies, perhaps Stearns (1956) presents one of the best attempts to ferret all of the factors which contributed to the emergence of jazz.

In addition to the general historical studies of jazz, there are more specific studies concerning the histories of particular bands, biographies of famous (and not so famous) jazzmen, and autobiographies by jazzmen themselves (Armstrong, 1954; Brunn, 1960; Chilton, 1972; Cortinovic, 1974; Feather, 1955; Green, 1973; Jones and Chilton, 1971; Rose and Souchon, 1967; Shapiro and Hentoff, 1955; Williams, 1959, 1967, 1970). Of course, there are weaknesses associated with these types of studies. The major problem with the autobiographies is that of any study which uses personal memories -- the possibility of distortion or selective remembrances. A problem with the studies which investigate a band or a musician is that the band or person takes on exaggerated importance (e.g., see Brunn, 1960). Probably one of the better tactics to use when attempting to reconstruct the history of jazz by looking at particular bands is to select a set of musicians or groups large enough that the importance of any one will not be overemphasized (e.g., see Williams, 1967).

From the historical literature, we now turn to the methodological and critical literature. Methods of data collection as well as general methodology in the area of the sociology of music have been investigated by sociologists, musicologists and discographers. The studies in discography and data retrieval will be secondary to this study (see Allen, 1974; Patrick, 1973; Spence, 1974). On the other hand, certain aspects of general methodology will be very important to this study (e.g., see Hughes, 1974 for a discussion of synchronics and diachronics).

Countless studies have attempted to capture the nature of jazz music (e.g., see Feather, 1955: 49-66; Tanner and Gerow, 1964: 1-6).

Also, there have been a plethora of critical books and articles criticizing certain recordings, musicians and bands (for example, see Larkin, 1970 for a whole book of critiques). Many of the jazz periodicals (see Downbeat Magazine and Footnotes) are full of critical essays.

There have also been studies which are sociological in substance. One sociologist has investigated the changing ideologies of jazz musicians. Harvey (1967) in an interview with one hundred eighteen randomly selected jazzmen in two large cities found that by controlling for the age of the jazz musician, he was able to hypothesize some historical changes in the occupational ideologies of jazzmen. According to Harvey, jazzmen are becoming less hostile toward audiences, less cohesive among themselves and more likely to interact with outsiders. These attitudinal changes are attributed to a change in the public's attitudes toward jazz. On the cultural level, jazz has been studied as an example of acculturation (see Slotkin, 1943). But, these social change studies have either been methodologically weak (Harvey, 1967) or theoretically defunct (Slotkin, 1943 does not explain why jazz music emerged and spread).

There have been studies which investigate the appropriateness of defining jazzmen as deviants (Becker, 1951; Berger, 1947; Nanry, 1972: 168-186; Winick, 1960). Many of the early studies in the sociology of jazzmen either treated jazzmen as social deviants (Barker, 1951; Becker, 1957) or as musicians with deviant habits (Winick, 1960). However, some of the later studies have either demonstrated that this treatment is wrong for some population of jazz musicians (see Buerkle

and Barker, 1973 for statistics which show that less than one percent of their sample of jazzmen have ever been arrested for drug charges) or that this treatment should be modified due to historical changes (Harvey, 1967; Nanry, 1972).

Of somewhat lesser interest here are the studies which consider jazzmen as members of minority groups (Buerkle and Barker, 1973; Cayer, 1974; Jones, 1963), status groups (Bensman, 1972), or groups with differential amounts of power (Hughes, 1974; Stebbins, 1966). Also of lesser interest are the studies which deal with the relationship between the musicians and the recording industry (e.g., see Denisoff, 1974).

One study attempts the ambitious task of formulating a paradigm for jazz studies in sociology (Horowitz, 1973). In his summary article, Horowitz says that the sociology of jazzmen must proceed along at least four interdependent vectors: research into the history of jazz music and jazz musicians; research into the contextual factors associated with jazz; research into the connotative meanings that jazz music embraces; and research into the technical and commercial aspects to the production of jazz music. This dissertation will focus on the first two aspects of the paradigm of jazz research which Horowitz presents. That is, this investigation concerns the historical emergence of jazz (in chapter four) and the contextual influences on the orientation and organization of jazzmen in New Orleans (in the final chapters).

Other studies have had very ambitious titles, but nevertheless, do little more than trace the history of jazz. For example, Hurley (1969),

in his article "Toward a Sociology of Jazz," discusses the reciprocal relationship between jazz music and society. The general title is not covered; moreover, there is virtually no systemization of the existing literature in this article. Finally, the evidence for the research is noticeably weak or nonexistent.

Of critical importance to this research are the studies which concern the relationship between the jazz musician and the audience (Becker, 1951; Bensman, 1972; Esman, 1951; Harvey, 1967). Basically, at this point it is possible to dichotomize these investigations into those which argue that there is hostility between the jazzmen and their audiences (Becker, 1951) and into those investigations which contradict Becker (Harvey, 1967). This hostility may be expressed in terms of physical barriers which the jazzmen place between themselves and their audiences or in numerous other ways. In any case, an additional discussion of this concept will follow in the review of the notion of social distance.

Some of the same studies which suggest that there is hostility on the part of the jazzmen vis-a-vis his audiences also suggest that the jazzmen form a subculture or community. The nature of the group varies from study to study (Bensman, 1972; Buerkle and Barker, 1973; Cameron, 1963; Merriman and Mack, 1960; Stebbins, 1968). In one of the community studies, Merriman and Mack (1960: 218-220) even consider some of the "behavioral manifestations" of the jazz community; these manifestations include the use of argot (see also Feather, 1955: 345-347; Ulanov, 1957: 99-111), the existence of greeting rituals and special dress, the development of standard

folk plots (e.g., the Horatio Alger theme) and finally, a lack of prejudice or a tolerance for diversity. These factors in association with the jazzmen's music are what make the jazzmen a community of interest according to Merriman and Mack.

On the other hand, jazz communities have been formulated in a more structural manner by Stebbins (1966). He argues that there needs to be more than psychological identification among actors in order for a community to exist. In fact, he says that there have to be three types of institutions: institutions of socialization (in order to educate neophytes to the value, the attitudes and the behavior acceptable to the group), institutions of the mastery of nature (which help provide food and shelter) and institutions of social control (for decision-making and decision-enforcing). The actual findings from seventy-five jazz musicians in Minneapolis suggest that the musicians form a "semi-community" with a structure falling somewhere in between a full-fledged community and simply a congerly of institutions. Bensman (1972) and Buerkle and Barker (1973) seem to side with Merriman and Mack's psychological type of community, while Cameron (1963) seems to side with Stebbins' more structural community.

Additional studies have more or less directly dealt with the process of socialization into jazz music and the jazz "community." For example, Cameron (1963) discusses how a jazzman learns to play jazz in a jam session (1963: 123). Buerkle and Barker (1973: 51-77) present a general analysis of the socialization of jazzmen. According to them, the young, black New Orleans jazzmen sustain several states

in the development of their musical careers. First, the youngster develops an interest in jazz, either through relatives or the general milieu. Then there is a second-line* stage where the youngster apprentices himself to a jazzman. Finally, after the "professor" teaches him the rudiments of jazz music, the young jazzman at first imitates and then develops a style. Also, Harvey (1967) suggests that, contrary to Becker's (1951) findings of parental discouragement vis-a-vis jazz careers for their children, there is increasing tolerance among parents relative to jazz careers for their children. None of these studies detail precisely how the methods of socialization into jazz have changed in the past seventy years.

One study has even dealt directly with New Orleans jazzmen and jazz music. Buerkle and Barker (1973) have made a very significant study of black jazzmen. Buerkle, a sociologist, and Barker, a jazz musician, attempt to use the methods of social science in order to capture the essence of the semi-community of Bourbon Street Black. They trace the emergence of jazz in New Orleans, the socialization of jazzmen, the story of the black musicians union (Local 496), the importance of family background to a jazz career, the dynamics of race relations in the semi-community, the relationship between the "squares" and the "hips", and the nature of New Orleans' relation to jazz. These as well as other topics are investigated with sociological and musicological expertise.

*The second line is a socialization technique in which the youngster marches directly in back of a parading jazz band.

While some studies have suggested that the organization and orientation of jazz musicians is changing (e.g., Harvey, 1967; Stebbins, 1966), none of these studies has actually investigated the process by which the organization of jazz musicians has become formalized and the consequences of formalization for the general social organization and social psychological orientation of jazz musicians.

Literature Concerning the Concepts*

Formalization (see Appendix II: 36-39; 45) is the vital concept here. Of course, there have been several empirical and conceptual-theoretical studies on formalization. For example, Hage and Aiken (1969, 1970), Hall (1972: 172-199) and Hickson (1966) all deal directly with the concept of formalization. Hickson (1966) has suggested that the sociologist who wants to study organizations should pay close attention to the concept of role; role theory provides the sociologist with an interface between the individual and the organization (see Hall, 1972: 195-196 for a review of Hickson's article). In a later article, Inkson, Pugh and Hickson (1970) provide a structural measure for the level of formalization in an organization. Price (1972) provides a good review of this as well as other operational measures of the concept of formalization, while Hall (1972) provides a good conceptual and theoretical summary of the

*A parenthetical entry will follow each concept; this entry will give the appropriate items in the interview guide in Appendix II.

work done on the concept. Now for some detail, the discussion will begin with Hage and Aiken's work.

Hage and Aiken have done an excellent job of developing social psychological measures for indicating the presence of formalization within organizations. Their studies of formalization (and other organizational variables) have been extensive both in terms of respondents and in terms of organizations. In two studies (1969, 1970), they employed structured interviews to question five hundred twenty respondents from sixteen welfare organizations. Respondents were randomly selected (with the exception of directors and heads who were all interviewed). The interview schedule contained questions relative to job codification, rule observation, rule manuals, job descriptions, the specificity of job descriptions, as well as other items. This research will utilize Hage and Aiken's five items which measure job codification. (See Appendix II, Item 45). On the conceptual level, we have already discussed Hage and Aiken's use of the term formalization; we will follow their suggestions vis-a-vis a definition of formalization.*

While Hage and Aiken suggest that the presence of written contracts is a good indicator of formalization, Price (1972) follows Blau and Scott (1962: 7) in pointing out that an organization can have informal, unwritten rules which are very explicit; hence, they claim that explicitness or degree of explicitness should be used as the

*The result of the Hage and Aiken (1970) work was that increasing formalization was theoretically associated with decreasing social change.

defining characteristic for formalization (Price, 1972: 107).

That is, while Price admits that the existence of written rules constitutes a good measure for formalization within organizations, nevertheless, "it would be unfortunate if formalization was restricted to the use of written norms" (Price 1972: 107). We will follow Prices' suggestion; on the operational level, the presence of contracts will be used to indicate formalization; on the conceptual level, formalization will be defined as the degree of codification in the formal-written sense and in the explicit sense.

In another study, Inkson, Pugh and Hickson (1970) use more structural measures for the term formalization. In their study of ninety-two organizations, they found that increasing formalization of role-definition was associated with increasing size of the organization. Contrary to the concept of formalization used here, Inkson, Pugh and Hickson suggest that formalization of role-definition can be equated with (as opposed to indicated by) written roles; they make this suggestion by an operational emphasis on the existence of documents as the criteria for formalization. For example, they interview respondents with structured questions concerning the existence of employment contracts, information booklets, organizational charts, operating instructions, manuals of procedure, job descriptions as well as other written documents. In this dissertation, a set of items designed to measure the existence of contracts within the band and between the band and the employer will be utilized; these contracts are simply indicators of a broader term -- formalization.

One difference between the use of the term formalization given here and the uses suggested by Hage and Aiken and Inkson, Pugh and Hickson is that this investigation is not limited to the existence of documents (e.g., see Appendix III) and their social psychological correlates. In addition, the explicitness of these contracts will be researched by investigating the content of these documents and making some assessment of the degree of formalness in the document. Certainly, five page contracts are indicators of higher formalization than are one page contracts. Moreover, the content of these contracts is also significant vis-a-vis formalization. Hence, an attempt to define the nature and types of formalization is given. The degree of formalization is discussed rather than merely its existence in an organization.

Next, a conventional distinction is made between commercial and traditional jazz musicians (Becker, 1951; Cameron, 1963: 119-120; Stebbins, 1962). (See Appendix II: 33-35; 44). Virtually, the entire population of jazzmen in New Orleans has been termed "traditional" by some investigators (Grossman and Farrell, 1956: 25; McCarthy, 1959: 305). However, other investigators (e.g., Buerkle and Barker, 1973) have suggested a dual orientation among New Orleans jazzmen similar to the one proposed by Becker (1951) in his study of Chicago jazzmen. Following Becker's classic article, Stebbins is most explicit and global vis-a-vis a radical distinction between commercial and traditional jazzmen: ". . . it is the fundamental thesis . . . that their concern with making a living dissociates some musicians from the [traditional] jazz community; commercial [jazz] musicians are or become different from

[traditional] jazz musicians" (Stebbins, 1966: 198).* However, the use of the commercial-traditional dichotomy is not restricted to sociologists. The jazzmen themselves seem to use the term, if we can use Feather's (1955:346) "Glossary of Terms" as a guide.

Hughes (1974: 86-87) in an excellent discussion, states that "two criteria seem to have been employed to distinguish commercial musicians from their jazz-playing counterparts: (1) on the supply side, their motives for producing their music, and (2) on the demand side, its reception." There are problems with both of these approaches to the dichotomy. In the first place, not all "commercial" records sell commercially. Thus, the demand definition is "too restrictive" (Hughes, 1974: 87). Also, it is psychological reductionism to call two social roles (commercial musician and traditional musician) motivational. Hence, the first definition is "inadequate" (Hughes, 1974: 87). On the other hand, we will use a simple interview to attempt to capture the essence of commercialism and traditionalism among jazzmen; we will handle this as a social psychological distinction, i.e., a distinction which is "orientational" in nature. Commercialism is initially indicated by recording activity.**

*Nanry has a fourfold typology (Hughes, 1974: 85; Nanry, 1972: 168-186) which includes local dance bands, studio musicians, jazzmen in non-jazz bands and jazz innovators. Also other types are introduced. The two-fold approach will be used here.

**There is an initial problem vis-a-vis theoretical sample of commercial jazzmen. The "recording activity" is used to place a musician in a commercial or a traditional category. This activity is subsequently supplemented with interview items to determine the motivation of each musician. These indices are both weak. However, some criteria was needed for the selection of a sample. See chapter 3 for a more precise statement in relation to the sample selection process.

It is important to note here that no position is taken with respect to either the quality of the different types of orientations (or organizations) or the music which emerges from them. This report does not involve, as did Theodor Adorno's work, ". . . the negative influences of the social institutions of mass society on music" (Etzkorn, 1973: 19). Nor is it possible to agree with some of the jazz "purists" critiques on commercialism (e.g., see Blesh, 1958: 5, 6, 11, 12). On the other hand, it is interesting that Adorno in the late 1930's and early 1940's, was suggesting that music be divided into two great classes: "music that follows the demands of the market; and music that on principle, declines to yield to the market" (Etzkorn, 1973: 20). While it should be clear at this point that we are concerned primarily with the organization and the orientation of jazz musicians rather than with the essence of jazz as a musical form, it would nevertheless seem that Adorno's distinction parallels the one made between commercial and traditional jazz musicians.

These two orientations are ideal types; therefore, one must be prepared to find the synthetic case in an actual empirical setting. The research may indicate that the commercial-traditional distinction is an artificial one, as is the common distinction between popular and classical music (see Finkelstein, 1948: 7-15 for a discussion). However, the distinction is still central to the sociology of music and cannot be dismissed on an a priori, casual basis. As Glaser and Strauss comment (1967: 24), "the discovered theoretical category lives on until proven theoretically defunct for any class of data." But, what is the exact meaning of a synthetic orientation to the commercial-

traditional ideal types?

This synthetic orientation may be what Faulkner (1971: 83-84) in a study of studio musicians calls a "pragmatic resolution" to the commercial-traditional conflict. Hence, Faulkner seems to disagree with Stebbins' comment (1969: 411) that there is an irreconcilable tension between art and commercialism. For example, Faulkner (1971: 83-84) says that "going commercial is more than . . . conflict between 'musical' versus 'monetary' rewards . . . this kind of hybrid orientation . . . is one of a calculative synthesis of economic pay-off . . . and the more intrinsic and expressive rewards." Perhaps in this hybrid case, role distance is expected and enacted by musicians, as Stebbins later suggests (1969). In conclusion, this dissertation may point out that Stebbins' commercial-traditional distinction should be viewed as a jazz myth for some types of musicians under given situations. Thus, as Hughes (1974: 93) comments, "sociologists should be students of the 'jazz myth', not its bearers."

Next, the concept of socialization into jazz (see Appendix II: 21-23) will be reviewed. This concept is not to be confused with pressure toward or away from a jazz career for youngsters by their parents, relatives or teachers. "Inheritance" of jazz careers may be increasing in some populations, implying less parental pressure away from a jazz career (Harvey, 1967). However, parent as role model and parent as career advocator are separate. The degree of parallelism is an empirical question rather than an obvious isomorphism.

One study (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 54) has shown that half of the traditional New Orleans jazzmen became " . . . interested [in jazz]

because parents or relatives played." On the other hand, some studies have suggested that some elements within the formal educational system (e.g., teachers or fellow students) encouraged the youngster into a "hip" musical career (Harvey, 1967: 36-37, however, says that parents are becoming increasingly positive about jazz careers for their children). The high schools are increasingly promoting stage bands and jazz combos, something that was prohibited in the past.

Mediating the primary and secondary types of socialization is a social fact of crucial importance to jazz. The practice of "second lining" is actually a mechanism of anticipatory socialization which aspiring young people accomplish by marching directly behind the jazzmen in a parade. Sometimes a musician will ask one of the second liners to carry an instrument case; of course, this is a sign of affiliation between the musician and the second liners as well as a symbol of prestige for the second liner. Many investigators and musicians have noted this practice (e.g., Armstrong, 1954: 24; Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 51 ff.; Fountain, 1972: 27; Stearns, 1956: 51) and with the decreasing prevalence of marching bands in funerals, it will be interesting (or possibly tragic) to see the effect of the decrease of jazz funerals on the socialization of young jazzmen.

Many of the studies in the sociology of jazzmen have used the concept of social class (see Appendix II: 6-11) as an area of discussion. Harvey (1967) has reported a dramatic shift in the recruitment of jazzmen from the lower class to the middle class. Using Alba Edward's six-place occupational index on his sample of one hundred eighteen

randomly selected jazzmen, Harvey (1967) found that social class background varies inversely with the age of the musicians. On the other hand, Buerkle and Barker (1973: 152) found that in New Orleans for traditional black jazzmen, social class position has always been relatively high. "Because of the esteem in which their occupation is held locally and their relatively superior education, they [the jazzmen] range from the lower-middle to upper classes of Crescent City black society." Here, Buerkle and Barker stress the importance of education as a measure of social class among blacks in New Orleans.

However, if we were to expand the definition of social class in New Orleans society and include white musicians in the discussion, we would expect considerable heterogeneity along the dimensions of social class. Not only is there a wide educational gap, but there is also a wide income gap between the white "commercial" musicians and the "traditional" black jazzmen. While Buerkle and Barker (1973: 156) report that education seems to be related with success among black jazzmen, this remains to be investigated among white commercial musicians.

Finally, Stebbins (1966) reports that in Minneapolis, jazz musicians have a social class position that is significantly lower than that of commercial musicians. Using such variables as the number of automobiles owned, the cost of the newest automobile, the number of television sets owned and the type of dwelling, Stebbins finds that a commercial musician will probably have a higher social class than a jazz musician.

Social Distance (see Appendix II: 25-29; 40) has been developed

in general sociology by Bogardus (1959) as well as many other researchers. In terms of the jazz musician, social distance between the band and the audience is expressed in terms of the interaction between them as well as by the physical barriers placed between them (Becker, 1951: 142; Merriman and Mack, 1960). However, unlike Becker's general statements concerning this antagonism, it is assumed here that "the relationship between the musician and his audience can be different in different times and places" (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 203).

Several investigations have suggested that jazz musicians may form a community (see Appendix II: 15-17; 31-32; 46-48) (Merriman and Mack, 1960; Stebbins, 1964, 1966: 198, 1968); however, the precise nature of this jazz community is vague in its definition and usage varies from "community of interest" to "semi-community". In this respect, it would seem that the jazz studies involving the concept of community reflect the vagueness caused by the diversity of meanings attached to that term (see Hillery, 1955).

Thus, according to Buerkle and Barker (1973: 41), "Bourbon Street Black [musicians are] a semi-community in New Orleans of musicians, their relatives, peers, friends and general supporters, whose styles of life are built around the fundamental assumption that the production and nurture of music for people in general is good." Moreover, Buerkle and Barker (1973: 116) claim that Bourbon Street Black is a "relatively stable community" which is "psychological" rather than territorial (Merriman and Mack, 1960: 213), this psychological community or community of interest is a result of the musicians' attitudes of "rejection of the normal world," which in turn is due to such factors as (1) the public's

rejection of jazz and jazz musicians; (2) the nature of the jazzmen's job (i.e., his late hours isolate him from the general public); and (3) the role conflict between commercial and artistic values in the production of jazz music.

It appears that part of the problem in the definition of community included in previous studies of jazzmen is a result of the confusion of social psychological with structural properties. Therefore, community is investigated in two different ways -- community as organization (Hillery, 1972) and community as commitment (Kanter, 1972). It should be clear that these two types of community do not necessarily follow from each other; i.e., they vary independent of each other.

This has been a brief review of the literature in the substantive area of the sociology of jazzmen and in the area of the certain concepts relevant to that substantive area. Some of the more "technical" literature (e.g., employment contracts, rules of the American Federation of Musicians and newsletters of unions and clubs) will be included as data in the following chapters. In general, however, we can glean a perspective or orientation common to most of the sociological works cited in this chapter. That is, "the sociology of music starts from the realization that these social, political and economic conditions do not influence and color the praxis of music only from the outside, but determine its innermost essence" (Blaukopf as cited in Etzkorn, 1973: 16).

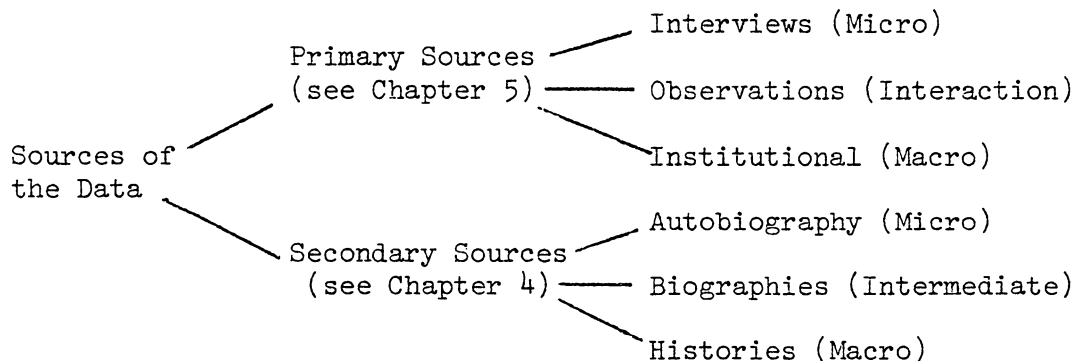
This chapter is an explanation of some of the general suggestions which were made in the methodology section of chapter 1; we will specify the techniques to be used for gathering our data and the criteria for inclusion into our sample of jazzmen. Various methods are proposed for gathering the data which will allow us to generate theory; the use of more than one method will hopefully produce several effects, which will be elaborated. Moreover, the sampling technique will generally follow the paradigm suggested by Herbert Blumer (1969: 40-41) in his discussion of exploratory research. In other words, in this section, we will clarify the techniques which we will use to gather the data and the sampling procedure. In addition, some problems associated with gathering data and sampling will be reviewed. This section elaborates the data collection step (step 6 in table 1.1) since we will be using more than one technique for the theoretical sample. It should be kept in mind that we are examining the empirical world and that this examination "is a tough job requiring a high order of careful and honest probing, creative yet disciplined imagination, resourcefulness and flexibility in study, pondering over what one is finding, and a constant readiness to test and recast one's views . . ." (Blumer, 1969: 40).

Techniques for Gathering Data

Method has to do with the "instruments designed to identify and analyze the empirical world" (Blumer, 1969: 27). In the research,

multi-methodological procedures in combination with multiple measures for the same concept and multiple samples of jazz musicians will produce a "triangulation effect." Table 3.1 gives the types of information and the sources of the data. This triangulation scheme may increase the reliability and the validity of the generated concepts and theory.* With this in mind, the utilization of the following techniques for gathering data is proposed: Observation of jazz musicians (both on-stage and off-stage); institutional statistics or data (i.e., data from sources such as the New Orleans Jazz Museum, the New Orleans Jazz Archives at Tulane University, the Heritage Hall films and A. F. of M. Local 174-496); and finally, interviewing-questionnaire techniques (with jazz musicians, music teachers, music historians, as well as others familiar with New Orleans jazz). Of course, library materials will also be used as data in some

Table 3.1 Sources of Data (and Types of Information)



*Webb (1970) and Fitzgerald and Cox (1975: 61-62) have a discussion of triangulation. Given a multiple samples method and the technique paradigm, sophisticated statistical techniques are available to measure reliability and validity. However, we are more concerned with research endeavors which are prior to a technical calculation of validity and systems will allow the gathering of diverse types of data and the generation of comparative theory.

cases.*

The interviewing was more or less structured, depending on the person being interviewed and the particular stage of the research problem. For example, some initial relatively unstructured interviews were conducted with jazzmen and enthusiasts in order to get a feel for the appropriateness of certain directions in the process of problem investigation. Later, as the categories became clearer and better defined, the interviews became more structured. Hence, we found that as the interviewing proceeded, we needed less time per interview. As Glaser and Strauss (1967: 76) comment, "the time for any one interview grows shorter as the number of interviews increase, because the researcher now questions many people, in different positions and different groups, about the same topics." For our purposes here, Appendix II is a good representation of the instrument used in the more structured part of the research.**

*Here, it should be noted that "because of its flexible nature, exploratory inquiry is not pinned down to any particular set of techniques" (Blumer, 1969: 41).

**"At the beginning of the research, interviews usually consist of open-ended conversations during which respondents are allowed to talk with no imposed limitations of time. Often the researcher sits back and listens while the respondents tell their stories. Later, when interviews and observations are directed by the emerging theory, he can ask direct questions bearing on his categories" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 75-76). In my problems, the library was used for many of the "open-ended conversations," which were recorded by other investigators.

While each of the methods mentioned above will add information to this study, it is also clear that certain techniques are more appropriate than others for specific types of data. For example, simple observation is particularly suited for ascertaining that amount of musician-audience interaction and the physical distance between them. On the other hand, the musician's perception of the amount of band-audience interaction can be ascertained by an interview item. Most important, concepts such as formalization lend themselves to interview items and to more "impersonal" techniques (e.g., examining the proliferation of rules in the musicians unions). In terms of formalization, the objective measure for the term can certainly be different than the subjective dimension; musicians might not be aware of the increase or decrease in the codification of their occupation. Especially in this case, multiple measures for the same concept are indicated.

Even with the use of the above methods, there is a very serious methodological problem encountered in this type of study. In much of the research on the history of jazz, "oral histories" produce contradictory, irrelevant and misleading results. For example, Schafer (1974) questions the assumption that "Buddy" Bolden's 1897 jazz band constituted the first true jazz band in New Orleans. On the other hand, by the use of "oral histories" and other methods, Blesh (1946) and Stearns (1956: 55-56) seem to support the position that "Buddy" Bolden's group was the first real jazz band in the United States and, furthermore, that his band emerged parallel to the red-light district in New Orleans (Storyville, 1897-1917).

Part of the methodological problem here is that jazz was not recorded until 1917 (with the Original Dixieland Band), according to the available data. Also, even when we have early jazz recordings, we can never be sure that these recordings represent actual replicas of on-stage performances. Recording techniques were primitive and musicians had to alter playing style to account for the recording problems (e.g., by using a wood block instead of a snare drum) (Williams, 1967: 182). Hence, we must rely on "oral histories" and written histories (Jones, 1963: 100; Ulanov, 1957: 8). While there are some jazz historians who claim that there are some pre-1917 recordings (Stearns, 1956: 56), these recordings are not available. Obviously, if the oral and written historical accounts support other types of data and conclusions (e.g., union records or contracts between band leaders and employers), then we can have additional faith in our results.

Given the weaknesses of "oral histories," it is necessary to point out that orientational changes that a musician manifests during his career are not easily measured in autobiographical and biographical reports. That is, musicians can change orientations during their careers; it would be surprising if they did not. In order to analyze these changes, it is necessary to develop core categories. The autobiographies are simply too "rigid" and are not as comparable as interview items. Therefore, the theory on orientational changes will emerge primarily from the interviews with the contemporary jazzmen. Biographies and autobiographies will be used as sensitizing devices and as sources for initial validation. The histories,

biographies, and autobiographies will, however, be utilized for a comparison of the social organization of the early jazzmen with the contemporary jazzmen in New Orleans. The next step is to specify how the samples will be selected.

Sampling

Three general comments about sampling are needed at this point. First, we will use primarily secondary data obtained from earlier studies of jazzmen in locations other than New Orleans, such as Chicago (Becker, 1951, 1953), Minneapolis (Stebbins, 1964, 1966, 1968), as well as other locations which are unspecified in the particular piece of research (e.g., Cameron, 1963; Harvey, 1967). This utilization of other research is in part an attempt to triangulate samples; triangulation increases reliability and validity. Moreover, by comparing our findings with those of other studies, we can increase the power of generalization of our study and comment on the scope of our findings (see chapters 6 and 7).

Second, the data on contemporary New Orleans jazz musicians to be obtained by in-depth interviewing techniques will center initially on those musicians who would be considered on an initial basis (or an "impersonal" basis) (see Hughes, 1974: 86-87) the most

commercial in orientation.* That is, the initial contemporary sampling will consist of the jazz musicians who have recorded many records for big-named recording corporations with a substantial measure of success. These musicians are predominantly white (as it turns out) and middle or upper class. Also the leaders of the initial contemporary sample will also own the place or the club where the musicians perform; this is commercialism par excellence. By selecting our initial sample in this manner, we will not use the technique of random sampling, since a random sample of New Orleans jazzmen would probably not include many of the most important commercial New Orleans jazzmen. Rather, we will attempt to enumerate all of those musicians who fit neatly into the commercial category as we have initially conceptualized it; here we seek similarity vis-a-vis recording history and ownership of clubs. In order to make the study comparative in nature, we will rely heavily (but not entirely) on secondary data with respect to certain organizational aspects of the early, traditional New Orleans jazzmen (Buerkle and Barker, 1973) Some traditional jazzmen will be interviewed. Also, some "modern" (i.e., they play modern jazz) jazz musicians will be interviewed. The comparative group (the traditional jazzmen) and

*Hughes argues that commercialism can be conceptualized social psychologically in terms of the motivation of the musician; is the musician an artist or a capitalist in relation to his motivation? Moreover, commercialism can be conceptualized in terms of recording practices. Does the musician record for large record companies? While both of these definitions are weak, the second one will be employed as a criterion for selection in the sample of commercial jazzmen. Commercialism and success are initially equated; however, there is an interview item which checks the motivational aspect of the term (see Appendix II).

the "modern" jazzmen will add diversity to the sample.

Third, Blumer (1969: 41) comments that "one should sedulously seek participants in the sphere of life [under investigation] who are acute observers and who are well informed . . . A small number of such individuals . . . is more valuable many times over than any representative sample." The idea of identifying and questioning experts was followed in the attempt to define an initial sample. Thus, one of the traditional jazzmen who will be interviewed in the initial stages of the research is an expert in the history of jazz, the playing of jazz and the contemporary jazz scene. Moreover, the starting point for the commercial musicians is an individual who has expertise vis-a-vis commercial jazz and who will (hopefully) direct the researcher into relevant sources of data. In any case, it should be possible to sample the traditional jazzmen (via historical sources) and at least two types of groups that we have initially categorized as having commercial jazzmen; subsequently, one or more groups of jazzmen can be sampled for theoretical clarification and diversity.

Hence, we have formulated a general sampling plan. First, we will talk with musicians, historians and critics to try to obtain a general feel for the nature of the problem. Then, an interview guide will further structure the data received via interviews of commercial jazzmen. Later another group of jazz musicians (or several other groups) will be sampled as tools for the construction of theory. The groups chosen for this study will be enumerated; that is, each member will be interviewed. This is absolutely necessary since the unit of analysis for some of the concepts is the individual jazzman. At each step in our

investigation, comparisons will be made between traditional and commercial musicians in New Orleans. Initially, we are not talking about all jazzmen. The interview data is primarily limited to several bands in New Orleans that are at the peak of recording success (which is why they were chosen); other data is also restricted to New Orleans jazz bands. Theoretical generalizations (and limitations vis-a-vis scope) will be discussed in the final chapters. Before we turn to the interview data however, it is necessary to investigate the history of jazz in New Orleans. As Blumer (1969: 60) points out, "the designations and interpretations through which people form and maintain their organized relations are always in degree a carry-over from their past. To ignore this carry-over sets a genuine risk for the scholar."

Chapter 4 The History of New Orleans Jazz:
 An Overview and Implications for Data

In this chapter, the historical backdrop for this study will be investigated. This backdrop comprises one of the requirements which C. Wright Mills proposes as characteristic of a sociological imagination. Specifically, Mills says that the promise of sociology is to interrelate biography, history and social structure. This chapter will elaborate the second of Mills' three dimensions to the sociological imagination (Mills, 1959: 3-24). Due to the limitations of scope, this chapter will stress the social dimensions of the history of jazz music and jazz musicians, rather than the strictly musical or the psychological dimensions. The emphasis is placed on social organization and its dynamics.

The major source of the data presented here is a selected portion of the vast literature on the history of jazz and its musicians. While it would be virtually impossible to incorporate all of the historical literature in this chapter, it is nevertheless suggested that this is a "diverse" account of the social aspects to the history of New Orleans jazz. Included is information contained in general histories of jazz from factual (e.g., Stearns, 1956) and theoretical (e.g., Finkelstein, 1948) orientations, in scholarship by musicologists (e.g., see Borneman, 1959), in biographies of musicians and histories of particular bands (e.g., Williams, 1967), in autobiographies (e.g., Armstrong, 1954) and in the literature by or discussions with jazz musicians (e.g., Shapiro and Hentoff, 1955). From these various sources, it would appear that a general picture of the emergence

of jazz within New Orleans society can be attained. But, this chapter will also bear more directly on the conclusions, since we will be giving both a general picture as well as some specific implications vis-a-vis our initial hypotheses.

This picture will differ from most other accounts of the birth of jazz in that it is at the same time limited in scope to the New Orleans area, empirically developed from a wide data base and theoretically related in an explicit way to the larger issues of general sociology. Hence, this chapter benefits from the previous data which has been reported in other studies and this chapter will propose some answers to problems such as the function of jazz in society. The thrust is therefore directed toward the social implications which can be gleaned from a general survey of the birth of jazz; these implications form part of the data for this study.

While the histories which will be used in this chapter are numerous and diverse, we will nevertheless rely most heavily on a book by Marshall W. Stearns. In his The Story of Jazz, Stearns (1956) provides one with a classic history of jazz which has been translated and reprinted and "remains the most widely used textbook" (Taylor, J.R., 1973: 82-83) in the history of jazz. Stearns' book will thus be employed as a benchmark and other sources will be used for support, amplification or correction.

Before Jazz: Theses and Antitheses

Before we attempt to define the emergence of jazz more precisely, it would seem appropriate to spell out the descriptive framework which will be utilized here. The first direct attempt to deal with the emergence of jazz sociologically was done by Slotkin (1943). He used Robert E. Park's concepts of acculturation and assimilation in an attempt to describe the birth of jazz. However, in what follows, it will be clear that the birth of jazz is more of a dialectical process than one of acculturation or assimilation.

Acculturation can be narrowly defined as a "considerable diffusion of cultural traits" from one culture to another (Dushkin Publishing Group, 1974: 1). On the other hand, assimilation can be defined as "a process by which a distinct racial, cultural or ethnic group takes on the values of a more dominant group, which is somewhat modified by the values of the entering group" (Dushkin Publishing Group, 1974: 15). While the relationship between social elements under both the assimilation and the acculturation processes does involve a modification of the elements, it is not clear what the extent of that modification is. However, when we speak of a dialectical emergence resulting from a synthesis of conflicting elements, it should be evident that a synthetic product (e.g., jazz) is substantially different from the elements that formed the thesis and antitheses of that product (e.g., West African music and European music). By the same token, when one speaks of acculturation or assimilation, it is not at all obvious how the causal mechanisms for social change are generated.

In a dialectical framework, conflict between a thesis and antithesis is the mechanism for change.

Thus, it is claimed that New Orleans jazz is an entirely new form of music spawned by the dialectical merger of two main musical precursors in a specific social environment with its unique social relationships. Jazz is not simply a noncreative melting-pot of older musical forms; jazz is not the same as other types of music plus a few novel traits (Stearns, 1956: 37). As Rudi Blesh (1958: 3) points out, ". . . jazz is no musical hybrid; it is a miracle of creative synthesis . . . In New Orleans . . . there occurred an extraordinary concatenation of circumstances that could not have occurred elsewhere." By the same token, there is abundant evidence in the literature that more or less directly shows the dialectical nature of the emergence of jazz (Cayer, 1974; Finkelstein, 1948: 19-20; Grossman and Farrell, 1956: 88-94; Jones, 1963: 72; Kamin, 1974; Leonard, 1962; Stearns, 1956: 46-47). Given a dialectical perspective, it is necessary to try to pin-point the musical elements which make up the theses and antitheses of the process. Later, in the next section, the New Orleans society will be selectively discussed in order to identify those aspects which were and are supportive to jazz music and jazz musicians.

Jazz in New Orleans is a result of the dialectical synthesis of two musical forms -- the West African music common to uptown* blacks and the European music common to downtown* Creoles of

*For an excellent historical discussion of the ecology of New Orleans, see Gilmore (1944). Also see Appendix I.

Color* (Finkelstein, 1948: 19-20; Stearns, 1956: 46-47; Williams, 1967: 10). This musical merger was aided or reinforced by an 1894 law which had the effect of joining the blacks with their lighter-skinned, Creole brothers as racially one-and-the-same under the law.** Thus, the emergence of early jazz was primarily the property of the lower class, i.e., the slaves and the dispossessed (Hypothesis 3).

With the joining of these two groups came an increased, forced synthesis of their music. Grossman and Farrell (1956: 88-94), in what they consider to be the first "satisfactory statement" concerning the emergence of jazz, critique Blesh's earlier work, which attempted to tract the history of jazz. While Grossman and Farrell do not actually call histories such as Rudi Blesh's Shining Trumpets (1946) worthless (as does McCarthy, 1959: 309), they do suggest that at times (e.g., see Blesh, 1946: 168) Blesh is wrong in his belief that jazz

*Creoles of Color are persons with "mixed" Spanish-French-West African ancestry. They are not to be confused with Creoles, per se, who are wholly European (Jones, 1963: 72; Stearns, 1956: 37, 52; Williams, 1967: 4). At one time there was strict segregation between elite Creoles of Color and slaves. "The Downtown Creole band would have nothing to do with the 'raw and raucous playing of those darker folks'" (Jones, 1963: 74). Thus, the Creoles of Color were not assimilated by black or white society before the 1900's. Having a "precarious" role in the New Orleans caste system (Stearns, 1956: 37, 52), Creoles of Color were typically mothered by a freed slave and fathered by a white aristocrat. The children took the status of the African mother, many of whom were freed from slavery by the white aristocrats under the Manumission Code of 1724. Many of the children were well educated in France and later held wealth.

**The 1894 Code #111 declared that Creoles of Color were Negroes under the law; this resulted in discrimination against Creoles. For the Creole musician, this code meant employment discrimination and in part caused these European Creoles to seek out their darker-skinned brothers for jazz jobs (Stearns, 1956: 52-53).

is essentially or purely African in origin (also see Feather, 1955: 15). They point out that African "drumming has influenced jazz, but is obviously remote from 'the very heart' of the music," since drumming is usually subordinate to other parts of jazz (e.g., melody) and since the black spirituals and blues which were precursors of the emergence of jazz are essentially Christian in nature. On the other hand, while they are correct in their assessment of Blesh's overemphasis on the African roots of jazz,* Grossman and Farrell seem to have overlooked a crucial point which Blesh makes vis-a-vis African influences on jazz. In his "Chart Showing African Survivals in Negro Jazz and the Deformation of Negro Jazz," Blesh (1958: 17-23) points out that it is not only rhythm that jazz "borrows" from African music. (See Table 4.1.) Jazz "borrows" elements of melody, timbre and harmony from African music (also see Smith, 1959: 27 for a similar statement). Therefore, the first misconception in relation to African influences on jazz concerns its strength (as opposed to European influences) and its scope (which is not simply rhythmic).

On the other hand, let there be no mistake at this point concerning the importance of black Americans vis-a-vis jazz. As Finkelstein comments in 1948 (1948: 27), "although jazz is loved and performed by people of every national background, in America the ground-breaker, leader and innovator in every step forward of jazz has been the Negro." But, these American black musicians are different from African black people and so

*Blesh (1958: 5) says that "we can trace with special clarity the purity or dilution of the African character that enters so decisively into jazz."

Table 4.1 Chart Showing African Survivals in Negro Jazz
and the Deformations of Negro Jazz

<u>African Survivals in Negro Jazz</u>	<u>Deformations of Negro Jazz</u>
The Hot Concept	Departures from the Hot Concept
Rhythm: African patterns	Rhythm: African patterns dropped or used in stereotyped way
Tempo: Controlled Acceleration	Tempo: Uncontrolled acceleration
Intonation: Contrary to European pitch	Intonation: Conforming to European pitch-norms
Tonality: Disinterest in key changes	Tonality: Tendency to key changes
Modality: Major in feeling	Modality: Major to minor
Timbre: Vocalized instrumental tone	Timbre: Vocalized tone not characteristic
Melodic Factors: Independent of harmony	Melodic Factors: Shaped by harmony
Melodic Characteristics: Survivals of African melody	Melodic Characteristics: Alteration in line with the white tradition
Harmony: Tendency to eliminate harmony	Harmony: Re-establishment of harmonic predominance
<p>Note: Some of the details of this chart have been omitted and rearranged; we are not interested in the technical traits as in the general musical characteristics which are the precursors of jazz.</p>	

Source: Rudi Blesh, 1958: 17-23.

is their music. Both the American black and his music are a product of different social relationships than the African black and his music. At least three specific factors account for the early cultural difference between North American and African blacks. First, upon coming to North America, black families were "often deliberately separated"

(Williams, 1967: 3). Families and many of the social norms attached to those ties were destroyed (at least in practice). Second, the blacks' "beliefs were sometimes forbidden; [third], they were not cut . . . off from European-American culture," even in Africa (Williams, 1967: 3).

In addition to the misconceptions mentioned already relative to the emergence of jazz, there are several others, two of which are discussed by Leonard Feather (1955: 15). Feather claims that the notions that "jazz originated in Africa" and that "New Orleans was its exclusive American nursery" are wrong. If jazz originated in Africa, then it would have purely African roots. This is not the case, as scholarly work has demonstrated. While Blesh does seem to argue for the purity of jazz, it would seem more probable that these African elements were influenced by European ones to some extent by the time they touched the jazz music scene.

Feather's second misconception is problematic. That is, it might not be a misconception at all. Most jazz historians and the musicians themselves tend to indicate that New Orleans is in some ways the nursery of jazz music (Blesh, 1958: 3; Shapiro and Hentoff, 1955: 26). In the next section, some elements of the New Orleans culture will be discussed and these elements should demonstrate why New Orleans was and to some extent still is a nursery for jazz music.

A final misconception concerning the white bands' influence on the emergence of jazz can be briefly dismissed. Brunn (1960: v.) says that he believes that he has "presented new and incontrovertible evid-

ence that the Original Dixieland Band was the first to popularize the radical new music in the leading metropolitan centers of the world . . . these men are more than entitled to the phrase that was always their billing: 'The Creators of Jazz'." The bulk of the evidence suggests, however, that Brunn is at least partially wrong and that early jazz is primarily the creation of particular black bands.* In summary, several supposed errors concerning the birth of jazz have been investigated and some were found to be more in error than others. Perhaps Stearns (1956: 60) comes closest to the truth when he argues that before 1900, jazz was primarily influenced by transplanted African musical elements and that after 1900, jazz was primarily influenced by transplanted European musical elements. But, at each step in its development, jazz has been an emergent product of synthesized elements and hence, should be considered a novel product.

The Emergence of Jazz in New Orleans Society:
Voodoo, Funerals, . . .

Some of the socio-cultural influences on the emergence of jazz have already been suggested (e.g., the codes of 1724 and 1894). Now, some of the other, more direct influences will be traced historically. It seems clear that it would be impossible to present all of the social facts in New Orleans which were either preconditions for or

*This does not mean that only black bands played jazz in New Orleans during the early 1900's. There were good white jazz bands and musicians during that time in New Orleans (e.g., Jack Laine, 1873-1966). By the same token, the white jazz bands helped to carry jazz to the North and West.

actual causes of the emergence of New Orleans jazz. However, the most crucial facts can be identified in this chapter and these include the following: the religious practices of Creoles and blacks in New Orleans; the merging of Catholicism and voodoo; the New Orleans black funeral; the secret organizations; Lincoln Park weekends; Storyville and the red-light district; and finally, the riverboats which operated between New Orleans and St. Louis. Each of these social facts will be discussed in terms of its relation to jazz. These social facts together with the dialectical relationship between African music and European music in large part provided the unique setting in New Orleans for the emergence of jazz.

Voodoo, vodun, or hoodoo* had and has its public and its private spheres in New Orleans. The cultural source for the practice of voodoo in the United States was not primarily North American. That is, there seems to have been two sources for the introduction of voodoo into New Orleans culture: slaves from Martinique, Guadeloupe, San Domingo and Haiti were imported between 1776 and 1810. "These islands were French possessions at the time and the slaves were mainly Yorubas and Dahomeans, worshippers of vodun" (Stearns, 1956: 34). A Dahomean tribe named Arada were especially significant (Stearns, 1956: 35), and later these voodoo rituals would surface publically in New Orleans' Congo Square. (See Appendix I.) It would also surface in many private homes. Moreover, the practice of voodoo was not limited to blacks; French aristocrats also internalized the rituals and

*See Cavin (1975) for the latest research vis-a-vis voodoo and jazz.

"spent a good part of each day casting spells or counter-spells on one another" (Stearns, 1956: 36). Naturally, the Creoles were also familiar with voodoo. It was the private intrafamilial voodoo rituals which functioned to preserve African music; also, it was the public rituals, performances and ceremonies in Congo Square which functioned to spread that music (Stearns, 1956: 38). This was so in spite of the Black Code of 1724, which allowed only Catholicism to be practiced.

In 1817, Sunday dances of slaves in Congo Square were permitted by the City Council; this change in the law was supposed to provide an "outlet" for the slaves in order to keep them content with their lot. Moreover, these dances in Congo Square quickly became tourist attractions (Stearns, 1956: 38; Tallant, 1946: 9-18; Williams, 1967: 5-6). In these voodoo rituals, "the drum-like rhythms of the clapping and stamping, the accelerated tempo, the circle dance and the call-and-response pattern are essentially West African" (Stearns, 1956: 39). However, what actually took place in the rituals was a complex mix of voodoo ritual from West Africa and Catholic belief and symbol. C. D. Warner (1889: 69-72) has given an example which he recalled. This private ceremony began with the Apostles' Creed and worship of the Virgin Mary. There was a statue of Mary encircled with voodoo objects. There was also singing and a dancing "witch doctor" with a brandy torch. "The ritual details -- the changing of rhythm, the spraying of spirits, the spinning of devotees, as well as the igniting of the brandy -- are identical with the details of vodun ceremonies" (Stearns, 1956: 40). By the same token, there was a symbolic mixing of

African gods and Catholic saints. The relationship between voodoo and jazz has escaped some historians and scholars, especially those who are concerned with white jazzmen (e.g., Brunn, 1960; Osgood, 1926). It would seem then, that we should take a close look at the relationship between voodoo and jazz.

First, there seems to be a circumstantial correlation between voodoo and the emergence of jazz. The almost mythical inventor of jazz, Buddy Bolden, was only seven years old when voodoo performances at Congo Square were ended by law; on the other hand, he was familiar with voodoo (Williams, 1967: 11). Furthermore, another pioneer in jazz, "Jelly Roll" Morton "was a devout believer . . . Morton was brought up by his aunt, Eulalie Echo, whom he quite casually called a 'voodoo witch'. As a youth, he was cured of some illness by voodoo" (Stearns, 1956: 42). In summary, the typical attitude of jazzmen vis-a-vis voodoo seems to be one of belief in or at least a substantial respect for the powers of voodoo. As one jazzman comments, "'this hoodoo jive is nowhere . . . but man, watch out'" (Stearns, 1956: 42). It might be only circumstantial, but jazz did begin in sections of New Orleans society which were populated by the voodoo practicing, darker-skinned blacks of uptown New Orleans (Stearns, 1956: 42).

Second, some writers argue that jazz emerged directly from voodoo. Longstreet (1956: 6) comments that "maybe it was a little voodoo, and the French-speaking Negroes who wore shoes and played in the little French orchestras might say 'C'est le Congo!' But, incantations or not, it was the beginning of jazz." It would seem however, that jazz is probably more than circumstantially related to voodoo,

but less than a direct emergence from voodoo alone. Voodoo provided some primarily African dimensions to the jazz music of New Orleans. In addition, there are other primarily African dimensions of jazz. These other dimensions are probably the most commonly identified precursors of jazz. They include the black work songs, spirituals and blues (Blesh, 1958: 161; Borneman, 1969: 10). These imports from Africa and South America found unique musical expression through several social practices in New Orleans, of which the jazz funeral and the secret organizations associated with them, are one of the most important examples.

But before discussing the funeral, it is necessary to trace the implication of the voodoo phenomena and the socialization of jazzmen. Socialization of jazzmen into their folk-art followed essentially the primary (Hypothesis 1) root that socialization into the voodoo rituals followed (Stearns, 1956: 42; Tallant, 1946). These rituals tended to follow family lines, as did jazz music. It does not seem to be the case that musicians were pressured into jazz by their relatives and friends; rather, the music seemed to be a natural part of the social environment. Initially, it was associated with social gathering and rituals of communal organizations. Thus, there were no music schools which offered formal courses in jazz. Rather, socialization seemed to involve individual development of a basic style of music. This development was often supplemented with the informal, primary socialization incurred by musicians performing in or marching behind a jazz funeral.

During a jazz funeral, the musicians play dirges as the funeral

procession walks from the church to the graveyard. After the burial ceremony, a marching type of group improvisation is played for the walk back home. As Smith (1959: 33) says, ". . . the practices of the funeral band had a direct bearing on the genesis of jazz. During the ceremony, musicians played written music and, if they could not read as was often the case, played it by ear. After the ceremony, the music was group improvisation in the jazz-march genre. Moreover, dirges and parade marching had a lasting effect on jazz, both in a search for form and in a projection of sonorities." There was an obvious European and American influence at this point in the story of jazz: military march music, very popular in France and America, was selectively incorporated into the jazz idiom. Moreover, European musical instruments were becoming very dominant in the production of jazz music (Stearns, 1956: 46).

These jazz funerals were musically related to a more secular institution in New Orleans black society -- the secret organizations and clubs. Stearns (1956: 46-51) has an excellent discussion of these "societies" as they relate to jazz; his analysis will be sketched here. Jazz bands were almost omnipresent in New Orleans during the late 1800's, having emerged in "crude" form during the early 1800's. At parades, picnics, funerals, dances, riverboat excursions, or almost any social gathering, a jazz band (or several jazz bands) were employed. There were special, communal organizations in New Orleans which gave these bands employment. In fact, many of these secret organizations functioned as small-time insurance organizations, paying small sickness, burial and beneficiary benefits

(Odum, 1910: 98, 104 ff.). Also, they functioned as sources for social participation. These organizations had precedents in West Africa and offered the musician part time (but relatively constant) employment in the various activities of the club. Moreover, these clubs bestowed prestige, since "the more lodges you belongs to, the more music you gits when you goes to meet your Maker" (Saxon, et al., 1945: 301). When a person died, each organization to which he belonged supplied a band at the funeral. Many funerals have three bands or even more. But, these jazz funerals are disappearing today. The Catholic Church "frowns upon the custom. A deep-rooted tradition from West Africa is being modified" (Stearns, 1956: 52). The jazzmen themselves were often intimately involved with the voodoo rituals and secret organizations (Hypothesis 4). Many times, these early jazzmen would play for relatives and friends; confirmations, weddings and birthdays were all occasions which called for parties and jazz bands. There were no contracts and many times the band would play for food. Often, an entire family would be "predisposed" to play jazz music.* This is an example of a communal organization. However, a note of caution is necessary here; one should not suppose that there was a tremendous amount of cohesion or commitment on the part of the musicians within these early jazz bands. Musicians regularly changed from one band to another. Moreover, there was conflict within these early bands; fights were not unknown. In fact, the romantic notion

*Danny Barker claims that there are forty musicians in his family. I wish to acknowledge Danny Barker for the information in this paragraph.

that these jazzmen were addicted to each other and to New Orleans does not reflect reality (Hypothesis 5).

But, there were other sources of employment for the early jazz musicians. One of these sources was playing music at one of the amusement parks in New Orleans. Among the most famous parks was Lincoln Park (Williams, 1967: 1-3). During the 1890's, New Orleans drayman, André Porée, established a square block amusement area in uptown New Orleans. This area was called Lincoln Park (after the emancipator) and had a large meeting hall with several smaller enclosed cubicals as well. This park was used as a gathering place for blacks on the weekends, especially on Sundays (even though there were laws which forbade the public gathering of blacks). It was in this park that the "creator" of jazz, Buddy Bolden, whose band had been hired by Porée, used to "call his children home," by playing his coronet so loud that it could be heard for legendary miles. Bolden was born in 1869 and was a celebrity by 1895. He was committed to a mental hospital in 1907, having been diagnosed as paranoid. But, the music attributed to him continued to be played in Lincoln Park and spread throughout New Orleans (see Williams, 1967: 1-25 for an excellent discussion of Bolden).

Even with the jazz funerals, the secret organizations and the park employment, jazz musicians were still forced to rely on non-musical ways of making a living (Stearns, 1956: 316; Williams, 1967: 81-83). Jazz was a part time activity for the early jazzmen. For example, Bolden was a barber as well as a musician; later, King Oliver was a butler as well as a musician. It was not until 1897 that jazz

became a dominant economic activity for the musicians. In 1897, with prostitution becoming a publicized problem in New Orleans, alderman Sidney Story legislated an ordinance to try to stop the spread of this crime by geographic control. While Story's proposal came short of direct legalization of "vice," it did have that effect in the area of New Orleans along Canal, Basin and North Rampart Streets; this area was designated as Storyville. In a very short period of time, there were about two hundred thirty "houses of pleasure" or "sporting houses" with as many as two thousand prostitutes. (See Appendix I.) During the early 1900's in those houses of the red-light district, "gentlemen" were entertained in a manner which has been described as "the most regal atmospheres outside of European courts" (Schneider, 1974: 17; Stearns, 1956: 58). Although there were some "shabby cribs" in Storyville (Williams, 1967: 15), there was also a level of luxury which befitted many of the aristocrats who frequented these "sporting houses."

Storyville has been crucial to the development of jazz. It is not that jazz emerged directly out of Storyville, as has sometimes been claimed (Schneider, 1974: 17). Storyville started in 1897; by that time, Bolden was a celebrity jazz musician (Williams, 1967: 11). But with Storyville, the jazz musician could make a living from his music. Storyville had musical as well as economic influences on jazz music. The solo jazz pianist (prohibitive at funerals) became a reality there. In fact, the solo pianist "made more money than an entire jazzband. 'Jelly Roll' Morton took in fifteen or eighteen dollars a night at Lulu White's, while the band musicians got from

one to two-and-a-half dollars apiece at the cabarets" (Stearns, 1956: 58). But, very few jazzmen liked to play in the Storyville brothels according to guitarist Danny Barker (Stearns, 1956: 58-59). Nevertheless, some of the most famous jazzmen (including Louis Armstrong) played in Storyville or at least "went to school" there (Longstreet, 1956: 8). Musicians from Storyville were later to carry the music North; by the same token, the music played in Storyville was copied and developed by white musicians (e.g., The Original Dixieland Band) who used to sneak into Storyville to listen to music and learn the style (Stearns, 1956: 58-59).

The demise of Storyville resulted from two main factors: the depression and problems with the Secretary of Navy (Joseph Daniels). The business depression affected the entire city of New Orleans; the naval harassment was directed specifically at the Storyville area. Navy Secretary Daniels complained about the "exposure" of his sailors to the influences of Storyville and vehemently advised the city to shut Storyville down. After much debate, discussion and legislation, the city agreed to close Storyville in 1917 (Schneider, 1974; Stearns, 1956: 59; Williams, 1967: 170). But, there was still jazz in New Orleans. And there was still prostitution; it was simply covert prostitution.

With the ending of the red-light district, there was a partial exodus of jazz musicians from New Orleans. Some went North to Chicago and New York; others went West. However, this exodus was actually a continuation of earlier migrations by jazz musicians and it was not a radical mass movement by musicians to the North (Williams, 1967:

170).* Thus, both before and most certainly after the closing of Storyville, jazzmen were moving out of New Orleans. There was one particular mode of transportation which both aided the jazzmen by providing a source of employment and enabled the New Orleans musicians to interest people in other parts of the United States in jazz music. This mode of transportation was the famous riverboats which went up and down the Mississippi River from New Orleans to St. Louis. These riverboats operated in connection with New Orleans' function as both a port for the exportation of American products and as a point from which supplies could be shipped to the Western migrants in America (Stearns, 1956: 33). Both people and products were transported by the riverboats (see Cortinovis, 1974: 76).

Many of the musicians, who once worked in Storyville, "found work on the riverboats [in the 1920's] . . . to St. Louis where musicians were more 'schooled and sophisticated, if less deeply passionate, than the New Orleans men'" (Williams, 1967: 183-184). As jazz migrated north, it changed musically and various styles developed (e.g., the Chicago Style and the Big Band Style). Also at this point, New Orleans music influenced other types of music to some extent (e.g., the swing bands); likewise, "jazz changed radically as it moved to Chicago" (Smith, 1959: 33) and other urban areas outside of the Crescent City.

*"In the late 1911 . . . Bill Johnson, the [New Orleans] bass player, who had been living and playing in Los Angeles since 1909, became interested in organizing an Original Creole Ragtime Band to play the New Orleans style and sent back home for players. He got Keppard [on coronet], Eddie Vinson on trombone, George Baquet on clarinet, Leon Williams on guitar, Dink Johnson on drums and Jimmy Palao on violin" (Williams, 1967: 20).

From Then to Now

Jazz changed in New Orleans as well. But, there the change was evolutionary (Smith, 1959: 33). Jazz musicians were in fact leaving the South; the jazz musicians who did not emigrate from New Orleans were often economically deprived. At least in part for this reason, there was a steady flow of New Orleans musicians north and west. By the same token, when investigating the biographies of the early jazz masters from New Orleans, one is immediately struck with the fact that virtually all of them emigrated from New Orleans (Williams, 1967). These emigrants include such jazz greats as "Jelly Roll" Morton, King Oliver, Louis Armstrong and Kid Ory. By 1920, "there were over forty outstanding jazzmen from New Orleans in Chicago" (Stearns, 1956: 164). However, not all New Orleans jazzmen left that city, a surprising fact vis-a-vis the situation's economics.

While New York and Chicago opened their respective doors to jazz in 1917, New Orleans lost its red-light district. Hence, in the 1920's the center of jazz shifted from New Orleans to Chicago (Stearns, 1956: 162). In the North, "New Orleans jazz had to make the transition from a more or less private music, played by Negroes, to a public music which had to survive commercially in the white world at large. The music went indoors, shifted from march to dance music and the musicians changed status from amateur to a professional, playing a mixture more palatable to a white audience. At this early stage and long before the public heard about jazz, the mask was set" (Stearns, 1956: 317).

In the thirties with the repeal of Prohibition, "jazz clubs" appeared in the North; the exclusive presentation of jazz to patrons as a commercial enterprise had started (Williams, 1967: 194). This is an important step in the evolution from jazz as a ritualistic aspect of communal organizations to jazz as a commodity whose production is a goal in relation to economic reward.

Even with these facts of economics, there were still jazz bands in New Orleans and jazz funerals as well. But in terms of making a living, jazz was a risky activity in New Orleans at that time. Hence, traditional New Orleans jazz was present; however, it slowly became harder to find "real" jazz. Some jazz lovers, white and black, started to bemoan (and still bemoan) this fact (Carter, 1974). There was a rekindling of interest or what has come to be called a "revival" of interest in traditional jazz during the 1940's.

The jazz revival of the 1940's was certainly an historical event, commercially and musically. In 1943, Rudi Blesh was lecturing in the San Francisco Museum of Art on the excellence of the early New Orleans style and on the degradation of jazz by commercialism (Blesh, 1958: 5-12; Williams, 1967: 235). At the same time, jazz was coming to the radio and to the screen. Orson Wells did a series of broadcasts with jazz bands; movies such as New Orleans and Syncopation attempted to trace the history of jazz. Kid Ory was recording with large commercial recording companies (e.g., Decca and Columbia). Ramsey and Smith collected what is considered to be the first objective history of jazz; they published Jazzmen in 1939. With the publication of the Ramsey and Smith classic, a whole series of jazz histories, discographies and

other jazz scholarship started to proliferate.

In New Orleans proper, the revival signaled the initiation of the New Orleans Jazz Club, which was formed in 1948. This club symbolized and symbolizes the diversity which was becoming more evident in New Orleans jazz (see Wilson, 1966: 97-98 for a critique of this diversity). The club has black and white membership with a broad musical base. Later in 1961, the world's first jazz museum was established in New Orleans. Both the club and the museum are still active. Finally, the black musicians' union (Local 496) was formed in the 1920's (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 78-101), but until recently, it has not been economically and politically active. Now, the union is very active and has joined the white musicians' union (Local 174) in name (Local 174-496) and in purpose.

On the other hand, younger blacks and whites seem to have turned their backs on the music of the early twentieth century south; at least in terms of artistic benefits, traditional jazz in New Orleans is fading (McCarthy, 1959: 319). Recruitment into jazz has become a white activity as well as a black activity.* Thus, "the [noncommercial] traditional form [of jazz] had only a minority status by the end of the 1920's" (McCarthy, 1959: 324).

*Hentoff makes an interesting observation here. He says (1959: 345) that it is not sufficient to call jazz an art form . . . it's . . . essential to know whose art form -- the bookers', the festival promoters' or the musicians'." Jazz music in New Orleans became the property of many different types of people during the 1900's through the 1970's. And, as we shall see in the next section, "ownership" of jazz music is interdependent with the social functions which jazz serves. Thus, jazz seems to have changed both in ownership and in function as it moved from a ritual to an economic activity.

This minority status of traditional jazz was correlated with a shift in the "ownership" of jazz from oppressed blacks to biracial entertainers and finally to the commercial entrepreneurs. Hence, if there was a shift in the "ownership" of jazz and in the form of the music itself, then there would also seem to have been a shift in the functions which jazz serves.

Social Functions of Jazz

There are two fundamentally incorrect views concerning the social functions which early jazz served. The first view is effectively expressed by Stearns (1956: 46), who comments that beneath the evolution of jazz "was the powerful and constant desire of the American Negro to make his mark, to belong, to participate effectively in a predominantly white culture. And music was one of the few avenues to fame and fortune." The second view is the one which proposes that jazz music enabled the black person to release the tensions of political and economic oppression through artistic activities which were socially acceptable; this second view had been the rationalization by New Orleans officials for legalizing the voodoo rituals of Congo Square.

An examination of the validity of the two views seems in order. The classically liberal position which Stearns proposes is questionable at best vis-a-vis the early New Orleans jazzmen. First, it is doubtful whether traditional or commercial jazz musicians played music in order to attain fame and fortune. Traditional jazz musicians were economically deprived; also, very few commercial musicians achieve the

kind of social or economic rewards which Stearns suggests. The second view is also incorrect. It would seem that if playing jazz music released the tensions of oppression and misery, then the New Orleans jazzmen would have been content with their lives in New Orleans and the South. But, the facts show that many jazzmen emigrated north and west. Hence, history seems to necessitate a different explanation, an alternative theory.

This alternate view concerning the social functions of jazz music is that jazzmen of the early 1900's used their music as an instrument for the expression of the socio-historical facts of their day as well as for the expression of the emotions which mirror these facts. The emotions expressed include those of fear and discontent (Leonard, 1962: 65). Of course as the socio-historical context of jazz music changes, so does the music and the emotions which it expresses. The difference between the two incorrect views and the alternative view vis-a-vis the functions of jazz in society is that in the incorrect views, jazz is seen as an instrument for the release of tensions or as an economic activity whereas in the alternative view, jazz is seen as a means of expression.

Perhaps Finkelstein (1948: 7) gives the alternative view its earliest and best expression. He says that

the attitude towards the Negro people [which Rudi Blesh expresses] is one of great sympathy, but deficient in understanding. The suffering of the Negro people was not so passive as he [Blesh] describes it and the music was not so escapist. The Negro people struggled in the most realistic way against slavery, through revolts, the Underground Railroad and their heroic role in the Civil War. They struggled in the most realistic way against all forms of discrimination and Jim Crowism that followed

the Civil War. The music is a weapon in these struggles and had the people not had the vitality to fight realistically for freedom, they would not have had the vitality to create this great music.

Moreover, Finkelstein (1948: 28) later comments that "jazz is a music of protest against discrimination and Jim Crow. It expresses anger at lynchings and at direct or indirect slavery, resentment of poverty." And finally, he (1948: 273) says that "jazz is the product of labor . . . through the work of the musician, it becomes the expression of the people from whom he comes and for whom he creates." These early statements by Finkelstein are echoed later by scholars and critics (e.g., Jones, 1963: 152-153). More work needs to be done concerning the actual content of jazz lyrics in relation to the expression of emotions and contexts (but, see Cayer, 1974; Leonard 1962: 167-172).

Hopefully, this discussion of the history of jazz will make the later findings (concerning changes in the organization of jazz musicians) more meaningful. Changes in the organization of jazz musicians reflect many of the same socio-historical elements that changes in jazz music reflect. Moreover, while the central concern of this dissertation is with the organization and orientation of jazz musicians, the history of both New Orleans society and its jazz music are necessary reference points for an adequate understanding of these concerns.

Summary

It should be clear that this discussion bears directly on the hypotheses. Early jazzmen operated in an atmosphere of limited codification of rules and little commercialism in terms of recording.

Socialization into jazz was a primary type; relatives and professors were important vis-a-vis socialization. The social class of the musicians was typically low in New Orleans. Most of these musicians were born in New Orleans and performed for friends and relatives during religious and more secular activities. Hence, hostility between the band and audience was minimal. On the other hand, band commitment was also minimal; musicians switched bands regularly. Finally, these musicians were communally organized without "specific goals" and with family involvement in the organization of the musicians.

In this chapter, the data from various "primary" sources will be presented. The data will appear as they were collected. First, a general description of the bands will be presented; this will include some discussion of the personnel of each group and the setting in which the groups performed. Moreover, the actual performances by each of the groups will be briefly outlined. In the second section, the results of the interviews will be given. And third, the objective-institutional data will be discussed; basically, these objective sources include the publications of the Local 174-496 and the musician-employer contracts.

Subsequently, in chapter 6, the data presented in this chapter will be compared with the findings of other historical and sociological studies of jazzmen. Through this comparison, a set of theoretically relevant statements should emerge. It is only after exploring both of the comparative reference points that one can proceed with the generation of theory that is sensitive to the data. Data from chapter 4 and from studies of contemporary jazzmen will be utilized as reference points for comparison with the "primary" data which this chapter presents. Thus, the structure and process of the social organization of New Orleans jazzmen should become the topic of substantive theory in chapter 6; in addition, some formal theoretical statements will emerge.

Description: the Actors, the Setting and the Show

Initially, a decision was made with respect to how to approach the problem of observation. That is, should the observation go from the perspective of a particular type of band, a particular type of musician, or should we attempt to maximize the differences in the groups being studied? It was decided that at least two groups in New Orleans could very easily fall under the rubric of commercial jazz bands, as defined by the number of commercially successful albums which have been "cut" for large recording corporations and by the business activities of the leaders. These two groups will be called Band J and Band P; they share common factors. First, the leaders have similar career patterns. This pattern includes among other things, national fame, many recordings, and finally, ownership of a nightclub. Also, the two bands have approximately the same number of members; Band J has six members, while Band P has seven members. Each of the two bands has toured extensively; however, recently the groups have been primarily based in New Orleans in a part of town famous for entertainment -- Bourbon Street. Finally, both bands play what is generally known as dixieland jazz music. It was assumed (at least tentatively) that the musicians in Band J and P are commercial.

In Band J, there is the standard dixieland instrumental composition of three melody instruments (trumpet, clarinet and trombone) and three rhythm instruments (piano, drums and base). Band P adds a tenor saxophone to the former composition. In each group, there is a single leader with one more or less well-defined second-in-command. It

would seem then, that the musicians in these two groups are at least superficially isomorphic. The aim here is for maximum homogeneity among the musicians. In order to delimit the scope of the emergent theory, it was decided that a third group of musicians was to be selected which would mediate or fall somewhere in between the commercially selected groups and the traditional groups of New Orleans jazzmen. Also, it was thought that some diversity vis-a-vis the type of jazz music played by the musicians would function to diversify or specify our findings. Therefore, a third group was selected on the basis of its musicians' recording experience (which was somewhere in between no experience and the numerous recordings of the jazzmen in Band J and Band P) and the type of music which the third band played (which we will call modern jazz). This third group of musicians will be called Band R and instrumentally consists of a piano, base, drums and organ. It does not play on Bourbon Street (having recently left there); rather it performs in a motor inn on the outskirts of the New Orleans area. This band presently tours frequently. There is one leader of the group and no distinguishable second-in-command.

Thus, methodologically what we have attempted to do is to research as much as possible the commercial dixieland musicians in New Orleans. We have also sampled a different type of group in order to place the musicians in Band J and Band P in perspective. Of course, other research cited here and other data collected here will also function to place the contemporary dixieland musicians in perspective.

Having given the general geographical location of the three groups' performance sites, it is now necessary to discuss the settings

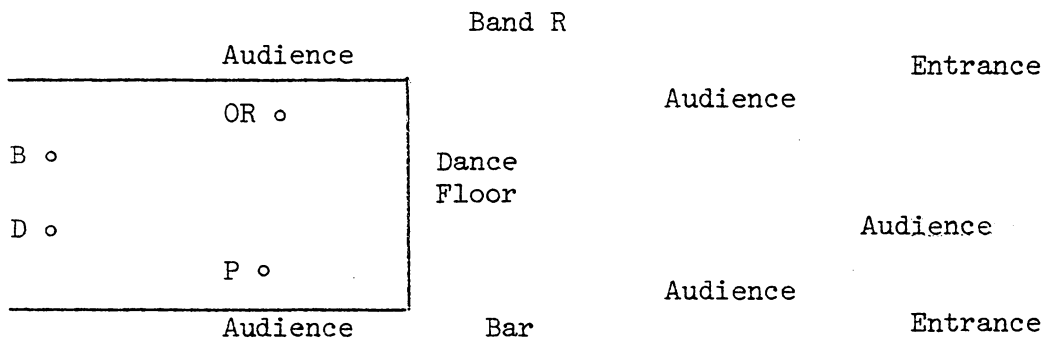
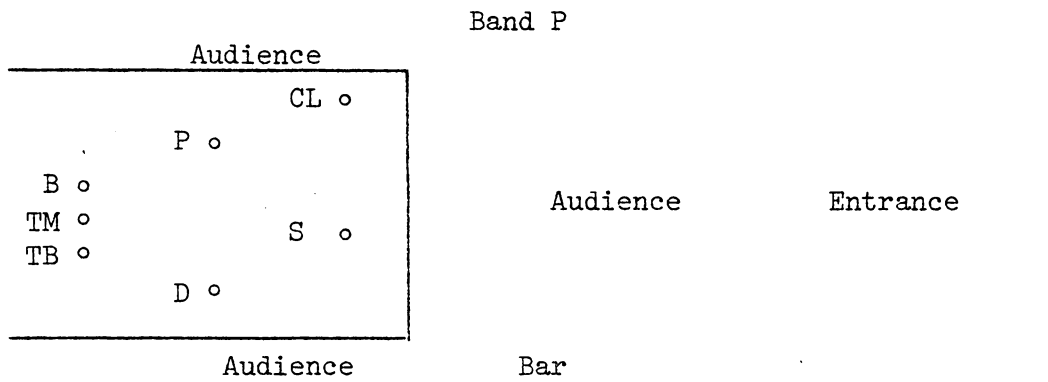
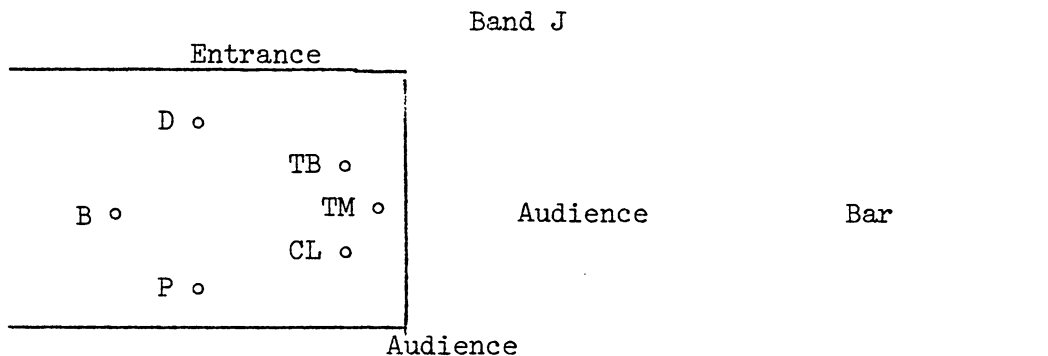
on a more micro level. In Figure 5.1, there is an approximate blue print of the relative positions of the musicians on stage in each of the three groups. Moreover, the entrances, bar space and audience areas are indicated. Also, for Band R the dancing area is identified; the other two groups have shows that do not normally call for dancing by the audiences. In each case, it should be noted that the audience is very close to the stage. In most cases, one could stand up in front of the audience area and shake hands with the musicians in the front of the band.* In no case were there substantial barriers between the front of the stage and the audience. In all three cases, the stages were raised anywhere from one to four feet; this enabled the rest of the audience (beside the front row) to see the musicians. However, there was conversation between the "fronting" musicians and the audience; this was primarily handled by the leader.

The actual performances or shows will now be discussed. Band J has a two and one half hour show. The leader of the group provides verbal entertainment as well as musical entertainment. The show can be divided into three intertwined parts. First, there is ensemble dixieland jazz. Then there is a set of tunes featuring each of the musicians. Third, there is a medley of songs featuring the leader of the group. During this medley, the leader walks through the audience (which is numerically fixed due to the closing of the entrance

*This in fact did not occur in any of my observations. However, I have conversed with musicians briefly during performances in the observation stage of research. For example, when observing Band P during the show, I was seated in the audience area next to the clarinet player; we exchanged brief greetings and comments from time to time, using normal speech volume.

Figure 5.1

The Ecological Arrangement of the Audience and the Band for
Band J, Band P, and Band R



◦ - musician TB - trombone B - base
 TM - trumpet CL - clarinet P - piano
 S - saxophone D - drums OR - organ

doors). At this time, there is direct contact between the leader and members of the audience; he seems to play to one table after another. Sometimes the tables are so close together, that members of the audience have to move their seats back in order for the leader to pass. Occasionally, the leader will verbally acknowledge members of the audience.

During the verbal part of the show, there seem to be two distinct things going on. First, there is the standard joking common to any club on Bourbon Street. The leader is very clearly a celebrity entertainer as well as jazz musician. The second thing is most interesting. The leader tries to educate the audience vis-a-vis jazz and its historical roots. He is constantly paying tribute to the jazz social practices associated with the playing of traditional jazz in New Orleans (e.g., the jazz funeral). Finally, he invites the audience to go to the places in the French Quarter that feature traditional jazz musicians (i.e., Preservation Hall and Heritage Hall). It is a show that leaves one with the sense of sadness for the passing on of an art form. As the leader admits, there are only a few places where one can hear traditional New Orleans style jazz music. While the modern musicians "ape" the traditional style, jazz music has moved onto newer things.

The performance of Band P is more surely "musical" than that of Band J. That is, there is less verbal entertainment and more jazz music played during the two hour show. There is the same combination of ensemble playing along with numbers featuring the sidemen in the group. In both of the groups (Band J and Band P), one musician beside the leader takes more of the feature tunes than the other sidemen. In both

cases, these featured sidemen are either recognized as second-in-command or have experience with the leader for a substantial period of time. In this particular show, there is little attempt to educate the audience as to the roots of jazz and joking is kept to a minimum. There is, however, a good deal of interaction between and among the musicians on stage in Band P. (This was not the case in Band J.) Also, members of the group would step backstage when there was an extended period of time in which they would not have to perform. While there was a "pleasant" look on the sidemen during Band P's show, it was not close to the happy smiles on the sidemen in Band J.

Band R has a somewhat different type of show. There is an initial "set" of dance tunes, after which the band "breaks" for ten to fifteen minutes. Then there is a show (of approximately one hour in length) followed by dancing. There are "breaks" for the band scattered throughout the night. The band plays for a total of five hours (including occasional breaks). There is a considerable amount of variety in the music played by Band R. Everything from classical music to rock tunes is played. While Band J and Band P do not allow requests, the musicians in Band R take requests and play for dancing. Again, there is more musical than verbal entertainment. The leader does feature his sidemen and sometimes one of the musicians will get off the stage if there is an extended period during which he does not have to play. There is relatively little talk between the musicians -- at least during the show. While the musicians appeared to be interested in their work, it became evident during the interviews that some of them would rather play strictly shows instead of catering to the wishes of

"requesters" and dancers; tours were viewed in part as enjoyable for this reason.

Unlike the other two groups, Band R was not playing before a fixed audience, since the entrances were left open during the show segments as well as the dancing segments. It was quite evident that the atmosphere in the Band R setting was different from that of the Band J and P settings. Jazz music was the center of attention in the latter two cases, while in the case of Band R, there was a bar room atmosphere; loud conversation during the show and dancing sets was not unusual. In terms of prices, it would cost about \$12.00 for two drinks at Band J, \$9.00 at Band P and \$5.00 at Band R. For all of these reasons, there seemed to be a different atmosphere in the Band R setting.

Interview Data*

Eighteen interviews were conducted over a three month period. These interviews lasted anywhere from one to two and one half hours; the general trend was for longer interviews at the initial stages of the research and shorter interviews in the later stages of the research. One of the interviews was with a traditional jazzman who has authored a book on traditional jazz musicians. The information from that particular interview was used in chapter four and will be used in the next chapter for comparative purposes. Hence, we intend to summarize seventeen interviews here. While the three bands were diverse with respect to their actors, settings and shows, they manifested a remarkable consistency in terms of the interview items. For this reason, the bands

*The eighteen interviews include both the sidemen and the leaders.

will generally be undifferentiated.

The interviews were conducted with the aid of an interview guide, as appears in Appendix II. However, the respondent was encouraged to comment as he deemed necessary on any additional facts relevant to the research topic; this included any historical and/or sociological insights or extrapolations which the respondent wanted to discuss. It was found that the musicians were quite vocal on many of the issues covered in the interviews and had clearly thought about a majority of the questions before our sessions.

Each of the interviews was completed in private sessions. Seven of the interviews were completed at the respondent's residence; ten were completed at the work-site. The work-site interviews were either completed in a "band room" (six respondents), the leader's office (one respondent), a coffee shop close to the work area (one respondent), the audience area of the club before the show (one respondent), or the audience area of the club at intervals during the show (one respondent). To attain as much diversity as possible vis-a-vis settings, each of the leaders was interviewed at a different site -- one at home, one in his office and one in the audience during breaks. As a general rule, the work-site interviews were done in the early evenings before a show, while the residence interviews were done in the late mornings or early afternoons.*

*Of the seven residence interviews, five were actually conducted in the home of the respondent; one was conducted in a restaurant near the home of the respondent (due to the remodeling of his home); and one was conducted at the site of another job.

The interview data will be summarized in eight parts: background information; family involvement in the organization of jazz musicians; socialization into jazz; band cohesion; musician-audience relations; commercialism; formalization; and conflict within the band.

Background Information

The background information includes items one through eleven, items eighteen through twenty and item thirty in the interview guide. The entire sample was male and white. Twelve of the musicians were born in New Orleans; four were born in other urban areas; and one is from Lacombe, Louisiana (a rural area). Of those born in urban areas other than New Orleans, two are from Chicago, one is from New York and one is from New Jersey. All of the musicians now reside in or near (i.e., within forty miles of) New Orleans.

All of the musicians are now or at one time were musicians who played "jazz" music. Some of the musicians consider themselves to be more "popular" than "jazz" musicians. However, of those interviewed, only two or possibly three had any noticeable reservations about being labelled a jazz musician relative to item six. One of the musicians in Band R commented that they are forced due to the nature of their "gig" (i.e., their job site), to play dance music; however, he was quick to point out that even dance music could be "jazzed." The respondent's occupation was generally that of a jazzman in an objective and subjective sense. Therefore, some of the respondents expressed resentment about the fact that black traditional jazzmen were given such a central place in

the history of jazz. They seem to feel that the white bands are discriminated against by jazz historians and critics.

The average (mean) age of the musicians in the sample is forty-two years; the median age is forty-four years. The mean number of years of formal education is thirteen; the median education is twelve years. In terms of income, some of the sidemen were in the eleven thousand to fifteen thousand dollar bracket; however, most of the sidemen were in the fifteen to twenty-five dollar bracket. The leaders earned more than twenty-five thousand dollars per year.

The jazzmen's parents had a variety of occupations, educational levels and incomes. Many of the musicians were uncertain about one or another of these items. Of the fifteen musicians who responded to the item concerning their parents' occupations, five musicians responded that their parents had white collar type occupations (e.g., an accountant), seven musicians responded that their parents had blue collar type occupations (e.g., truck driver) and finally, three musicians responded that their parents were musicians. Most of the parents had family incomes of less than fifteen thousand dollars per year; approximately half of the musicians stated that their parents had incomes of less than six thousand dollars per year. Again, in terms of parental education, the musicians were at times uncertain. Of the fourteen musicians who responded to the parental education item, the average parental education reported by the musicians was eight years with a standard deviation of five years.

Next, three background items were used to determine if the band toured and the extent to which the bands moved from one employer to

another. Obviously, these responses tended to depend on the particular group. Band J had previously toured, but discontinued that practice about ten years ago. However, when it did tour, Band J did one-nighters throughout the United States and Europe. Band P followed the same pattern, touring about four or five months out of the year until recently. Band R still tours about three times per year with each tour consisting of a series of six to eight week one-nighters.

In the case of Band J and P, there is no movement from one employer to another. Each of the bands has a leader who owns the property and club in which the band performs. However, Band R does move from one employer to another. The band will remain at any one spot for a period of one to three years. During the interviews, the members of Band J and P expressed a distinct dislike for the touring that they had formerly done; they seem to be satisfied with the idea that they will continue to play at their present location without substantial touring. On the other hand, members of Band R expressed some positive attitudes about touring; when Band R tours, they play jazz instead of a mixture of jazz and dance music. The players in Band R thus enjoy the opportunity to control the show -- the opportunity to play the music that the band wants instead of the requests from the audience.

A final background item attempted to ascertain the musical experience of the sample of jazzmen. This was measured by the types of bands in which the jazzmen had played. There was a considerable amount of variation along this dimension. While it appears that the

number of bands to which any musician would have belonged would be at least in part a function of the age of the musician, it became clear that the type of bands in which a musician played was also a function of age. The older musicians seemed to have played in more dixieland types of bands. The younger jazzmen seemed to have more experience in other types of musical work, e.g., teaching and composing. Hence, there is one musician who has never been a steady member of any other band, while there is another who has played with such "greats" as Harry James and Paul Whiteman.

Family Involvement in the Organization of Jazz Musicians

There seemed to be a minimal amount of family involvement in the organization of these jazz musicians. While all of the respondents answered that they know most of their fellow jazzmen's families by sight, the families do not seem to be integral to the creation of the music; they are not present during practice sessions. The families of the jazzmen seem to get together two to five times per year during holidays or special occasions. While we will see that the jazzmen eat meals together fairly often, the families do not normally eat meals together. Band P is an exception; during a year, they get together for four or five picnics. Hence, there is no regular contact between the families of the jazzmen.

Socialization into Jazz

The socialization of jazz musicians seems to involve a number of dimensions. When I asked the question concerning the main persons involved in teaching the jazzman to play jazz, about a third of the respondents said "point blank" that jazz cannot be taught; they added that one has to learn alone. Many of them added that one has to have an idol to imitate during the early stages of one's career. Later, one develops a style. These idols include people such as Irving Pazola, Louis Armstrong, Harry James, Leon Roppolo and Teddy Wilson. As one musician commented "emulation (of idols) is very important." This idol-worship usually started at an early age, certainly by the age of ten. Most of the musicians in my sample were playing music by that age; one even performed professionally when he was as young as twelve years old. Most started playing by the age of seven.

Many of the musicians remarked about the importance of grammar school and high school teachers in terms of teaching the musicians the basic rudiments of their respective instruments. Moreover, a few of the musicians took private lessons from "professors" and private music schools. These types of teachers seemed to give the jazzmen the basic skills which are later translated into the creation of jazz. Some of the musicians, especially in Bands J and P, "jammed" with the traditional bands in New Orleans. However, this was not a regular affair. Likewise, listening to records made by their "idols" seemed to have some effect on the socialization of the musicians.

The question of how the musicians first became interested in jazz was a very difficult one for the respondents to answer and for this

researcher to interpret. Many of the musicians seemed to indicate that the music was "just there." The music seemed to be a natural part of the culture of their surroundings. Some were members of high school stage bands and dance bands; these groups used to "jam" at times. Some got interested in jazz after sitting in with jazz groups. Some simply heard the music on the radio stations in New Orleans. These stations used to broadcast "live" jazz music from the French Quarter; similarly, one musician used to see jazzmen on television. One musician stated that an older brother got him interested in jazz. In one case, there was a dance hall around the corner from the musician's childhood home and the musician used to visit that hall and listen to jazz. One respondent frequented a music store whose owner was a jazz buff. Two musicians said that their parents were influential in making them interested in jazz. Perhaps, the best explanation is that in each of these cases, jazz was the "natural course of action" for these musicians.

Not all of the jazzmen had a family member who played or plays music. Eleven musicians had parents who played musical instruments. Six had parents who were not musicians. Five of the musicians had parents who played the piano to some degree. Although in some of these cases the parents seem to have had little influence on the jazz playing sons, it is probably fair to say that in many of the cases the parents were supportive of their children's general musical interests, if not their interest in jazz music.

Moreover, in item forty-one, the musicians were asked whether their parents, relatives, friends or teachers pressured them toward or away from music in general or jazz in particular. Sixteen musicians answered

this item. Three of the sixteen said that there was no significant pressure vis-a-vis music and jazz by any of the people mentioned in this item. In two cases, there was parental pressure toward jazz. In one case, there was peer pressure toward jazz. One respondent mentioned that there was a general pressure toward music by most of the people listed in this item. In two cases, the parental pressure was divided -- one parent pressuring the child toward jazz and the other parent pressuring the child away from jazz. In two cases, the music teachers seemed to approve while others seemed to disapprove of the youngsters' interest in jazz. In three cases, there was direct parental pressure away from jazz; the most important reasons given by the musicians for this parental pressure were the money and the hours. In two cases, there was direct peer pressure away from jazz by fellow musicians. Again, it would seem that there is no stereotyped view appropriate to the musicians in relation to pressures by significant others either toward or away from jazz music.

Band Cohesion

On the other hand, it would seem that one could say that the musicians in these bands do demonstrate a certain amount of cohesion. At least, this would be the first impression one would get by visiting the musicians at work. On stage, everyone is friendly with everyone else. This is reflected by the interview item. Item fifteen asks the musicians if they eat meals together. Almost all the musicians answered in the affirmative to this item. Most commented that when the band was "on tour," the musicians ate together regularly. One of the bands has a

few musicians who eat breakfast together fairly often. One band picnics a few times per year. However, commensalism is not a regular, routinized type of behavior. Rather, when the situation is "appropriate" (i.e., during late hours, during tours and during holidays), the jazzmen eat meals together.

This lack of regular "off stage" contact is illustrated by the jazzmen's responses to item seventeen. Ten of the jazzmen answered that there was no regular contact among the jazzmen except for their professional contact on stage and before and after these performances. Of the seven that answered positively to this item, most (i.e., five) seemed to indicate that this regular contact concerned or centered around sporting activities such as golf and fishing.

In a related question, item twenty-four asks the musicians how much off-duty time they spend with fellow band members. Most of the musicians responded that they spend "little" time with the other members of the band. Apparently two or three of the musicians play golf together anywhere from five to eight hours per week; but, this type of contact by musicians with their fellow musicians seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

In item thirty-one, an attempt was made to get some measure for the commitment of the musicians to the particular band by asking them how long they had been members of their present band. In Band J, the median years of membership was twelve; in Band P, it was ten; in Band R, it was eleven. It has been proposed that the longer a band remains together, the stronger its internal cohesion and the more the musicians become cut-off from the public. Item thirty-two questions the musicians

about their own feelings concerning this matter. Nine of the musicians felt that music does not cut them off from the public. Four remarked that the hours on stage cut them off from the public "in a way." Some things (e.g., family gatherings) become very difficult for the jazzmen to attend according to four others; "regular" people become "hard to relate to," according to one musician; "we work when they play; " "not that many friends at all." However, of the nine musicians that stated that music does not cut them off from the public, one even said that playing music did just the opposite of cut one off from the public. In summary, it would seem that the hours that the musicians work do cause problems for some of them, but as one musician commented, "I have gotten used to it."

The most critical measures of band cohesion were items forty-six, forty-seven and forty-eight. Item forty-six asks the musicians to compare the present band with other bands in terms of the way people get along, the way people stick together, and the way people help each other on the job. It is significant that all but two of the musicians indicated that the musicians in their present bands were "better" in each of the three dimensions. One of the two who disagreed with the other fifteen said that the band was the same on each of the three dimensions; one said that the band gets along better than others, that people help each other about the same, but that jazz musicians "never stick together -- it's every man for himself." Hence, it would seem that the musicians generally rated their present groups very positively in relation to other groups on the dimensions covered in this item.

Item forty-seven asks the respondents how they would feel about

leaving their present band. As we could expect from item forty-six, most members wanted to stay where they were. In fact, all but one of the jazzmen indicated that he would agree with the two positive responses in this item: "I would rather stay where I am than move" and "I would want very much to stay where I am." Two of the musicians commented that they would move only if the increase in salary would make it foolish for them to remain in their present group. Three of the musicians indicated that they like the group, but want a new location. Two of the leaders suggested that they would like to try some different types of groups by increasing the size of the groups (i.e. keep the existing people and add personnel).

Finally, item forty-eight ascertains whether the musicians feel that they are really part of their respective groups. Fourteen of the musicians said that they are "really part of my group." Two said that they are "included in most ways." One said that he is "included in some ways, but not in others." In general, it would seem that while the musicians do not share many meals together or have regular contact outside of their professional lives, they nevertheless remain with the same group for over ten years, rank their present groups better than other groups vis-a-vis the way people get along, feel reluctant to move to another group and feel that they are included as a part of the group.

Musician-Audience Relations

Almost all the musicians expressed an initially positive view of their audiences. Some kept that view throughout the interviews and the observations. Hence, instead of antagonism, there was friendship. It is significant that in all cases, the musicians projected their attitudes toward the audience (item twenty-five) onto the band's general feeling toward the audience (item twenty-six). Eight of the sixteen musicians who answered items twenty-five and twenty-six were positively favorable toward the audience. Responses varied from "you want them to like it (the music)" to "I just want my audience to be more than content." One musician (a leader) said that the "audience makes it happen for me. I . . . perform to please my audience. Some look with disdain on the audience. However, the only reason for [my] discharging . . . [a sideman] is for [his] not being interested in the audience." Other musicians of a more utilitarian bent, said that audiences were "life insurance" and that "if you don't please them, you try harder."

Five of the musicians were ambivalent on items twenty-five and twenty-six. They said that their feeling toward the audience varied from night to night; one said that they vary from "monsters to God." One commented that "we enjoy the audiences; it does have an effect. Personally, I don't see what's so fascinating about what we're doing." Similar ambivalence was expressed by another musician: "ninety percent of the audiences are responsive . . . (but they are) ignorant of jazz and take jazz for granted."

Three musicians expressed initial dissatisfaction with audiences. One commented that "people hear with their eyes. People want to be entertained and you should look interested." Even more antagonism was expressed by the musician who noted that audiences are "dumb. People have forced musicians to cater to them." Another expressed arrogance: "musicians are a hundred years ahead of their time . . . (they are) a different breed." However, even these three musicians were willing to smile at their audiences, although two of them noted that these were "phony" smiles. Furthermore, the antagonism was usually expressed between statements such as "I generally like my audiences, I guess."

Item twenty-seven asked the musicians how much they as individuals communicate with the audiences during and after the shows. Item twenty-eight asked the same question for the band in general. Again, there was considerable projection from the individual's communication activities to the band's communication activities. One of the leaders talks extensively with his audiences both during and after the shows; in fact, on several occasions he would sit with members of the audience during the breaks. One leader talked extensively after the shows, but kept the performance dialogue rather fixed and unidirectional from himself to the audience. Finally, another leader minimally communicated with the audience (at least at the verbal level); he would announce the numbers and "split" after the show.

Out of fourteen sidemen, twelve stated that they did little or no communicating with the audience during the show. However, after the show they did talk with the audience, if the members of the audience approached them. Some of the musicians expressed real pleasure in

relation to talking with their audiences after a show. Others simply said that they were not "hidiers"; e.g. one musician commented, "I don't avoid them." One musician remarked that "it's professionalism" that makes me talk with the audiences. Two of the sidemen said that they try to avoid audiences after the shows: "try to stay away from them." These two musicians were among those who expressed initial antagonism with the audience.

Item twenty-nine was included in order that the musicians could express any desire to remove themselves (at least spatially) from direct contact with the audience. All of the musicians commented that the stage was "right on" the audience. One said that the closer the stage is to the audience, the better he liked it. However, none of the other musicians commented on the distance between the stage and the audience.

Finally, item forty asks the musicians "point blank" if there are aspects about the audience which are troublesome to the band. All of the musicians were able to mention at least one characteristic of their audiences which disturbed them. The frequency of these disturbances varied from once a year to once a week, with a typical response being about once or twice a month. The nature of these characteristics also varied; drunkenness, arguing loudly during a show and inappropriate requests were among those things which the musicians identified as disturbing characteristics of some of their audiences. In two of the interviews, the "full moon" phenomenon was mentioned; according to this myth, the audiences during the evenings of the full moon are supposed to be very hostile and antagonistic. This myth was referred to by one

individual in two of the three groups which were studied.

In summary then, it would appear that there is a considerable amount of "friendship" or at least "tolerance" for the audience on the part of the musicians. While most could cite examples of characteristics of the audiences which disturbed them, the musicians nevertheless said that these characteristics occurred infrequently. The antagonism found here was certainly less than some investigators have found in their studies of jazz musicians. In short, while most of the musicians regarded themselves as jazz artists, they also were aware of their service role.

Commercialism

Items thirty-three through thirty-five involved questions about the use of electronic equipment by the band and the recording practices of the individual musician -- how many records, what type of records and what label was the recording? Naturally, the first issue was band specific. Band R uses electronic effects more than either Band J or Band P. Band R has an electric piano, an electric organ, a fender base, a reverb option, as well as the standard microphone amplification present in Band J and Band P.

By the same token, Band J and Band P have recorded numerous albums for "large" recording corporations; Band R has recorded relatively few albums and these have been recorded for "small" recording corporations. In fact, the typical member of Band P has recorded well over ten albums -- some as many as forty-five; on the other hand, the typical member of

Band R has recorded about six albums. This item was included to verify our initial assumption that Band J and Band P were commercial jazz bands, as we had initially defined the term "commercial."

But, when we change from an objective view of commercialism (which stresses recording success) to a more subjective view of commercialism (which stresses the motivation of the musician), we find some interesting facts. Item forty-two asks the musicians if there is any direct conflict between artistry and commercialism. The leaders of the groups responded in the negative: there is no contradiction or conflict, as has been so commonly assumed by the "classical" works in the sociology of music. One leader commented that the assumption of a conflict has "been a thorn in my side for years. I have played the same for years. I don't play for musicians." Another leader said that there was not any conflict between art and money. In fact, he said that "you can't convert anyone until they will listen to you." Thus, after one is successful, one "can educate an audience (artistically)." The third leader was not as confident as the first two; he answered the item with a "not really" response. He added however, that the people "who play for themselves will starve."

Of the sidemen, six agree that one can be both an artist and make good money in the field of jazz music. Eight of the musicians feel that there is some type of conflict between making money in jazz and playing artistic jazz music. One musician said that money makes better art since one tries harder when one is starving; another said that you have to make artistic sacrifices when you make money in jazz. Hence, there is a diversity of opinion by the musicians on this matter and it would

seem premature to divide these musicians into the traditional-commercial dichotomy on the motivational level.

Item forty-four indicates the premature nature of this bifurcation in a clear manner. If instead of making the traditional-commercial distinction mutually exclusive, we allow the musicians to rank order their preferences vis-a-vis art and money; some instructive information emerges. Six of the musicians said that monetary reward and artistic expression were either both important or both very important to them as goals in their music. Six said that artistic expression was more important than monetary reward. Six said that monetary reward was more important than artistic expression. Out of the entire sample, only four ranked the "prestige among jazzmen" item as slightly important or unimportant. All the others ranked this as either important (five respondents) or very important (seven respondents). In terms of the "prestige within the public" item, five ranked this as very important; seven ranked this as important; two ranked this as slightly important; and two ranked this as unimportant.

With respect to recording records, five of the musicians ranked this as unimportant; two ranked it as important; three ranked it as slightly important; and six ranked it as very important. The three leaders all ranked recording as very important. Of the seventeen respondents, only twelve responded to the item concerning the sharing of one's creative ability with the rest of the band; all ranked this as important or very important. Three of the musicians made additional comments on this item. Comments like "it's my job" and "if I don't I just get minimal performances from my people" were made. These comments seemed to indicate

that the sharing was done in two ways: first, the sidemen have a role to make the leader sound good; and second, good musicianship "brings out the best" in the band.

"Sharing your music with the public" was ranked as very important or important by fourteen of the fifteen musicians who responded to this item. One musician ranked this as unimportant. Apparently, sharing music was important to this individual for monetary rather than artistic reasons. Finally, fifteen of the sixteen musicians who answered the "your own satisfaction with the music produced" item said that this was either very important or important. One said that this was slightly important. It would seem that the response to these two items concerning commercialism point toward contradictions vis-a-vis the commercial-traditional dichotomy.

In general then, we can summarize the commercialism findings by pointing out that there was no stereotypical view among the sample concerning the importance of commercial enterprises such as recording and satisfying the public with jazz music. Some musicians in this sample considered both art and money important. Some considered one more important than the other. However, diversity was the rule here.

Formalization

Formalization has objective and subjective dimensions. Items thirty-six through thirty-nine attempt to tap the objective one. Item Forty-five attempts to tap the subjective one. Additional objective data vis-a-vis formalization will be presented in the section on

institutional data.

Items thirty-six and thirty-seven concern the existence of contracts both within the band itself and between the band and the employer. As it turns out, this could have been handled by a single item relative to union contractual practices. All of the musicians as well as the employers are bound by a standard union contract (see Appendix III.) The musicians seem to realize this in virtually every case. However, this was not viewed as a contract by some of the musicians; they seemed to view the union contracts as something less than a formal contract. This fact can be explained by the structure of the union contracts; i.e., there is a blank for the signature of the employer and the leader, but the sidemen are merely listed on the back of the contract together with their home address, local union number, social security number, scale wages and pension contribution.

Thus, the sidemen enter into a written contract with the employer in an indirect manner. The musicians are covered by these union contracts "automatically" and the most important clause of the contract is the two week notice provision and termination. This two week notice applies equally to the leader and the sidemen. In addition to these written contracts which bind the sidemen to the leader and the leader to the employer, there are several verbal contracts between the sidemen and the leaders in the sample. These verbal contracts are, however, very atypical.

Items thirty-eight and thirty-nine question the musicians about their membership in the American Federation of Musicians -- the length

of membership, the number of the local, as well as additional types of organizations to which they belong. Several of the musicians reported that they are members of B.M.I. or A.S.C.A.P. -- two organizations which function to protect the rights and royalties of song writers. Also, several of the musicians reported that they are members of the New Orleans Jazz Club. However, these organizations seem to be of secondary importance to the musicians.

The union on the other hand is a very important organization. All of the musicians in my sample were members of the Local 174-496. While some of the musicians have been with this particular Local for five years or less, virtually all of the musicians have been members of some musicians' union since childhood or shortly thereafter. Hence, if we look at the measures of formalization developed at this point, we must conclude that the musicians participate in a relatively formal type of occupation; they belong to unions and they are subject to contractual obligations.

Item forty-five uses perceived job codification as a social psychological measure of formalization. This measure of formalization seemed to point to the formalization present in the production of music on stage rather than with the "objective" formalization associated with unions and contracts. The focus in item forty-five is situational and musical; the production of music can be more or less formalized depending upon how much freedom the musicians have to "improvise" and to control their own activities in the musical sector of their lives.

Responses by the leaders to item forty-five were united: the musicians have total freedom, according to the leaders of the three

groups. That is, the leaders responded "definitely yes" to each of the five questions posed in this item. Typical comments were, "I let them go in almost any direction," "[we are a] free wheeling group," "[I am] open to suggestions and criticism," "[I make] no limitations on improvisations," and "[We] even change keys [as we play]." The only limitations, according to the leaders are those of common sense -- e.g., time and space.

Two of the sidemen disagreed with the leaders in a substantial way. There seemed to be complete opposition to the notion that the musicians were free to do as they please. These two respondents answered "definitely no" to each of the five questions in item forty-five. This does not mean that these musicians thought that they should be given more freedom. As one respondent put it, "the leader calls the tunes; that is as it should be."

The rest of the sidemen seemed to be somewhat divided on this issue. Perhaps a summary of the findings would indicate that each of the musicians has a fair amount of perceived control over his own solos. However, the leader is responsible for calling the tunes and structuring the show (i.e., breaks and announcements are handled by the leader). The bands generally have "a format" for their shows and the players "have an understanding" about how the show is to be played. There is some diversity here. One leader commented that he would let his sidemen play something that he personally disliked with the hope that he (the leader) would grow to like it or that the sideman would change. On the other hand, one of the sidemen in another group has little tolerance for musical divergence of diversity within his group; the

the same songs are played the same way by the same people every night. But, the general picture that emerges here is one of a relatively low degree of social psychological formalization as measured by job codification in item forty-five.

Conflict

According to the literature of the sociology of jazzmen, musicians are supposed to form a community which is in a state of equilibrium or which is free of conflict. Item forty-three is an open-ended question concerning methods of conflict resolution within the bands. The item assumes that some degree of conflict exists in every human group. However, most of the musicians said that there was very little conflict in their present groups. This does not mean that there is minimal amounts of conflict in jazz bands generally. On the contrary, several of the musicians commented upon the fact that they had previously been members of bands in which there was considerable amount of conflict. Especially in big bands, there emerges a definable set of cliques; conflict between these cliques is typical.

However, in the groups which are included here, there seems to be relative harmony. When conflict arises, the musicians tend to "talk about it or laugh it off." In one group, the second-in-command helps to resolve the problem. Two of the sidemen commented that once the leaders are brought into the argument, then "there is an ultimatum." But, this is unusual. The typical resolution technique involves kidding and laughing; there do not seem to be any grudges.

Several of the musicians offered the following analogy. The jazz band is a particular kind of group. Moreover, "this band is an oddity since ninety percent of us have known each other for years. We get very heated (at times), but we bend." Also, in Band R, the musicians are "like brothers; we have mutually constructive arguments." Thus, most of the respondents used some phrase such as "close-knit" or "like-family" in their descriptions of the conflict that exists in the bands. So, while there is relative harmony, conflict does exist and it is at times heated. Conflict does not squelch the band, however.

The leaders seem to have different philosophies vis-a-vis conflict resolution. Two of the leaders claim that they solve the conflict either directly or through some second-in-command. These leaders were explicit: "I handle the conflict." The third leader takes a somewhat different approach; he says that he "never makes a decree." Conflict seems to resolve itself. In any case, my observation seemed to confirm the musicians' claim that there is minimal conflict within these bands. Most of the musicians have known at least some of the other members of the band since high school or for a substantial period of time. Hence, in the two bands where the leaders take a strong role in conflict resolution, most of the conflict is handled among the musicians: "there is an understanding."

The difference in philosophy at this point should not cover up the basic point that even though Band R plays a different type of music than Band J and P, there is a basic similarity in the responses of the musicians in the three groups along most of the items. All the bands toured at one time; the average (mean) length of time that the musicians have

played with their respective groups is about the same; in fact, there were only minor differences in the bands vis-a-vis the musicians' responses. Hence, it appears that it is romantic to think that New Orleans dixieland jazzmen differ from other types of New Orleans jazzmen. But, this problem needs further investigation.

Institutional Data

The two primary sources of the institutional data are the contracts which exist between the musician and the employer and the three publications of the Musicians' Local 174-496. Each of these sources will be discussed in terms of information which is relevant to this study. Thus, there will be no exhaustive content analysis of the various union publications. We will attempt to give the essence of the material with most emphasis on data which is of direct utility here.

The Constitution and By-Laws gives us some very useful information vis-a-vis several of the concepts used in this investigation. For example, one measure of the formalization of the union is the length of these types of written documents. When the various editions of the Constitution and By-Laws are examined, it is found that the length of this publication has increased dramatically during the last sixty-five years. (See Table 5.1.)

We will discuss the written contracts in the next few pages, but first, it is instructive to note the changing regulations concerning "verbal contracts." In the 1910 edition of the Constitution and By-

Laws, we find the statement that

verbal contracts shall be duly declared to the Financial Secretary-Treasurer. All contracts must be reported before the engagement, if possible; when not possible, through lack of time, same contract must be reported the next day.

In the 1941 edition, it says that

verbal contracts may be entered into for single engagements, but must declare number of musicians employed on same and price thereof, and must be reported before the engagement take place.

Finally, in the 1965 edition, it says that

verbal contracts may be entered into for Single Engagements when time does not permit the filing of a written form. Such verbal contracts MUST be reported to the office prior to the playing of said engagement, and must stipulate the date, place, time, number of men to be used, and the price agreed upon. Such verbal contracts as may be entered into and reported to the office must be followed by a valid written contract to be deposited within seventy-two hours of the engagement.

Table 5.1 The number of Pages Contained in the Constitution and By-Laws for Selected Years

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Pages</u>
1910	27
1941	42
1965	66
1975	73

It is clear that contracts of the verbal sort are becoming increasingly controlled by the union and moreover, that even verbal contracts are becoming more codified in terms of the specifics of the engagement (time, place, number of players, etc.).

Another institutional measure of formalization in this setting

would be the extent to which the union allows "unregulated" performances. In the 1910 edition, there is no mention about the legality of "jamming" or "sitting in" or anything relating to spontaneous playing. However, in the 1941 and 1965 editions there are direct statements about these types of playing: "members are not permitted to appear in 'GUEST APPEARANCES,' 'JAM SESSIONS' or 'SITTING IN' anywhere." While some of these rules may be violated with little if any consequences for the violators, it is significant that they do exist in written form. Their proliferation indicates formalization within the occupation.

The union is clearly becoming a more important part of the production of jazz music in New Orleans. The white Local 174 (first chartered on January 14, 1902) has merged with the black Local 496 (first chartered on June 5, 1926). As of November 1, 1969, there was a new union, Local 174-496. Although the figures were not available to me, there is some evidence to suggest that the union is growing, with a current membership of about one thousand five hundred musicians.* This growth should not be taken as a sign that all the musicians are pleased with their Local 174-496. Where as union officials were point out that the merging of the two Locals resulted in pension and relief benefits for blacks, some of the musicians were complaining that the Local tends to side with the managers of clubs, that the dues are too high,** and that the directors of

*Of course, this includes jazz musicians as well as many other types of musicians (e.g., dance band musicians).

**The dues for the Local have increased from \$4.10 per year in 1910, to \$10.00 per year in 1941, to three percent of scale in 1965. The three percent of scale can result in payments of about \$250-\$400 per year.

the Local did not come up through the ranks.

While the union does set up a minimum wage for musicians, the musicians in my sample were making well over "scale" as defined by Local 174-496. As one leader commented, the union wages "are bare minimum." However, it is also clear that very few bands in New Orleans have salaries above "scale." Table 5.2 gives typical scale wages for seasonal or steady engagements for the years 1948 and 1960. It would seem that wages have not significantly increased over the twelve year period; there is also evidence that there has been a gradual increase in scale wages since 1960, but this increase has not kept pace with inflationary trends in the economy from 1960 until the present.

Table 5.2 Scale Wages (6 nights per week) for a week

1948: Seasonal Engagements in Night Clubs and Bars	1960: Steady Engagements in Night Clubs and Bars
4 hours Sidemen -- \$60.00 Leaders -- \$90.00	4 hours Sidemen -- \$75.00 Leaders -- \$105.00
5 hours Sidemen -- \$67.50 Leaders -- \$101.25	5 hours Sidemen -- \$84.00 Leaders -- \$113.00
6 hours Sidemen -- \$77.50 Leaders -- \$116.25	6 hours Sidemen -- \$93.00 Leaders -- \$122.00
7 hours Sidemen -- \$87.50 Leaders -- \$131.25	7 hours Sidemen -- \$108.00 Leaders -- \$145.00

The union publishes a newsletter called the Prelude in addition to its Constitution and By-Laws and Price List and Conditions. While the recent issues of the Prelude provide little in the way of data for this study, during the 1920's there were several interesting issues of this newsletter; these issues contained editorial statements by contributors

who were very important to the New Orleans music scene. More specifically, there was a series of articles which bears directly on the commercialization of musicians in New Orleans. Two extended quotes are relevant here. John Haliston (1928: 5) comments on jazz as a commercial activity:

Jazz is a business -- remember it's been a business to all engaged in it despite frequent claims of artistic endeavor -- and good business consists in giving the purchaser what he wants. The dancers are your purchasers. If they like refined jazz, then keep your band blowing softly, but if you are missing fire, rough things up a bit and see what happens.

In a similar statement, John Hammond claims that (1928: 5-9)

One of the chief faults of the good musician is a failure to realize that the box office is all that stands between him and starvation . . . After all is said and done, the box incentive and the applause of the multitude are the incentive and reward of any musician in his quest for success. He must sell his product and the size of his order list depends largely on his ability to become a showman . . . The good showman never seriously tries to educate the public because it can't be done when the public is paying admission to be entertained.

These two excerpts from articles written in the white musicians' union newsletter indicate that there is a conflict between good music and good pay and that the band should bend to the whims of its audience if it is to succeed.

The facts demonstrate then that white New Orleans musicians were being exposed to the business ideology as early as the 1920's. This business ideology seems to have been confined to the white musicians during this time in New Orleans. But, the black musicians were exposed to the same ideology when they moved into the northern urban areas. The data from the interviews was presented earlier in relation to the musicians feelings about a contradiction between art and money in jazz. Of those musicians who felt that there was a contradiction between the two,

most would agree with the quotes mentioned above. The musicians in my sample who agreed with the art-money conflict seem to indicate that there is a biographical evolution from art to money. That is, when a musician acquires a family and other responsibilities, he is forced to abandon his art and "go commercial."

Again, there is no necessary contradiction between art and money in jazz. However, at certain times and in certain situations the two seem to be mutually exclusive. This exclusiveness is not based upon any inherent quality of jazz as an art form and the commerce of jazz. Rather, it is based upon historical or situational factors (e.g., the whims of the audience and the personality of the musician).

So far, we have investigated institutional data that originates from the musicians' union. Next, we look at the contracts that exist between the musicians and the leader and between the leader and the employer. Of the contracts available, three are of interest. These contracts are indices of the extent of formalization in the relationships between the musicians, the leaders and the employer.*

The first contract was a New Orleans contract between members of the George McCullum Jazz Orchestra and an employer. The contract was scarcely a half page in length with large print. There was a salary paragraph and a paragraph concerning the number of pieces together with the appropriate signatures. Also, there was a stipulation that "the orchestra will be entitled to drinks and supper." This contract was

*These contracts will be summarized, since this researcher was not allowed to copy the 1922 and 1915 contracts.

dated in the 1920's and the body of the contract was no more than eight lines.

This contract should be compared to other contracts of different places and different times. About the same time that the McCullum contract was composed, there was a contract between Brown's Band in Chicago, which was about ten times as long as the McCullum contract. In fact, the Brown contract resembled the present contract blank of the American Federation of Musicians in New Orleans (see Appendix III). The early Chicago contract and the later New Orleans contracts were more formalized in the sense that they were longer and more precise. In addition, the newer contracts specify that the rules and the by-laws of the union are to be incorporated as part of the contract. Thus, any change in the rules and by-laws results in direct contractual changes for the parties involved.

At this point, a methodological summary of this chapter is given. At first, we started with some sensitizing observations and open-ended interviews in order to make a problem statement which was precise enough to allow us to develop an interview guide, but flexible enough to allow us to move in theoretically valuable directions. These interviews were completed after the selection of a theoretical sample and the completion of additional observation; this time the observation was with the knowledge of the musicians. While observation was a constant part of the research, so was "digging around" for neglected documents and literature, which later became useful supplements to the interviews and the observation. This triangulation of methods or techniques has been rewarding in terms of theory; this will become evident in the next chapter.

In this chapter, we have presented the data. But, description and data collection are only one of the goals of science. A far more important goal involves explanation and "understanding." This chapter has presented the data with which to initiate our explanations. Next, we must turn to the more difficult task of generating theory. But first, we briefly review the initial hypotheses in view of the data collected in this chapter. This data is relevant to the modern, "commercial" New Orleans jazzmen who have been selected for our sample.

Summary

First, formalization as the proliferation of codified rules seems to have materialized in an incremental way. However, there is a low degree of perceived formalization. Socialization into jazz is still relatively primary. Clearly, the musicians have become more commercial in the "recording" sense of that word; but, there are problems with the social psychological distinction between commercial and traditional jazz musician. In terms of social class (income and education), the sample seems to have been upwardly mobile in the intergenerational sense. Also, most New Orleans jazzmen are born in urban areas. Social distance between the musician and the audience seems to be minimal. Band cohesion is very high, while the organization of the bands is increasingly formal. These findings will be utilized to attempt to grasp the macro-historical changes in these conceptualized phenomena; this will be accomplished in chapter six by comparing the data in chapters four and five. Also, this chapter will provide a basis for a theoretical discussion of attitudinal

or orientational changes which musicians manifest throughout their careers in jazz music.

Chapter 6 Discussion of the Data: The Emerging
Theory*

Initially in the first chapter, a general problem statement was presented. This study would deal with changes in the organization and orientation of New Orleans jazz musicians, according to the statement. Moreover, the concept of formalization was introduced as a hypothetical "explanatory" variable of certain changes in the orientation and organization of the sample which comprised the focus of the study. After some delimiting of the scope, level and significance of this investigation, the literature concerning the subject area and the concepts was reviewed and a specific methodological plan of action was suggested. Finally, two chapters were involved with the presentation of the data; one chapter was "secondary" in nature and one chapter was "primary" in nature. From the former chapter we gleaned a view of the more recent orientational and organizational aspects of jazz musicians in New Orleans. Now, it is proper to attempt to pull the data together into a meaningful whole.

In order to synthesize the findings into a theoretical whole, two things will be done in this chapter. First, we will make some assessment of the hypotheses -- the statements which directed the initial stages of the research. Second and most difficult, we will make a set

*It should be evident that the statements contained in this chapter are a result of the data collected. In part, this data is a consequence of interviews with musicians in three, purposively selected, atypical New Orleans jazz bands. Thus, we are not making verified, statistical inferences or generalizations about all New Orleans jazzmen. The data here, however, was collected in such a way (i.e., purposive sampling) that theoretical explanations do emerge.

of statements which comprise a theory of the orientation and organization of jazz musicians in New Orleans. It should be clear that there are crucial limitations which have been placed on this theory, as has been elaborated in the first chapter. Nevertheless, we can give some generalizations that seem to be useful starting points for future research.

Explanations of the Hypotheses

There are five hypotheses and each one has the concept of formalization as an independent variable. It would appear that the New Orleans jazz musicians are becoming increasingly formalized in the organizational sense. For example, the union is growing and its documents are becoming models of organizational rules and regulations. There is an increasing tendency for musicians to obtain a written contract between the employer and the leader of the band. However, in the social psychological sense, formalization is low, possibly as low as in the "early" days of jazz.* In what follows, we will stress the objective, structural aspects of the term formalization and deal with the social psychological aspects later.

Thus, it would seem that the independent variable in each of the hypotheses is changing in the hypothesized direction. The dependent

*It is a very difficult task to attempt to measure the attitudes of the early jazzmen. For that reason, the data on changing orientations of jazzmen emerges primarily from the interviews with contemporary jazz musicians.

variables must co-vary if our hypotheses are to be supported (in this sample). Hypothesis 1 stated a relationship between formalization and the type of socialization into jazz music and jazz culture (i.e., primary or secondary?). Hypothesis 1 is supported in a limited sense. While both the traditional and the commercial jazz musicians studied in New Orleans seemed to have been predisposed toward music (either by families, by idols, by friends or a combination of these), the commercial musicians seem to have had more contact with "straight" written music, as taught by grammar school and high school music teachers. The private professors were more important to the traditional musicians. However, the socialization into jazz seems to be remarkably similar to the "early" days. Many of the commercial musicians second lined, although not necessarily in the traditional sense of those words.*

Thus, we can conclude that at least for this group of musicians, formalization in the occupational structure has not resulted in formalization in the socialization process vis-a-vis jazz. There are no written examinations, no degrees or certificates necessary, and no schools of jazz in New Orleans. Socialization is still primary to the extent that it is centered around primary group (and even individual) settings. Some possible reasons for this can be suggested. It may

*Many of the commercial musicians have "idols" and these idols form the basis for role models. Hence, commercial musicians parade behind their idols in a symbolic sense. In terms of socialization into jazz, there is a distinct problem surfacing in New Orleans. The jazz funerals are decreasing in frequency; young jazzmen can no longer "sit-in" with bands. Despite some efforts to the contrary, jazz of the New Orleans type may be disappearing.

be the nature of the folk-art that it cannot be taught, as the myth proclaims. Or, it may be that the jazz music can be taught, but that the types of social relationships necessary for the band to function can only emerge after primary relationships have been established; more than one musician has commented upon the social understanding that exists in all good jazz bands. This "understanding" exists in both the traditional and the commercial jazz bands. It takes time to acquire this understanding and this is reflected by the substantial length of time that most of my sample had been with their present bands (a mean of eleven years).

This understanding does not seem to be something that is easily described. It involves discipline -- the musician must know when he is a sideman and when he is a star. (He must comprehend the leader-sideman role relationships.) It involves the antithesis of discipline -- spontaneity. Jazz by its very nature is relatively spontaneous. Therefore, two seemingly contradictory ingredients are necessary for the roles of the musicians to synthesize in such a way that disciplined musicianship emerges from a spontaneous musical form.

Jazz music demands that the musician basically follow a melody, even though key changes, tempo changes and other radical innovations can introduce a virtually infinite number of variations. The discipline involved in playing jazz demands that the musician (though spontaneous) remains intelligible to the rest of the group. The completely, spontaneous, "do your own thing" ideology was absent among these musicians. In fact, some of the observed solos seemed less improvised than the more spontaneous, traditional jazz music. Certainly, the show routines were

routine! Nevertheless, there was limited improvisation in all of the observed shows. Therefore, along with the increasing organizational formalization, there is increasing discipline (with somewhat less spontaneity).

Understanding is necessary at the musical level and at the group (i.e., the band) level. It is also necessary at the audience level. The commercial and traditional musicians appear to agree that the leader of the group must be able to satisfy an audience; this seems to take the types of experiences that one can attain only through direct contact with audiences. Music schools do not teach one how to gauge an audience; the union publications used to give advice about audience-band relationships (e.g., see Hammond, 1928) but have discontinued this practice. Hence, formalization vis-a-vis socialization into jazz seems to be in conflict with the nature of the music itself, the nature of the role relationships of the musicians and the relationships between the band and the audience.

Hypothesis 2 states that there is a direct relationship between the formalization and the commercialization of jazz musicians. This hypothesis is clearly supported, if we use an objective (recording history) measure for commercialization. Jazz has entered the arena of record corporations. However, if we limit ourselves to the orientational aspects of commercialization, it would seem that the hypothesis is not supported. The jazz musicians in my sample were generally just as interested in music as an art form as in music as a commercial enterprise. There is also evidence that the older, traditional jazzmen are recording for the large corporations, but this does not necessarily

imply that they have changed in terms of their orientation toward jazz music.

Hence, our findings seem to imply that both traditional and commercial musicians are, in a sense, making the labels "traditional" and "commercial" irrelevant. The older, black jazz musicians in New Orleans are touring and recording -- at times with the younger, white jazz musicians. Some of the traditional jazzmen (by recording standards) are strongly commercial in orientations: "success is success; with great success there is money; it's a job; you just do the job; have horn, will play." On the other hand, some of the commercial musicians (by recording standards) are traditional in orientation. Hence, the stereotypes which are based upon a mutually exclusive notion of commercialism and traditionalism in jazz are at least suspect for my sample. A more pragmatic resolution to the problem of commercialism seems to take place.

Perhaps a viable model of subjective orientation toward jazz music by jazzmen should include three categories: traditional (or artistic), pragmatic and commercial. Traditional and commercial can be considered ideal types on a continuum. The model should also include the notion that orientations are biographical and situational in nature. That is, it should not be assumed that every jazzman in a particular category has a certain orientation. By the same token, a given musician can change vis-a-vis his orientation toward jazz.

Hypothesis 3 involves the relationship between formalization and place of birth and the social class of the jazz musicians. While some studies of traditional musicians in New Orleans have noted an estimated

ninety percent of the traditional jazzmen were born within the New Orleans metropolitan area (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 228), others have noted that jazzmen of other cities are becoming increasingly urban vis-a-vis place of birth. My data support the conclusion that at least in New Orleans, the jazzmen are now and have always been drawn mostly from the New Orleans area or some other urban area; however, this conclusion can only be validated by sampling techniques other than those employed here.

While the urban origins of jazz musicians seem to have been the rule, the class membership of the musicians seems to have changed over the years. In terms of income, the musicians -- both commercial and traditional -- are making more money today than ever before. Also, their level of education is increasing (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 76). But, while some studies have pointed out the increasing prestige of the jazzman and his music in society (Harvey, 1967), in terms of income and education have held a high position in New Orleans Black society; certainly they are better educated and better paid than the average black in New Orleans (Buerkle and Barker, 1973: 228). These differences in education and income are not as great for the white musicians as compared with the average white person in New Orleans. Hence, in general we can say that the social class of the musician is increasing in New Orleans, but that these musicians have always been at the hub of New Orleans culture. Here it would be wise to question just why social mobility is taking place. Is mobility a result of formalization? Is it a result of changing racial composition relative to jazzmen? This question will be handled in the next

section.

Hypothesis 4 concerns the relationship between the band and the audience. My data and that of Buerkle and Barker (1973: 211-215) seem to indicate that there is not now nor has there ever been much social distance between the musicians and their audiences. The amount of band-audience interaction seems to be a function of the individual band and its leader rather than a function of historical change for the sample. There are commercial jazzmen who interact verbally with audiences just as there are traditional jazzmen who interact verbally with their audiences. By the same token, there is no evidence that in-group solidarity of commitment is decreasing or that hostility toward the audience is increasing. In fact, if anything, my evidence indicates that the commercial musicians are more cohesive than the traditionals.

Finally, hypothesis 5 concerns the relationship between formalization and social organization: social organization is changing from communal to formal forms of organization. This hypothesis is easily supported by the findings. While the family played a strong part in the organization of traditional musicians, it does not enter decisively into the organization of the commercial musicians. The families of the traditional musicians "are all interrelated." In one family, there can be as many as forty jazzmen. On the other hand, the commercial musicians are not generally (kin) related.

Again, it should be noted here that the changing form of social organization has not been associated with a change in orientation. Increasingly, the jazzmen are a cohesive group of musicians. Their

occupation has become highly codified, but they still manifest a consciousness of kind. Therefore, it appears that the musicians in this study represent a formal organization with the sentiment which is sometimes equated with communal organization. It would seem then, that the equating of sentiment and organizational type is not correct.

Implications for Theory

We have to this point used the language of statistical association; we have said that certain aspects of the organization and orientation of the sampled New Orleans jazzmen are associated with formalization. Now it is necessary to suggest the dangerous step from association to causation. Note that this can be done only after the researcher has developed an interpretive understanding of the data and the research situation.

It becomes clear that formalization does not cause all of the factors which have been associated with it in the initial hypotheses. So, we must inquire about the causal relationships between concepts. This will spell out the emergent theory. This theory will not take into account all of the data that we have collected; rather, the theory will summarize the data as parsimoniously as possible.

There are generally two types of findings; first, there have been certain changes in the organization of jazz musicians that seem to be historical in nature; second, there have been certain changes in the orientation of jazz musicians that seem to be biographical in nature. We will start with the socio-historical changes and then discuss the social psychological, biographical changes.

The first limiting factor* will be the variables with which the theory will be formulated. These variables follow directly from what has been completed at this point: formalization of the objective and subjective varieties; type of socialization into jazz; commercial and traditional orientations toward jazz (with subjective and objective definitions); the organization of the jazz musicians (communal or formal); the cohesion or commitment of the musicians; the social class of the musicians; and the social distance between the musician and the audience.

The socio-historical variables include the following: objective formalization, type of organization, type of socialization into the rudiments of music, intragenerational changes in social class, place of birth, socialization into jazz music and traditional-commercial orientations as defined objectively (i.e., by the number and nature of the band's recordings).

The social psychological variables include the following: subjective formalization, social distance between the audience and the band, cohesion among the members of the band and traditional-commercial orientations as defined subjectively (the relative importance of music as an artistic activity and as an economic activity).

Table 6.1 summarizes the relationships found in this research. In the socio-historical variables, the first thing to note about the

*These limiting factors should in no way imply that the sensitizing concepts used to state the hypotheses have not been clarified by the research act and transformed to fit the situation.

Table 6.1 The Socio-Historical and Social Psychological Changes in the Organization and Orientation of New Orleans Jazzmen

	Socio-Historical	
	<u>Early Jazzmen</u>	<u>Modern Jazzmen</u>
Formalization (objective)	low -----	high
Social Organization	communal -----	formal
Socialization into Music	primary -----	secondary
Social Class	lower middle -----	upper middle
Place of Birth*	----- urban -----	
Socialization into* Jazz	----- primary -----	
Orientation (objective)	traditional -----	commercial
Racial Composition	black -----	white
	Social Psychological	
	<u>Early in Career**</u>	<u>Later in Career**</u>
Formalization (subjective)	high -----	low
Social Distance	high -----	low
Orientation (subjective)	traditional -----	commercial
Cohesion and Commitment	low -----	high

*not as predicted.

**This distinction emerged from the research act.

musicians in this study is the lack of change in the place of birth and the socialization into jazz of New Orleans jazzmen. They are urban people who learned jazz in a manner that can only be described as person-specific. The other socio-historical variables seem to be a result of the change in the organization of jazzmen from communal organizations to formal organizations and a change in the racial composition of the samples. The goals of the jazzmen have become more specified: more economic and artistic success. They have become inputs into other systems (clubs and recording corporations for example). The goals have been measured by the recording and concert success of the jazzmen as well as by the economic rewards of the music business. As these goals have become specified, jazz musicians have changed vis-a-vis their organization and behavior.

Some of the macro-historical changes are also a product of the racial characteristics* of each population. In particular, while the changes in objective formalization and orientation seem to be related to changing organizational forms, the changes in social class and socialization into music seem to be associated with changes in the racial characteristics of the populations. The relative importance of race and type of organization as independent variables can only be roughly estimated here, since the research design does not allow for disentanglement of

*Of course, it should be obvious that we are not talking about racial characteristics in terms of biologically inherited ability. We are claiming that a change in racial composition will result in a change in social class simply because of differential placement of races within the social system.

these two factors on the macro level. In any case, we were more concerned with the effects of organizational changes from communal to formal types.

As Hillery would suggest (1968), there have been certain social facts associated with the transformation in the social organization of the jazzmen. First, as the musicians have changed from communal to formal types of organization, they have become organizationally and geographically "liberated" from the micro-world of the family system. Not only are the jazzmen taught the fundamentals of music in increasingly secondary ways, but the production of jazz itself becomes decreasingly entrenched in the family environment. At least in New Orleans, jazz becomes a public "commodity" instead of a symbolic or ritualistic aspect of family gatherings and religious services. The family becomes one among the many institutions which affect the production of jazz.

Also, the spatial boundaries of the production of jazz become less important. Whereas jazz music was at one time identified with certain areas in New Orleans (e.g., Storyville or Bourbon Street), New Orleans jazz is presently becoming part of the subcultures of other areas in the United States and indeed, of other cultures altogether; the only periodical devoted specifically to New Orleans jazz is published in England. The music and the musicians are becoming world figures.

Cooperation among the jazzmen is not simply an informal thing; there are now union contracts which demand certain behaviors from sidemen, leaders and employers. In fact, as we have seen, there is generally an increasing degree of (objective) formalization associated with the organization of the musicians in this study. The formal rules of

the union have increased in number and the size of the union seems to be growing.

In terms of the biographically related changes in the orientation of the jazzmen,* there seem to be several things which are the result of the jazzmen's increasing responsibilities in society. That is, the young jazzman is generally traditional in orientation; he may move from group to group in search of the most artistically rewarding band. He probably feels that there are too many rules over which he has little control (i.e., high subjective formalization). Moreover, he feels little identification with the audience. While he has little commitment to any particular band, the young jazzman feels a strong commitment to jazz as an art form and this unites him with his fellow musicians.

The older jazzmen have the more commercial orientation. In my particular sample, there was high commitment vis-a-vis remaining in these commercially successful bands. The oppression associated with formalization is not identified as important by these musicians. They feel little social distance between themselves and the audience.

Therefore, it would seem that we have certain changes in the organization and behavior of New Orleans jazzmen in the sample which are a result of goal specification and racial composition. Also, we have certain changes in the orientation of the jazzmen which are a result of the changing position of the individual jazzman in society. The problem

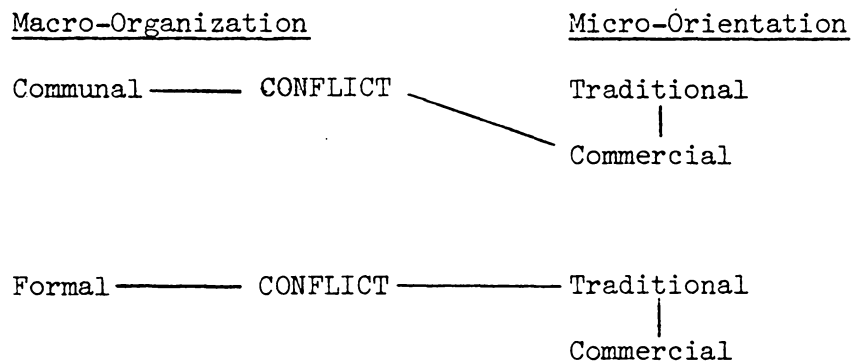
*Here the effects of race have been factored since the data for biographical or orientational changes is a result of the interviews from white jazzmen.

arises when we theoretically mix our levels or scopes. The orientation of jazzmen (commercial or traditional) is a biographical fact; it changes throughout a musician's life. There is nothing mutually exclusive about the commercial or the traditional orientations; most of my sample identified both orientations as important. But, the musicians in my sample also indicated a tendency for a change in relative emphasis; young jazzmen are traditional while older jazzmen are more commercial. But, this is a biographical thing; commercial and traditional jazzmen can and do play together within the same band; there is little antagonism between the traditionals and the commercials in the sample. This is a matter of degree instead of qualitative distinction and the musicians realize this. Many of them told me that they were one way at one time and another way later.

These types of biographical changes need to be separated from the structural changes in the organization of jazzmen. Because there are more rules and regulations does not necessarily imply that jazzmen have become more commercial in orientation or that they have sold out to the recording companies. There is then a seemingly dialectical relationship between the two types of factors (i.e., between the orientational and the organizational factors). Thus, at some time in one's career, rules of playing music might be viewed as oppressive; later these same rules are tolerated. Again, there is no one-to-one relationship between the orientation of jazzmen and the organization of jazzmen. The relationship is dialectical in nature. That is, at certain points in time, the structure of the organization of jazzmen may be in conflict with the subjective orientation of jazzmen toward

their music. This conflict results in changes at one or both levels. The following table will help to demonstrate the dialectical nature of the relation between organization and orientation. If the early jazzman wanted to make "more" than a ritual activity of jazz, then he was forced to leave New Orleans and head north. Storyville was closed; commercial jazz became identified with crime. Later, it was the traditional musician who came into conflict with the organization of jazzmen.

Table 6.2 Conflict Between the Organization and Orientation of Jazzmen



As the organization became formal, artistic expression was regulated in many ways. Jam sessions were outlawed; these formed the heart of jazz for many traditionals. With the decreasing ritualistic functions of jazz, there appeared to be an increasing level of conflict between the young jazz artists and the music establishment (including the union). This is still in evidence.

One additional point needs to be made concerning Hillery's (1971) distinction vis-a-vis communal and formal organizations. It would appear that the data presented here would support Gottschalk's (1975)

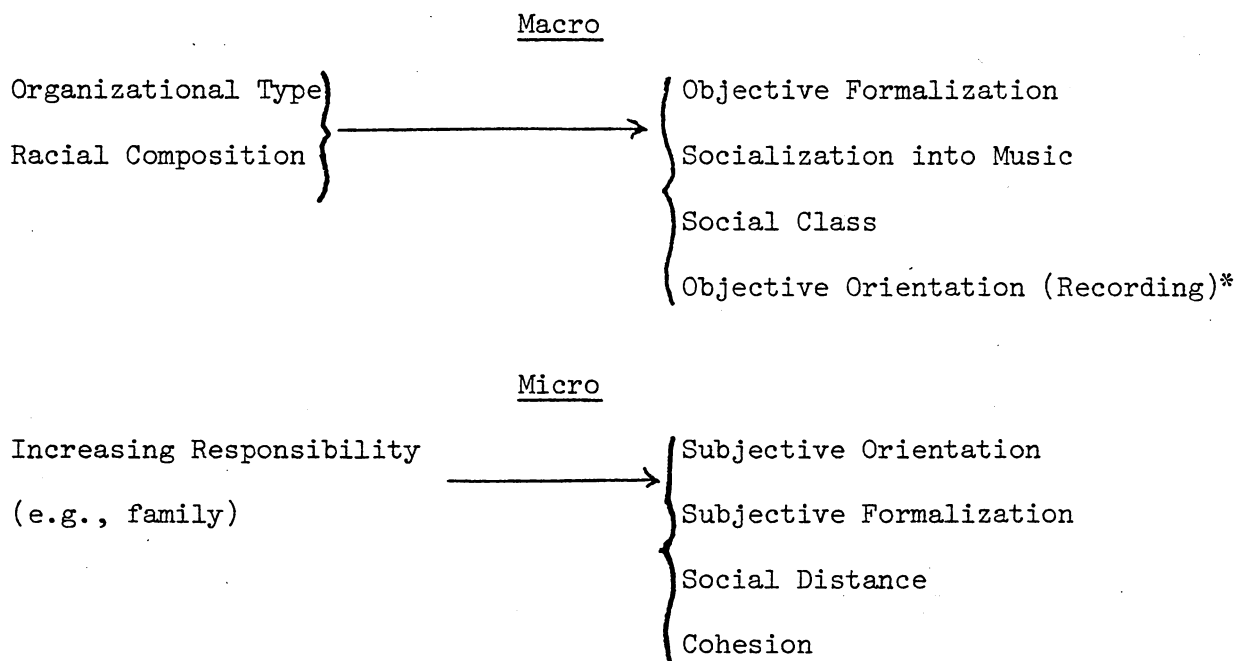
concept of communal organization and social change rather than Hillery's concept. The distinction between communal and formal organizations is viewed as a difference in kind by Hillery, but as a difference in degree by Gottschalk (1975: 12, 17, 156). The data here seem to show that there is a continuum between communal and formal organizations which is based upon the relative degree of goal specification in relation to the orientation of the group. High specification defines formal organizations and low specification defines communal organizations. This same comment can be made concerning changes in the racial characteristics of jazzmen; there is a difference in degree between the early (primarily black) jazz musicians and the contemporary (primarily white) jazzmen.

Neither the musician's goal orientation nor their racial composition are mutually exclusive, all-or-none propositions. In the early days, Buddy Bolden's group had a relatively low degree of goal specification (as organizational theorists define it). However, the modern jazz bands in New Orleans studied here seem to have a relatively high degree of goal specification. Most early jazzmen were black; there were important exceptions. Later, jazzmen became increasingly drawn from the white segment of New Orleans society.

The results of the change in organizational type also form a continuum. Formalization (in the objective sense) and commercialism are both matters of degree. That is, as rules proliferate, an organization becomes increasingly formalized; and, as bands "cut" more recordings, they become more commercial. These conceptual points do not deny the hypothesis that organizational types tend to be bimodal; rather, we deny the notion of mutually exclusive forms of organization.

Table 6.3 summarizes the suggested relationships. These findings are a result of an analysis of the data; i.e., they are emergent products. From an initial set of sensitizing concepts, a set of hypotheses was generated. These hypotheses were tools which resulted in the collection of the data and the generation of a set of theoretical statements. In the next chapter, some extrapolations will be given along with some suggestions for further research; also a final discussion in relation to the contributions of this research to selected sub-fields of sociology will be presented.

Table 6.3 The Causal Relationships: Macro and Micro



*Recording activity should not be equated with success. We started this research with two purposively selected groups at the height of success. However, another group was also purposively included with somewhat less (and different) recording activity. The same organizational and orientational relationships hold across the musicians from all three groups.

First, however, few interesting findings should be reviewed here. One finding which emerged from this study and which was not originally hypothesized was the importance of the racial factor. Most starkly, race can be seen to enter in that originally the jazzmen were mostly black, whereas the most commercially successful jazzmen in New Orleans today are all white. Part of this change can be explained simply by the fact that the most successful black jazzmen have migrated out of the city, and only whites were left to occupy the niche that they have left. But there is another process that must be indicated. Changes in social organization also occurred at the same time as a racial shift was taking place. Whether the changes would have occurred without the racial shift is difficult to say, but certainly the data on black musicians who have left the city indicate that at least to some extent, they too have become formalized, commercialized, etc. The precise degree of such change, however, must await further research. It should be noted however, that even the black musicians who have remained in New Orleans face increasing formalization; they are mostly union members and the unions have merged. These changes parallel the changing functions and meanings of jazz from a ritual activity and expressions of alienation to a commercial enterprise. (See Chapter 4, especially pp. 63-71; 76-79).

Another suggestion should be made at this point. Of the two independent variables, changes in organizational type probably have resulted in the changes in objective formalization and objective orientation. Racial changes have probably resulted in the social mobility and the changing types of socialization into music. It is clear that the structure of the findings is different from the structure of our initial hypotheses;

formalization is no longer an explanatory variable for the other variables. A micro-macro distinction has emerged and the variables have been rearranged in light of the research act.

Finally, while we know that the percentage of nonwhite members in an occupation or a community is related to the median income of the occupation or the community (Betz, 1972; Broom and Glenn, 1967: 105-134), and that black art has often changed from a black ritual activity to a white commercial activity (Simpson and Yinger, 1972: 630; 651), it is not clear where these changes are leading us vis-a-vis jazz. It would seem that the old black jazz masters are not being replaced. While there is some effort by jazzmen such as Danny Barker to correct the Uncle Tom attitude that some blacks have toward traditional jazz, this is largely limited to jazz appreciation. The general rule is that if you are black, you cannot make a good living off of jazz alone. Nevertheless, as the white commercial jazzmen demonstrate, jazz is a viable commodity. More will be said concerning these matters in the next chapter within the suggestions for future research. It is interesting to note that even the black bands which remain in New Orleans are now recording and touring. But the real merchandizing of jazz seems to be historically a white monopoly which started with the original Dixieland Jazz Band and continues until today.

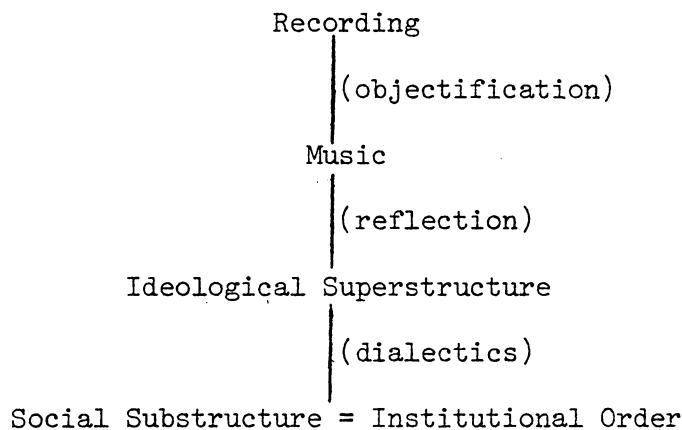
Analytical Conclusions

Several analytical or theoretical conclusions follow from this study. These are now concisely presented. At the highest level of abstraction, the social psychological findings need to be viewed both separate from and together with the socio-historical findings. That is, we must first determine the macro-historical forces operating in the particular social setting and how the problem fits into these forces. (See Table 7.1.) Then we must look at the biographical changes that occur within this setting. Then these two perspectives should be related to each other. Thus, two related conclusions follow from the data. First in this particular study, it would seem that the socio-historical forces of increasing formalization and commercialization (vis-a-vis recording) of jazz musicians are in tune with the changing orientations of many of the older, black jazzmen who have become more (subjectively) commercial in orientation. Second, there is considerable conflict between the orientations of the younger jazzmen, who view themselves as carriers of a folk-art which is being degraded by commercialism (in recording) and mass audiences. They often complain that the business of producing music negates the art of improvising. Mediating these two types of orientations are a considerable number of jazzmen who resolve this problem in a pragmatic way.

The third conclusion is that in a production system, the changing of organizational forms from communal to formal and the changing of the

racial composition have certain consequences; this study has pointed out some of these consequences. They include in part the emergence of written rules and contracts, changes in the social class of the jazzmen, changes in the marketing system (of jazz music) and changes in the manner in which new members are recruited into the occupation.

Table 7.1 How Music Emerges From Society



Note: The processes are indicated within the parentheses; also, note that records are here considered to be the objectification of music. This will be discussed later when we examine music qua a commodity and offer this as a topic for further research.

These are the socio-historical conclusions which we will expand later in this chapter.

The next conclusion concerns changes in social psychological orientations. As the individual's responsibilities increase, the rules become viewed by the individual as legitimate. In this study, customers become tolerated, commitment to the organization increases and salary becomes an important concern when responsibilities often involve the family. Hence, while the family does not enter directly into the organization

of the modern jazzmen, the family does vicariously influence the orientation of the jazzmen. More than one musician has mentioned this change in orientation which was occasioned by additional responsibilities.

Generalizations

Of course, it is not possible to make verified generalizations given the sampling technique and general methodology used in this study. However, it is possible to suggest some extrapolations and limitations. First, it would appear that the potential for conflict between organizational structure (e.g., formalization) and psychological orientation (e.g., the artistic orientation) is present in every organized group activity. Whether it be in the occupational setting or in a family setting, people often have attitudes which conflict with the social norms. How this conflict is handled is different for different settings and for different actors. Therefore, the perspective which has been presented concerning the dialectical relationship between orientation and organization is valid across all human groups. Naturally, the particulars of the perspective vary.

By the same token, changes in the organizational form from communal to formal seem to require certain other social changes, such as increasing formalization (or the codification of rules) and more impersonal techniques. Again, the exact details of these changes can vary from case to case.

Moreover, changes in the racial composition of an organization can

also have an effect on the structure and function of that organization. The social class membership, religious and political party preferences, in short anything that varies according to race, can have an effect on an organization which is changing relative to its racial content.

Finally, as an individual's (family) responsibilities increase, there is a tendency for more commitment toward a job. This continuance commitment is also associated with a voluntary acceptance of formalized rules and a "commercial" (or pragmatic) orientation. Moreover, if the job is a service type activity, the client becomes tolerated; i.e., the "square" is "all right."

Contributions

The conclusions presented so far make direct contributions to sub-areas of sociology. These contributions are in addition to the ones suggested in the first chapter ("Significance of this Study"). In terms of occupational sociology, this study incorporates a general (dialectical) model of occupational structure and orientation. Too many of the previous studies were either descriptive in nature (e.g., the histories of jazz), fixated on the micro-orientational level (e.g., Becker, 1951), or limited to one racial group (e.g., Buerkle and Barker, 1973). This study is descriptive and theoretical in scope, micro and macro in level and racially inclusive in focus.

The sociology of community is an area of sociology that is in need of inductive conclusions. From its very beginning, the community literature is full of assumptions which need investigation (Bates and Bacon,

1972). This study follows in the same conceptual perspective as Hillery's model of community (1968). But, instead of assuming a mutually exclusive distinction between communal and formal organizations, we have more or less demonstrated that there is a continuum between communal and formal organizations. Organizational type, like formalization and type of socialization, is a matter of degree.

Finally, in terms of the sociology of music, this study is the first one that employs an exploratory methodological technique along with the triangulation of concepts. The act of triangulation has yielded some unexpected benefits. For example, using two measures for commercialism (recording and orientation) has resulted in some important findings; e.g., the two do not necessarily co-vary. Also, this study is the first one which really pushes the use of a variety of techniques for gathering data; library materials, institutional materials, open-ended interviews, structured interviews and observation were employed.

All of these factors would seem to indicate a uniqueness in terms of this investigation. However, the individual aspects of this study (method, perspectives and concepts) have been articulated before and in a sense, this study forms part of a long line of study in such areas as jazzmen and the community. It is the combination that makes the largest contribution to the literature of general sociology. This combination forms the basis for a historically sensitive study which analyzes the organization and orientation of jazzmen who perform in the cradle of jazz -- New Orleans.

Areas for Further Research

There are important implications for further research suggested by the data in this study. These will be discussed along with some suggestions for specific lines of inquiry. We begin with jazz as a production system. First, there seems to be a need for research concerning the difficulties in treating the production of music as theoretically the same as the production of other types of more material, factory-produced commodities. In my study at least, it would appear that improvised jazz differs from material objects as end products. Some of these differences may have been due to the nature of my sample and their activities. Nevertheless, it was clear that in the sample the musicians had significant control over the music which they produced. On the other hand, the leader (who owned the "club" in two out of the three groups) was in charge of the music, at least to some extent. He called the tunes and there was virtually no questioning the leader's right to structure the general parameters of the show. However, each sideman usually had at least one solo during the show and this solo was the "property" of the individual doing the work; on the other hand, some of the sidemen commented that the leader partially dictated the nature of the solo.

The activity of the jazzmen also differs from the factory worker. Instead of making material products, the traditional jazzmen create ephemeral products.* There is a need for research on these types of

*I wish to thank J. A. Blake for this idea as well as the idea that jazz production can be thought of as a workshop. Also, see Marx (1967: 336-368) for a discussion of the division of labor.

products, especially in relation to the production of music and art in general. At least in the early days of jazz, the music was always played in conjunction with other activities (e.g., in amusement parks, dance halls, speakeasies and Storyville). It became associated with religious rituals and festive celebrations. However, starting about 1920, the production of jazz became the center of attention rather than something associated with rituals. Records were appearing. The production often created an objectified product -- the disc. Bands manifested a continuity of personnel and leadership roles. Hence in this respect, the commercial musicians are engaging in recording activities which in fact makes their work subject to the factory activities (at least potentially). Records can be "cut" with sidemen in New York, strings in Chicago and lead players in Los Angeles. This isolates the musicians from each other and gives power to technicians.

Another problem which emerges when one tries to treat these traditional musicians as members of a production system is that they control the process of production; not only can they effectively stop the production of music or change the tempo of the production, but they can also control the segments. That is, the leader can decide (at least in two of the groups) whether or not there will be one show or two shows, as the demand changes. The leader can decide to start a "set" thirty minutes late; he can decide how to space the dance music with the shows. Hence, there is no boss over the leader; all power resides (ultimately) with the leader of the band. But, the leader of the band is himself a "laborer" in the sense that he plays music with the band and indeed works harder than the other sidemen

(i.e., the leader plays more lead music during a show). Thus, the leader is not a capitalist in the sense that a factory owner "is relieved from actual labour . . . and hands over the work of direct and constant supervision of the individual workmen" (Marx, 1967: 332). More literature is needed concerning the control of music and the appropriate model to explain that control.

It would seem that the work activity of traditional jazzmen fits the workshop model rather than the factory model. However, we must be cautious here. The musicians in this study work together as a group rather than individuals. We will return to this shortly. But, it is essential to point out that there are apprentices, journeymen and masters (famous jazzmen) in the field of jazz music, each of whom has a specific, musical job. There are leaders and sidemen, but no capitalists in the Marxian sense of that word. On the other hand, increasing commercialism has caused the emergence of capitalist organization of production.

It is difficult to isolate these musicians from their peers, as is done in the factory model of production. Cooperation and organization are naturals -- especially on the road. Hence, possibly due in part to the role requirements of the work, musicians have an understanding that unites them instead of isolating them. In these ways, the musician is apparently different from the worker on an assembly line. But, additional information is needed so that we can be sure that these differences are factually sound.

Some concluding conceptual statements about the meaning of the traditional-commercial dichotomy can also be made. The dichotomy has been viewed by some as a fixed psychological orientation (Becker, 1951). We have seen that orientations change over the musician's career. We used

commercialism relative to recording activity as another dimension to the category. This turns out to be very important. The leaders of the three groups all expressed an interest in recording. The sidemen were not as enthusiastic; they were more interested in "live" music. Records in a real sense objectify jazz. They give jazz a "commodity" nature.

"A commodity is . . . an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another" (Marx, 1967: 35).

This recording removes the ephemeral quality from jazz and includes a commodity-like quality. The highly improvised, emotional nature of jazz is lost, since the music must be timed to fit the standard recording discs and "cleaned" so that the music tone is palatable to mass audiences. Most important, this recording tends to objectify the roles of the musicians as well: leadership becomes vested in one person and bands attain relatively fixed personnel. The relationship between leadership and objectification needs to be investigated; the previous paragraphs are a beginning.

Another suggestion vis-a-vis the sociology of musicians is a methodological one: we need more triangulation of samples, of techniques of gathering the data and of conceptual operationalizations. Most studies in this substantive area have relied on personal observation, questionnaires, documents, union statistics and other sources. But, few indeed have used more than one or two of these sources. Also, concepts have been viewed as static essences rather than as tools of science. Distinctions become sacred, with the thrust of the research act directed toward verification of a priori postulates. Finally, samples are different

in relation to the history of the group and in relation to the social psychological orientations of the musicians in the groups. Thus, it is dangerous to generalize from one sample to another on an a priori basis. The findings of this study provide hypotheses for further research in other settings and for different musicians within the New Orleans scene; they are not irrefutable pronouncements. The nature of the sample precludes our generalizing (in the verificational sense) to all jazzmen without further research.

Finally, there needs to be more boundary maintenance between research in the sociology of jazzmen and critical studies of jazz music. Musical biases should not become sociological biases. On the other hand, while we have not been interested in the relationship between categories of music and social processes and structures, this would certainly be an area for further research. But, further research must maintain the distinction between a sociology of musicians and a critical analysis of musical categories. This study would seem to indicate that the bands which play very different types of music and the musicians of these bands display many of the same social processes and structures. Also, the traditional-commercial orientations cut across musical categories. Hence, the sociologist may appreciate one type of music more than another; but, this appreciation should not cause the sociologist to be biased in favor of that type of music vis-a-vis observation during the research act (Hughes, 1974).

Other areas of research in the sociology of jazzmen also seem necessary. The changing functions of jazz music in society is one area that needs to be elaborated. Others include the myths found among

jazzmen (e.g., the full-moon affect), the musicians' unions, the relation between the micro-settings of the production of jazz music and the structure of society and the changing status of the white jazzman in New Orleans society. Moreover, the historical differences in the sociology of white and black jazzmen in New Orleans needs further study. Of these areas, one of the most important is the musicians' union. What is needed is a complete study of the union in relation to what it means to be a musician.

The research on commitment needs to be integrated with the literature on organizations. If there are types of commitment (Kanter, 1972), then are certain types more relevant to communities than to formal organizations. In the area of the sociology of musicians, it could be the case that one type of commitment typifies the young musician and another type typifies the older musician. In any case, more research is needed to determine the answers to these problems.

In conclusion, it would seem that this socio-historical and social psychological analysis of New Orleans jazzmen has generated several emergent theoretical statements. These statements were emergent in the sense that they were generated from the data which was collected. The actual collection of data employed several samples, several measures for the crucial concepts and several techniques for ascertaining the relevant information. Hopefully, this has resulted in an exploratory depth which could not have been attained by simply using questionnaires on one sample with single indicators for the concepts. Thus, diversity was the rule in this study. This is the only way to generate theory which is not adversely affected by prior assumptions,

theories, concepts and models.

We have suggested that musicians are craftsmen. This is especially true of the traditional jazzmen. However, as we have pointed out, there seems to be a move in the direction of a factory-like organization of production and more research is needed to clarify this move. Some music is produced in component, assembly line form. The musicians might work for sound specialists (i.e., technicians and "foremen"). While this type of system would seem to be antithetical to the production of improvised jazz, it may be that jazz itself will be transformed in order to comply with the factory model. In this case, the musician finds that the tools of production become things supplemental to the musical instrument. Electronic equipment becomes the supreme tool of production. Musicians retain only minimal control over the end product. Products become standardized and audiences want to hear the band "play it like the record." In any case, these suggestions are simply doors to be opened by additional research.

We must also conclude that the changing racial participation in New Orleans jazz needs further articulation with respect to research. We have agreed with Harvey (1967) that musicians have experienced mobility as their racial composition has changed. While Harvey employed prestige as a basis for his conclusions, we have used income and education. More research could resolve the magnitude of the effects of racial changes on other aspects of the organization and orientation of jazz musicians.

Finally, more research is needed to document the evolution of jazzmen from communal to formal organization. We have disagreed with Buerkle and Barker's (1973) contention that "Bourbon Street Black" comprises a

"semi-community." This disagreement is based on our feeling that they have been unclear in their conceptualization of the term community and they have failed to recognize the changes that have taken place vis-a-vis social organization at the theoretical level. Hence, while we have used their empirical generalizations at various points, their theoretical statements in this area are suspect. Subsequent studies should point to a clarification of the communal-formal distinction. In particular, research should center on the question of whether or not this distinction is one in degree or one in kind.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, Theodor W.
1941 "On Popular Music." *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*
9 (April): 17-49.
- Allen, Walter C.
1974 "Discographical Musicology." *Journal of Jazz Studies*
1 (June): 27-37.
- Armstrong, Louis
1954 *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans*. Englewood Cliffs, New
Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Bates, Frederick L. and Lloyd Bacon
1972 "The Community as a Social System." *Social Forces* 50 (March):
371-379.
- Becker, Howard S.
1951 "The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience."
American Journal of Sociology 57 (September): 136-144.
1953 "Some Contingencies of the Professional Dance Musician's
Career." *Human Organization* 12 (Spring): 22-26.
1958 "Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation."
American Sociological Review 23 (December): 652-660.
1974 "Art as Collective Action." *American Sociological Review*
39 (December): 767-776.
- Bensman, Joseph
1972 "Status Communities in Urban Societies: The Musical Community."
Status Communities in Modern Society. Holger R. Stub, ed.
Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden Press. pp. 113-130.
- Berendt, Joachim E.
1962 *The New Jazz Book: A History and Guide*. New York: Hill and
Wang.
- Berger, Monroe
1947 "Jazz: Resistance to the Diffusion of a Cultural Pattern."
Journal of Negro History 32 (October): 461-494.
1973 "Fats Waller -- The Outside Insider." *Journal of Jazz Studies*
1 (October): 3-20.
- Betz, D. Michael
1972 "The City as a System Generating Income Equality." *Social Sciences*
51 (December): 192-198.
- Blau, Peter M. and W. Richard Scott
1962 *Formal Organizations*. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Blesh, Rudi
1958 *Shining Trumpets: The Story of Jazz*. 2nd ed. New York:
Alfred A. Knopf.

- Blumer, Herbert
1969 *Symbolic Interaction: Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Bogardus, Emory S.
1959 *Social Distance*. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press.
- Borneman, Ernest
1959 "The Roots of Jazz." *Jazz*. Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy, eds. New York: Rinehart and Company. pp. 1-20.
- Broom, Leonard and Norval D. Glenn
1967 *Transformation of the Negro American*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Brunn, Harry O.
1960 *The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press.
- Buerkle, Jack V. and Danny Barker
1973 *Bourbon Street Black: The New Orleans Black Jazzman*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cameron, William Bruce
1963 *Informal Sociology: A Casual Introduction to Sociological Thinking*. New York: Random House.
- Carter, Hodding (ed.)
1968 *The Past as Prelude: New Orleans 1718-1968*. New Orleans: Tulane University Press.
- Carter, John
1975 "Historic New Orleans Fuses Customs, Cultures." *The Roanoke Times A* (April, 28): 12.
- Cavin, Susan
1975 "Missing Women: On the Voodoo Trail to Jazz." *Journal of Jazz Studies* 3 (Fall): 4-27.
- Cayer, David A.
1974 "Black and Blue and Black Again: Three Stages of Racial Imagery in Jazz Lyrics." *Journal of Jazz Studies* 1 (June): 38-71.
- Chai, Charles Y. W.
1971 "Who Rules New Orleans? A Study of Community Power Structure." *Louisiana Business Survey* 2 (October): 2-11.
- Chilton, John
1972 *Who's Who of Jazz: Storyville to Swing Street*. Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company.
- Cortinovis, Irene E.
1974 "Jazz on Riverboats, the Way a Piano Player Tells It." *Journal of Jazz Studies* 1 (June): 72-78.
- Dash, Terry (ed.)
1974 Footnote.

- Denisoff, R. Serge
1974 "The Vinal Crap Game: The Pop Record Industry."
Journal of Jazz Studies 1 (June): 3-26.
- Denzin, Norman K.
1970 The Research Act. Chicago: Aldine.
- Durkheim, Emile
1966 The Division of Labor in Society. George Simpson, trans.
New York: Free Press.
- Duskin Publishing Group
1974 Encyclopedia of Sociology. Guilford, Connecticut: Duskin.
- Esman, Aaron H.
1951 "Jazz -- A Study in Cultural Conflict." American Imago
8 (June): 221-225.
- Etzkorn, K. Peter (trans. and ed.)
1968 Georg Simmel: The Conflict in Modern Culture. New York:
Teachers College Press.
1973 Music and Society: The Later Writings of Paul Honigsheim.
New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Falkner, Robert R.
1971 Hollywood Studio Musicians: Their Work and Careers in the
Recording Industry. Chicago: Aldine.
1973 "Career Concerns and Mobility Motivations of Orchestra
Musicians." Sociological Quarterly 14 (Summer): 334-349.
- Feather, Leonard
1955 The Encyclopedia of Jazz. New York: Horizon Press.
- Finkelstein, Sidney
1948 Jazz: A People's Music. New York: Citadel Press.
1970 How Music Expresses Ideas. New York: International
Publishers.
- Fitzgerald, Jack D. and Steven M. Cox
1975 Unraveling Social Science. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Fountain, Pete with Bill Neely
1972 A Closer Walk: The Pete Fountain Story. Chicago: Henry
Regnery Company.
- Gilmore, H. W.
1944 "The Old New Orleans and the New: A Case for Ecology."
American Sociological Review 9 (August): 385-394.
- Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss
1967 The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for
Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine.

- Goffin, Robert
 1945 Jazz: From the Congo to the Metropolitan. Garden City,
 New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company.
- Gottschalk, Shimon S.
 1975 Communities and Alternatives: An Explanation of the Limits
 of Planning. New York: John Wiley.
- Gouldner, Alvin W.
 1970 The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology. New York: Basic
 Books.
- Green, Benny
 1973 Drums in My Ears: Jazz in Our Time. New York: Horizon
 Press.
- Grossman, William L. and Jack W. Farrell
 1956 The Heart of Jazz. New York: New York University Press.
- Hage, Jerald and Michael Aiken
 1969 "Routine Technology, Social Structure and Organizational
 Goals." Administrative Science Quarterly 14 (September):
 366-376.
 1970 Social Change in Complex Organizations. New York: Random
 House.
- Haliston, John
 1928 "Refining Your Jazz." The Prelude 2 (February): 5.
- Hall, Richard H.
 1972 Organizations: Structure and Process. Englewood Cliffs,
 New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Hammond, John
 1928 "Showmanship in Music." The Prelude 2 (February): 5-9.
- Harvey, Edward
 1967 "Social Change and the Jazz Musician." Social Forces
 46 (September): 34-42.
- Hennessey, Thomas J.
 1974 "The Black Chicago Establishment 1919-1930." Journal of
 Jazz Studies 2 (December): 15-45.
- Hentoff, Nat
 1961 The Jazz Life. New York: Dial Press.
- Hentoff, Nat and Albert J. McCarthy (eds.)
 1959 Jazz. New York: Rinehart and Company.

Hickson, D.

- 1966 "A Convergence in Organizational Theory." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 11 (September): 224-237.

Hillery, George A., Jr.

- 1952 "The Presence of Community Among New Orleans Negroes: A Case Study of a Selected Area." *Proceedings of the Louisiana Academy of Sciences* 15 (August): 72-84.
- 1955 "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement." *Rural Sociology* 20 (June): 111-123.
- 1963 "Villages, Cities and Total Institutions." *American Sociological Review* 28 (October): 779-791.
- 1968 *Communal Organizations, a Study of Local Societies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1971 "Freedom and Social Organization: A Comparative Analysis." *American Sociological Review* 36 (February): 51-65.
- 1972 "Selected Issues in Community Theory." *Rural Sociology* 37 (December): 534-552.

Horowitz, Irving L.

- 1973 "Authenticity and Originality in Jazz: Toward a Paradigm in the Sociology of Music." *Journal of Jazz Studies* 1 (October): 57-64.

Hughes, Phillip S.

- 1974 "Jazz Appreciation and the Sociology of Jazz." *Journal of Jazz Studies* 1 (June): 79-96.

Hurley, N. P.

- 1969 "Toward a Sociology of Jazz." *Thought* 44 (Summer): 219-246.

Inkson, J. H. K., D. S. Pugh and D. J. Hickson

- 1970 "Organizational Context and Structure: An Abbreviated Replication." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 15 (September): 318-329.

Jones, LeRoi

- 1963 *Blues People, Negro Music in White America*. New York: William Morrow.

Jones, Max and John Chilton

- 1971 *Louis: The Louis Armstrong Story*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Kamin, Jonathan

- 1974 "Parallels in the Social Reactions of Jazz and Rock." *Journal of Jazz Studies* 2 (December): 95-120.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss

- 1972 *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Keil, Charles
1966 Urban Blues. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Kmen, Henry A.
1966 Music in America: The Formative Years, 1791-1841.
Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press.
- Larkin, Philip
1970 All What Jazz: A Record Diary 1961-68. New York:
St. Martin's Press.
- Lax, John
1974 "Chicago's Black Jazz Musicians in the Twenties: Portrait
of an Era." Journal of Jazz Studies 1 (June): 107-127.
- Leonard, Neil
1962 Jazz and the White Americans: The Acceptance of a New Art
Form. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Longstreet, Stephen
1956 The Real Jazz, Old and New. Baton Rouge, Louisiana:
Louisiana State University Press.
- Maher, Jack (ed.)
1974 Down Beat Magazine.
- Margolis, Norman M.
1954 "A Theory on the Psychology of Jazz." American Imago
11 (Fall): 263-291.
- Martinez, Raymond J.
1971 Portraits of New Orleans Jazz: Its People and Places.
Jefferson, Louisiana: Hope Publications.
- Marx, Karl
1967 Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. Vol. I. New
York: International Publishers.
1971 The Grundrisse. David McLellan, ed. New York: Harper and
Row.
- McCarthy, Albert J.
1959 "The Re-emergence of Traditional Jazz." Jazz. Nat Hentoff
and Albert J. McCarthy, eds. New York: Rinehart and
Company. pp. 303-324.
- Merriman, Allan P. and Raymond W. Mack
1960 "The Jazz Community." Social Forces 38 (March): 211-222.
- Mills, C. Wright
1959 The Sociological Imagination. London: Oxford University
Press.

Musicians' Mutual Protective Union, Local 174-496; American Federation of Musicians; New Orleans, Louisiana; David Winstein, President.

1910-

1975 Constitution and By-Laws. New Orleans: Vieux Carre' Printery.

1929-

1975 The Prelude. Mimeo-newsletter.

1941-

1975 Price List and Conditions. New Orleans: Vieux Carre' Printery.

Nanry, Charles A.

1970 "The Occupational Subculture of the Jazz Musician: Myth and Reality." Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey.

1972 "Jazz and All That Sociology." American Music: From Storyville to Woodstock. Charles A. Nanry, ed. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books. pp. 168-186.

New Orleans Jazz Club

1973 The Second Line 25 (Spring).

Odum, H. W.

1910 Social and Mental Traits of the American Negro. New York: Columbia University Press.

Osgood, Henry O.

1926 So This Is Jazz. Boston: Little, Brown.

Patrick, James S.

1973 "Discography as a Tool for Musical Research and Vice Versa." Journal of Jazz Studies 1 (October): 65-68.

Paul, Elliot

1957 That Crazy American Music. London: Kennikat Press.

Peterson, Richard S.

1972 "Market and Moralists Censors of a Black Art Form: Jazz." The Sounds of Social Change. R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson, eds. New York: Rand McNally. pp. 236-246.

Pirtle, Caleb, III

1975 "The Magic Moments of Ronnie Kole." Southern Living 10 (April): 94-103.

Price, James L.

1972 Handbook of Organizational Measurement. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company.

Ramsey, Frederick, Jr. and Charles Edward Smith (eds.)

1939 Jazzmen. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

- Rose, Al and Edmond Souchon
1967 New Orleans Jazz: A Family Album. Baton Rouge, Louisiana:
Louisiana State University Press.
- Saxon, Lyle, Edward Dreyer, and Robert Tallant
1945 Gumbo Ya-Ya. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schafer, William J.
1974 "Thoughts on Jazz Historiography: 'Buddy Bolden's Blues'
vs. 'Buddy Bottley's Ballon'." Journal of Jazz Studies
2 (December): 3-14.
- Schneider, Frank L.
1974 "Today's Views Might Have Spared Houses." The Times
Picayune 5 (February 3): 13.
- Schuller, Gunther
1968 Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development. New York:
Oxford University Press.
- Seashore, Stanley E.
1954 Group Cohesiveness in the Industrial Work Group. Ann Arbor:
Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Relations,
University of Michigan.
- Shapiro, Nat and Nat Hentoff (eds.)
1955 Hear Me Talkin' To Ya. New York: Dover.
- Silber, Howard
1973 "Thousand Fingers, Thousand Hearts." VFW Magazine 61 (November):
24-26.
- Simmel, Georg
1968 Georg Simmel: The Conflict in Modern Culture. K. Peter
Etzkorn, trans. New York: Teachers College Press. pp. 98-140.
- Simpson, George Eaton and J. Milton Yinger
1972 Racial and Cultural Minorities. 4th ed. New York:
Harper and Row.
- Slotkin, J. S.
1943 "Jazz and Its Forerunners as an Example of Acculturation."
American Sociological Review 8 (October): 570-575.
- Smith, Charles Edward
1959 "New Orleans and Traditions in Jazz." Nat Hentoff and Albert
J. McCarthy, eds. New York: Rinehart and Company. pp. 21-41.
- Spense, Thomas A.
1974 "Toward the Ideal Archival Catalog." Journal of Jazz Studies
1 (June): 97-106.
- Stearns, Marshall W.
1956 The Story of Jazz. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stebbins, Robert A.

- 1962 "The Conflict Between Musical and Commercial Values in the Minneapolis Jazz Community." Proceedings of the Minneapolis Academy of Science 30: 75-79.
- 1964 "The Jazz Community: The Sociology of a Music Subculture." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- 1966 "Class, Status and Power Among Jazz and Commercial Musicians." The Sociological Quarterly 7 (Spring): 197-213.
- 1968 "A Theory of Jazz Community." The Sociological Quarterly 9 (Summer): 318-331.
- 1969 "Role Distance, Role Distance Behavior and Jazz Musicians." British Journal of Sociology 20 (December): 406-415.

Tallant, Robert

- 1946 Voodoo in New Orleans. New York: Macmillan.

Tanner, Paul O. W. and Maurice Gerow

- 1964 A Study of Jazz. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown.

Taylor, J. R.

- 1973 "Marshall Winslow Stearns (1908-1966)." Journal of Jazz Studies 1 (October): 82-83.

Taylor, M. Lee and Roland J. Pellegrin

- 1972 "Professionalization, Its Functions and Dysfunctions for the Life Insurance Occupation." The Social Dimensions of Work. Clifton D. Bryant, ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall. pp. 356-363.

Times-Picayune Staff Writers

- 1974 "Sidney Story's 'Ville,' Hot Sheet Hotels, The Swamp." The Times Picayune 1 (June 14): 18.

Ulanov, Barry

- 1952 A History of Jazz in America. New York: Viking Press.
- 1957 A Handbook of Jazz. New York: Viking Press.

Unknown Staff Writer

- 1975 "Jeunesse and All That Jazz in the Swing Saturday Night." Vivant Column. The Times Picayune 2 (July 29): 2.

Wallace, Walter L.

- 1971 The Logic of Science in Sociology. Chicago: Aldine.

Warner, C. D.

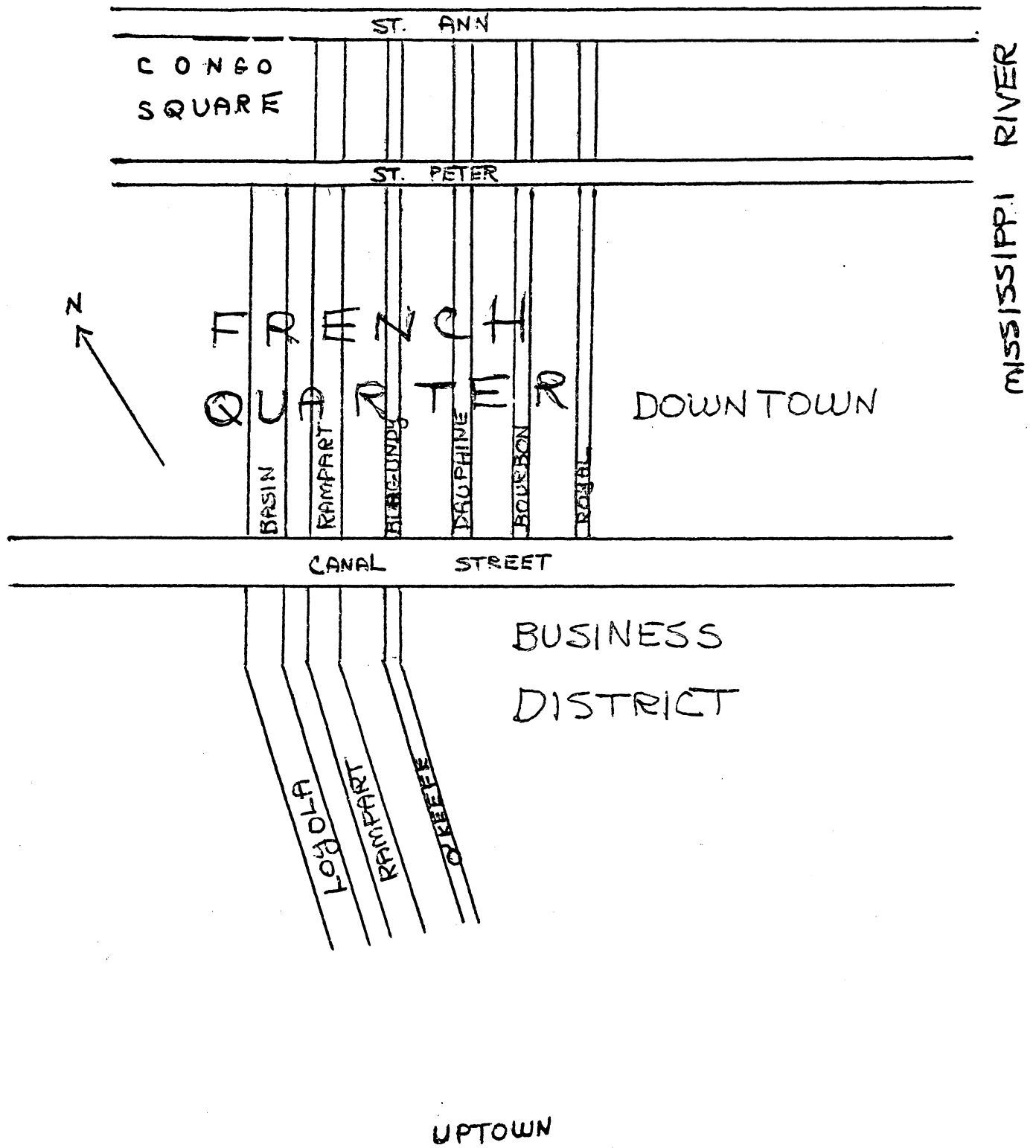
- 1889 Studies in the South and West. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Webb, Eugene J.

- 1970 "Unconventionality, Triangulation and Inference." Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook. Norman K. Denzin, ed. New York: Aldine-Atherton.

- Webb, Eugene J., Donald T. Campbell, R. D. Schwartz and L. Sechrest
1966 Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Weber, Max
1958 The Rational and Social Functions of Music. Don Martindale et al., eds. and trans. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
1963 Max Weber. S. M. Miller, ed. New York: Crowell.
- Williams, Martin
1959 The Art of Jazz: Essays on the Nature and Development of Jazz. New York: Oxford University Press.
1967 Jazz Masters of New Orleans. New York: Macmillan.
1970 The Jazz Tradition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, John S.
1966 Jazz: The Traditional Years 1940-1960. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Winick, Charles
1960 "The Use of Drugs by Jazz Musicians." Social Problems 7 (Winter): 240-253.
- Zetterberg, Hans L.
1965 On Theory and Verification in Sociology. 3rd ed. Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press.

Appendix I: A Map of Part of New Orleans



INTERVIEW GUIDE

Be sure to stress the confidential nature of the information given during the interview (including the anonymity of the respondent and the jazz band). Also, invite the respondent to make comments as the interview goes along, especially with respect to any historical changes relevant to an item.

1. sex:
2. In what year were you born?
3. Race:
4. Place of birth: (urban-rural)
5. Present address:
6. Respondent's occupation:
7. Respondent's years of education completed:
8. Respondent's income bracket: 0-6 7-10 11-15 15-25 25 and more
9. Parents' occupation:
10. Parents' years of education completed:
11. Parents' income bracket: 0-6 7-10 11-15 15-25 25 and more
12. Do you know most of the other jazzmen's families by sight?
13. Do the jazzmen's families get together when you practice?
14. Do the jazzmen's families ever eat meals together?
15. Do the jazzmen ever eat meals together?
16. Do the jazzmen's families have regular contact together outside of the practice sessions?
17. Do the jazzmen have regular contact together outside of the practice sessions?
18. Does your band go on tour?
19. Does your band move from one employer to another?
20. What is the average length of time that the band spends working for an employer?

21. Who were the main persons involved in teaching you to play jazz music?
22. How did you get interested in jazz music?
23. Do members of your family play music? What is their relationship to you? What type of music do they play?
24. How much off-duty time do you spend with fellow band members?
25. What is the best phrase which characterizes your attitude toward your audiences?
26. What is the best phrase which characterizes your band's attitude toward your audiences?
27. How much do you talk with your audiences during and after your performances?
28. How much do members of your band talk with audiences during and after your performances? with each other?
29. On the average, about how far away is the front of the audience from your band during a performance?
30. What bands have you played in before? What type were they? How long were you a member?
31. How long have you been a member of this band?
32. How much does playing music cut you off from the public?
33. To what extent do you and your band use electronic equipment in your music?
34. Under what label do you record? (large-small)
35. How many and what type of records have you recorded?
36. Are there contracts between the band and your employer?
37. Are there contracts among members of the band?
38. Are you a member of a musicians' union? Which one? How long have you been a member?
39. Are you a member of any jazz or music-related club or organization? (example: A.S.C.A.P; B.M.I.)
40. Are there any aspects about your audiences that bother or disturb you? What are they? How often do they occur?

41. Did your parents, relatives, friends, or teachers pressure you toward or away from music in general and jazz in particular?
42. Do you feel that there is conflict between making money by playing jazz music and playing good jazz music? Does money get in the way of art or does it produce better art?
43. When conflict arises in the band, how is it typically settled?
44. Rank the importance of the following as goals in your music:

Use 1 - very important
 2 - important
 3 - slightly important
 4 - unimportant

monetary reward _____
 artistic expression _____
 prestige among jazzmen _____
 prestige within the public _____
 recording _____
 sharing your creative ability with the band _____
 sharing your music with the public _____
 your own satisfaction with the music produced by the band _____

45. Please answer the following questions:

Use 1 - definitely yes
 2 - more yes than no
 3 - uncertain
 4 - more no than yes
 5 - definitely no

Do you feel that you are your own boss in most matters concerning the playing of jazz music? _____

Can a person make his or her own decisions in the band without checking with anybody else? _____

Are the things done in the band left pretty much up to the person doing the work? _____

Are members of the band allowed to do almost as they please? _____

Can most members of the band make their own rules as they go along? _____

46. How does this group compare with other groups? (circle one line)

the way they get along -- better -- same -- not-as-good -- uncertain
 the way people stick together -- better -- same -- not as good --
 uncertain
 the way people help each other on the job -- better -- same --
 not as good -- uncertain

47. If you had a chance to play jazz music in another band, how would you feel about leaving this band? (check one)

I would want very much to move _____
I would rather move than stay where I am _____
It would make no difference to me _____
I would rather stay where I am than move _____
I would want very much to stay where I am _____
Uncertain _____

48. Do you feel that you are really part of this group? (check one)

I am really part of my group _____
I am included in most ways _____
I am included in some ways, but not others _____
I don't feel I really belong _____
I don't work with any one group of people _____
Uncertain _____



Appendix III

Contract Blank

CONTRACT No. _____

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

(HEREIN CALLED "FEDERATION")

Musicians' Mutual Protective Union

Local Number 174 * 1416 Bourbon Street * New Orleans 16, Louisiana

THIS CONTRACT for the personal services of musicians, made this _____ day of _____, 19____, between the undersigned employer (hereinafter called the "employer") and _____ musicians (hereinafter called "employees").

(Including the Leader)

WITNESSETH, That the employer hires the employees as musicians severally on the terms and conditions below. The leader represents that the employees already designated have agreed to be bound by said terms and conditions. Each employee yet to be chosen shall be so bound by said terms and conditions upon agreeing to accept his employment. Each employee may enforce this agreement. The employees severally agree to render collectively to the employer services as musicians in the orchestra under the leadership of _____ as follows:

Name and Address of Place of Engagement _____

Date(s) of Employment _____

Hours of Employment _____ Three hour engagement, 20 minutes intermission. Four hour engagement, 30 minutes intermission.

Type of Engagement (specify whether dance, stage show, banquet, etc.) _____

The employer is hereby given an option to extend this agreement for a period of _____ weeks beyond the original term thereof. Said option can be made effective only by written notice from the employer to the employees, not later than _____ days prior to the expiration of said original term, that he claims and exercises said option, and a copy of said notice shall be filed with the local in whose jurisdiction the engagement is to be played.

WAGE AGREED UPON \$ _____ including pension contributions as specified on reverse side hereof. (Terms and Amount)

This wage includes expenses agreed to be reimbursed by the employer in accordance with the attached schedule, or a schedule to be furnished the employer on or before the date of engagement.

To be paid _____ (Specify when payments are to be made)

Upon request by the American Federation of Musicians of the United States and Canada (herein called the "Federation") or the local in whose jurisdiction the employees shall perform hereunder, the employer either shall make advance payment hereunder or shall post an appropriate bond.

ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS

If any employees have not been chosen upon the signing of this contract, the leader shall, as agent for the employer and under his instructions, hire such persons and any replacements as are required for persons who for any reason do not perform any or all services. The employer shall at all times have complete control over the services of employees under this contract, and the leader shall, as agent of the employer, enforce disciplinary measures for just cause, and carry out instructions as to selections and manner of performance. The agreement of the employees to perform is subject to proven detention by sickness, accidents, or accidents to means of transportation, riots, strikes, epidemics, acts of God, or any other legitimate conditions beyond the control of the employees. On behalf of the employer the leader will distribute the amount received from the employer to the employees, including himself, as indicated on the opposite side of this contract, or in place thereof on separate memorandum supplied to the employer at or before the commencement of the employment hereunder and take and turn over to the employer receipts therefor from each employee, including himself. The amount paid to the leader includes the cost of transportation, which will be reported by the leader to the employer.

All employees covered by this agreement must be members in good standing of the Federation. However, if the employment provided for hereunder is subject to the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, all employees, who are members of the Federation when their employment commences hereunder, shall be continued in such employment only so long as they continue such membership in good standing. All other employees covered by this agreement, on or before the thirtieth day following the commencement of their employment, or the effective date of this agreement, whichever is later, shall become and continue to be members in good standing of the Federation. The provisions of this paragraph shall not become effective unless and until permitted by applicable law.

To the extent permitted by applicable law, nothing in this contract shall ever be construed so as to interfere with any duty owing by any employee hereunder to the Federation pursuant to its Constitution, By-laws, Rules, Regulations and Orders.

Any employees who are parties to or affected by this contract are free to cease service hereunder by reason of any strike, ban, unfair list order or requirement of the Federation, and shall be free to accept and engage in other employment of the same or similar character or otherwise, for other employers or persons without any restraint, hindrance, penalty, obligation or liability whatever, any other provisions of this contract to the contrary notwithstanding.

Representatives of the local in whose jurisdiction the employees shall perform hereunder shall have access to the place of performance (except to private residences) for the purpose of conferring with the employees.

The performances to be rendered pursuant to this agreement are not to be recorded, reproduced, or transmitted from the place of performance, in any manner or by any means whatsoever, in the absence of a specific written agreement between the employer and the Federation relating to and permitting such recording, reproduction or transmission.

The employer represents that there does not exist against him, in favor of any member of the Federation, any claim of any kind arising out of musical services rendered for any such employer. No employee will be required to perform any provisions of this contract or to render any services for said employer as long as any such claim is unsatisfied or unpaid, in whole or in part. If the employer breaches this agreement, he shall pay the employees, in addition to damages, 6% interest thereon plus a reasonable attorney's fee.

The employer, in signing this contract himself, or having same signed by a representative, acknowledges his (her or their) authority to do so and hereby assumes liability for the amount stated herein.

To the extent permitted by applicable law, there are incorporated into and made part of this agreement, as though fully set forth herein, all of the By-laws, Rules and Regulations of the Federation and of any local of the Federation in whose jurisdiction services are to be performed hereunder (insofar as they do not conflict with those of the Federation), and the employer acknowledges his responsibility to be fully acquainted, now and for the duration of this contract, with the contents thereof.

Should payment be demanded under the terms of this contract and such demands are refused or not met for any reason, the undersigned employer binds and obligates himself (herself) to assume any and all costs and legal fees incurred in the collection of the amount or any part thereof hereinabove agreed upon.

Form with fields for Employer's Name, Signature of Employer, Street Address, City, State, Phone, Leader's Name, Signature of Leader, Street Address, City, State, Booking Agent, Local No.

**The vita has been removed from
the scanned document**

THE FORMALIZATION OF NEW ORLEANS JAZZ MUSICIANS:
A CASE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

by

Louis H. Levy

(ABSTRACT)

This study involves the social structures and processes contained in the organization of New Orleans jazz musicians. The literature concerning the sociology of musicians as well as general sociology suggests some initial hypotheses. These hypotheses involve sociological concepts such as formalization, socialization into jazz, band cohesion, band-audience relations, commercialism and organizational type. However, the hypotheses function merely as starting points for the major purpose of this paper -- the generation of emergent theory.

The emergent theory involves the concept of formalization as well as the other concepts previously mentioned. The data from which the theory emerges are provided by histories of jazz, biographies and autobiographies, institutional sources and interviews with seventeen commercial jazzmen. The findings in relation to New Orleans jazzmen indicate that changes in the type of organization that the musicians manifest have important consequences for the variables selected for the hypotheses. In addition, some general theoretical findings emerge; e.g., the nature of the dialectical relationship between orientation and organization is explored.

More specifically, the findings suggest that first (on the macro level) as the musicians have become more formal (and less communal) in

organization and progressively white vis-a-vis racial composition, the socialization into music has become more secondary, the codification associated with the production of music has increased, the end product has become objectified (in the form of recordings), and the social class of the musicians has increased from "lower-middle" to "upper-middle" class. Second (on the biographical level), the following changes are associated with the orientations of the musicians throughout their careers: perception of codification within the organization decreases; the social distance between the musician and the band decreases; the orientation of the musician changes from traditional to commercial; and the commitment to the band increases. Finally, a formal theoretical statement suggests that there is a dialectical relationship between orientations and social organization.