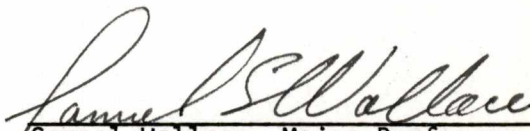
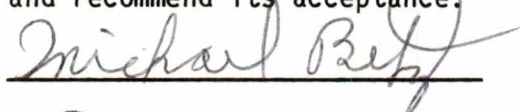


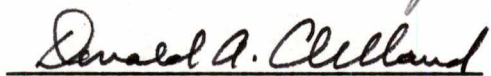
To the Graduate Council:

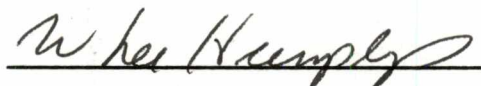
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Charles DeWitt Johnson entitled "Black Musicians in Music City, U.S.A." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.


Samuel Wallace, Major Professor

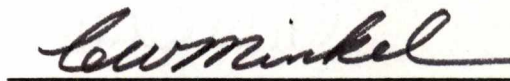
We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:


The Graduate School

BLACK MUSICIANS IN
MUSIC CITY, U.S.A.

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Charles DeWitt Johnson

June 1985

Copyright © Charles DeWitt Johnson, 1985
All rights reserved

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Grace L. Johnson, M.A. and the memory of my father, Joseph A. Johnson, Jr. D.Th., Ph.D. (1914-1979).

For their love, sacrifices, devotion, encouragement and faith which made more than just my undergraduate and graduate study possible, for their high standards of excellence and their unswerving dedication to service in their individual and joint ministries, for their outreach of humanitarian concern that moved all to reach beyond themselves and touch the hand of God, for their ability to bring out the best in everyone and for much, much more than mere words can express, this dissertation is dedicated to the greatest woman and man, I know, my mother and my father.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Primary thanks are due to the musicians and informants who made this study possible. I deeply appreciate the time and help they extended to me and the interviews they granted throughout the data collecting phase of this project. Their input was the intellectual fuel that kept the fire of inquiry burning within me.

A special debt of gratitude is acknowledged to Professor Samuel E. Wallace for his encouragement and guidance throughout this project. Thanks are also due to Professor Donald Clelland, and Professors Michael Betz, Lee Humphries and Riggins Earl for their concern and helpful comments. Also to Professor Ernest Rhodes, I would like to express my gratitude for technical assistance. To my transcription typist and research assistance, Andrea Beaudet, my thanks are expressed for her valuable assistance at a crucial time in this dissertation. I would like to express my gratitude to Anita Allen and Beth Lovell to whom this material was given in handwritten form and who typed the first and final draft of this manuscript. Without the valuable counsel and help which was given by these and many others, I would not have been successful in this challenging work.

Finally, my deepest appreciation and gratitude go to my devoted wife, Cleotis and my children, Joycelyn, Charles, Sylvia, Dwayne and Cynthia for their patience, understanding and unceasing moral support. Their undying faith in me contributed immeasurably to the consummation of this effort.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the role and status of black musicians as a subcommunity in Nashville, Tennessee. The guiding purpose of this study is to determine whether or not the deviance label fits the typical black musician in Nashville.

The data for this study were collected through qualitative means. Fifty intensive interviews were conducted with thirty-one respondents. Participant observation was another source of primary data. Additional sources of data included material provided by the musicians' union, the census bureau, various music associations in Nashville, special libraries, and the public and university libraries in the Nashville area.

Major topical areas explored were (1) the beginnings of our musicians (2) careers for black musicians in Nashville (3) black Nashville as community and black Nashville in Music City, U.S.A.

The analysis generated the following conclusions: (1) In terms of background, attitudes, involvements and interaction with others, the black musician in Nashville is middle class and conformist oriented. Thus, the deviance model does not fit the black musician in Nashville. (2) The black musical community is fragmented. (3) The musical legacy in black Nashville has played a major role in the emergence and growth of the Nashville music industry. Nevertheless, the current status of the black musician vis-a-vis the music industry is marginal -- on the fringe of the industry. In essence, the black musician in Music City, U.S.A. is a vital but invisible presence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION.	1
The Setting	1
Focus and Organization of Study	5
I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.	8
Getting Started	8
College Days.	13
Graduate School	17
Symbolic Interactionism/Application of Deviant Label. .	42
II. METHODS	46
Research Problem.	46
Overall Procedure	48
Sampling Roster and Sample.	51
In the Field.	57
Data Analyses	64
Theoretical Base.	67
III. THE BEGINNINGS.	69
When and Where Born	69
Class Background.	71
Religious Background.	73
Music Background.	76
Music Training.	80
IV. CAREERS FOR BLACK MUSICIANS	84
Music Education	85
Music Industry.	91
Church Musician	99
Giggers	111
The Structure of the Careers.	117
V. BLACK NASHVILLE AS COMMUNITY.	126
Definitions of Community.	126
Its History	126
Central Community Institutions.	146
Obstacles	155
Summary	198
VI. BLACK NASHVILLE IN MUSIC CITY	203
Color and Status.	203
Consensus or Domination	211
On the Fringe of Industry	226

CHAPTER	PAGE
VII. BLACK MUSICIANS IN MUSIC CITY.	231
Who They Are	231
Their Careers.	232
Sense of Community	234
Involvement in Community Institutions.	235
The Obstacles They Face.	238
Self Concept	243
Audience Concept	245
Integration Into Conventional Society.	251
Summary.	252
VIII. CHANGING THE SYSTEM.	255
Introduction	255
Black Music Row.	255
Civil Rights	259
The Future	260
Conclusion	265
LIST OF REFERENCES.	269
VITA.	285

INTRODUCTION

I. THE SETTING

To locate Nashville in national geo-ecological space, picture it as "the hub of a compass" - the center of that "hub" resting in a basin marked like cracks in a saucer, by the meandering Cumberland River - "the periphery being bordered by wooden hills."¹ A projection of the points of this Nashville compass hub will reach at a radius of 500 miles, some 40% of the United States' population. Extend that radius to 1000 miles and its sweep will include better than 70% of all the people in America. This attribute, being located near the center of the United States population has contributed significantly to Nashville's continuing growth and its emergence as a major urban and industrial center.

Founded in 1779 on the banks of the Cumberland River near the center of the present downtown area by a group of white settlers and chartered as a city in 1806, Nashville's history is encompassing yet multi-faceted. Diverse groups each with its own history are interconnected through mutual exposure and diffusion and form a mosaic of patterns on a quilt of common history. On a broader level its history is reflective - perhaps a microcosm - of the emergence and development of the modern urban South.

Today almost all the people of Nashville were born in the United States. The city has small groups of Asian, British, Canadian or German ancestry. Approximately one fifth, or 20% (111,363) of the total

¹ Taken from This is Nashville! (1984), a profile compiled by the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce.

population (477,811) is black, of African ancestry.

As a result of the present Metropolitan Charter which became effective in 1963, Nashville and Davidson County have a consolidated government with authority embracing about a half-million people and 532 square miles. This area is governed by a mayor-council form of government. The voters elect the mayor and the forty council members to four year terms. Property taxes provide most of the city's income.²

The Nashville economy is a mixture of commerce and industry, of education and state government supplemented by a growing agricultural community in its surrounding trade area. The city has numerous industrial plants. The manufacture of chemicals is one of the city's most important industries. Other manufactured products include aircraft parts, clothing, food products, heating and cooking equipment, phonograph records, tires and trucks.³

With its central location and easy highway access, Nashville has become a major retail center for shoppers from surrounding counties in middle Tennessee, southern Kentucky and northern Alabama. Retail sales registering more than \$3 billion annually have elevated Nashville to the nation's top 50 markets.⁴

Nashville is a major religious center. Over 700 churches, more than 300,000 church members and several denominational publishing establishments are located in Nashville. The churches impact not only on the life of the

²
From This is Nashville!

³
From This is Nashville!

⁴
From This is Nashville!

city but also influence the very form of the city's architecture.

The socio-geographic centrality of Nashville is further reflected in its two well-known nicknames. It is known as the "Athens of the South" because of its many institutions of higher learning (17 in all) and its distinction as a regional center for basic and applied research. Curricula for (among other things) careers in medicine, social science, the humanities, dentistry, engineering, management, law, teaching, theology, religious work, and social service are available in Nashville colleges and universities. Other schools also offer training in business, graphic arts, and printing, automobile mechanics, mortuary sciences, cosmetology, photography, commercial art, and other vocational subjects. Appropriate also to this appellation are the replica of the ancient Parthenon of Athens and the many buildings of classical design within the city.

As indicated by its other nickname, "Music City U.S.A.," the musical heritage of Nashville is also rich and diverse. Country music and the Grand Ole Opry constitute a significant part of that heritage which eventually gave birth to a music industry which in turn has made Nashville a major recording and entertainment center. But country music is not the only Nashville sound. Pop, soul, rock, blues, modern jazz, gospel, classical and other forms have been performed and recorded in Nashville.

The musical heritage of black Nashville is also rich and diverse. Many gifted black musicians have developed, entertained, and left their mark in varying ways on the Nashville music scene. Some have even recorded in Nashville. Groups like the Fisk Jubilee Singers and the Tennessee State Collegians brought through their tours and travels - national and global acclaim to Nashville. Individuals like J.D. Chavis and Deford Bailey were

trailblazers in public music education and country music respectively. Artists like the famous opera singer, Marion Moore singer and the late phenomenal rock guitarist, Jimi Hendrix developed in Nashville and achieved fame and fortune in their respective careers after leaving Nashville.

When visitors and tourists come to "Music City," they are bombarded with a plethora of brochures, pamphlets, and other promotional and information material that sing the praises and extol the virtues of Nashville. For example, there are companies that offer sightseeing tours of the city; the Chamber of Commerce provides a variety of tourist information services, and even the telephone directory contains a list of "points of interest."

For the more serious-minded, there are agencies that provide more detailed information - even libraries - about the music industry and its stars. In short, there is an abundance of "popular" and "academic" literature on the Nashville music industry and those who have made it what it is today. Yet, a review of this diverse literature indicates a serious, even incredible gap. In essence, as far as the "written word" on the Nashville music industry is concerned, something is missing.

What is this void of information and analysis? A general review of the literature does not reveal any studies that examine the role and status of black musicians as a group in "Music City." Individuals who have attained "star" or "superstar" status (e.g. Charlie Pride) are featured or written about in varying degrees of frequency and emphasis. Yet there is no written effort to deal with the issue of the professional black musician in Nashville, Tennessee.

The jazz and by implication the black musician have been branded as deviant in the literature and mass media. Today jazz and black music generally have found their way from the saloons, nightclubs, brothels and dance halls to the concert halls, and the very heart and soul of mainstream Americana. Some of their practitioners have gained prestige and recognition but the words "jazz musician" or "black musician" still generate an image of a deviant stereotype to many who ponder them.

But do we really know much about black musicians as persons? What are their beginnings? What is their musical background? How did they become musicians? Where do they work as musicians? Do they have a sense of community among themselves? How do they fit into society? Are they faced with any obstacles? Using the methods of sociology, ethnography and social history, this study attempts to find answers to these and other issues as they relate to black musicians in Music City, USA.

II. FOCUS AND ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

It was my original intention to do a field study of black jazz musicians in Nashville. When I got into the field, however, I discovered that in the real world of black musicians in Nashville, the jazz musician as a career type simply did not exist. Thus, I could not define a separate group as jazz musicians. There are black musicians who play jazz (among other genres) but I did not find black musicians who play jazz exclusively or who indicated "jazz" as a music career. I discovered, nevertheless, that the same deviant characteristics attributed to jazz musicians were also attributed generally to black musicians in Nashville. Since black musicians in Nashville were given in essence the same deviant label pinned

to jazz musicians in the deviance literature, I decided to go beyond the sociology of jazz literature and study black musicians as a subcommunity in Nashville. The guiding research question, however, was grounded in the literature. Does the deviance model fit the black musician in Nashville? Is the deviant label pinned to black musicians in Music City empirically justified in terms of their attitudes, involvements and interaction with others?

This study is divided into two general parts. Part one constitutes our literature review, discussion of methodology and data analysis. It includes Chapters one through five. In these chapters relevant literature is examined and our procedure for finding answers to crucial questions is explicated. The findings are reported and then analyzed in the light of issues and concerns which were indicated during the course of the field work. Using an autobiographical approach, Chapter I examines the major themes of a cross section of mainstream sociological literature. Chapter II is our methods chapter. Chapter III deals with the beginnings of our interviewees. Chapter IV identifies and reveals the careers and career structure for black musicians in Nashville. Returning to our total sample, Chapter V analyzes black Nashville as community and reports on what our black musicians are currently doing in terms of lifestyle.

Part two, embracing Chapters VI through VIII, discusses our analytical findings in terms of the broader structural conditions and processes in which our modal black musician functions as a music professional. In these chapters we compare for theoretical purposes the profile of our musician with the findings and conclusions of other investigators. Chapter VI discusses the impact and significance of race

and color on the relationship between black Nashville and the Nashville music industry. Theoretical models are examined in terms of their usefulness for describing and explaining the social location of black musicians in Nashville. Chapter VII reviews our findings on black musicians and examines them in terms of some major issues raised by the deviance literature. Is favorable change possible for the black musician in Nashville? Chapter VIII presents what our musicians have to say on this question and the issues related to it.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I. GETTING STARTED

I started playing music publicly at age ten. This was my first time performing with a group before an audience that included more than just family members. It was at a church affair sponsored by one of the auxiliaries of the church my father was then pastoring. The affair was in the home of one of the church members. The group, a trio, included my brother who played the clarinet and my cousin who played the trumpet. I played the snare drum with the group. We called ourselves the "cousin combo." We played three or four tunes, one of which was "When Those Saints Go Marching In." The audience, mainly church going folks, was very enthusiastic in their response to our performance. It was an experience I shall never forget.

In 1958, at age fifteen, I played my first paying engagement. This engagement was at a local country club on a Sunday afternoon. My band director arranged everything for this "gig." He negotiated the ten dollars I was to be paid and got approval from my parents for me to play in a country club. The band director and my parents gave me strict instructions on how to conduct myself as a minor in this setting. But I was so overwhelmed with joy and anticipation over my first gig for pay that their orientation "went in one ear and out the other." Again, I played with a trio. My instrument was percussion, a drum set my mother purchased two weeks prior to this engagement. The other instruments played were trumpet

and piano. The other members of the group were music educators in the Nashville area, colleagues of my band director. The three of us found a groove at the beginning and "cooked," musically speaking, for three hours. The audience was with us and applauded every tune we played. At the end of the last tune we got an ovation. Because I got paid for my services, I considered myself to be a professional musician. In fact, this gig was my debut as a professional into the Nashville music scene. This event happened around twenty-five years ago. So tremendous, however, was the impact of this experience that I can recall details as if they occurred yesterday.

The musicians with whom I played during my early playing years varied in terms of age, education and occupations but they shared some common characteristics. They were family and church oriented, involved and respected citizens of the community. And they were black. Some were teachers, a few doctors, still others were skilled or unskilled laborers. But each in his own way was part of the mainstream of life in black Nashville. In short, they were normal people. And it was from this group of musicians that I developed a positive image of the black and jazz musician.

In addition to considering myself a novice jazz musician, I was an avid consumer of jazz-related literature, television programs and films. From these sources, two images, one positive and the other negative, emerged about jazz and the jazz musician. The positive image was produced by development connected with jazz during the '50's, the time span of my entry into the music scene in Nashville. It was during the '50's that it

was discovered that jazz had a tremendous money-making potential. With the promotional enthusiasm generated by this discovery, the jazz audience broadened considerably. According to Wilson:

This expanded audience was indicated by the successes of various jazz concert 'packages,' by the ubiquitous spread of jazz festivals, by the increase in the number of nightclubs specializing in jazz and by the flood of L.P. recordings that this audience absorbed (Wilson 1966:139).

Concert pianist Arthur Rubenstein remarked in reference to this development "The Americans are taking jazz very seriously. There's so much money in it" (Wilson 1966:139).

Jazz made a breakthrough as background music for films during this period. Jazz musician Johnny Mandel was commissioned to write the score for I Want to Live which was played by a big band conducted by Mandel and by a small group led by baritone saxophonist, Gerry Mulligan. Duke Ellington wrote the score for The Asphalt Jungle, followed by Paris Blues and Anatomy of a Murder. Shorty Rogers and a group of west coast jazz musicians played a score written by Leith Stevens for the film, The Wild Ones. Chico Hamilton, jazz percussionist, provided themes and played some of them for the movie Sweet Smell of Success.

Foreign film producers were receptive to jazz scores also. John Lewis, pianist with the Modern Jazz Quartet, wrote his first film score for a French film, One Never Knows. Jazz trumpeter Miles Davis and Duke Jordon, jazz pianist, supplied scores for French films and Dave Brubeck wrote one for an English film (Wilson 1966:158-159).

Further, jazz was given serious and positive attention by journals, newspapers and magazines. In addition to jazz periodicals like Downbeat, Metronome and Jazz Review (to which I subscribed), The Saturday Review, The New Yorker, and Show, among others, covered jazz regularly. I visited the newstands in downtown Nashville and noted that papers in New York, San Francisco, Washington, D.C. and Boston had reports and special features on jazz events. Jazz critic Ralph J. Gleason successfully launched the first syndicated newspaper column on jazz (Wilson 1966:140).

There were numerous books on jazz published during this period. They included Leonard Feather's invaluable Encyclopedia of Jazz, an informed basic history by Marshall Stearns, The Story of Jazz, a learned study of French critic, Andre Hodeir, called Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence, and a fascinating review and commentary on jazz history in the words of the jazz musicians themselves, Heah Me Talking to You. There were paperback reissues such as Barry Ulanov's A History of Jazz in America.

All of these writings -- though diverse in content and focus -- had for me one central thought: Jazz is America's only original art form and those who play and consume it are participating in a rich, vital and ongoing cultural event. These writings coincided with, and reinforced my perception that the jazz musician in general and the black musician in particular are responsible individuals, well-integrated into conventional society and playing a crucial role in perpetuating American culture.

On the other hand, however, there was a different type of literature and media practice that projected a negative image -- a stigma and stereotype that was pervasive then and became worse later on. I found from

the pen of Dorothy Baker a dramatic description of the tragic end to the protagonist of this novel:

The story ends with death. Our Mr. Martin from the moment he began fooling around with pianos, was riding for a fall. I shouldn't have been fooling because he wasn't fooling, he meant it. In Rick Martin's music there was from the first, an element of self-destruction. He expected too much from it and he came to it with too great a need. And what he expected he never quite found. He might have found it in another kind of music, but he had no training or any way of coming to know another kind of music. So he stuck to jazz, and to the nervous, crazy life that goes with it. And, he made a good thing of it, he made an amazing thing of his own playing; he couldn't even keep pace with it himself; he was, in his way, like Iona Kroger, Mann's inspired and bewildered poet who, worked not like a man who works that he may live, but as one who is bent on doing nothing but work, having no regard for himself as a human being, but only as a creator (Baker 1938).

The antihero of this Dorothy Baker novel arose out of the dust of the Jazz Age to resurrect a public image of jazz musicians which started more than twenty years earlier. There is a tragic melodrama to this scenerio. A talented orphan boy with a desire to create discovers the alluring world of jazz musicians and is carried away to an inevitable ruin. While moving toward this rendezvous with doom, he learns, struggles for recognition, makes it with the women, drinks booze, gets recognition even fame but ultimately dies young - alone and forgotten. This destiny in the fictional literature was expressed almost two decades later for Andy Silvera, the main character in Evan Hunter's Quartet in H., a book I read for my English Literature class in high school.

In the fictional literature I read at this time, the jazz musician is portrayed to be at war with conventional or normal society. Obsessed with his music, this outsider is seen to withdraw to "small enclaves of 'hipdom' to avoid the 'squares'" (Buerkle and Barker 1973:199). He is pictured as a

wanderer, living and moving only in and for the world of now. The ideal of normal things like neighborhood, marriage, family and the church is repulsive to him - a hated reminder of urban poverty and childhood in a broken family.

While jazz was used as background music in films for a variety of plots, on television it was used mainly as background for crime shows (the most successful being Henry Mancini's score for Peter Gunn). Given the power of this medium this practice reinforced the public stigma on jazz and the jazz musician. As pianist Dick Marx remarked, "All these crime programs with jazz in the background are setting up in people's minds an association between jazz and crime and slick, cheap women" (Wilson 1966:160). This association was reflected in the comments made about jazz musicians by my peers, friends and associates. It was reflected in the negative attitudes of some of my teachers and relatives toward jazz, blues and other genres of black music. To them, jazz was evil, decadent and destructive at worst or a cultural deviation at best. I began to ask why was there a gap between my experience, my observations about jazz musicians and the negative image of jazz and jazz musicians generated by fictional literature and television.

II. COLLEGE DAYS

While in undergraduate school, I read a sociological study of the jazz musician by Howard Becker. In this study Becker dealt with three basic issues: (1) the musician's self concept, (2) the musician's audience concept and (3) his attitude toward conventional society.

How then does the jazz musician define himself? According to Becker the musician's self concept is that "of an artist who possesses a mysterious artistic gift setting him apart from all other people" (Becker 1951:259).

Closely connected to the question of the musicians' self-concept is our next topic. What is the musician's concept of and attitude toward the non-musician, the lay audience? With whom does the musician attempt to communicate? This is quite variable and to treat intellectually an emotional and esthetic act is to sometimes miss the underlying tone and emotional variation -- to fail to embrace the complexities involved in the artist-audience relationship. Gans (1972) in developing a theory on audience image recognizes this complexity in his analysis of the process by which an artist defines the audience, using the film industry to illustrate this "active, although indirect interaction between the audience and the creators...that ...affect the makeup of the final product" (Gans 1972:110). One major point that may be derived from Gan's thesis is that any creator/artist whether making a movie or making music has in some form an image of the audience to whom the product is directed.

This concept of audience image fits well into Becker's (1951) study of jazz musicians. As indicated by Becker, jazz musicians have an "image" of the non-musician, hence audience, hence conventional society as a collectivity of squares who want a simplistic form of danceable or "commercial" music. Becker suggests that commercial music is for the "square" and "jazz" is for the musician. He implies that according to his subjects the true jazz audience consists of jazz musicians.

As a result of this audience image: (1) the jazz musician makes a minimal effort to communicate with his audience. (2) The jazz musician, as a deviant, views his audience with extreme contempt and hostility. In connection with this, Becker defines jazz as "music which is produced without reference to the demands of outsiders" (Becker 1951:249).

Becker proposes that the hostility of the jazz musician towards his audience is due basically to the difference in standards held by the two groups. He suggests that the jazz musician has essentially two alternatives and he must choose one or the other: (1) Satisfying the consumer, hence audience and in the process not satisfying his artistic standards or; (2) Satisfying his personal esthetic standards and suffering the loss of the audience.

Becker provides this general picture of the jazz musician and his relationship to conventional society

Every interest of this group emphasized their isolation from the standards and interests of the conventional society. They associated almost exclusively with other musicians and girls who sang and danced in night clubs in the North Clark Street area of Chicago and had little or no contact with the conventional world. They were described politically thus: 'They hate this form of government anyway and think it's real bad'. They were unremittingly critical of both business and labor, disillusioned with the economic structure, and completely cynical about the political process and contemporary political parties. Religion and marriage were rejected completely, as were American popular and serious culture and then reading was confined solely to the more esoteric avant-garde writers and philosophers. In art and symbolic music they were interested also in only the most esoteric developments. In every case, they were quick to point out that their interests were not those of conventional society (Becker 1951:98).

Though viewing this as an extreme case Becker felt, however, the desire for isolation and self-segregation was "manifested by the less deviant musicians as well" (Becker 1951:99).

Again, I was faced with a contradiction. While in college and two years after I completed my undergraduate study, I played in the Augusta and Atlanta arena between 1966 - 1972. The findings from this experience as participant observer contradicted the findings of Becker's study.

My subjects were black, most of whom were from lower middle to middle class backgrounds. All stated a preference for playing "jazz" but were capable of playing other forms as well. They were local musicians for whom music was an avocation.

First of all, none of my "subjects" expressed towards the audience the "fucking square" attitude expressed by the subjects in Becker's study. In general, the attitudes expressed toward any given "gig" (engagement) was to first "win" the audience by playing what they wanted to hear, and perhaps "by playing their 'thing' first, we can win them over to our 'thing' and everybody will be happy" (Johnson 1973:55). The musicians essentially redefined in positive terms that which was apparently defined in negative terms by Becker's subjects. If playing a dance for an audience composed of, say, country music fans, the musicians simply "cooked" on country and western tunes, (remember jazz is an improvisatory form of music). If there were an occasional (or frequent) request for a "straight," non-improvised rendition of a tune, there was, still, no problem. The black jazz musician has that unique way of playing a tune "straight yet not straight" at the same time (Johnson 1973:55).

Furthermore, it was shown contrary to the Beckerian line of thought, that artistic standards and audience standards are not always antithetical. Both (musician and audience) can in some instances, want the same thing. On numerous occasions our group played for audiences (predominantly black)

that stated a preference for jazz as dance music - not only the easy-listening, easy-dancing tunes but the more complex tunes as well. In essence, these audiences wanted a form of music not featured on "top 40" or "soul" radio. On one such "gig," of the set of tunes played (including the "funky-soul" selections), the tune that "brought down the house" i.e. provoked the greatest dance response was "Night in Tunisia," a complex bop tune written by Dizzy Gillespie. Admittedly, I really enjoyed that kind of audience.

The musicians expressed negative attitudes toward entrepreneurs of the local night clubs, especially in Augusta, Georgia. It was the complaint of the local black musicians that white night club managers (and owners) intimidated, harassed, disrespected and sometimes exploited local black groups. The musician-audience interaction in the night clubs and elsewhere was mostly positive and reciprocal despite sometimes divergent standards held by the two groups. Local night club entrepreneurs themselves constituted a barrier, in many instances, between the musician and his audience; musicians expressed sometimes hostile or negative attitudes toward some local night club owners and managers (Johnson 1973:56,57).

Again, the question arose in my mind why is there a significant difference between my experience and the image projected by the literature I read? Could it be that the deviance image fits some musicians and not others? What theory is involved?

III. GRADUATE SCHOOL

Later as a graduate student in sociology, I reflected on these questions as I continued to read the social science literature on the

status of the jazz musician in society. I noted in the literature a general tendency to see jazz musicians as working in a deviant occupation. The question as to how and why he erects this barrier between himself and conventional society has been given a variety of answers. Compulsion is the reason given by the novelists and screenwriters.

Freudian and neo-Freudian writers have had a psychoanalytic "ball" with the black male and black male musician especially from urban lower class black culture. For example Abrahams in his interpretation of black masculinity gives this exposition on the roots and manifestations of what he views as masculine self-doubt and ambivalence especially among lower class black males.

The love-hate ambivalence (toward mother and women generally)...is undoubtedly responsible for many of the apparent effeminate traits of this otherwise masculine group. 'Don Juanism' the method of hair grooming reminiscent of the handkerchief tying of Southern 'mammies,' the importance of falsetto voices in quartet singing, the high prevalence of lisping, the whole 'dandy' feeling of dress and walk-all are explicable because of this ambivalence. The 'ego ideal' of these men is a confused one; though rejecting women they have accepted unconsciously certain symbols and actions of females (Abrahams 1964:33).

Keil contends that this and other applications of Freudian psychology theory "have suffered from oversimplification and ethnocentrism" (Keil 1966:21). Responding directly to Abrahams' interpretation, Keil gives this strong and insightful refutation

All 'the apparent effeminate traits' that Abraham's notes are largely figments of his psychoanalytic imagination...Prettiness (wavy hair, manicured nails, frilly shirts, flashy jackets) plus strength, tender but tough - this is the style that many Negro women find irresistible. A blues singer is not unconsciously mimicking Elvis Presley's hairdo (the opposite may be true) or Aunt Jemima's when he straightens his hair and keeps it in place with a kerchief. He is enhancing his sex appeal - nothing else.

Falsetto singing come directly from Africa, where it is considered to be the very essence of masculine expression. The smallest and highest pitched drum in a West African percussion ensemble or 'family' is designated the male drum because its tone is piercing and the role it plays is colorful, dynamic and dominant. The falsetto techniques of a west African cabaret singer are sometimes indistinguishable from those employed so effectively by Ray Charles, B.B. King, or the lead voice in a gospel quartet (Keil 1966:27).

Some sociologists assume that the break comes out of a series of mutually threatening social interactions. A conflict with parents or some other family crisis pushes the youth to seek the emotional support of the jazz counterculture. To the parents jazz is evil, corrupt but to the youth it is salvation. Psychological support is gained by the new association with other jazz musicians who have experienced a similar type of suppression from the "square" in their background. This contempt for the outside world is further intensified by the realization that society has put him in a position of financial insecurity. The public demands variety therefore he is forced to go on the road, to move from gig to gig like a gypsy and receive minimal contractual security and comparatively poor occupational fringe benefits. At the mercy of a fickle public, sleazy club owners, and crooked disc jockeys, the jazz musician is forced to give the public what they want to hear and to bridle his compulsion for creativity. This ongoing battle between commercial interests and creative impulses forces the jazz musician to isolate himself both physically and emotionally.

It became clear in my reading of the sociological literature that Becker's study had a tremendous influence on later studies by other

sociologists. It also became clear that a significant slice of the writings by psychologists and sociologists generally supported the deviant image depicted in the fictional literature I read in high school.

In my graduate study, I wrote for my masters thesis a critical review of the major themes that I found in the deviance approach to the jazz musician. Published and unpublished material constituted the data base for my masters thesis, which is titled, "The Jazz Musician and White Sociology."

Using evidence from the history of jazz, I attempted to explicate the extent to which historical evidence supported or failed to support the main contentions of this approach. I found in the historical evolution of jazz a continuous pattern of black innovation and white adaptation.

I analyzed the social milieu in the jazz world during the time span of the genesis of the deviance approach--the late forties and early fifties. I found that during this period there was a form of jazz called "cool jazz" and a related social development known as the "Beatnik" movement which had a strong attraction to whites rebelling against the norms and values of conventional society (Kofsky 1970). Cool jazz was a white musician's adaptation of a style of jazz initiated by black artists such as Miles Davis and Lester Young (Walton 1971). The "beat" movement emphasized rebellion against the status quo in the form of disaffiliation with and rejection of conventional norms. It was my contention that the nature of cool jazz and the concomitant "Beatnik" movement (1) facilitated in some instances physical and social psychological barriers between musicians and

audience and (2) precipitated the emergence of the musician-square (or outsider-insider) dichotomy (Johnson 1973:43). Jazz and the "Beatnik" movement symbolized for alienated whites their rejection of conventional society. Thus I saw this period in the history of jazz supporting, to a certain extent, the claims of white sociology of jazz.

I also found, however, some writings (for example Means and Doleman 1968 and Goldberg 1966) that suggested that even during this period, the black jazz musician was basically positive rather than hostile toward the lay audience. This literature implied that in terms of audience concept and attitudes toward conventional society, black jazz musicians and white jazz musicians may be diametrically opposed. From this library based research, I suggested that there should be in the sociology of jazz literature, as it is in jazz itself, a black as well as white perspective. In addition, more consideration should be given to possible ethno-racial differences among jazz musicians.

Let us now review and, in some instances, respond to a sample of the writings that in drawing on Becker's initial contribution and sometimes refuting some of his claims nevertheless, contribute to the development and impact of the deviance approach to the sociology of jazz.

Drawing on Goffman's work on role distance, Stebbins in a study on role distance and role distance behavior among jazz musicians cites Becker's article as a source for a discussion of "art versus commercialism in jazz" (Stebbins 1969:415). "The repugnancies of square music and square musicians are both social-psychological manifestations of the omnipresent problem of the tension between art and commercialism which characterized the jazz life" (Stebbins 1969:411).

In another article Stebbins (1968) proposed a theory of the jazz community. According to Stebbins...this paper deals with two tasks: (1) the development of a special theory of the jazz community as an unique form of status community, and (2) a judgment as to the validity of referring to the social world of the jazz musician as a community" (Stebbin 1968:318).

...the fact that the jazz musician is in many respects a member of a service trade makes him uncomfortably dependent on his audience for support.. the fear of the expropriation of values is most evident in Becker's observation the jazz musicians are highly suspicious of their audience because of the former's belief that they have a special talent, and that they might have to sacrifice their standard of creativity to their listeners (Stebbins 1968:331).

He concludes that the jazz community is best described as a

'semi-community'; a tendency toward a community formation which, because of the conditions of its origin, cannot become total...the theory developed here...has validity in other areas of the sociology of deviance. The behavior of certain groups of narcotics addicts, homosexuals, criminals, Bohemians, artists...devout radicals and reactionaries is amenable to study under this framework (Stebbin 1968:331) (*italics added*).

Here a comment is in order: If "X Avenue Boys" (Becker 1951:259) represent to Becker, an extreme example of anti-establishment behavior and attitudes, then this paper by Stebbins, represents to me an extreme example of the Beckerian approach to the sociology of jazz. In essence, Stebbins, in taking Becker's instrument to an even further shore implies very strongly that "jazz" people are simply a bunch of social outcasts.

In keeping with the spirit of Beckerianism, Stebbins acknowledges that jazz musicians, like homosexuals, criminals, nudists, political radicals and the mentally ill are "often regarded as one of society's deviant groups and part of its social problems" (Stebbins 1966:197). He notes however, that despite

The occasional arrests for the use of marijuana...there is a very definite trend toward (middle-class) respectability among the inhabitants of the jazz world...a reappraisal of the jazz musician is in order...are we correct in labeling him as a deviant? (Stebbins 1966:197).

(A vital question to which he does not give a direct answer). In this empirical study Stebbins concludes [from a total sample of seventy (70) respondents] that

...jazz musicians rank lower than commercial musicians on the major social dimensions of class, status, and power in the wider community and higher than commercial musicians on these same dimensions within the jazz community (Stebbins 1966:210).

According to Stebbins, Becker suggested two modes of thought

...the desire to be creative and to become an artistic success, and the awareness of the many forces which affect commercial playing and which result in a loss of creativity to a greater or lesser extent (Stebbins 1966:198).

Granting the necessity of replication to test the strength of his theory, Stebbins, nevertheless, felt that his sample was representative and "Minneapolis could be more typical of jazz life across the nation" (Stebbins 1966:212) than the jazz meccas, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

Peterson (1967) reveals how forces within the music industry in combination with outside pressures from moralistic critics influenced the development of jazz. He suggests, in the article, that changing white attitudes toward jazz parallel changing white attitudes toward blacks. In a reference to Becker, he states that while Becker's study suggests that "jazzmen" voluntarily retreated from the larger society for psychological reasons, his (Peterson's) analyses suggests that it was a "strategic retreat in the face of the attacks of institutional moralizers and their twin policies of containment and commercialization" (Peterson

1967:241). As a macro study of the structural sources of role conflict within the broader context of ongoing societal trends, Peterson's study is insightful.

In another article, Peterson states that "alienation and artistic creativity are closely interconnected" (Peterson 1965:244). He "offers evidence in support of this contention drawn from the world of jazz" (Peterson 1965:244). To the extent that there are, in certain situations, barriers in communication between the jazz musician and certain audiences, Peterson's treatment is valid. But the central question is not whether the barriers sometime exist but why do they exist.

Peterson claims the jazz community rejects the "lay evaluations of music [and]...the standards of society in the rest of life as well" (Peterson 1965:245). He implies that the jazz community consists of those who are drawn more to the externals - the dress, language and mannerisms - of the jazz musician than to his music. This may be true for a certain portion of jazz audience but other writings indicate that there is an even more significant number of jazz enthusiasts who simply appreciate the music itself - the internals if you prefer (e.g. Means and Doleman 1968). Perhaps this emphasis on the so-called "odd behavior" of jazz musicians as a factor central to the jazz community reflects an inability (on the part of Peterson and others) to understand esthetically the music of jazz musicians (especially the modern black musician).

In still another section Peterson states that "the audience comes to expect and demand outré behavior." As regards the jazz musician, however, a distinction should be made between (1) the audience as consumer and (2)

the entrepreneur, the oft-times middleman (barrier) between the musician and his audience. In support of his claim Peterson quotes a note in

Downbeat:

Charlie Mingus often discussed as a petulant stormy is often more a victim of the news conscious than he is really two-gun notorious. Witness his last engagement at New York's Village Gate. Co-owner Joe Tremini called Mingus' manager to demand some action. 'What's going on?' asked the manager. [Tremini replied] 'Mingus has been here for a week now; no trouble; no telling the customers off. Talk to Mingus, will you? It's bad for business' (Peterson 1965:248).

Again the crucial concern here is less what was said than who said it. It was club owner Tremini who registered the complaint. In essence, the statement quoted by Peterson is exemplary of an age-old story in the history of jazz - the misguided promoter-entrepreneur who appoints himself the spokesman for the audience. Tremini and Peterson do not seem to grasp the full scope of this issue. There are those in the audience (or community) who "couldn't care less" (pro or con) about the behavior of Mingus; they simply want to hear his music.

Coffman (1972) in a study of rock musicians notes that while "radical and deviant" behavior is demanded by the rock audience, this life style is in direct conflict with music industry businessmen. He states that much of the radicalism of rock musicians is due to their experiences in the industry.

The following quote serves as a synopsis of what I've come to call the "Berkerian" school in the sociology of jazz:

Empirical studies of jazz musicians during the 1950's and 1960' suggest that conflicting expectations may have serious consequences for the role of incumbents and their products. Becker documented the expectations of the audience and the performer...Becker, Stebbins, Peterson (italics mine) and others suggested that the role conflict experienced by the musicians gave rise to the development of deviant groups, 'jazz communities', and special forms of social adaptation employed by the performer to minimize the conflict. Later work [by

Peterson] investigated the structural sources of conflict within the larger context of American society (Coffman 1972:261-262).

Three challenges to Becker's analysis were found in the journals. All three claim that Becker's study is limited in one way or another. Merrian and Mack (1960), in a cogent analysis, argue, among other things, that the jazz community is a community of interest set apart from other occupational groups in that the public is included in it. According to Merrian and Mack, the central theme of the jazz community is isolation from society at large. Jazz and the jazz musician are rejected by the general public: (1) because of its potential psychological threat to the white culture. (2) because the nature of the profession physically isolates the musician from society, is uncertain, usually involves early recruitment and thus little formal education and is associated with protest and (3) because of the contradiction between artistic nature of the product and the need to earn a living. The jazz community has a number of characteristics including specialized language, distinctive dress, folk tales of various jazz situations and heroes, almost a complete lack of ethnic and religious prejudice, and the jam session. This analysis while drawing on Becker does raise the question of change - a question which Becker does not raise. It attempts to deal with the effect of public acceptance upon jazz and the jazz community and the effect in turn of these phenomena upon the public. This public acceptance of jazz (or at least certain styles of jazz) had occurred before the time-span of Becker's study. Cameron contends that Becker's study is limited because of his failure to make a distinction between the dance musician and jazz musician:

In a recent article, H.S. Becker analyzed some of the vocational problems of the musician. It should be said that Becker's analysis applies more precisely to jazz musicians than to dance musicians generally (Cameron 1954:177).

In another reference he states

Becker...erroneously implies that no social control exists in the dance band. Informal control exists in all dance bands...in large bands considerable formal control exists as well (Cameron 1954:178).

While both of these studies mildly challenge the comprehensiveness of Becker's study, they nevertheless structure their arguments on rather than challenge the validity of Becker's foundation, thereby yielding to Becker's study a substantial degree of authority viz the jazz musician and his audience. In general, they build their assertions and conclusions on the deviance perspective in the sociology of jazz. In stronger refutation is a study by Means and Doleman. It is argued in this study that there is significant difference between black musician-audience image and white musician-audience image and Becker's study does not reveal this significant difference (Means and Doleman 1968). It is revealed in this study that, in many instances, the black musicians' definition of jazz is the antithesis of Becker's, i.e., jazz is a music produced with reference to the demands of outsiders. In short, jazz, for the white musician, may be an instrument of rebellion against the larger society, the "squares". Jazz for a significant number of black musicians emerges as not only a conscious attitudinal and experiential reflection of black life but also (unknowingly) as a form of social communication with the outside white society, a subconscious attempt to bridge the gap between the Afro-American and the white "square."

In view of this "...it may be true that in some instances the non-musician has no means by which to judge a musician's merits and the non-musician may be considered 'square' and totally lacking in appreciation for jazz music. On the other hand, there is a large audience of articulate and informed jazz enthusiasts who deeply appreciate jazz music (italics mine) and are committed to it intellectually and emotionally" and financially (Means and Doleman 1968:338).

Means and Doleman's findings are illustrated in this quote from Art Blakely, renowned musician and pioneer in modern jazz, taken from Jazz Masters of the 50's by Joe Goldberg.

If you're selling something to people and we're selling music; you have to make them want it. You're not doing them a favor by playing for them. You're asking people to like you and your music and if you have to get down on your knees to them, then you do that. We believe in what we're playing and we'll do anything necessary to make other people believe in it (Goldberg 1972:60).

Corzine and Sherwood (1983) in their study of the occupational orientations of jazz musicians report some recent findings and reexamine some of the evidence presented in previous studies. They indicate possible racial differences in occupational orientations among jazz musicians. They see those differences reflected in two contrasting work orientations that are found among the contemporary generation of jazz musicians; the "artist" and the "craftsman." They contend that the

...adoption of one or the other of these orientations by musicians is influenced by the symbolic meanings attached to jazz by different groups in the larger society. These meanings have their origins in jazz's early association with blacks, a subordinate group in the United States, and the pattern of its acceptance by the white majority (Corzine and Sherwood 1983:319,320).

The artist orientation is "one that is derived from the avant-garde aesthetic of the nineteenth century. For [those musicians], jazz provides

form to their social protest and an avenue for the expression of feelings and emotions" (Corzine and Sherwood 1983:333). The craftsman orientation is found among jazz musicians who "are dedicated to providing a service and see in jazz a conventional career built around commercial playing" (Corzine and Sherwood 1983:333).

One of their conclusions is that black musicians are more likely

...to adhere to a craftsman orientation than white players. The definition of jazz as a black folk art, the traditional acceptance of jazz as both a form of music and a path of upward mobility, and continued racial discrimination should act to maintain the close ties between black jazz musicians and the black community (Corzine and Sherwood 1983:333).

For young white musicians rejecting mainstream values, however

...jazz will be likely to continue as a popular avenue of social protest...their alienation will be exacerbated by certain structural features of jazz, including financial insecurity, fierce competition for available jobs and an informal rewards structure (Corzine and Sherwood 1983:333).

Since some of the literature focused on black musicians, I reviewed the literature that dealt specifically with the relationship between jazz and the black experience. I found first of all that black scholars have unanimously acclaimed the brilliance and profundity of black music in general. Despite their political or ideological differences, black scholars concur in stating that the musicians of their race are among the world's most gifted artists.

As early as 1903, W.E. B. Dubois spoke eloquently of the Afro-American slave songs:

And so by fateful chance the Negro folk-song -- the rhythmic cry of the slave -- stands today not simply as the sole American music but as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side of the sea (Dubois 1970:206).

Some twenty-two years later Charles S. Johnson gave an interpretation of the blues, the foundation of jazz. He found in the blues:

... the curious story of disillusionment without a saving philosophy and yet without defeat. They mark the narrow limits of life's satisfactions, its vast treacherous ironies. Stark, full human passions crowd themselves into an uncomplex expression, so simple in their power that they startle (Johnson 1928:2).

Langston Hughes described his personal reaction to the jazz generation of black music:

Jazz to me is one of the inherent expressions of Negro life in America: the eternal tom-tom of revolt against weariness in a white world, a world of subway trains and work, work, work, the tom-tom of job and laughter and pain swallowed in a smile (Hughes 1926:693).

As each generation of black writers bestowed its accolades on black music, other functions of this diverse art became a focal point of attention. Contemporary assessments of black music include those of Neal and Spellman, who speak of modern jazz as "moral realities" (Neal 1969:55) and "religious experience" (Spelman 1969:88) respectively. Stewart views black music as "social activity" (Stewart 1971:9) while Jones emphasizes its political and historical function. Jones contends that:

American Negro music from its inception moved logically and powerfully out of a fusion between the African musical tradition and the American experience. It was, and continues to be a natural, yet highly stylized and personal version of the Negro's life in America. It is indeed, a chronicler of the Negro's movement, from African slave to American slave, from Freedman to Citizen (Jones 1969:191-192).

As I read this literature, what did it say to me about jazz and the black experience? Jazz is, first and foremost, a black cultural phenomenon, born out of the black experience. A comprehensive understanding of the music dictates "coming to grips" with this fact. Jazz, as a form of black music, must be analyzed within the context of environmental and historical circumstance. To write on jazz as if the

music were an entity completely unrelated to ethno-racial variables is to present a study that will prove to be limited in both scope and applicability. Therefore, within the black community, the musician-audience relationship has been, for the most part, positive and reciprocal, despite differentials in regional and class responses to certain styles of jazz (see Jones 1968 and Frazier 1957). Drawing in a limited sense on Byrd's suggestions that jazz may be defined as "all black music" (Byrd 1972:30), the fact that Archie Shepp is more popular in New York than in Augusta, Georgia or that Ramsey Lewis is viewed by some blacks as less "heavy" or "socially conscious" than the late John Coltrane does not compel the conclusion, expressed by Peterson (1971,1972) that blacks do not "like" jazz. (More on this later.) Historical and even present rejection of jazz by some middle class blacks in their efforts to be accepted by and assimilated into white society via the rejection of all things black in origin (Frazier 1957; Jones 1963) does not lend support to the claim that blacks, in general do not like jazz. Furthermore, it has been shown in at least one study "that a surprisingly large number, 22 percent, of leading Negro jazz musicians in the past few decades have come from the small but significant Negro middle class" (Means and Doleman 1968:334). Again, jazz in all of its variations, evolutions, styles, revivals or whatever is, in origin, a black product.

Further, there is a commonality in black music that transcends differences in genres of black music and this communality is reflected in the evolution of jazz itself. Roach gives this insight:

Jazz music, rhythm and blues, rock and roll, gospel, spirituals, blues, folk music ... are various expressions of black music, black culture itself the expressions of Africans in the diaspora (Roach 1972:6).

In constructing a typology applicable to the history of jazz, Jones suggests three major innovative developments in jazz as black product: (1) Blues, "the parent of all legitimate jazz, (Jones 1963:17) is "the original Afro-American music" (Jones 1961:79). (2) Bebop (a black music creation in jazz which emerged during the '40's) is "the reemphasis of the non-western tradition," (Jones 1963: 79) a "restatement of the basic blues impulse" (Jones 1963:194). (3) Avant-garde (or New Black Music, New Thing, emerging in the '60's) is the reassertion and utilization of the most important elements of bebop, namely, (a) rhythmic freedom and complexity (African survival), (b) musical instrument as extension of self (the essence of the blues). Jones further states these developments in jazz (as in all-black music) are not mutually exclusive but are connected by the existential commonality of being products of the black experience in America. Jazz, like all other categories of black music, may be viewed as a vital form of expression for those who have been, through history, denied freedom of expression.

James Brown's screams, etc., are more 'radical' than most jazz musicians' sound, etc. Certainly his sound is 'further out' than Ornette's (new thing musician) and that sound has been a part of Black music even out in them backwoods churches since the year one (Jones 1966:210).

In a stylistic sense, the music of Archie Shepp is different from the music of Mahalia Jackson, the 'jazz' of Wes Montgomery is different from the "jazz" of Albert Ayler but

all of these attitudes (or styles and categories) are continuous parts of the historical and cultural biography of the Negro as it has existed and developed since there was a Negro in America..." (Jones 1963:15).

As in the black experience there is a common ground that transcends differentials in status, income, occupation, education and other variables,

so in black music there is a common ground that transcends differentials in style, category and musical approach. It is, in view of this commonality, that jazz, as black product, has a natural audience within black America.

The literature makes it clear that the black musician has chronicled the history of the black experience and has played a central role in expressing the moods and concerns -- the issues and affairs -- that are of vital concern to black Americans. Inscribed within the lyrics of the spirituals, worksongs, folk ballads, blues, soul or rhythm and blues is the history articulated by black musicians of a courageous people engaged in a determined struggle against oppression (Cone 1972).

The sound of protest in jazz is also examined in the literature. Miller and Skipper deal with the role of jazz as protest for educated urban blacks. They argue that protest is present in the non-lyrical elements of avant-garde jazz and in the style of its devotees. In a statement that draws on Becker's study, they suggest that the jazz musician is "unconcerned with the demands of those outside his own perspective" (Miller and Skipper 1968:27). In making a distinction between the "shout song," the "moan," and "cry," they state that the

'cry' [an articulate utterance of distress, rage or pain, to cry out for help or to proclaim publicly] is unique, because it is the quintessence of the new sound of protest in avant-garde jazz today (Miller and Skipper 1968:29).

Is the "cry" unique or unprecedented? There is a literature that states that perhaps the sound of avant-garde jazz is new to some but the protest - the "cry" - inherent with that sound is not. Miller and Skipper allude to this point but Jones gives a more direct statement:

But the protest is not new. Black people's songs have carried the fire [italics mine] and struggle of their lives since they first opened their mouths in this part of the world. They have always

wanted a better day...James Brown's screams, are more 'radical' than most jazz musicians' sound,...that sound has been a part of Black music, even out in them backwoods churches since the year one. It is just that on the white man's instrument, it is new (Jones 1966:210).

Drummer Max Roach explains that protest and self-assertiveness are not new elements in jazz and black music (Ridley 1973). "Protest goes back to Motherless Child. Black folks have been saying the same thing for centuries, ever since they've been here" (Ridley 1973:42). In summation, the "shout," the "shout song," the "moan," the "cry," the "scream," all have served throughout Afro-American history as both a catharsis for suffering people and a clarion call to social action.

How we interpret a given social act is, in part, a function of where we are. What Miller and Skipper refer to as a "rejection of contemporary values" (Miller and Skipper 1968:33) is from another perspective a rejection of white values and a reassertion of black ones. "Drummer Max Roach composed the 'We Insist: Freedom now unite...' one part of which 'the Protest,' consists of several minutes of unaccompanied screaming by vocalist Abbey Lincoln" (Miller and Skipper 1968:33). According to Jones and others again, black America hence the black audience "understands" the "meaning" of screaming. Further, according to Miller and Skipper, "Trumpeter Miles Davis often shows his contempt and disdain for an audience by not facing them while playing" (Miller and Skipper 1968:33). A paradox arises with this statement. While the words and stage behavior of Miles Davis are invoked in this and other articles as solid evidence of negative attitudes toward the audience, Means and Doleman (1968) in their study refer to a statement by Miles Davis to support their contention that black jazz musicians express positive attitudes toward the audience. Miles (like the Bible) has been used to support diametrically opposite conclusions. A

brief glance at the abundant literature on John Coltrane will show that he defined his music as a vehicle for the moral and spiritual uplift of mankind. (e.g., Kofsky 1972). His artistic lifestyle was a commitment to communication with the audience. He left the bandstand not to ignore the audience but to focus the attention of the audience on whoever was soloing. Nina Simone; hostility is directed less toward the audience than toward prejudice, injustice, oppression, the elements of racism. To blacks, Simone's "uncontained rage" is a "normative" response to "deviant" conditions created by white racism.

Miller and Skipper also contend that black avant-garde jazz music is deviant "not only in the general society but also in the mainstream of jazz" (Miller and Skipper:36). Admittedly I did not understand this statement. It generated a number of questions in my mind. Why is avant-garde jazz today deviant to the mainstream of jazz? By whose standards is it deviant? What is the jazz mainstream and who is in it? How and by whom is the mainstream of jazz determined? To me, jazz is jazz. How can jazz be a deviation from itself? How can any music be deviant music? Is it deviant because it is different? Or is it deviant because enough people said it was so?

Miller and Skipper do not answer these questions but this thought did arise: The literature makes it clear that jazz, as a form of black music, is, through time and evolution, a product of the black experience. Is it then not plausible to argue that the mainstream of jazz (i.e. the source from which adaptations, variations and new developments arise), if anything, is the music played by black jazz musicians including those who are called avant-garde? The avant-garde musicians set the tone for the

mainstream, defined the musical paradigm for their generation and blaze new trails for the next. The avant-garde of any art keeps it fresh and vibrant. Without an avant-garde, there is no vision of new frontiers and when there is no vision, the music perishes. But then I thought that it is perhaps this very quality of "freshness" and "difference" in the avant-garde that eventually produces for itself the deviant stigma.

This discussion of the jazz avant-garde or new thing led me to another question the answer to which I sought in the literature. With respect to musician-audience interaction, what is the response of a given black audience (unfamiliar with, say the new black musician) to such a music? Based on the arguments presented in the literature it was my belief that the type of response is mainly a function of group exposure to such a music (i.e. listening experience).

An article in Downbeat provided some support. Wilmer, in a report and evaluation of a concert given by the Milford Graves Quintet (avant-garde group) at the Storefront Museum (community project) in Jamaica, New York, states:

Graves put on a show for the local black community and attracted a regular kind of Sunday afternoon crowd that gave the lie to the idea that black people are unable to appreciate or identify (italics mine) with the new music. 'Don;t listen for the kind of rhythms you're used to hearing,' Graves said, urging the listeners (italics mine) to discover for themselves rhythms and feelings with which to relate. And apparently they had no trouble doing so. (italics mine) Music that would be shunned by the people at a so-called conventional jazz event was enthusiastically received at every level (Wilmer 1973:29).

What is the nature of rhythms to which the audience had no trouble relating? "Graves gets more and more African (italics mine) ... it's the black American concept of Africa" (italics mine) (Wilmer 1973:30). I had on numerous occasions witnessed a similar kind of reaction to the new black

a black nationalist consciousness that resulted in confrontation with the oppressor. In short, to Kofsky the jazz avant-garde and the musicians who play it are the vanguard of revolution for oppressed blacks in American society.

In a critical review of Kofsky's book, Peterson (1971) accepted the argument that the major creators of jazz are black. He also accepted in principal the argument that jazz expresses black self-awareness -- the moods and concerns of the black community. Peterson rejected however the argument that black nationalism first manifested in the bop jazz musicians of the 1940's has been a major force in the revolutionary awakening in the black ghetto.

In reference to the last point, Peterson argued jazz could not have stimulated revolutionary consciousness in the ghetto because "it has not been played there for almost a quarter of a century" (Peterson 1971:79). Jazz has not been sold in ghetto record store because ghetto ". . . record stores have always featured single records and no avant-garde jazz single has been pressed since the advent of the 45 rpm records" (Peterson 1971:79). The jazz played over black oriented radio has been limited to the "rhythm and blues or 'easy listening' influenced music of men like Ramsey Lewis and Ahmad Jamal" (Peterson 1971:79). He concluded that the available evidence makes it:

. . . abundantly clear that the music of the ghetto, since 1950 at least, has been a mix of pop, rhythm and blues, gospel and soul music. Thus, it is difficult to see just how jazz, no matter how revolutionary, could have directly influenced black consciousness (Peterson 1971:79).

Again, I was confronted with a contradiction between a piece of

literature and my experience. Peterson's contention that avant-garde jazz is not played over black oriented radio was not consistent with my own experience. It was through black oriented radio in Nashville and Atlanta that I and many others living in urban areas were first exposed to the music of the jazz avant-garde as well as the other styles of jazz.

The salability of jazz, or avant-garde jazz is also examined in the literature. Stebbins and Becker invoke constantly the terms "jazz" and "commercial music." Again, Becker defines jazz as "music which is produced without reference to the demands of outsiders." Stebbins, in a lengthy explanatory footnote attempts to define commercial music:

Commercial music is popular music designed for sale to the mass public. [It is] music played predominantly in the finer night clubs to older patrons...it is two-beat instead of four; sometimes improvised, seldom very fast or slow and made up of tunes familiar to the listener's younger days and of the less raucous popular songs of the day (Stebbins 1966:202).

They suggest that jazz and commercial music are polar opposites. They further state that (1) jazz is esoteric, i.e. intended for or understood by only a chosen few and (2) commercial music is exoteric, i.e. not intended only for a chosen few, suitable for outsiders. Webster defines commercial as "made or done primarily for sale or profit" (Webster 1968:294). Because jazz is not made for outsiders, it will not sell.

This distinction clashes somewhat with the abundant literature that proclaims and sometimes documents the global and national appeal and popularity of the music (See for example Wilson 1966, Means and Doleman 1968, Williams 1971, Feather 1960, and Hodeir 1960) and its profound influence on other genres of music in the Western world (see Pleasants 1969). In short, this literature asserts that jazz is commercial music, that it reaches out to the "outsider," and that it does have a strong and

He states that some black music as:

a creative and revolutionary music . . . is more than just reflective, (italics mine) but [it] criticizes the very social substance of the society and ultimately contributes towards giving direction to the social reconstruction of that society (Porter 1971:265).

The music of Mingus, Roach, Coltrane, Shepp, and others is such a music and as such the men who make it are excluded from participation in the music industry. To this kind of argument Peterson replies:

This undoubtedly is part of the story, but the evidence of radicalism in rock music suggest that club owner and record company executives are much less sensitive to radical sentiments if music of radicals sells well. If, for example, Mingus and Roach sold as well as Hendrix and Sly they would not have been black-balled by the industry (Peterson 1972:145).

Porter rejoins, "records such a Mingus' Fables for Faubus and Roach's We Insist: Freedom Now are held off the market for as long as ten years or released for a short period, only to suddenly become unavailable for all times"(Porter 1971:270). Thus the conspiracy advocates raise this question to those who argue the "jazz won't sell" line. How can a recording sell if it is held off the market and made unavailable for public consumption? Furthermore, the claim that Roach and Mingus have not sold as well as Hendrix and Sly is not a valid justification for a blackball of Mingus and Roach (or whiteball if you prefer). Have Al Hirt and Doc Severinsen sold as well as Hendrix and Sly? Finally, the "conspiracists" contend that the music-entertainment industry with its masterful application of sophisticated selling techniques can, indeed sell anything. In essence, Roach and Mingus have not sold as well as Hendrix and Sly simply because those in power (not the consumer) have so decided. Their music is both black and revolutionary - too much of a threat to the existing social

order. Therefore, they are "frozen out" because of their anti-establishment protestations and race.

Is there a market for avant-garde jazz? Bob Thiele, former executive head of Impulse, the A.B.C. Records jazz subsidiary, gives some enlightenment on this subject.

You know, we all try to be realistic and the only reason you make records is to sell records, and Coltrane happened to sell an awful lot of records. Most of the musicians in the new [jazz] movement happen to sell records, too. I don't say that they sell in the quantities that Coltrane sold, but they do sell records and there is a market for them, not only in the United States but all over the world (interview with Kofsky 1968:62).

As one intimately involved with the production and sales of recordings by black avant-garde musicians, Thiele's qualifications give at least implicit support to the conspiracy argument.

Reading this material on the status of jazz and jazz musicians in society and the black experience sharpened my awareness of a literature that pointed to a view of the jazz musician that was strongly influenced by the arguments and conclusions in Becker's (1951) study.

The essence of the deviance model can be stated as follows: (1) The jazz musician, as a deviant, does not communicate with and is extremely hostile and contemptuous toward his audience, hence conventional society, hence the "normal" world. Thus, the jazz musician is a social problem. (2) With the exception of an ever-decreasing small cadre of jazz aficionados who are themselves deviant, hence a social problem, jazz is essentially an esoteric music which does not have a viable audience within or without the black community. (3) Given the anti-social nature of the jazz musician and his music, there is an underlying justification for the

exploitation to which the jazzman (especially the black jazzman) has been subjected (Johnson 1973).

On the other hand, there is a literature that projects a more positive image of jazz and the jazz musician. Jazz is a vital form of black music created and emerging out of the black experience. As a product of black culture, it reflects in varying ways, the moods, feelings and status of black Americans over time. On a broader scale, the appeal of jazz and other black musics goes beyond the boundaries of black America into the very heart of Americana. As America's "only original art form", jazz has a vast multi-racial following at home and abroad. The jazz musician whether artist or craftsman or both is viewed as a major protagonist in a rich and vital cultural adventure. Hence, jazz and the jazz musician are not seen as social problems but as participants at various levels in an ongoing social legacy with roots in black culture.

What is the theoretical explanation of these contrasting images? As I identified the major tenets of the deviance model in the sociology of jazz literature, the roots of this perspective became clear when I read the various theories in the sociology of deviance. I then sought to connect a relevant model of deviance with a broader framework in sociological theory. Through this exercise, I was able to comprehend the theoretical basis for the contrasting views of jazz and the jazz musician in the literature. My task then became one of discovering the theoretical paradigm from which the deviance (or Beckerian) model emerged. Let us now turn our attention to the theoretical base of the Beckerian model in terms of both general sociological theory and the sociology of deviance.

IV. SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM/APPLICATION OF DEVIANT LABEL

The literature on the jazz musician examines relationships at the interpersonal and intergroup level, focusing on shared values, shared attitudes toward others and common experiences in relation to others. The literature reminded me of Weber's assertion that the basic unit of social reality is "social action", the behavior of one individual oriented to that of others. It is from social action that social facts or structural units like class, strata, institutions and roles emerge. This is valid as far as music is concerned because facts do not play music, people do and people listen. Therefore, making music is a social act

. . . by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course (Weber 1964:10).

The concepts, social action and shared subjective meaning are embraced in a theoretical model known as symbolic interactionism. This model emphasizes the interactions between people that take place through symbols, and the way symbols are used to define the self, others and the situation. A symbol is any act or object that represents something. "Symbolism includes the values people hold . . . The values or symbolism of people also lead to interaction with some people but not with others" (Wallace 1980:4). Music can be and is very often a social symbol through which individuals collectively define their relationships with others or express their shared experience over time. When there is sharing of feelings about music, then the music could become symbolic of those feelings. For example, for Becker's sample, jazz is symbolic of a wall that separates musicians from audience, insider from outsider. In the Means and Doleman study, jazz is the bridge that unites musician with audience. In the

deviance literature (by Becker, Steffens, and others) jazz is symbolic of deviance from some norm. In the "normative" literature (by Means and Doleman, Pleasants and others), jazz is symbolic of the norm itself -- the standard against which other genres are measured and the source from which other forms are derived. Symbolic interactionists therefore view "society" or "community" as being continuously created and recreated through social interaction and held together by shared definitions of social reality expressed in symbols.

Symbolic interactionist theories of deviance are concerned with the role of social meanings and definitions in the production of deviant behavior. The assumption is that these meanings and definitions, these symbolic variations, make a difference in behavior. Further, the interactionist model focuses on the process by which society labels certain behavior as deviant.

Claiming direct descent from Mead and Blumer, labeling theorists have identified with the symbolic interactionist perspective (see Means and Meltzer 1972). They emphasize the social psychological process and view it as the determining element in social life. This perspective rejects the use of biological, psychological and structural causation as explanations of human conduct. An interactionist perspective focuses on the open-ended, situational construction of reality in which meanings and symbols arise and are defined and altered by participants in the course of action.

Institutions are not "self-operating entities" that follow their own dynamics (Blumer 1969). Institutions are formative transactions that exist because people link their individual lines of action through shared meanings. Such groups as a family, a juvenile gang or musical community

can only be understood by examining their settings in the processes of social interaction.

What is the process by which something or somebody is labeled deviant?

According to Rubington and Weinberg:

...deviance...is defined by what people say and do about persons, situations, acts or events.

In other words, deviance is in the eyes of the beholder. For deviance to become a social fact, somebody must perceive an act, person, situation or event as a departure from social norms, must categorize that perception, must report the perception to others, must get them to accept this definition of the situation, and must obtain a response that conforms to the definition (Rubington and Weinberg 1968:v).

This description of the process by which deviance is applied gave me a basis for answering some of my questions raised in connection with the deviance literature on the jazz musician.

Howard Becker is one of the main formulators and proponents of the labeling model in the sociology of deviance - a model which defines a deviant as someone to whom the label deviant has been successfully applied (by the dominant or mainstream culture). The deviance school (in sociology of jazz) formulated by Becker and elaborated by Stebbins, Peterson, Coffman and others (blacks and whites) has, in terms of mainstream sociology and society in general, successfully applied the deviant label to the jazz musician. In applying the deviant label successfully, the jazz musician is further viewed as shunning normal commitments and responsibilities, and coming from and perpetuating a broken home.

Since jazz is a product of the black experience, these qualities are also attributed to black musicians generally. In fact, the black musician is viewed as a double deviant : (a) he is deviant because he is black and by being black one is labeled deviant by others; (b) he is

deviant because he is sometimes a practitioner of a form of music which has been labeled deviant music by others.

In my participant observation I discovered other stereotypes about black musicians. Let me share some of them. It is assumed that black musicians play only jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, soul and rock but not symphony, classical or even country music. Therefore black musicians are seen as being limited, in terms of playing, to certain forms of black music. In addition, black musicians, it is said, cannot read music, are lacking in ambition and drive, are single talented and are culturally ill suited for studio work and structured high paying musical employment. The deviant image of the jazz musician in the literature and the assumption I discovered about black musicians in the field led me to undertake this study of black musicians in the city where I got started as a musician.

Do the black musicians in our sample conform to this "deviant" stereotyping of the jazz musician and other assumptions about black musicians? What are they really like as persons? What do they remember about their childhood? What is their family life like today? What do they feel about themselves, other musicians, the music industry, race relations, the audience? What is their religious background? Where do they work? What music careers are available to them? How much education do they have? To what extent have history and circumstance given them distinctive group characteristics?

In the next chapter, we will discuss the procedure that was used to answer these and other questions as they apply to black musicians in Music City, U.S.A.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

I. RESEARCH PROBLEM

In a broad sense, the research problem is that of understanding the role and status of the professional black musician in an urban center which headquarters a vast music industry. This general problem represents an arduous undertaking; it requires a great deal of research, thought and exposition to dig deeply into the social consequences of being a black musician in Nashville, Tennessee. While a single study could not satisfactorily address all the issues related to this general problem, this study takes a step in that direction.

It was incumbent upon this investigation to collect good data and to use the appropriate method for getting the type of data which would help us to understand the black musician in Nashville. Since this study was an exploratory study of a group whose locus of activity varied from place and time to time, it was necessary to employ a field design for the study. Ethnographic research is field research. It uses real groups and individuals in natural settings and it focuses on a particular context. Field research places a strong emphasis on naturalness and is most likely to be used in exploratory or descriptive research. The "insider-outsider" issue is relevant here as it related to the accuracy of data collected. Field or ethnographic research is an "insider" research strategy which in some cases is the only way to study reliably certain phenomena. Wallace in his study of skid row notes

... The literature on skid row varies in viewpoint depending upon whether the investigator was an insider... When the sociologist arrives on skid row with pre-coded, pre-test survey questionnaire in hand, every one of his questions implicitly assumes the person is a failure and asks why...and the skid rower will answer, if at all, with responses designed for the consumption of the...outside world...persons who spent long periods of time on the road and within the skid row community...in professional contact with the skid rower...were...able to penetrate the communication screen (Wallace 1965:159-160).

Let me go further. In addition to being a sociologist, the investigator is a professional black musician. Thus along with the "insideness" of the research strategy, there is the further "insideness" of my race and avocation. This could have been an asset or a liability. If reactivity or over identification were avoided, this could provide an even deeper basis for understanding the social world of my subjects. But on the other hand, being an insider in terms of both race and avocation could have distorted and biased my observations and interpretations.

How was the potential problem of insider bias handled? There is a rich body of literature on dealing with the problems of internal and external validity in participant observation including those arising from an investigator "being native." Drawing on the literature, some strategies were developed to prevent or at least control insider bias. Our sampling was theoretical as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967:21-77). It was comparative in the sense that observations and interviews were not restricted to one group or type of group, place, situation or process and as such our sampling generated divergent slices of data for understanding categories and developing their properties. In essence, this procedure kept my mind open while collecting the data. Further, the investigator was generally on the alert to the possible distorting effects of being native

and used field notes, introspection, field contact with informants, colleagues, advisors, evaluators, consultants and significant others to record and control insider bias in the collection of primary data.

It was my determination to let the subjects speak for themselves to tell their story. As investigator, it was my responsibility to give as clear a picture as possible of what the musicians think of their own lives and the issues raised in the interviews. When writing the analyses and interpretation, their ideas were sometimes shifted, spliced and moved around to be put in the most advantageous places for the sake of clarity but I did not put words in their mouths. They have enough of their own.

II. OVERALL PROCEDURE

The procedure for this study was divided into three sequential phases. The first phase consisted of participant observation and open-ended interviews reflecting issues raised in the proposal and variables (emerging from the literature, general knowledge, secondary data, intuition, pre-conversations, previous participant observation experience and stories of others) that had the strongest potential for meaningfully describing and explaining the origins, development, careers and current status of professional black musicians in Nashville. The objectives of this phase were as follows:

- (1) To develop a sense of the structure of the work world of black musicians i.e., to identify and locate careers for professional black musicians.

I sought the locations where black musicians play, the conditions under which they play, the frequency with which they play and the type(s)

of music played. I also wanted some information about the amount of pay earned by musicians who perform for pay. From this information I was able to ascertain whether there were identifiable careers for black musicians in Nashville, name what they were and determine the basis upon which they could be differentiated. How does a musician get into a career? How do musicians within a career relate to one another? These issues were addressed in this step.

(2) To develop a sense of the structure of the black musical community.

From developing a sense of work patterns through careers for black musicians, we could expand our scope and look at the relationships between careers. This provided some insight on whether a black musical community exists in Nashville. If so, in what form does it exist? How do black musicians fit into the wider black community? To what extent is there a sense of community among black musicians in Nashville? Is there a sense of community among blacks in Nashville generally? These were the questions to which I sought answers in this part of phase one.

(3) To identify via network analyses key informants for each career.

From developing a sense of the career world of black musicians and a sense of the structure of the black musical community, I was able to identify key informants for each career. The key informants provided information on the black musical scene in Nashville. They are musicians who know other musicians who gave me some vital data. Through this step, I was able to determine who knows who and what about black musicians in Nashville.

(4) To develop overall sample roster and subrosters for each career according to the operational definition of black musicians.

The preceeding steps provided a basis for formulating an operational definition of professional black musician. From this definition and the data and contact accumulated up to this point, I was able to develop a comprehensive, if not exhaustive roster of professional black musicians in Nashville. Further, each name on the roster was further identified by sex, age and career.

(5) To develop an interview guide for phase two.

The construction of this instrument was based in part on data which emerged from this first phase of my research. The interview guide was developed in such a way as to fit black musicians from all careers. This career standardization in the guide made it possible to compare responses across as well as within careers.

The second phase consisted of continued participant observation and in depth interviews with key informants from each career. The interview guide was divided into topical areas generated in part from phase one.

Some of the topical areas were birth, migration and family of origin, religious background, adult life, musical background and training, present musical work, musicians' union, sense of community among black musicians, black community and the Nashville music industry, musical jobs among black musicians, obstacles faced by black musicians and perception of the future. An interview consisted of standardized basic questions (open and close-ended) along with multiple probes (standard and nonstandard) for each topical area. The standardized questions facilitated comparisons across interviews. The unstandardized probes provided more detailed information

for each individual case.

The third phase consisted of coding and analyzing primary and relevant secondary data and the finalization and completion of the study. Coding was done to reduce the data for frequency tabulations on all selected variables. Total sample tabulations were done and compared with career frequencies. Intercareer comparisons were also done on those variables related to the theoretical issues of this dissertation. Tables were also developed from our analysis of the data.

III. SAMPLING ROSTER AND SAMPLE

Sampling Roster

The roster consisted of the population of black musicians who have or are currently playing an instrument and/or singing for pay at any time between 1975 and 1983 or who have retired from active service as a professional performing musician/vocalist in the Nashville area. The selection of 1975 as the cut-off year was done more or less arbitrarily. It is however the mid-year of the seventies, the point at which Nashville, in my opinion, became established internationally as a major center of recording, music and entertainment. It was also the year in which I resumed my formal role as participant observer in the Nashville music scene. 1983 is the year in which I completed the collection of data for this dissertation. In short, the roster consisted of both active and retired black musicians/vocalists in the Nashville area who receive or have received pay for their services.

As stated above, a professional musician was operationally defined as any Nashville resident who has played or sung or is currently playing a

musical instrument or singing for pay at any time between 1975 and 1983. Self identity or informant identity as a black was used to determine the race of the musician. This definition excluded non-resident musicians who are on the road with a group that entertains in Nashville, students who are developing their skills or have developed playing competency but have not been paid for their services and dancers and other artists and entertainers who have not played an instrument or sung for pay between 1975 and 1983. The focus of this study was on professional, i.e. working black musicians who reside in Nashville. In summary, musicians who were not black, not performing for money and not a resident of Nashville were excluded from this study.

The 1975-83 time span was chosen because it represents the present and the immediate past. It included those who play "every now and then" (e.g. in two or four year intervals). on a regular basis for annual, bi-annual or even quadrennial events as well as the more frequently working musician. It excluded somewhat arbitrarily those who have not played or sung for money in seven years. It was my position that, if a musician has not performed for pay in seven years, then he or she is simply not an active professional musician, at least as far as this study is concerned.

The inclusion of non-instrument playing singers on the population roster was based on one requirement for membership in the local union: "All performers on musical instruments of any kind and vocalists or other individuals who render musical services...for pay are eligible for membership." This revised provision permits non-instrument playing vocalists to join the union. Therefore as the union's range of advocacy has broadened to include the vocalist so this study included the vocalist

(whether instrument playing or not) in its primary focus (provided the other definitional criteria were satisfied). Furthermore, though singers may have their own separate advocacy and professional organizations, the investigator concurs with the argument that the human voice is the original musical instrument and the matrix of all other instruments. It is out of this concurrence and the union's revised definition that professional vocalists were included.

Four sources were used in the compilation of the sampling roster - my own participant observation experience, informants, interviewees, and the musicians union directory. The union directory provided me with seven names. My own participant observation experience provided thirty names. Informants in the field gave me twenty-four names. Finally, during the course of some of the interviews, five names were given. This brought the total to sixty-six names.

It was during the first phase of the research that careers were to be identified. This was indeed a difficult assignment. Many schemata were attempted but without success. For example, I attempted to classify careers for black musicians on the basis of genre or form of music, e.g. Jazz musicians, rock musicians, popular musicians, and so on. This scheme simply didn't work because through participant observation, it became obvious that paying audiences generally expected a mixture of genres from the musicians they employed for entertainment. Versatility in varying degrees was required. Further with the crossover records that can have a wider appeal than their primary racial or regional audiences, it became obvious that the line of sharp distinction in sound and style between say "rock" and "country" or "jazz" and "soul" has in some cases become somewhat

arbitrary and artificial. Further participant observation lead me to (1) try a career schemata based more on location of job than style of music and (2) within each career make other kinds of distinctions like age, sex, full-time or part-time and so on. This basis for career identification proved to be effective as we moved to develop a sense of overall structure of the black musical community.

Thus, it was my perception based on the field work that professional black musicians could be divided into four careers. Names on the roster were placed into one of the four careers. Main or primary source of musical income constituted the overall criterion for placement into a given career.

In addition, pioneers were included in the roster of black musicians. These are retired or inactive performers who have a "story to tell" about the growth and development of the black side of the Nashville music scene. They proved to be extremely knowledgeable about key events of the past in black Nashville and served as key informants, especially regarding historical developments.

The placement of sixty-six names into careers according to this criterion was based on information generated by my own participant observation, informants and secondary data. The interviews confirmed the accuracy of these sources for in no case did any interview indicate a need to reclassify a musician into a career from that assigned before the interview.

The first career category is "music educators," defined simply as musical performers who are institutional musical instructors and/or administrators. Nine or 14 percent of the musicians on the roster were

music educators. Their roles as music educators are carried out in a variety of institutional settings. Some teach instrumental music at the elementary school level. Some are high school band directors. Two are music education administrators, one for the school system and the other at a local university. Most teach music at various levels in the public education sector. All have one thing in common. They perform for pay in a variety of settings.

The next career is the "music industry" which embraces those black musicians who are known to work predominantly in the music studios and other related music firms in the Nashville area. Eight or 12 percent of the roster are in a music industry career. Some are independent producers; others were songwriters. All play instruments and/or sing for pay and carry out other roles as musicians in the music industry.

The third career is the "church musician," comprised of musicians who play/sing in churches or other religious settings. Fourteen or twenty-one percent of the musicians on the roster are church musicians. Some are church musicians who play piano and/or organ for the weekly worship service. Others have the additional responsibility of serving as choir director or minister of music in various churches. Still others provide the instrumental music or musical leadership for community choirs that perform in churches, for gospel concerts and other religious music events. These church and community choirs have also performed on local radio and local and cable television.

The fourth career is the "giggers," defined as those secular musicians who perform for pay in the nightclubs, for public but also for private parties, dances and social events. These twenty-seven musicians constitute

41 percent of the roster. They are not music educators or church musicians, nor do they work in the music industry. They perform in those settings outside the music industry and the church, that are still crucial outlets for a public seeking live secular musical entertainment.

In general, I selected whenever possible those individuals whom I knew were knowledgeable about the work life of black musicians in Nashville. In a more general sense, I endeavored in selecting interviewees to develop a sample with age range, gender and career distribution characteristics of the sampling roster.

Table 1 compares our sampling roster and sample:

Table 1. Sample Roster (S.R.) and Sample (S.) Comparison by Career, Gender and Age, Black Musicians, Nashville.

Career	Males				Females				Age Range	
	S.R.		S.		S.R.		S.		S.R.	S.
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%		
Music Educators	8	88	5	83	1	11	1	17	27-56	27-56
Music Industry	7	88	3	75	1	12	1	25	29-43	37-43
Church Musicians	9	64	4	50	5	35	4	50	22-48	22-48
Giggers	22	81	8	80	5	19	2	20	23-63	23-56

In terms of distribution by career, six were music educators, four were in the music industry, eight were in a church career and 10 were secular performers. The remaining three interviewees were retired/pioneers.

Therefore, twenty-eight active and three retired musicians constituted our sample.

IV. IN THE FIELD

Preliminary Contact

My first contact in the field was with the Director of Music, Metro Nashville Public School System -- who is also a performing black musician in Nashville. The purpose of this contact in the first phase of my research was to get additional ideas about the issues, concerns, problems and involvements of black musicians in Nashville. This initial contact led to contact with others in the field. During this phase of preliminary field work among selected respondents, I gained a better understanding of their realities and sociological issues for me begin to emerge in sharper focus.

I then constructed an interview guide to assure uniformity in data collection and comparability across interviews and moved into phase two of my research. As Lofland noted, the purpose of such a guide is not to elicit choices to alternative answers among preformed questions, but rather to "elicit from the interviewee what he considers to be the important questions...and to carry on a guided conversation" (Lofland 1971:76). This interview guide then, served as a reminder of the topics to be covered and as a stimulus to deeper questions and probes. I decided however, after my first interview with a pioneer musician that the guide did not fit the pioneer category as well as the careers. Therefore, for the pioneer musician, I did not use the guide per se but allowed the interview to

develop its own direction and flow by asking questions and probes similar in spirit to those in phase one.

Interview Appointments

All appointments for interviews were made by telephone. During such conversations, I introduced myself as a sociologist who was interested in black musicians and interested in learning about the experiences of those who have been involved in the Nashville music scene. After introducing myself, I would answer any questions the individual had about the study and would ask for a convenient time for an interview. At the close of each conversation, I mentioned that I would like to tape record the interview and asked the respondent's permission to do so. In no cases was such permission refused. One respondent expressed some apprehension about being interviewed and asked that he not be quoted by name.

I was often surprised by the readiness with which respondents agreed to be interviewed. Respondents invited me to their homes or their offices on the basis of one telephone conversation. In some cases, I conducted interviews in my own home. I can only speculate as to why respondents were so ready to talk to me. I think that many were flattered to be interviewed and that others welcomed the chance to talk to someone who was interested in their views. Indicative of such sentiments were the comments of one respondent who near the close of the interview said:

I'd just like to say I've enjoyed the fact that I'm getting to express my true feelings about black music in general and the black music scene. It is something that I very rarely have the chance to sit down and talk about. I've never had the opportunity to have it documented (Frank, Int. 1, 1981).

Interviews

Because this study was concerned with elucidating the realities and perceptions of individuals, I used intensive open-ended interviews as the primary means of data collection. Because of the time constraints on this dissertation and the time consumed for each interview, the number of interviewees was limited to thirty-one. Eight of these interviewees were female.

Fifty interviews were conducted with our 31 interviewees. The shortest interview consumed 30 minutes. The longest interview took three hours. The average time for each interview was ninety minutes. The variation of the length of interview was a function of how much the subject had to say on the issues raised and/or how much time the interviewee had to give.

Most of the interviews were conducted in the home of the interviewee. This setting was natural for the subject and investigator and through this setting a rapport was developed and the interviewee shared his/her story with me.

The advantages of such a method are numerous and have been amply described by sociologists in a variety of publications (Densin, 1970; Junker, 1960; Lofland, 1971). It is not my purpose here, however, to review all the arguments for or against the use of qualitative methods in research. Instead, I will confine myself to enumerating those aspects of intensive interviewing which made it most applicable to a study of black musicians in Nashville.

Most importantly, the emphasis in intensive interviewing is on exploring the issues through the responses of the interviewee. The central

intent, therefore, of this method is that of facilitating renditions of an actor's reality. Such realities cannot be communicated nor understood by presenting a respondent with a fixed series of scales or questions and answers and asking him to find his place among them. While such techniques may have much to recommend--they are, after all, directly feedable into a computer--they do not, and cannot, allow the respondent to tell his own story and, as I have noted, it is this story and its meaning to the actor which was my central concern in undertaking this study.

Underlying the intensive interview is an acknowledgement of the symbolic nature of language and an assumption that the meanings of statements, words or realities cannot be taken for granted. Thus, this form of interview provides a situation where rapport may be established and freely flowing conversation sustained. In such a setting the interviewer is best able to probe the other--to understand nuances and to clarify statements.

Finally, by understanding the respondent's universe of discourse, the interviewer can enter into or share the other's reality. It is in this way that we can have faith in both the validity of qualitative findings and in their correspondence to the reality of our respondents' experience.

All of the first interviews were tape recorded. Such recording serves one basic purpose. Since the aim of the interview is the establishment of a rapport that will facilitate conversation, tape recordings are an asset to the extent that they allow the interviewer to pay full attention and to become fully involved with the proceedings.

There are some who argue that the presence of a tape recorder inhibits respondents in the remarks they are willing to make. There are at least two

reasons why I do not believe this to have occurred in this study. First, at the start of each interview, I indicated to respondents that they could turn the tape off any time they felt that they did not want their remarks recorded. No respondent requested that the tape be turned off before or during an interview. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, most individuals were not aware of or forgot that the tape recorder was operating. In several instances, when I changed tapes, individuals expressed surprise and amusement that "it" had been on all along. Again, in no case did they ask that it be stopped or that portions of what they said be erased. In sum, the recorder seemed to make no difference to respondents. It was, however, of great importance to me in that it allowed my full concentration on the individual's remarks.

Participant Observation

In addition to interviewing, primary data was collected through participant observations. According to Denzin, "Participant observation is a commitment to adopt the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day-to-day experience" (Denzin, 1970:185). To adopt the perspective of those studied

...means that the evolution and unfolding of social action through time and across situation must be followed as completely as possible and this forces the investigator to analyze events that occurred before his presence into the field and to record all the relevant events that occur after his presence (Denzin, 1970:185).

Becker (1951), Stebbins (1968), Cameron (1954) among others, all mention the critical importance of participant observation for studying the jazz musician. All cite participant observation (i.e., the musician/sociologist role) as the procedure employed for collecting data

and making emphatic interpretations in their respective studies of the jazz musician. Becker reveals in his article that he

...gathered the material for this study by participating with musicians in the variety of situations that made up their work and leisure lives. At the time I did my study, I had played the piano professionally for several years and was active in musical circles in Chicago (Becker, 1963:84)

According to Cameron

...a thorough investigation of jazzmen demands that one be both jazzman and social scientist, some musical competence is necessary in order to gain entree and establish rapport, some social science background is necessary in order to abstract and generalize accurately about the behavior observed (Cameron, 1954:177).

To be a musician, therefore, while neither necessary nor sufficient for purposes of this research, was an undeniable asset. Since the study was furthermore one of black musicians, likewise being black was an asset for carrying out this project. Being a black musician made it easy to make numerous visitations as a participant observer in a variety of places and situations where black musicians work. We visited churches on Sunday and during the week where there were special programs and where black musicians performed. The bars, taverns, nightclubs, concert halls, lounges, hotels, and so on were also included in my participant observation. On some occasions, the investigator also performed but still managed to maintain his posture as field investigator. Private functions like dances, parties, and wedding receptions were also included in my participant observation. Generally speaking wherever black musicians or black-led groups had performed or were still performing, this investigator visited them while in the field. While there, I listened, talked, observed, and recorded the ordinary and extraordinary kinds of conversations and activities that occurred among musicians and significant others. I kept a journal of field

notes from 1980 to 1984. These were added to field notes I had recorded from time to time between 1975 and 1978.

In addition, I conversed with promoters, booking agents, radio and TV personalities, nightclub managers and owners, ministers, union administrators and others who are in some way a part of or have some input or insight on black musicians. Presidents or representatives of organizations that have employed black-led groups providing music for private or public functions, managers and/or owners of music stores where black musicians are known to patronize; music teachers and tutors, some of whose students are now professional musicians were also included in field observation and contact.

Other Data

Part of my secondary data base included general public and black oriented print media, radio and television programs and films which contained information relevant to our study. Seminars, conferences, symposia or any other educational or public service event dealing with music or musicians particularly in Nashville were also included in my field work.

Between 1981 and 1984, I visited the area libraries for relevant literature for this study. These included the Public Library, the Jean and Alexander Heard Library of Vanderbilt University, the Peabody Library, Fisk University and Tennessee State University Libraries. I perused the archives and special collections at the Fisk, Tennessee State and Vanderbilt University libraries. I made numerous visits to the Country Music Foundation Library and Media Center for additional material.

I obtained official statistics from various government agencies. National, Regional, State and Metro Nashville census data and information from other sources provided this investigator with valuable demographic and ecological material. I secured this data from the State Planning Office of the State of Tennessee, The Metropolitan Planning Commission of Nashville-Davidson County, The Urban Observatory, The Nashville Federation of Musicians, The Nashville Chamber of Commerce and The Department of Health and Environment of the State of Tennessee. Unpublished papers were also a crucial source of insight. The Nashville Music Association was also helpful in sharing some of its data with me.

V. DATA ANALYSES

Transcribing the interviews was a major part of the data analysis. I then read and reread the transcripts, looking especially at responses that answered questions related to the origin, role and status of black musicians in the black community and Nashville. From this analyses, I summarized each interview.

While going through this process, I attempted to discover commonalities and differences across interviews. I then compared the patterns of response by careers. Were giggers different from church musicians in terms of union membership or perception of sense of community? Are there career differences in family background or musical income? How did music industry musicians compare with music educators in terms of responding to the possible involvement of civil rights organizations in changing the system? Was there any difference across careers in terms of length of residency in Nashville or religious background? If there were

theoretically significant differences in responses across careers, they were noted in my summaries and reflections.

The quotes used in this study are typical responses to a given question or issue. They were chosen because (1) they represent in a clear way the modal response and feeling of the total or designated part of the interviewee sample or (2) they are typical of feelings and perceptions I encountered in the field as a participant observer. In short, the quotes are typical of a collective point of view on a given issue or situation.

The participant observation data were analyzed with the same purpose in mind. Fortunately, I had opportunities to observe in the field 95 percent of the musicians I interviewed. I was therefore in a position to compare verbal responses with actual behavior in the field. I observed the interactions among musicians, between musicians and audience and in some nightclubs, the interaction between the musicians and management.

I observed other patterns in the nightclubs. We observed the frequency of drink or food ordering as an indication of the money flow from patron to the "establishment." We observed the sex ratio and age distribution of the audience, the price of the drinks, and the presence or absence of a cover charge or a drink minimum. These and other field observations in the nightclubs, churches, studios and elsewhere were recorded.

My analysis focused on discovering patterns of similarities and differences among the musicians relative to shared attitudes and behavior. How did musicians define themselves and how are those definitions manifested in the course of interaction with others? What is music (or a form of music) to black musicians and how is this definition symbolized in

social behavior? What do they expect from audiences? In connection with this, how do black musicians react to an audience wanting to hear country music? What symbols do our black musicians collectively cite as an indication that this expectation is fulfilled or not fulfilled? I sought answers to these and other relevant questions in my collection and analysis of field and interview data.

When it was time to code the interviews for the frequency runs on those variables selected for quantitative analysis, my procedure was to read and reread my diary (transcripts and field notes) several times and for each item select a general set of themes or values that fitted the various responses or patterns of responses to a given question. Forty percent of the items were pre-coded; some of those precodes were either revised or replaced with new codes. For the remaining material, codes were derived after the field period and verified through interjudge agreement.

To the extent that our analyses sought to discover underlying meanings and patterns of relationships, our analyses was primarily but not exclusively qualitative. Without engaging in a pro and con debate on a basically qualitative approach to analyzing data (supplemented with some statistical information for description and comparison) let me emphasize that exploring the "world" of the black musician was ideally suited for qualitative research because it proved to be a developing, ongoing process with many stages. It was a subject too fluid for say, pay panel analysis. It was penetrable only by allowing the field work to generate and analyze data from which a grounded profile of black musicians could emerge. From this profile, we could determine whether or to what extent the deviance model fits our black musician.

VI. THEORETICAL BASIS

A methodology which focuses attention on shared values that are expressed through interaction with others embraces the principles of symbolic interactionism. Denzin asserts that

...a field strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, respondent and informant interviewing, direct participation and observation and introspection...implies a commitment either conscious or unconscious by the observer to basic principals of symbolic interactionism (Denzin 1970:185,186).

W.I. Thomas states one basic principle of symbolic interactionism relevant to our study (Thomas, 1928). According to Thomas, "If men define situations as real, they are real in the consequences," that is, what is believed to be true or real has more important social consequences than objective truth. In fact, "what is" is a product of "what is thought to be."

To analyze "society" is to break it up into components for study: social roles, social strata and classes, institutions, culture, organizations, communities. These concepts identify structural units of society. Yet, in the last analysis, society or communities are made up of individual human beings. To discuss abstract social units exclusively carried the risk that the human individual will be forgotten or neglected. To understand - to grasp - the social world of a group requires an exploration and interpretation of their perception of things along with "demographic" data - in essence, a joint collection, analyses and interpretation of both subjective and objective data.

To a larger extent human beings create their own "objective worlds"; when they act and interact, they bring to bear their own assessments,

attitudes and interpretations and act on their understanding of what is going on and what the situation entails. The methodology of this study was oriented towards the discovery and formulation of a grounded descriptive profile of the collective definition of the situation for blacks musicians in Nashville as articulated primarily by black musicians themselves. For the internal structure and social location of the professional black musical community in Nashville (whether best described in terms of political economy, internal colony, split-labor market, nation/class or some other relevant model) are at least influenced by the perceptions of those who are it. Thus, symbolic interactionism was the theoretical basis of both the procedure and focus of the study and it from this model that certain questions were formulated in the interview guide.

To put it all together, the advantage of a field interactionist approach that conforms to the canons of scientific investigation outweigh and minimize the effects of potential disadvantages such as reactivity or insider bias. In essence, a clearly defined methodology based on a clearly defined theoretical rationale assures the reliability of the procedure, instrument and investigator and produces a replicatable study.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS

I. WHEN AND WHERE BORN

Our basic task was to interview a sufficient number of black musicians in Nashville, Tennessee to ascertain their backgrounds in music, and the situations in which they found themselves today. Compiling a roster of some 66 such musicians we interviewed 31 of them, all persons who had been preselected according to their career in music. Our first series of questions concerned where and when they were born and other such questions relating to their beginnings.

The oldest person interviewed was born in 1911 and the youngest in 1962. In terms of measures of central tendency, their mean age is 40.8, being born in 1944. Finally 45.2% were born between the time period of 1931 and 1958.

Eighty percent of the interviewees were born in urban settlements remember that the modal person was born in 1944. In that year, in Tennessee, 36.4% of the total population was urban.⁶ When we ask what percent of blacks were urban born in Tennessee in 1944, we find that approximately 26.5% of blacks were so born.⁷ Thus our sample is more than twice the proportion born urban for the total population and more than 3 times the proportion urban for blacks.

6

Taken from Tennessee Statistical Abstracts (1974).

7

Given by the Tennessee Department of Health and Environment.

Nine of ten interviewees were born in the South defined as the general area south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River.⁸ Of those born in the South, 16 were from Tennessee, three were from Alabama, three were from North Carolina and two were from Georgia. Of those born outside the South, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan each were represented with a native interviewee. Only one of the 31 interviewees was born outside the United States, in this case, Jamaica.

Returning to the Southern region and to those born in the state of Tennessee, 55% were born in this state, eleven in the city where we conducted our research, Nashville. To summarize our findings at this point, our modal interviewee was born in 1944, in the South, and in Tennessee. Within Tennessee, eleven were born in Nashville. Combining those who were born in Nashville with those who migrated here, three percent have been here two years or less; another three percent have been here 5 to 9 years. The modal interviewee, however, has been here more than 20 years.

As we indicated, the majority were urban born. Within this designation, the interviewees stated that their neighborhoods were predominately black (80%); only 15% said that their neighborhoods were "roughly equally black and white," while only 4% characterized their neighborhoods as "mainly white."

8

This definition conforms to the list of states constituting the South as identified by the U.S. Census Bureau: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

II. CLASS BACKGROUND

The urban nature of our sample of black musicians, combined with their mainly suburban residences, suggests a middle class status for their families of origin. Such is indeed the case when we asked our interviewees to assess their families' socioeconomic status. Two-thirds of the interviewees assessed the status of their families of origin as being either middle or upper middle class.

The relatively high status of our interviewees is further attested to by the fact that 93 percent of them reside in either private homes or private apartments; only 7 percent said that they were raised in public housing projects; clearly, these soon-to-become black musicians were at least middle class, Southern born and urban bred. The following response is illustrative.

WHEN AND WHERE WERE YOU BORN?

I was born in Nashville, Tennessee in 1930.

SINCE YOUR BIRTH WHERE HAVE YOU LIVED AND FOR HOW LONG?

The preponderance of my life has been in Nashville and approximately two years in the Army (where I served in various places). After serving, the rest of my time has been spent in Nashville.

WHO RAISED YOU?

I was reared by my mother and father.

WHERE DID THEY WORK DURING YOUR GROWING UP YEARS?

They were both teachers in the Metropolitan Nashville School System. (Sheldon Int 1, 1983)

What was their experience like -- growing up black, in the south, after being born in 1944, in a suburb of middle to upper middle class parents?

Well, I think I had a happy childhood. I suppose it could have been a lot better had I had the material things that I wanted, but I always was involved in things that kept me preoccupied with piano lessons when I was only 7 and someone, my grandmother, gave us an old piano and that kept me tied up. I was in Girl Scouts, I was in

different organizations in school. Always in some sort of contest with somebody. And, as I got into junior high school, I wasn't very social as far as dating or anything was concerned, I was just more or less wrapped up in some sort of performing always. I was always in band, or chorus, or something (Faith Int 1, 1983).

Very pleasant. Including my early adolescence and teen years. I did things that most of the boys did in my neighborhood and at school. Played football, baseball. The only thing that I remember was that during these formative years, everybody else had a lot of time to play, I had less time because my mother insisted on my taking piano lessons and learning to play the piano. And for some reason, she really pushed me more so than my brother. My brother didn't have to measure up in musical interest, but for some reason, my mother just had this feeling that I was destined to be a piano player and so I remember taking piano lessons regularly. I was really attracted to the drums and eventually came to realize that the techniques for playing the piano were similar to those of the drums. I also found out later on that most piano players are frustrated drummers and most drummers are frustrated piano players. I remember that as being one of the things that stand out in my mind (Myron Int 1, 1983).

These children were not impoverished ones of the ghetto, not deprived of the physical necessities of life, but active, involved, well nurtured children of the middle class striving for something greater. Their mothers required them to take piano lessons, to sing in the church choir and their fathers enforced the discipline their mother desired.

My father was sort of soft-spoken, but when he spoke, he spoke with authority and everybody listened to whatever he had to say. He was the less vocal of the two (Lyle Int 1, 1983).

But their mothers and fathers were only a part of their stories. For in addition to their parents, they also had grandmothers and grandfathers, aunts and uncles, cousins and others in the multigenerational and extended family characteristic of the black experience - families who also helped them on their way.

WHO RAISED YOU?

Relatives, grandmother, uncles and aunts. I never had anyone to say you do this or do that. My mother was always working, and I would more or less 'raise myself' so, I never had that. I lived with my

grandmother and she had other children that were aunts and uncles of mine (Jeff Int 1, 1982).

... a closely knit extended family with strong and religious grandmothers. One of my grandmothers moved in with us and her strength and support was my strength (Mike Int 1, 1983).

Thus far we have seen how our interviewees, being born Southern, in 1944, in Tennessee and of course, black, how they experienced their childhoods. In that we noted some basic commonalities and differences. However much our sample differs in the foregoing respects, when we turn to the impact of the church upon their musical careers, they display on almost uniform commonality.

III. RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

Twenty-two of the 31 interviewees stated that their assessment of the impact of the church on their music was significant. Twenty-six of them stated that the impact of the church generally was significant.

WHAT IMPACT DID CHURCH INVOLVEMENT HAVE ON YOU PERSONALLY?

Very strong to me at the time. I took it very seriously ...I was a firm believer and we spent a lot of time there, baptized as well...The church shaped my beliefs and my character. I was active in the choir, played the organ and was an usher (Drew Int 1, 1983).

My church reinforced what I was being taught at home, it impressed upon me that I was supposed to live a disciplined and reserved kind of life. Sunday school teachers seemed to stress living a morally responsible life, and I internalized those teachings as I was growing up (Sheldon Int 1, 1983).

Of the 22, 18 stated that the impact of the church was significantly, positive, the other four saying that it was "somewhat favorable."

....I guess it had the greatest impact. When I came to Nashville and started to work at this church, it was the base for the music that I am in now which is gospel music. So I heard the choir there and became impressed with their musical program. And then I thought it

was extremely interesting. I knew nothing of gospel music and that was my first real exposure to it. I had heard some phrases of it here and there, but not on a continuous basis. This music was my strength (Barry Int 1, 1982).

Well, it helped me sometimes to make decisions - the right decisions. for the most part, the church was a pretty good influence in my developing years ... More positive than anything else...Some problems with the in fighting but the influence on me was alright... (Myron Int 1, 1983).

Thus to having been born in 1944, in the South, in Tennessee, to middle and upper middle class black parents, we can add that the black church had a most significant influence. This is in complete conformity to what other investigators have reported about the role of the church in black American society.

Wilmore views the black church as "the custodian" of black culture and provides this interpretation of the black church's role in upholding values of two social worlds.

It is at once the most reactionary and the most radical of Black institutions, the most imbued with the mythology and values of white America and yet the most proud, the most independent and indigenous collectively in the Black community (Wilmore 1972:XIII).

Mays and Nicholson assert that the:

church was the first community or public organization that the Negro actually owned and completely controlled...the Negro church is the most thoroughly owned and controlled public institution of the race (Mays and Nicholson 1971:288).

Viewing the black church as the context for human development for black people they state

With races and individuals, there must be an opportunity for the development of initiative and self-direction if real character is to be developed and if hidden potentialities are to be brought to the fore. Certainly the Negro church has been the training school that has given the masses of the race opportunity to develop (May and Nicholson 1971:288).

The church had an influence generally but it also had an influence specifically on the careers in music which our interviewees were to pursue: Evelyn started to sing in the choir at age 5, Reuben played the piano in church beginning at age 9, Robert and Mike playing piano, organ and singing in two choirs at a very early age. Mildred and Dorothy made their debut before an audience in the church. Debra gave a recital at the age of four. Walter sang in the male choir and played in the church band. Elizabeth was the official church pianist at a very early age and as a result of this experience learned how to read music fluently. It was in the church that Carolyn, Jack and Boris discovered their talent in music and were given responsibilities and opportunities to refine it in the overall music program of their churches. What did they say of this experience?

Oh, I love to sing. As I told you I learned to play violin and clarinet. All coming up I've been singing ever since I was five and I guess that's why I enjoyed church so much, because I enjoyed singing and it's like in my Baptist Church it's like a feeling within and an out from all the problems you might have had during that week in school, that's like being able to play without having any trouble, no homework or anything. I looked forward to things like that, like an enjoyment and I loved to sing and I still love it so it was a good background to get me into and developing my voice I guess. It was great... (Evelyn Int 1, 1981).

A lot. Commitment. I worked in the church, from my earliest recollection, the youth choir, the children's choir and it was always, let's say, I was willing to do it. It wasn't a matter of my parents making me because I really didn't feel the strong religious pressure on me. Not like I felt from my grandmother. It was a positive impression (Dorothy Int 1, 1983).

It gave me exposure to all kinds of music. Another resource, musical ideas to draw from and it put some soul in my music. I think it put that kind of depth of feeling in my music. It gave me a level of expressiveness that I probably would have gotten but because I was in the church, I got it there. I just attribute it to my church experience, a feeling for the notes; the desire on my part to communicate my musical thoughts to an audience I think was grounded in the church (Myron Int 1, 1983).

IV. MUSIC BACKGROUND

Let us now explore the question, how did our interviewees become musicians. Let us look at the influences that led to our respondents' emergence as music professionals.

First of all, our interviewees grew up in homes where the sound of music was prevalent and diverse. On a regular basis, they listened to music that came into their homes on the radio and television. They listened to the phonograph records and tapes brought into the home by parents and other relatives. In addition 70 percent of our respondents were exposed to a variety of music reflecting diverse musical tastes in the home. The parent(s) - the general home atmosphere - encouraged and stimulated our interviewees to appreciate music in all of its varied forms, styles, types, and expressions.

WHAT TYPE OF MUSIC WERE YOU EXPOSED TO IN YOUR HOME?

My mother had all our church records and she would listen to her church music and I fell in love with it. And blues and soul music - pop music - and jazz and classical came into our home. We even had some country music from time to time (Peter Int 1, 1983).

Religious music, classical music, easy listening and...rock and roll! And my parents did not tell me I could not listen to rock and roll. They let me listen to all types of music (Dorothy Int 1, 1983).

Only one respondent was forbidden to listen to a certain type of music .

Believe it or not, we used to listen to a lot of quartet music but white quartets. My grandfather was a singer who was fascinated by white quartets and the type of music they were singing....We listened to the Metropolitan Opera ...each Saturday. That was required listening. We were not allowed to listen to...the black station because of the type of music they played. The lyrics were suggestive and risqué and we were forbidden to listen to it. The blues and rhythm and blues and all that... (Reuben Int 1, 1983).

It may appear strange that any black person in the formative years would be forbidden to listen to forms of music generally defined and known as black created. Yet if we look again at the essential characteristic of our modal interviewee - urban, middle class, Southern born and 40 - this prohibition is not strange. It is consistent with what investigators have noted as the child socialization emphasis particular of that generation of black middle class families. Willie notes that

childhood is a period of guided training for the young in the households of the black middle class (Willie 1976:27).

They are taught music appreciation and the basic values of American mainstream culture including the

Puritan orientation toward work, success, and self-reliance so characteristic of the basic values of this nation (Willie 1976:23).

Frazier in one of his earlier studies declared that the black middle class family had become "largely oriented to the values of the American culture" (Frazier 1967:207).

Kronus asserts that the families of the black middle class during the time span our model interviewee was growing up

...exhibited a strong faith in education and personal accomplishment ... Their values, culture and almost total way of life was the best copy they could make from the white designs they so dearly cherished ... Their identity was based on ... an ... attempt to emulate the life style of upper class whites (Kromus 1971:11,12).

Thus jazz, blues and other things connected with blackness became for some middle class parents according to Jones

the numerous skeletons ... locked in the closet of (their) psyche, along with watermelons and gin ... (Jones 1968:11).

Therefore this prohibition was an extreme example of the general determination of middle class black families to prepare their offspring to

enter function and achieve in the broader cultural milieu of mainstream America.

In addition to the generalized and constant sound of music in the home, there was the personal influence of significant others (in the home and beyond) who stimulated in our interviewees an interest in becoming a musical artist. All of our interviewees grew up around relatives who were themselves musical in some way.

...I began to play a little tune with one finger at the age of three. My mother played and my father played and my grandmother and my aunt. So I came from a musical family... (Julie Int 1, 1983).

...I had this kind of atmosphere in my home and I think in that sense, my parents were really music oriented even though they themselves were not professional performers or technicians on an instrument (Myron Int 1, 1983).

Further, when asked to identify the person(s) they wanted to be like in their growing up years - their overall role model - fifty percent of our sample identified a musician and/or music educator as their role model during this critical stage in their life.

WAS THERE, WHILE YOU WERE GROWING UP, ANYBODY YOU WANTED TO BE LIKE?

Musicians...Harry Belafonte, Ray Charles, Little Richard and others. Locally my band director ... was my idol. He was a good disciplinarian, a good theory wise musician who knew the mechanics of music...We always respected and admired him... (Robert Int 1, 1982).

Yes, the teachers who were a part of the group that I gigged with when I was in school I was amazed at their ability to play such great music and teach their various subjects. So, I wanted to be educated... They made a tremendous impact on me ... (Mike Int 1, 1983).

When asked to identify the person who influenced them directly to play an instrument or sing, close to 60% of our interviewees indicated either a parent and/or some other relative in the extended home

I became interested (in the clarinet) when I had a cousin who was in the marching band. I was in elementary school at the time and I wanted to do it too after I saw him march in a parade ... He played the clarinet and that's what I wanted to play because I liked the way he played (Dick Int 1, 1983).

Before I came into this earth, my mother said, This is my musician, if she's a girl. This is going to be my musician. She will play the piano...There was no question about it. I had no say in it... (Mildred Int 1, 1983).

The other respondents identified someone (friend, teacher or other) outside the home as the direct influence to become a musical artist on a particular instrument

... the band director in Junior High School informed me that there was a need for some trumpet players in the band (I could play some piano already) but we don't have any trumpets. If you can find a trumpet I'll teach you how to play. So I told my parents I had a chance to play in the band if I had a trumpet. They found one for me purchased it and I started on my musical way with my trumpet because of my band director's influence (David Int 1, 1983).

Only one respondent indicated a slight "conflict" between what he wanted to do and what his parents wanted him to do

...the bishop (of the Methodist church) offered to ordain me. When he told my mother and father...they had great hopes for that...So I had a choice to make : to pursue the trumpet or go into the ministry...I...chose to stay with the trumpet ... I didn't go into the ministry (James Int 1, 1982).

This conflict was short-lived and resolved in favor of parental support for the musical interests of the interviewee:

My daddy told me I could play the trumpet as long as I didn't drink or gamble (James Int 1, 1982).

In summation, our interviewees grew up in an environment which stimulated within them a desire to become a musical artist and provided strong and positive support in their pursuit of musical goals. This is illustrated in the following descriptions given by the interviewees of the

overall reaction of parents, siblings, relatives and others to their musical aspirations and activities during the formative years.

My parents encouraged my playing. My mother didn't know too much about music but my father would warn me to stay away from dope and I stayed away from it...They were supportive of my music. Anytime I got the chance to play somewhere, they would approve and guide me - good guidance (David Int 1, 1983).

...I didn't have any problem with anybody. My parents showed up at every concert I played (Drew Int 1, 1983).

... Everybody was enthused and relieved that I could sing well. If you've got a child who is really into singing and can't sing, you know ...that's bad....Yeah, I think they were enthused and very relieved that I could sing (Delia Int 1, 1983).

V. MUSIC TRAINING

How then were these ambitions translated into the active process of learning to play and perform ultimately for money? In short, let us look at how they learned that musical craft . We shall examine musical training as a function of three general but interrelated processes (1) instruction, (2) skills development and (3) talent confirmation and refinement.

When asked 'How did you learn your musical skills,' the musicians in my study were more or less evenly divided among 3 response categories as primary source of training: self teaching, institutionalized instruction, and private instruction. When asked the more general question, 'How do black musicians learn their skills, over 50% indicated self teaching as the initial mode of learning. Implicit in the responses to both questions was the thought that musical instruction occurs through a combination of all three processes. This respondent expresses this thought clearly:

WHO TAUGHT YOU HOW TO PLAY, HOW DID YOU DEVELOP YOUR SKILLS?

Well, I take credit for a lot of that. You can have a teacher but the teacher can only give you a road map, what the student does with the materials. I was an average student at the time. As I got older my goals changed and I wanted to play better so I got involved with practicing and working out musical problems and I was always seeking knowledge so I'd travel here and there to study and meet other players.

As far as the oboe, the one man who helped me to the point where I started to like the instrument and enjoy playing was a teacher I had at Blair Academy when I was in school.

HOW DID THE BLACK MUSICIANS WHOM YOU KNOW, DEVELOP THEIR SKILLS ON THEIR INSTRUMENT?

It's all the same, You start out in the band - usually is the way it happens and you have a band director who gives you guidance. And if you become proficient on the instrument, you get a certain amount of pleasure from that and become more interested in what you are doing and spend more time working on it.

If you really enjoy it then you seek out private teachers which really helps because you get down to the nitty gritty and have somebody carefully tell you what are doing wrong.

IT WAS ALL THE SAME PATTERN?

Yeah, except the guitar players, especially the rock musicians, seldom had teachers from the start. They usually buy an instrument, sit in front the radio and listen and try to imitate the songs they hear. Then they pick up a few books here and there and work out the chords. It's a slow process but then eventually they get it (Drew Int 1, 1983).

To become a musician, receiving instruction must translate into the acquisition and development of basic skills - reading music at various levels of difficulty, the transformation of what is read into correct musical notes and the overall enhancement of technique through practice and in the context of interaction with and around other musicians. The interviewees in our sample practiced conscientiously and took advantage of opportunities to learn progressively the mechanics of playing their chosen instrument(s). The following illustrated this drive for skills development.

...I decided to become a jazz organist...because of a dare. A guy came to town...and man he could play that organ...I used to go and look at this guy and one night while we were watching him play...I said, 'You know, I believe I could learn to play the organ like that' and this guy who was with me said, 'Oh, man you could never learn to

play like that'...That made me mad so I said 'I'll show them'...I got me an organ and I practiced every day, twice, three times a day - on weekends for 6 or 7 months. I practiced at home and I would slip in during the daytime and practice at the club where this guy was playing on his organ which was a different brand. The barmaid would let me come in and practice some from mine. I wanted to know how to play on both and I developed on both organs because of constant practice on both... (Kenneth Int 1, 1983).

Thus, through consistent practice individually (and sometimes with others), our interviewees developed the ability to produce musical sound on an instrument and/or with their voices.

Training however is even more than mere instruction - more than the capacity to play written or improvised notes. Training also involves the confirmation and refinement of talent. What is talent? It is a special "natural ability or endowment" in some area of human activity. More specifically for the musician it is that ability to communicate -- to "sell" those written or improvised notes to an audience. To put it another way, it is the ability to "tell a story" musically with "horn" and/or voice by the utilization of instruction and technique. Thus, instruction and technique are the means by which talent is manifested . Our interviewees at key points in the training process performed in those settings that confirmed and nurtured their talent and contributed to their emergence as musicians. As mentioned before, the church was one such setting. Other settings were also available as illustrated by one interviewee.

The jam session is where you find out how good you are. I can attest to that . I would jam on Sunday afternoon or Saturday and musicians - great musicians from everywhere would show up for this...A rewarding learning experience because you have all levels of musicianship in jam sessions. A lot of times you're in a position where you may be the weakest link and you really have to put forth an effort to be in there because you don't want to look bad. I think this is necessary in the development of a good musician to be in this type of setting. I think it helped me a lot and gave me an opportunity to play with a lot of guys I never would have had an opportunity to play

with...When a guy comes to me and says, 'Man you can play, you are something else,' that lets me know I have talent (Frank Int 1, 1981).

To put it all together, our interviewees became musicians as a result of an environment in the home and/or the wider community that (1) supported their interest in that direction and (2) provided the incentive to get the training which in turn confirmed and refined their talent. As one musician put it, "You got to play to play." Our interviewees got a chance to play so that they could show that they could play. Through this process they became musicians.

CHAPTER IV

CAREERS FOR BLACK MUSICIANS

I. INTRODUCTION

We have dealt with the beginnings and the making of our interviewees into musicians -- how their roots, environment and training contributed to their emergence as musical artists. What careers are available to our interviewees as they enter the job market seeking employment as music professionals? In this section we will examine the various careers for our interviewees in Nashville -- their definitions, entry procedures, internal relations, modal interviewee and how they (career modal interviewees) compare with the modal interviewee for the total sample. We will discuss the relations between the various careers and how these careers are stratified.

Drawing on the initial interviews and participant observation in the field five years prior to and during the first phase of research, we discovered four major music career categories that fit the overall work patterns of active black musicians in Nashville: music educators, music industry, church musicians and "giggers." Each interviewee was classified into one of the four careers. This career classification was based on main or primary source of musical income for each interviewee. This criterion was used because there were some musicians who could have been placed into more than one career. The placement of each interviewee into a given career was directed by information generated by participant observation, field informants and secondary data (if any were available). But the ultimate test of the accuracy of the classifications was the interviews themselves. The interviews confirmed the accuracy of

classification for in no case did any interview indicate a need to reclassify an interviewee into a career different from that assigned before the interview. Now let us look at each career individually.

II. MUSIC EDUCATION

Music education has traditionally been a strong emphasis of higher education in black Nashville. Curricula in the music departments at the two historically black universities, Fisk and Tennessee State, were designed to meet a strong demand for music teachers in the schools, colleges and universities of black America. This demand was strong during the time span of our modal interviewee's college age years. Forty-five percent of our sample majored in music during their college years. But this major was oriented around producing music teachers rather than performers. This fact coupled with the fact that our interviewees (whether music majors or not) continued to perform "on the side" for money while enrolled in study and after graduation has given rise to "music educator" as a career for the performing black musician. For our study a music educator is a music performer who is also an institutional music instructor and/or administrator. Music teaching is the vocation, music performing is the avocation. Six or 19% of our interviewees are music educators. The oldest music educator interviewed was born in 1928, the youngest in 1957. The mean age for those interviewed in this career is 45.2, being born in 1939. Thus in terms of age, our modal music educator is five years older the modal interviewee for the total sample.

All of the music educators were urban born. Four were urban born in the South. Of those born in the South, three were born in Tennessee, two

were born in Nashville. The other Southern born interviewees are from Alabama. The interviewee born outside the South was born in Chicago and is the father of one of the Nashville born music educators. Our sole foreign born (Jamaica) interviewee is in this career. Up to this point our median music educator is five years older and even more urban than the modal interviewee for the total sample.

Two out of three of our music educators have lived in Nashville for twenty or more years. All have lived in Nashville for at least fifteen years. Therefore, the modal music educator has been in Nashville as long as the modal interviewee for the total sample.

To summarize, the modal interviewee for the music educator career is 45, urban born in the South and has lived in Nashville for more than twenty years. Except for the five year age difference, the modal music educator is no different from the overall modal interviewee in terms of when and where born and raised.

Entry

How then does one enter into the career of performing music educator? The minimum requirement for teaching in the public school (elementary and secondary) system in Nashville is an undergraduate degree with certification in teaching subject area(s). All of our music educators are college graduates. Three have earned a graduate degree and one a PhD in music. Four are teachers; of those four, three teach music in the Metro School system and one teaches at a local seminary. The other two are primarily administrators, one is chairman of the music department at a local university and university organist, the other is director of music

for the Metro School System -- the first black appointed to that position. Thus, our music educators are indeed educating as a result of earning the credentials necessary for employment in the teaching profession.

But these interviewees are more than teachers. Lance has played a series of engagements at various local nightspots and is now playing a variety of private functions. Lyle is a member of a group that has played at different fraternity and sorority dances within and beyond black Nashville. Jeff plays with a group that has been engaged at a predominantly white patronized nightclub in Nashville for fifteen years. No other black group according to my information has ever sustained a job in that type setting as long as this group. Dorothy has sung with the Nashville symphony at the Tennessee Performing Arts Center and has been presented in concert from time to time in church and the various concert/theater halls in Nashville. Reuben plays organ in one of the largest churches in Nashville and is engaged from time to time in university, concert and church settings.

How then does a music educator become established as a professional performer? For the new (and unknown) teacher in town it is necessary to get the word around. By meeting those who are "gigging" and others who know those who are "gigging" and showcasing one's ability whenever an opportunity comes while in school or in church at a meeting or wherever the setting may be, it becomes known among fellow musicians, significant others (teachers, band directors et al) and the broader community that this music teacher can also perform. Thus through personal interaction that exposes ones talent to others, the music educator secures employment as a performer, in a variety of contexts.

It must be pointed out again however that our modal music educator is not a recent arrival but a long term Nashville resident who grew up and received his formal college training in Nashville. (In fact two out of three music educators are graduates of Tennessee State University.) It also must be pointed out that our modal interviewee became a performer before becoming a teacher even before or during study in the undergraduate program. According to one retired music educator, Nashville with its higher education institutions was a place of high employment for black musicians during the college years of our modal music educator.

Nashville, Tennessee described in educational and cultural 'circles' as the 'Athens of the South', has been the 'Mecca' and 'pilgrimming center' for black musicians since the early 1900's. Nashville like many Metropolitan cities throughout the country, had its educational and professional institutions to which many black musicians gravitated. The educational and professional institutions -- Fisk University, Tennessee State (University), Meharry Medical College...were attractive sources for black students and teachers alike to pursue their training and teaching and supplement their budget and livelihood by playing musical engagements (gigs) in the Nashville community. During the 30's, 40's, 50's and early 60's...Vanderbilt fraternities, Meharry fraternities, all the educational institutions and social institutions were fertile field for weekend employment for black musicians. Some clubs, white and black, gave steady nightly employment through the week... (Chavis 1982:1,2).

Therefore, for our modal music educator, performing not only proceeded institutional teaching but might have been the means by which his training in music education was attained.

In summation, our 45 year old, Nashville born and reared music educator became a part of the "gigging" scene as a performer prior to formal training in music education. While enrolled in study, our modal music educator continued to "gig" on the weekend and/or through the week. Upon completion of both an undergraduate (and later a graduate degree), he

emerges as a teacher of music and continues to perform as well.

IntraCareer Relations

So far we have examined the origins and development of "music educator" as a career for the performing black musician in Nashville. In the light of what has been discussed, let us examine the question how do black music educators in Nashville relate to each other? What are the internal relations among black music educators in Nashville?

We can answer that question by identifying the common points of social interaction of our music educators at various stages in their development and the commonalities they share as professional educators and performers. Three are musical products of the Metro Nashville school system. As such, they have a common frame of reference. As members of their respective bands, they played together or saw each other playing at the football games, in the parades, the annual band concert and "gigs" during their growing up and adolescent years. Four are products of Tennessee State University -- a common alma mater where their paths intersected as fellow students in the music program and/or as alumni. They studied in a common setting and played in various settings during their study as undergraduate and graduate students at Tennessee State. On a broader more inclusive level, as professionals in music education, they come together at various meetings, professional seminars, in-service workshops, band, symposia and other professional and social gatherings. They "relate" to a certain extent as black music educators. For band directors, this social identity as black music educators is manifested, for example, by their perception that their bands perform and march differently from white directed bands.

This is illustrated by this interviewee who wrote a graduate term paper based on interviews with a cross section of black band directors in Nashville.

I did a small study on the different types of marching bands. The different styles between white (directed) marching and the black marching band...Interviewed (a number of retired and active band directors at the secondary and college level)...By compiling all this together..I...came to the conclusion that the black marching bands have a certain style, they are definitely different from white marching bands; they have more originality...black marching bands march differently...Most...white marching bands...in Nashville...march more in the same style, all they do is change uniforms, but the black bands...have different arm movements...different leg movements...different styles of horn players...And that also comes out in the music. Most of them (black bands) play popular music, compared to strictly marching style music (played by white bands)...We strive to be different. Rather than try to be like the norm (Lyle, Int 1, 1983).

Finally, music educators continue to perform with established or ad hoc groups in the clubs, private clubs, fraternity and sorority houses, public events for private functions, dances, parties, wedding receptions and occasionally in the churches and other places.

This discussion indicates that performing black music educators by virtue of common experience and profession and the face-to-face interaction that comes from being institutional teachers of music tend to know each other. This is reinforced by performing together or with others or seeing each other perform for pay in diverse settings in Nashville. The data suggest an informal sense of common identity as black music educators. It is informal because though they know one another and perhaps culturally identify as blacks, they have not formally organized as a group or coalition for any purpose. One interviewee lamented...

the black band directors know each other and gig sometimes together -- at least some of them. But we have not taken the big step-coming together as brothers and sisters in the profession and

talking, sharing to stay on top of things...We need some unity among ourselves as black music educators (Lance, Int 2, 1982).

But the potential is there and because of this potential, the internal relations within the career group are somewhat strong and potentially positive.

III. MUSIC INDUSTRY

Let us move onto the next career available to black musicians here in Nashville. With its multiple and varied industries, Nashville has been ranked by the Economic Base of American Cities as the 8th most diversified economy out of the top 101 cities in the nation. But, the greatest force in focusing worldwide attention to Nashville is the city's dynamic music industry which emerged during the 1950's and was sparked by the growth and development of the famed Grand Ole Opry, now in its 55th year of continuous live broadcasting. Hemphill provides this synopsis of the growth of the music industry and its expanding economic impact on Nashville.

Ever since 1925, Nashville had hosted WSM radio's Grand Ole Opry: the oldest continuing radio show in America...after World War II, small recording studios began popping up here and there to accommodate the colony of country musicians and writers living in or around Nashville to be near the Opry. Then somebody else opened up a sheet-music publishing house. Finally, by the early Fifties, all of the makings of a recording complex were there: publishing houses, competing record pressing plants, talent agencies, clothiers specializing in show costumes, shops selling guitars and other musical instruments and even boarding houses...And the recording business had blossomed into a full-blown industry adding first \$30 million then \$50 million and finally \$80 million a year to the Nashville economy...As the sixties came to an end, country music meant nearly \$100 million a year to Nashville's economy... (Hemphill 1970:29-31).

Nashville has become the headquarters for the country music world and "the second-largest recording center in the world, only a step behind New York City" (Hemphill 1970:30). Today more than 180 recording companies

(53 in 1970), forty recording studios (in 1965 there were only ten), more than 1500 union musicians and songwriters served by more than 29 talent agencies, seven record pressing plants, and over 450 song publishing firms are found in Nashville. Today, the city's burgeoning music industry has spawned a tide of tourism currently valued at more than \$300 million. This tremendous industry has given Nashville its other nickname, "Music City U.S.A." The music produced by this industry is known as the "Nashville Sound".

What role then have blacks played in this dramatic emergence of a multimillion dollar music industry in Nashville? After all country music is "the white man's world" (Hemphill 1970:162). But some historians have noted and a few have documented the strong influence of black music and musicians on the white country musicians who gravitated to Nashville -- the big name stars who achieved fame and fortune and the hundreds of dreamers seeking a place among the stars.⁸ Investigators have noted a more direct role blacks have played in this process. For example, the late Deford Bailey, the tremendously gifted black harmonica player and mascot for early Grand Ole Opry has been cited as a major protagonist in the birth and growth of the music industry. In fact, Deford Bailey was the first artist to be recorded in Nashville when he cut eight masters for Victor on October 2, 1958.⁹ It was Deford Bailey who coined the word "Grand Ole

8

See, for example, Hemphill (1970) or Hay (1945). Also the Country Music Foundation and Library in Nashville contains a special collection (journal and periodical articles) on blacks in country music.

9

Hemphill (1970):164

10
Opry.

In view of black participation and influence on the evolution of country music from a piece of regional culture to a major industry, the "music industry" constitutes a career for black musicians in Nashville. The music industry as career embraces those black musicians who are known to work predominantly in the music studios and other related music firms in the Nashville area.

There are four interviewees in the music industry. Our oldest music industry careerist was born in 1941, the youngest in 1955. The average age for this career is 37. Our modal studio musician is three years younger than our modal interviewee for the total sample.

All of our studio musicians are urban born in the South. Only one, however, was born in Nashville. The other three were born outside of Tennessee. Two of our studio musicians lived in Nashville for twenty or more years. The other two have lived in Nashville for an average of 9.5 years. Our modal studio musician has lived in Nashville for an average of about fifteen years. Thus, the modal studio musician has lived in Nashville for around five years less than our modal interviewee.

To summarize, our modal studio musician is Southern and urban born and so is our modal interviewee. But there are differences. One difference is that of age; our studio musician is three years younger than our modal interviewee. But the major difference is that our modal studio musician was born outside of Nashville and Tennessee. Remember, 35% of our

10
See Chavis (1983).

total sample was born in Nashville and the modal music educator was Nashville born. Thus, our modal studio musician is a Nashville migrant whose average length of residency is long term but not as long as that of our modal interviewee.

Entry

How then does one become a studio musician? To answer this question, let us deal with some broader issues related to it. Our musicians attach a special significance to working in the studios. Sixty-two percent of our total sample perceive that the studios (or record companies) are the only places that provide full-time work for black musicians not in music education. My data supports this perception because all the musicians in the music industry career are full-time (or making a full-time income). A job as a studio musician constitutes the big-time in Nashville; it is viewed as a real indication of advancement up the career ladder. This perception is consistent with the data. For example, the performance or playing annual average income (as opposed to the teaching income) made by music educators is around \$6,500. Three out of four studio musicians, however, are making \$17,000 or more annually. The other studio interviewee is working on a special project and has by choice reduced the studio session time by fifty percent. But even under these conditions, the annual income approaches a full-time level. In fact, one of the studio musicians is a former music educator who resigned from a teaching position in the Metro Nashville school system to pursue a career in the music industry. Now this former music teacher turned studio musician is making more in the music industry than he would have made as a combination music educator/performer. Therefore, when they (our total sample) were asked to

identify the qualities necessary for advancement, they by virtue of perception and reality were in essence being asked what does it take to enter a career as a studio musician.

Responses to the question, how many black musicians work on Music Row¹¹ further illustrates the blend between perception and reality in terms of the music industry career. The perception of 80% of our interviewees was that no more than five black musicians work on Music Row. (Sixty-five percent estimated only 1 to 3 black musicians work in a music row career). Again, there is a real and perceived link between full-time music employment outside of music education and studio employment as a music professional. Nearly nine out of ten respondents indicated that there were no more than ten full-time black musicians (inclusive of studio musicians) who are not in music education. (Again, we should note here that all full-time musicians in my sample are studio musicians and all studio musicians are full-time musicians).

In addition, this same proportion felt that there is a large number of white musicians who fall into that category. The census data indicates a similar pattern. According to this source, over 1400 of the civilian working population in Metropolitan Nashville, Davidson County identified themselves as musicians/composers. (This category, musicians/composers,

¹¹"Music Row (or sometimes Record Row) is the local name for an eight-square block area about two miles from downtown, in an urban renewal area...where almost all of Nashville's music related businesses operate out of a smorgasbord of renovated...houses and sleek new office buildings. [It is] the heartbeat of the entire country music industry" (Hemphill, 1970:35,36).

music educators includes predominantly Music Row employed, involved or affiliated musicians/vocalists or composers). Only 43 of those who identified themselves as musicians are black. On the other hand, over 1300 or about 96% of the 1427 self-identified musicians in the census data are white. Thus, today the music industry is a high status career into which only a few black musicians have ascended.

Again, how does one get into this exclusive career? The responses from the total sample generally, and the studio musicians in particular, were more or less evenly divided among three categories of explanation (generated by the responses): 1) connections/contact, 2) multiple talents/versatility, and 3) persistence and determination. Implicit in the assessments is the thought that the three qualities are inextricably linked, that is, it takes all three to advance into the music industry and those who do get into the Music Row scene have more of these qualities than others. The following from our music industry careerists are illustrative:

It's stickability. I was reading this book by David Swartz, The Magic of Thinking Big, saying that 5% of it is ability but 95% is stickability; are you willing to hang in there? Will you go that extra mile like Jesus--he went that extra mile for a cause. When times got rough he didn't turn around and say 'I'm not going to get my head busted', but what did he do, he went on anyway. Jesus gave us one gift if we would only use and utilize that one gift from each day to everyday, we would achieve any kind of goal we want and that is to keep that love in your heart and work at what you want, knowing what you want (Terence, Int 1 1981).

I'm dealing with my brother about that right now. He is a trombone player. I say, '_____ it's a shame that you're right here in Nashville and not in one of these schools. You're sitting around here waiting to be called when you need to be doing the calling,' That's the difference. So you need to go to school and get you a degree for arranging and a few other things, therefore when they call you, you're not just a trombone player. You're an arranger. You can do something else along in the session. That's the difference. Multiple talents. You've got to be able to do 3 or 4 things very well today if you are

black, like it was a long time ago and twice as good as your white contemporaries (Mike Int 1, 1983).

Those not in the music industry make the same observation:

Contacts. I won't go so far as to say that some of them are better but, the ones that I see making it are the cream of the crop, and it's who they know and it's who you know in anything you do. Plus they have a lot to offer, they know that and they work hard at it (Evelyn, Int 2, 1981).

Some can go to the top. The number is very few, but most of them will just be doing it for years just because they like it. Given existing circumstances unless they have persistence and determination, I think music as any other profession you want to give to the people you have to have those other extra qualities of persistence and determination and strategy. If you lack those, I don't care what you have, what talent or whatever, you are not going to make it to the top (Mildred Int 1, 1983).

You have to be able to do the job. You have to be willing to go and do networking.

WHAT DOES THAT MEAN?

Let people know you and you get to know them. Hang out. Visit folks. Go to the concerts. Politics involved and be confident. Don't be a jerk but let people know you can do the job and are available at any time (Drew, Int 2, 1983).

The music industry musicians were asked how they personally became a part of the music industry scene in Nashville. Here are some responses:

There were two black guys who were instrumental in my coming to the Music Row area...One was playing a recording session for...a guy from the Muscle Shoals area. He had some hit songs which had been recorded by numerous pop and country acts. His group was doing a demo session and he asked me to come over and play the piano...the session turned out great. [It] ended up that I wrote a couple of songs. After that we got the songs cut. I sort of disappeared [after then] out of the music industry because I didn't know anybody except one person...A friend of mine...a white guy told me Terence you should 'come back over there and hang out more, so I started going there on my lunch hour. From that point on the president of the record company...and I started writing songs with his son-in-law and we started getting songs cut and then they decided to take me on as a songwriter. This is when I resigned from teaching in 1976 (Terence, Int 1, 1981).

...the man who is responsible is Mike. He heard me in concert with a group I formed at Fisk (University)...So before I got out of school, Mike took me in the studio and cut the first demos on me ever and he wrote them. I graduated, went on tour [with a Nashville group] to Africa...I came back to Nashville...I really got into it. I realized I could make money doing...what I had done all my life...singing...and...I started singing more and more sessions and that's what we have been doing ever since...Staying power and contact are what got me here (Delia, Int 1, 1983).

To summarize, our modal 37 year old studio musician, Southern, urban born outside of Nashville and Tennessee has lived in Nashville for around fifteen years. Persistence, determination, networking -- a willingness to hang in there to know and be known by the right people -- and the talent versatility needed for that sector of the music scene were the attributes that moved these interviewees into this career. One other observation should be made. Unlike the other careers, music education, religious/church and secular performing (gigging), blacks in the music industry career work in a mainly white environment. The interviews and field observations indicated to this investigator that our modal studio careerist is self-assured, displays no discomfort and is able to intermingle and function in this type of environment and at the same time maintain an awareness of personal roots and the social nature of the music row scene.

IntraCareer Relations

With that in mind, how do blacks in the music industry relate to each other? The foregoing discussion suggests the possibility of close interaction among blacks who are a conspicuous handful in a socially different setting. They perhaps are drawn together due to this shared status. This is reflected in these comments.

We relate to each other in the recording sector as comrades...The few of us are doing basically the same thing. We are all busy, we're musicians, songwriters, producers...We are studio professionals... There is a brotherhood with all of us in the industry, there is a great deal of respect and its mutual (Mike, Int 1, 1983).

This commonality has been translated into an organization connected with the Nashville Music Association. This group is known as the Black Music Committee and its purpose is:

to develop black musical talent...to focus on the recording studio sector and create jobs and recording contracts for black musical talent in Nashville...We (the committee) presented Summer Soul '82 and Summer Soul '81. And that was the first time black talent has been showcased from Nashville by a music organization (Mike, Int 1, 1983).

This committee has sponsored black songwriters workshops and other events directed toward the cultivation and employment of black musicians in the music industry sector. As a result of these series of events

We (the few blacks in the recording industry in Nashville) have done something. By virtue of the fact that we've got other black people now who are committed...we've changed the cosmetics of the music organization. People are aware; blacks are more visible now. We're not as visible as we need to be but we were not visible period a few years ago. So I've seen a tremendous improvement but it's not enough to brag about (Mike, Int 1, 1983).

Thus, the relations among blacks within the music industry career are close and mutually supportive.

IV. CHURCH MUSICIAN

Definition

As discussed in a previous section, the black experience in religion is a crucial element of the black community's passage from slavery to now. Having brought from Africa a mosaic of religious expressions which were prohibited in the diaspora, having been given an edited, obedience oriented

version of Christianity as a form of social control, black Americans transformed this other worldly religion into a this worldly base for social consciousness and social action. According to Lincoln,

The blacks brought their religion with them. After a time they accepted the white man's religion but they have not always expressed it in the white man's way. It became the black man's purpose...to shape, to fashion, to recreate the religion offered him by the christian slavemaster, to remold it nearer to his own heart's desire, nearer to his own peculiar needs... [The black religious experience] is a unique response to an historical occurrence which can never be replicated for any people in America (Lincoln 1970:6).

Again the black church as the center of the black witnessing community became a multiple purpose institution to a people denied entry and participation in the many and varied voluntary associations and organizations of white mainstream America. Thus, it became for the black American

...his school, his forum, his political arena, his social club, his art gallery...As well as sanctum sanctorum...it was lyceum and gymnasium [and] his conservatory of music (emphasis mine)...His religion was his fellowship with man, his audience with God. It was the peculiar sustaining force which gave him the strength to endure when endurance gave no promise and the courage to be creative in the face of his own dehumanization (Lincoln 1970:6).

We have discussed the role and function of the black church in the black community in the context of American society. What then were the major roles within the black church; how did they come about and what was the interplay between the major roles? Let us again go back into history briefly in order to answer these questions. Blacks were brought involuntarily from various localities in Africa to the Americas to serve as a source of cheap labor primarily for the developing plantation economy. They were according to one investigator

...endowed...with native musical instincts and talents. They possessed a civilization, culture and a body of folk literature, rich and varied. They were acquainted with art and remembered the drums and African music. The African chants could be heard on the plantation. The deep groans of their oppressed souls were expressed by and through musical incantations. Their moans for the dead, and the anguish experienced in living were sounded out in musical notes thereby giving release to their own spirits (Johnson, 1970:113).

And, according to Johnson, "at the precise time, the psychological time, there was fused into the vestiges of the slaves African music the spirit of Christian faith" (Johnson 1970:113). Remember they (the slaves) were introduced to Christianity by their masters and this form of Christianity though tailored to the interests of the master was discovered to be by the slaves, the precise religion for the condition in which they found themselves and was transformed into both a catharsis for a suffering people and a stimulus for social action. It was this interpretation of the Christian faith which produced a body of songs which gave voice to all of the basic virtues of the Christian faith -- hope, love, courage, patience, forbearance, forgiveness, freedom, emancipation, liberation, victory and faith itself. Thus, the Christian faith provided the ideas and the slave experience afforded the occasion for the creation of the black spirituals. The African chants were now metamorphosized into the black spirituals and out of this metamorphosis emerged a new music generated and regenerated over time in multiple forms through and reflective of the mosaic of developments from slavery to now that constitute the black experience. It is this music with roots in slavery and Africa that contain the attitudes and experiences which are the "continuous parts of the historical and cultural biography of the Negro in America...The notes mean something (which is) part of the black psyche as it dictates the various forms of

black culture" (Jones 1868:15). It is this music which according to Pleasants is the base of "what future musical historians may well designate the Afro-American epoch. [It is this music which is]...so irresistibly attractive to other nations and other cultures as to determine the musical physiognomy of an entire civilization or age" (Pleasants 1969: 90,91).

To further grasp the crucial significance of music in the black church, it is necessary to understand the role of the preacher and the close almost impeccable link between singing and preaching in the black church. First of all, the early black preacher was primarily the preacher of the word. His messages were determined by the reality of death, the difficulties of life and the saving word which he discovered in the Bible. His ultimate purpose was one of bringing healing and liberation to a despised and oppressed people who were exposed to the vast ambiguities of life.

The black preacher confronted the black witnessing community with the glorious promises of the gospel. He entered and was a part of the world of his black brothers...(He showed) them what he had learned about eternity and beauty in his preaching. The whole man was acting and reacting under the stimulus offered by the spiritual needs of the black witnessing community (Johnson: 1970:115).

As the black church plays multiple roles the black preacher carried out multiple duties as pastor to his people in a special way. Not only was this figure a proclaimer of the word by calling but often teacher, healer, carpenter and undertaker by necessity.

It was he who took the mutilated bodies of black men after the mobs had done their worst. It was he who represented black people to a hostile white community in times of deep trouble (Coleman 1970:VII).

It was difficult to ascertain whether the black spirituals produced the black church and the black preacher or if the spirituals form the

matrix out of which the black preacher and black church emerged. One investigator suggests that the emergence of the spirituals, preacher and black church may have been a simultaneous movement, three expressions of one basic desire for liberation and human dignity. (Johnson 1970:115). But the black preacher emerged and was immediately thrown into the arena of the struggles and hopes of his people. The style, manner of delivery, homiletics and biblical expositions of the black preacher were hammered out and determined by the situation in which he functioned.

It was this existential situation coupled with the African past that created the close interlink between singing and preaching in the black church. The spiritual and the later forms of musical expression required group participation under the direction of a song leader. Preaching itself was a participatory process under the direction of a leader, the preacher. One investigator describes this as a triologue between God, the preacher and the congregation. God speaks through the preacher; the preacher preaches to the congregation and the congregation talks back to the preacher with "amens" and other like responses. In addition, black sermons were often delivered in sing-song fashion -- "tuning" is what some preachers call it. In fact, the expressive devices found in some black church music-intonation, the hum, moan and shout are found in black preaching as well. Thus the movement from song leader to preacher and preacher to song leader was indeed an easy transition. In group singing, the song leader would make some observation about the song which was to be sung: its meanings and declarations about faith in God, and the freedom desired. In this process of role interchangeability, the song leader and the preacher were often the same person.

Today, the spirit of this tradition of participatory singing and preaching has been preserved in one form or another. From the ghetto to the suburbs, from store fronts to cathedrals, from the country to the city, we find diverse manifestations of this tradition in black churches. Even in the church of our urban middle class modal interviewee this tradition -- though restrained or "refined" or at times hidden from detection -- is alive and well. The black professional even today comes to church not for certification or in-service training or continuing education but to be fed and uplifted by the word of God in sermon and song.

Today as in the past, the quality the spirituality of the musical witness in the black church is as crucial as the preaching in terms of its appeal to the black community. Preaching and music remain the inseparable forces that determine the growth and effectiveness of a church in black America. They are the combined predictors of success for black churches. And as instruments other than the human voice, especially the piano and organ, were introduced and integrated into the black worship experience, the church musician emerged and became a vital and necessary element of the black church. The church musician is the foundation of the music program of the church and plays a crucial support role for the preaching ministry.

Out of this continuing tradition of witness through both sermon and music, the black church has become, as role specialization sharpened and resources became available, not only a conservatory of music but an employer of musicians who serve in various ways. Since music is so critical in the black church, many churches are willing to pay for the services of a musician. As a result of the vitality of music in the black religious experience and the emergence of the church musician as a crucial element in

that experience, the church musician has become another career for black musicians in Nashville. The church musician career is comprised of musicians who play/sing predominantly in churches and/or other religious settings, religious programs and concerts for pay.

There are eight church musicians in our sample. The oldest was born in 1937, the youngest in 1962. The mean age of our church musicians is 33.5, the mean birth year being 1950. Thus our modal church musician was born in 1950.

Seventy-five percent of our church musicians were born and raised in urban settlements. Five of the eight church musicians were born and raised in Tennessee but all were born and raised in the South. Of those born in Tennessee, three were born in Nashville. Thus thirty-eight percent of our church career sample were born in Nashville and have lived in Nashville for more than twenty years.

Of those not born in Nashville, three have lived in Nashville for more than ten years. The other two have lived in Nashville for 4 years or less. Our modal church musician, however, has lived in Nashville for nearly twenty years.

To summarize, our modal church musician is thirty-four years old, was born and raised in the urban South and has lived in Nashville for nearly twenty years. Our modal interviewee for the total sample is also a product of the urban South and has lived in Nashville for more than twenty years. But our church musician is six years younger than our modal total sample interviewee.

Entry

How did these eight interviewees wind up in the church career? It has already been stated that the black church played a major developmental role for our modal interviewee and had a strong influence specifically on the careers in music which our interviewees were to pursue. Like our modal interviewee, our church musician grew up in the church and was involved in the total program of the church.

I attended church all the Sundays. The only time I missed was when I was in the hospital or couldn't get there...the first thing I remember was a church and the last thing I remember was the church. I travelled to church meetings and met church people from all over the country. Along with playing for my church, I was a member and chairman of the Christian Youth Fellowship, then the Trustee Board. I was chairman of the Steward Board at one time. I was church clerk, I served as an officer at levels beyond the local church -- the lay offices...I've been all of them...involved everywhere (Lucus, Int 1, 1983).

...Being a military chaplain's son, from the time I can remember, I had to go to church...At first I didn't like it but eventually I started liking church...I was on the Usher board and on Youth Sundays, we had a little cross we carried up the aisle and then one of us would hold the Bible and one person would have an American flag and the other flag. We would have to go up the aisle with that and light the candles. I guess that's the military service and I was a part of it (Waldo Int 1, 1983).

In terms of music participation, all of the church musicians either played an instrument (mainly the piano and/or organ) or served as soloist for their church. Julie, Barry, Evelyn and Peter were also members of choirs or other singing groups in their churches.

I began to play for church at a local (Methodist) church at the age of thirteen...I left my home church and went to this church because it is a neighborhood church where I lived in South Nashville. And all of my little neighborhood friends attended this church and I wanted to be with them so I would attend with them and they found out I could play a piano. So they organized this choir and asked me if I would play and sing with them and from there I just continued (Julie Int 1, 1983).

I have been singing since...I was five years old, so I was brought up in the church, singing...but it wasn't like I didn't like it or like my mom was going to make me go. It was more like it was something I looked forward to and I enjoyed it (Evelyn Int 1, 1981).

Even more significant is the location of the first paying engagement. Looking at the total sample, nine out of our 31 interviewees indicated the church as the location of their first paying engagement. Six out of the nine are in the religious music career. Or, to put it another way, two out of three of those interviewees whose first paying engagement was in the church wound up making a career out of playing in the church. Seven out of the eight religious musicians played for pay the first time in a church or religious setting.

...My church gave me my first opportunity [to play for money]...One Sunday, when I was in the eighth grade, the young girl who played piano at our church wasn't present and my mother said, "Peter, come on up to the piano", and I played the gospel choir, two selections with them...I was reluctant at first but I played and they were amazed and I've been playing the piano for the church ever since that Sunday (Peter, Int 1, 1983).

My first paying job was with the neighborhood church in South Nashville where we organized a gospel choir and I played and sang with them...Since that time I have been playing for the church almost exclusively...since I was thirteen (Julie, Int 1, 1983).

When we moved to Nashville and joined a church here, they only had an organist there and they had a piano and nobody was playing it. My mother talked to the organist and pastor and asked them if they needed a pianist, that I could play for them...They both agreed to let me play...At first, I wasn't even paid...The church didn't have any extra money...but after a while they started paying me...That was my first paying musical job. I was in the 9th grade. In the church and that's where I've been playing since my first job (Waldo, Int 1, 1983).

Therefore, for our modal religious musician, the church was not only the training ground, but it was also the first employer. With a background of strong formative years involvement in the music of the church that was

continued until initial employment at a church, a foundation was laid for a career as a church musician. The following is another example of the process.

I was from birth in the church and the church was in me. I went with my parents to Sunday School and church every Sunday. I was in the youth fellowship and served as president of the youth fellowship for a long time. I've always been musically inclined as a child, with a natural talent and instincts. I sang in the children's choir and eventually started taking piano lessons from one of my Sunday School teachers. Sometimes she gave me lessons in the church and I made my debut at a young age on the piano at my church...Later, I started taking lessons from another piano teacher...and it was this teacher who said one afternoon, 'I've got a choir for you to play for'. I was surprised. She said, 'Yes, you can do it. You've got enough songs in your repertoire that you can present to a choir. It's a young choir and you can grow with them. And they will be willing to take you at a minimum salary'...I started playing for the choir and played for them for about five or six years. From there, for various reasons, I moved from choir to choir. I've been playing now for over ten years...and I can tell over the ten year period...my talents have expanded and so has my knowledge of music...But I've only played for churches. I've never played professionally for a dance group or any other type... (Elizabeth, Int 1, 1983).

In addition, it must be noted that the first or initial series of engagements for our then novice religious musicians were basically successful. They satisfied the musical expectations of their congregation and had good rapport with the choir(s) and/or key members of the choir. And most importantly, they satisfied the pastor and provided strong reinforcement for the preaching ministry of the church. The word got around among the churches and ministers in the community about their talent and a career in the religious church sector was launched.

IntraCareer Relations

How do church musicians relate to one another? Internal relations among those in this career are in part a function of how black churches in Nashville relate. First of all, black churches have a strong

communications network through the electronic and print media--both black oriented and general public. Special events are announced on religious programming and public service announcements on black radio, special and general market radio and television keep the public informed about special activities at black churches. In addition, local newspapers have special sections and columns on religious events in Nashville that black churches use to publicize their programs. Also, many of these events are shared events between two or more local churches. There are periodic and reciprocal fellowship services in which one church visits another church celebrating some annual event, for example Men's Day or Church Anniversary. Often, the choir of the visiting church is invited to sing an "A & B selection" and the pastor is invited to bring the message. Also, the revival is an occasion typically for interchurch fellowship. A pastor at one church is invited to hold a revival for another church and during the time span of the revival services, the pulpit on a given night may be full of pastors and ministers from other churches.

The black ministers themselves maintain a sense of collegiality within denomination lines with various formally organized ministerial alliances. A sense of ecumenicity is achieved by the active presence of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance which was organized for fellowship, dialogue and action on issues and problems facing the black community and Nashville generally.

As a result of these ties between black churches in Nashville, black church musicians tend to know and know about one another. Through the formal and informal network of communication, they know who is playing at what church, what music positions are open at various churches, which

church has a gospel choir or male chorus, when the next gospel concert will be and where it will be held, the dominant style of music played at a given church, the type of music pastors prefer before and after a sermon, the type of religious music played or preferred by some of their colleagues and acquaintances and so on. But these cross-church ties among the church musicians have remained informal, for unlike the black preachers, there is no organization today of black church musicians.

There was an organization like that--a small one organized by the organist at Fisk [University], a white man. It was called the Church Organist's Guild--black oriented. But that one man, the organist died, the organization died with him...It no longer exists (Lucus, Int 1, 1983).

There have been a few small workshops given at various times and places on music in the black church but nothing on a massive scale has taken place to mobilize or organize black church musicians as a group. The following illustrates how our church musicians view internal relations among those in this career.

...There are so many different kinds of music played in black churches, a half dozen of us would be in conflict...Because I would tell some musicians that his music, his rhythm, his tempo would take away from the message--that the music itself should be secondary and that would create a strain between us and that showman type who wants to show with his music first even over the sermon. So, it's probably that type of thing that keeps us apart...We have too many churches--all black--but different in their music style...and not enough in common musically other than our roots in the church...It's hard but it [getting together as a group] could and should be done (Lucus, Int 1, 1983).

We [church musicians] are close in a way, but there is some jealousy, especially among the younger musicians. In the place of really working together and doing great things, each one wants to do his own little thing...But in spite of all this jealousy and fussing among themselves, if a crisis developed, they would band together. With that, I would say we would be close knit if it really came to that. But it would really have to be something drastic and so far nothing dramatic has happened (Julie, Int 1, 1983).

Internal relations among black religious musicians tend to be somewhat close due to the church--but not as good as they could have been in the light of the crucial role the black church has played in their development and career.

V. GIGGERS

Definition

So far, three active careers for black musicians in Nashville have been discussed: music educator, music industry and church musician. In our sample, there are six music educators, four in the music industry and eight in the religious career category, the total in all of the active careers in our sample being twenty-eight. But what about those ten musicians who are not performing music educators, are not in the recording sector and are not playing or singing predominantly in a church or religious context? This group has a rich and diverse history in black Nashville. It includes the remnants of those black musicians who were attracted to Nashville during the 30's, 40's 50's and early 60's, not for an education but for musical employment at a time when Nashville was a mecca of employment opportunities for black musicians (Chavis 1983). It includes those students (music and non-music majors) who were (and still are) attracted to Nashville for educational pursuits. Some of the music students who graduated continued to "gig" at night and teach music in the day; the other students not majoring in music continued to gig and teach in other areas or work in other fields. This group has been joined by other blacks who have gravitated to Nashville for various reasons. They also earn money "on the side" by gigging . Today, it includes those black musicians

who migrate to Nashville seeking fame and fortune in the country music "big-time"--daring to dream of a big break in the music industry. They work other jobs to support themselves and "gig" wherever they can with the hope of being "discovered"--of moving into the Music Row scene. It includes those without a dream or whose dreams have been crushed by the pressure to survive--they have settled into a lifestyle of working a regular job (whatever it may be) and performing as a means of supplementing their income. This group plays in the clubs, for the fraternity and sorority dances, for private parties and other functions, for wedding receptions and occasionally in the church or for some religious oriented event. They on rare occasions will play on a recording session. Some free-lance and others are with established groups.

The reality of these black musicians in our sample and in black Nashville calls for recognizing the fourth and last active career for black musicians in Nashville. This career, the secular performers or "giggers" is defined as those musicians who perform for pay predominantly in the nightclubs, and for public and private parties, dances, social events, concerts and programs.

Our youngest gigger was born in 1961, the oldest in 1934. The mean age is 38, the birth year being 1946. Six out of our ten giggers were born between 1934 and 1946. But our modal gigger was born in 1946.

All of our giggers were born in an urban area. Eight of our ten giggers were born in the South. The two born outside the South were born in Ohio and Michigan.

Returning to those born in the South, nine were born in Tennessee, the other Southern-born interviewee was born in North Carolina. Of those born

in Tennessee, six were born and raised in Nashville. Our modal gigger, born in 1946 in the urban South is basically a product of Nashville, Tennessee, having lived in Nashville for more than twenty years.

Like the modal music educator, studio artist and church musician, more than a majority of our gigging interviewees assessed the status of their families of origin as being either middle or upper middle class. Remember, two out of three of our thirty-one interviewees made the same assessment of the socio-economic status of their families of origin.

To summarize, our modal gigger-secular performer is urban, middle class, a product of the South and a native-born resident of Nashville for more than twenty years. Our total sample modal musician fits the same description but is two years older than our modal gigger.

Entry

How then does one become a gigger? What is the point of entry into the gigging scene? One traditional entry point for the performing musician has been the "jam" session. When jazz was the popular form of music in urban America, a new musician in town would find when and where sessions were taking place and make his talents known to the local jazz audience. The same principle holds today. In those areas where jazz or black classical music is a vital component of the commercial entertainment scene, that is, it is to the local nightclubs a profitable form of musical entertainment, the jam session also flourishes. So, the jam session is not only the context where skills are honed and talent confirmed, it is also a point of entry into the local gigging scene and a springboard to higher levels of success. In a broader sense, irrespective of type of music

played itself, the nightclub scene, if strong and active, is also a means of entry into the performing job market. Some clubs featuring live entertainment allow guest musicians to "sit-in" with the house band or featured group. This often translates into musical jobs for the guest artist. Some places have both featured groups and jam sessions on alternate nights and have been successful with that program. In essence, jam sessions and "sitting in" with the house band constitute informal auditioning processes for the musician aspiring to enter the performing job market. For the aspiring symphonic musician, auditioning is often more formal. The candidates present their talent to a judge or a panel of judges according to a pre-determined procedure.

During the "mecca" years for black musicians in Nashville, jazz and jam sessions bloomed in the night life of black Nashville along Jefferson Street, common to Fisk University and Tennessee State University and Charlotte Avenue in North Nashville, the body and soul of black Nashville. The "mecca" years were those before urban renewal, interstate construction and other public projects dispersed large numbers of blacks to other areas of Nashville. During those years, Jefferson Street was a thriving, busy stretch of black business, civic, social and entertainment activity. It was the gathering place for the established and aspiring musician.

As the country music industry waxed in Nashville, the nightly performing scene in black Nashville waned. Today, the jam session in North Nashville is virtually extinct, but North Nashville itself remains the heart and spirit if not the geo-ecological focus of black Nashville. Now, compared to then, Jefferson Street is like a ghost street, a shell of its former self. But to many blacks in Nashville, Jefferson Street, where the

evening action used to be for the performing black musician, remains the main spiritual thoroughfare of the black community--a symbol of the best from a checkered past and a catalyst for restoring in the black community that which fell victim to change and progress.

Our modal giggers born and bred during the "mecca" era in Nashville became a part of the performing scene through social osmosis. Trained and nurtured in Nashville, our modal gigger's first paying engagement was typically in a nightclub or for a public or private party, dance or social function, concert or program. This first engagement led to a series of similar engagements and eventually our novice performer was absorbed into a gigging career. Later on, when faced with increased financial obligation, our modal gigger secured a non-music related full-time job, but continued to gig in the secular market for supplementary income or for other reasons. The following illustrates this pattern:

My first engagement was in a little small armory for a dance...We got \$30 a piece. It was a bunch of Masons or Shriners. I was 17. The group was good but we had never done this before...I think it was successful experience because it was an experience that led to other gigs...Now, I work at the Veteran's Administration Hospital. I am a Nursing Assistant...I play in a couple of groups here in Nashville. We were making \$50 a gig. And then I played some gigs that paid \$100 a gig or \$150 a gig. I've even gotten some \$40 gigs. it's been up and down with my music career. I need this other job to live on. I'm also working with a group and we're probably gonna try to run through Opryland Productions...It has potential. Good potential. There are a lot of good connections involved with the people we are dealing with...Well known people that are already in the [music] industry where an avenue could be made. All we're thinking about is creating a product and then offer it and work it from there...In the meanwhile, we'll probably play some gigs too... (Wilbur, Int 1, 1983).

After my first gig, which, by the way, was in a nightclub with one of my high school teachers--I was 16 and my parents gave me permission--I continued to play that scene...It paid scales more or less but not too much more...Sometimes the money was good, sometimes not, so when I got married I realized the need for a stable income...I

work as a Personnel Staffing Specialist for the Federal Government...I'm still gigging. I do more free-lance with different groups today. I've been doing this off and on for about fifteen years. Just sort of playing around with different guys. I basically play the private engagement circuit, the parties, dances, wedding receptions--those kinds of things...I've played a couple of big name shows that come through Nashville looking for a local pianist...I've played a few, very few, studio gigs and I hope to be a part of establishing a local headquarters for training, teaching and recording black musical talent. And until that happens, I'll continue to do what I'm doing (Myron, Int 1, 1983).

IntraCareer Relations

Performing music educators have the schools, the educational institutions, as a point of common reference; musicians in the music industry have the studios and church musicians have the church. But with the demise of the jam session, the waning of live entertainment in black Nashville and the phasing out of black participation in the overall music/entertainment scene in Nashville, the black secular performers overall have no common reference point or gathering place. Further, in terms of their non-music employment, they are scattered throughout the labor force in Nashville. Frank is a salesman; Boris teaches auto mechanics; Faith hands out survey questionnaires to shoppers in a suburban mall for a market research firm compiling a city directory for Nashville. Some of the jobs are permanent, others are temporary. Yet, in spite of this social distance, fragmentation and lack of commonality, a sense of limited comradeship has been preserved among those in this career. As these giggers put it:

I feel that there is a bond among the musicians. There are not enough for all of us but we are close to each other...I think that that is inevitable in any city and any town, because it seems to be just a subculture of its own. You would have to be a musician to understand the way we feel about each other. But I'm quite sure...that there is a solidarity among black musicians in the

performing sector...They seem to relate to certain things, certain lifestyles, that type thing (Frank, Int 1, 1981).

There is a comradeship...If you can play, you have the admiration of your fellow colleagues, but if you can't play, most of the musicians are turned off (Robert, Int 1, 1982).

Thus among the secular performers, the giggers, the relations are somewhat distant but much closer than that distance would imply.

VI. THE STRUCTURE OF THE CAREERS

In the light of our descriptive analyses of the four active careers for black musicians in Nashville, the questions arises: Is there for black musicians an identifiable hierarchy of musical careers, each rung of which represents a certain level of status and acculturation into some career stratum? Or, is it empirically possible to arrange our four active careers into a career hierarchy? To answer this question, let us examine our data in terms of annual mean income and income range for each career.

Career Hierarchy

Again, the mean annual music income for our modal performing music educator is around \$6500. The income for five out of the six music educators ranges from \$1500 to around \$8000 per year. Our highest paid music educator currently earns close to \$16,000 per year from performing. Three out of four music row connected musicians currently earn more than \$17,000 annually from musical services rendered. As mentioned before, the studio musician currently earning less than \$17,000 is doing so voluntarily to focus attention on developing a major community project. Otherwise, his earning would be more than \$17,000 per year. Thus, our modal music

educator earns an average income from musical service nearly \$6500 annually but our modal music industry musician earns more than \$17,000 per year.

To complete this job/career hierarchy among black musicians, let us examine and compare income levels and ranges of the other two careers.

Our modal religious/church musician earns a mean annual income of around \$2500. The highest paid religious musician in our sample makes over \$17,000 per year. Sixty-three per cent of our religious musicians earn \$3,000 or less annually. Therefore most of the annual income for our church musicians clusters around the mean income for our modal religious musician. It is obvious that, given this income picture for playing in this career, money is not the incentive for or the explanation of the sustained dedication manifested by those in this career

...When you play the type of music we play--music with a religious message--people tend to believe you are playing for the Lord and not for money... So for a lot of us the message is the motivation more than money...We love playing for the Lord and we are rewarded spiritually. People tend to notice this and we feel we don't need financial rewards... (Barry Int 1, 1983).

Our "giggers" reveal a somewhat similar but higher income pattern in terms of central tendency and dispersal. Our modal gigger earns a mean annual income of \$5055 from musical services. Our highest paid secular performer earns \$16,000 per year. Our next highest paid gigger earns around \$12,000 annually. Five of our giggers are in the lowest income range bracket (less than \$3,000). What emerges here is that for most black musicians, gigging income is low and is not as consistent as that received by the religious musician. As one gigger expressed it

...Church musicians do not make a lot of money but they do make stable money ...Once everything is in place and the church likes him, he will make that \$30 or \$40 per Sunday...Sunday after Sunday for 52 Sundays. And can stay there for life...Some churches give an appreciation for

their musician. And, you know, that ain't bad, a regular salary plus an appreciation. My gigging money is irregular. It comes in seasons, highs and lows...It's hard to budget with money coming in like that... (Boris Int 2, 1982).

Gigging income varies widely, is rarely dependable and pays more only because more nights per week are required. The modal black church musician plays only on Sunday (or once a week) and is typically not paid any extra for rehearsals. But if for the church musician the pastor-musician-choir-congregation rapport is well established, the Sunday job is usually a long-term engagement. The gigger, by contrast, may work every night or none; he may be successful at a club but not secure a long term contract.

Figure 1 is a crude diagram of the music career hierarchy here in Nashville. It is based on average income and range of income for each career. The broken horizontal lines indicate the average income for each career. The broken diagonal lines indicate the income range for the secular performance, music educator and religious/church careers. As the diagram shows, the studio musicians in terms of income for musical services, are in a class by themselves and the other three careers tend to cluster in the lower or lower middle stratum.

This figure also tells us something about career mobility. It mirrors so to speak what our data tell us about advancement up the career ladder. The light vertical lines indicate an open system of mobility between and within the non-music industry careers. Movement is somewhat fluid among music educators, secular performers and religious/church musicians. The bold diagonal line for the music industry career indicates not only the income range for this career but also reflects the limited access-closed

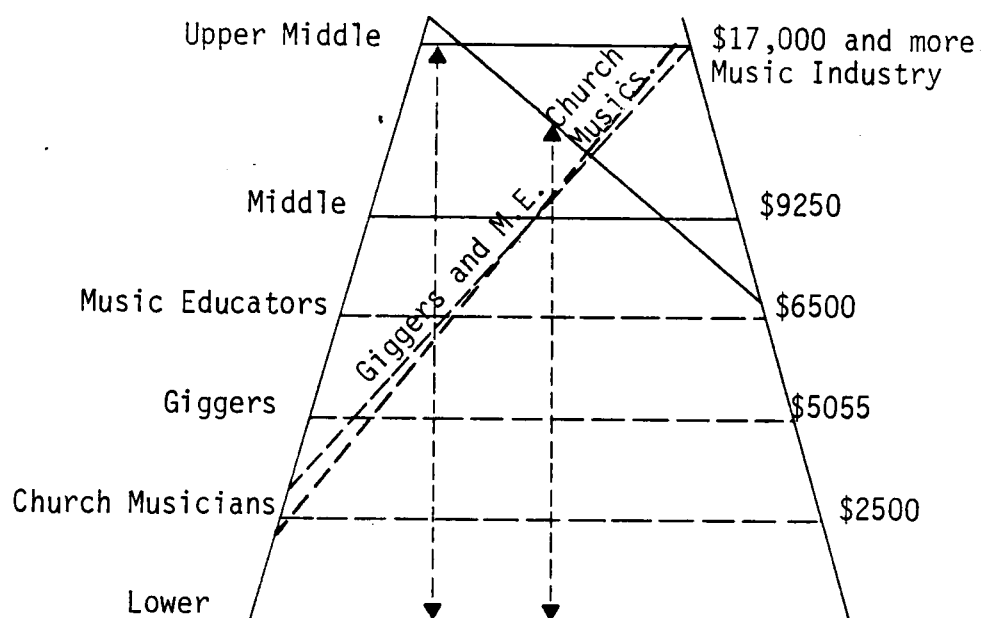


Figure 1. Career Income Hierarchy, Black Musicians, Nashville.

Horizontal lines: broken black = mean or modal income (average); solid black = income strata levels.

system nature of the music industry for the black musician in Nashville.

The following illustrate the reality projected by this graph.

Although Nashville is one of the leading recording centers of the nation with a multiplicity of outlets, black musicians play a very small part in it (James Int 1, 1982).

...You come down here and then when there is a vacancy on music row, no one knows about it except that inner circle and they will get the person that they know and usually is the same race. It's almost like a closed society (Reuben Int 1, 1983).

It is like a caste line that marks the point at which upward mobility stops for most black musicians in Nashville; it is the point of demarcation between part-time and full-time income. Thus, not only in terms of income but also in terms of entry, the music industry is in a class by itself.

Thus far, we have defined each of our four active careers. We have discussed, for each career, its statistical profile and have compared each career with the total sample. We have dealt with the question of career entry and have examined the internal-intracareer-relations for each. In the previous section, we have attempted to illustrate how the careers are stratified by income and we diagrammed the hierarchial structure of careers with a graph. Let us now examine the pattern of intercareer relations among black musicians here Music City, U.S.A.

Intercareer Relations

When we asked our interviewees to assess how black musicians across careers related to each other, four out of ten indicated favorable or somewhat favorable relations among black musicians in Nashville; thirty-seven percent indicated unfavorable or somewhat unfavorable relations among black musicians; and twenty-two percent of our interviewees were uncertain or ambivalent on this issue.

Musicians from all careers expressed in their responses negative, positive and ambivalent views about intercareer relations. But there were more positive assessments among the secular performers than among those in the other careers. When we further asked our interviewees whether there is a general sense of community among black musicians -- a sense of belonging together, over half of our interviewees said "yes" or "yes, depending on the situation." Forty percent indicated that there is no sense of community among black musicians.

Let us examine the responses by career. The most striking finding is that all of the music educators answered "yes" or "yes, depending" to this

question. Even those music educators who perceived unfavorable relations among black musicians felt that there is among black musicians a sense of belonging together in spite of negative relations. This reminds me of Coser's (1956) assertion that internal conflict or disagreement is not always disintegrative; it can actually solidify a feeling of shared identity among members of a group. Our interviewees in other careers also expressed this negative relations/positive sense of belonging point of view in reference to black musicians in Nashville. Overall however there was a consistency across careers between the "relations" responses and the "sense of community" responses, i.e. those who felt positive about the relations among black musicians answered in the affirmative to the sense of community question. The negative responses generally followed the same pattern across careers.

The responses of the studio musician are also interesting. All were either negative or ambivalent or uncertain about intercareers relations among black musicians. As stated before, they perceived relations among themselves to be basically positive. Beyond their career and looking at the black musical community as a whole, they expressed a somewhat dismal point of view toward relations among black musicians generally. In addition, three out of the four answered "no" to the sense of community question. The following reflects what they had to say about this.

I feel we relate and commune on two different levels. There is a brotherhood with the black musicians who are in the recording sector, there is a great deal of respect and it's mutual. On the other level there may be resentment toward us. I feel isolated from those in the gigging scene...But among them there is no strong brotherhood as black professionals in music...No communicability as it is with us (Mike Int 2, 1983).

It was also my field observation that black musicians in the recording sector tend to stay among themselves. They know one another and intermingle in various industry-connected events but overall their relations are confined to others in the same career. Remember our modal music row musician is not a native born Nashvillian, has not lived in Nashville as long as other other careerists and soon after relocation in Nashville moved directly into the Music Row scene with minimum involvement with musicians in other careers. Remember also other careers are carried out in predominantly black settings and shared predominantly with black musicians. But, again, the black studio musician works in a predominantly white environment and perhaps develops a sense of "connectedness" with the few other blacks in that sector and a sense of separateness--even estrangement from black musicians in other careers.

Musicians in the other careers--music educators, religious/church and secular performers--tend to interact beyond career boundaries. All (including those in the music industry) have strong roots in some way in the church. But music educators, church musicians and giggers having strong roots in Nashville's black churches tend to know those who have made a career out of playing for the church. Secular performers and music educators generally play the same type of engagement (more on this later) and sometimes perform in the church. Thus, the cross career ties among black musicians not in the recording sector resulting in knowledge about each other are somewhat strong and the frequency of intermingling and playing together is somewhat greater among musicians not in the recording sector than it is between those in the music industry and those whose careers are elsewhere.

Figure 2 illustrates our analysis of intercareer relations. The broken circles -- the non-music industry careers -- indicate interactional access and intermingling among musicians in those careers. The bold circle reflects the relative isolation and separateness of black musicians in the music industry. The arrow lines reflect the magnitude and direction of the flow of career interaction, the broken lines illustrating weak patterns of interaction, the unbroken lines reflecting moderate to strong intercareer relations. The graph dramatizes the somewhat open and strong relations among giggers, music educators and church musicians and the weaker relations between the music industry and the other careers.

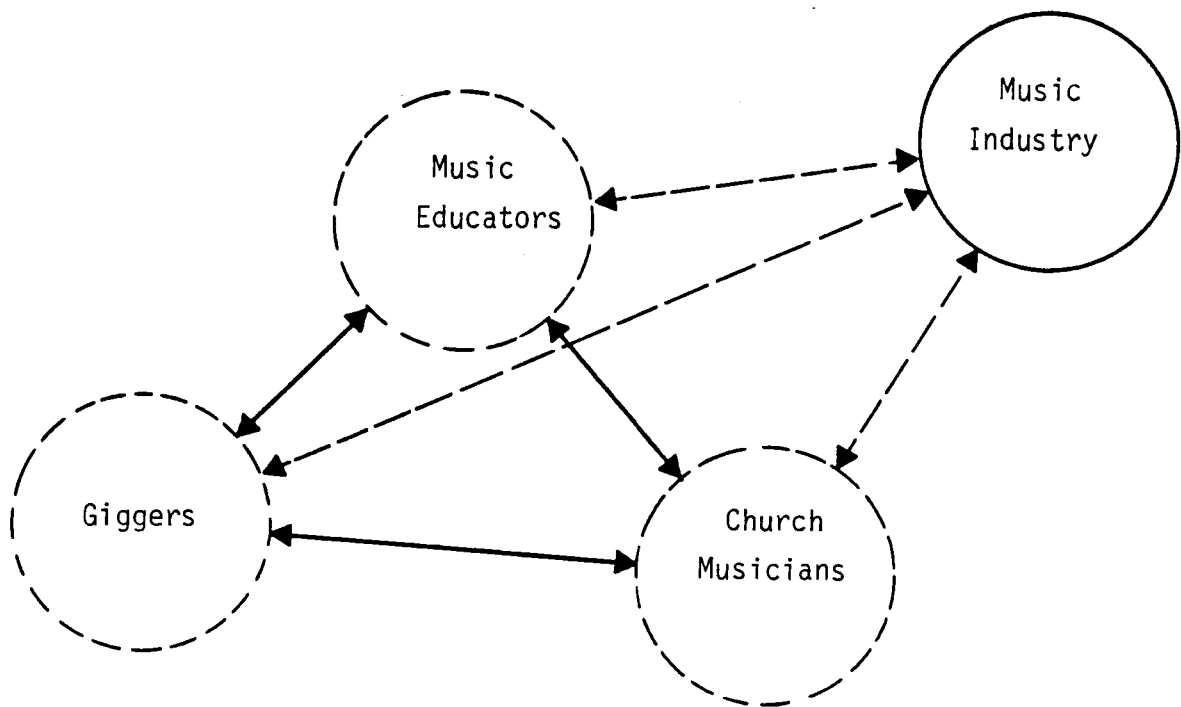


Figure 2. Career Sociogram, Black Musicians, Nashville.

Straight lines = moderate to strong interaction; broken lines = weak interaction.

Modal Career

As a step toward redirecting our attention to the total sample, let us examine this question. Into what career is our modal interviewee most likely to enter? Again, in our sample, there are 4 studio musicians, 6 music educators, 8 religious/church musicians and 10 secular performers. There are slightly more giggers or secular performers than other careerists in our sample. But a closer examination of the location of the musical jobs of our music educators gives more information. All of our music educators perform predominantly where the giggers perform in the nightclubs and for public and private parties, dances, social events, concerts and programs. Since the data show that music educators are mostly "giggers" who teach, the total number of secular performers is actually 16, or 57% of our total sample. The roster from which our sample was drawn indicates that over a majority of black musicians listed are secular performers who teach or work elsewhere. Thus the career distribution in our sample and roster suggests that the typical black musician in Nashville is primarily a secular performer who plays for pay in the nightclubs and for public and private parties, dances, social events, concerts and programs and for who playing or singing for pay is an avocation.

CHAPTER V

BLACK NASHVILLE AS COMMUNITY

I. DEFINITIONS OF COMMUNITY

Does the foregoing indicate the presence of a sense of community? There are two widely accepted definitions of the word, community. It is defined as a cluster of people centered around individual residences and places of work and based on daily patterns of interaction (see for example Wirth 1928). Community is also defined as any group of people who share common interests, experiences, concerns or traditions and who have a strong sense of solidarity (see for example Wallace 1980). This definition implies that the sense of solidarity shared by members of a group may transcend the physical location of residence or job. Let us apply these definitions to our black musicians.

II. ITS HISTORY

Black Nashville in Black America

In reference to community as a physical neighborhood, the black community in Nashville was once a neighborhood visibly concentrated in the residential central city and its fringes. Racial segregation was established by law (de jure) and entrenched in social customs and institutions (de facto). Schools were segregated, housing, services and other facilities were segregated by fact and law. The social and spatial boundaries between black and white Nashville were clearly drawn and blacks knew their place.

Racial segregation de jure and de facto reinforced this ecological separation of black and white Nashville. It was during this period that the black community was a group of people living close together, sharing both common space and common experience. It was indeed a community in terms of both definitions.

During this time the local musicians' union in Nashville was all-white (Bridges 1984). Black musicians in Nashville joined the black local in Birmingham or transferred their membership from other locals or were non-union. Birmingham was like New Orleans and other large cities in the South and the North which had dual locals -- one black and the other white -- that arose and developed independently over the years under the guidance of the American Federation of Musicians. Nashville was an exception to this because, according to this key informant

...there weren't enough black musicians here to justify forming a black local. And you had a large transient group of black musician students at [Tennessee State University], Fisk, and Meharry - who gigged while here and then left...The Local here considered Jefferson Street as part of the territory of black locals elsewhere for black musicians. And the local here didn't bother the local black musician (Waldo Int 2, 1983).

The period from 1949-1954 at the national level was a quiet period in terms of civil rights activity. Cold war hysteria and communist "witch-hunts" precipitated by Senator Joseph McCarthy were then sweeping the country. Public protest in the form of "picketing and mass demonstration became a dangerous form of dissent" (Bennett 1966:168). Nevertheless, the N.A.A.C.P., behind the scenes, was vigorously pursuing black civil rights and equality of opportunity goals in the courts.

The legal battle for civil rights during this period culminated in the 1954 Supreme Court school segregation decision. This decision was a sign

to blacks that the white establishment and federal government were supporting a legal strategy for the realization of civil rights. This momentous event set a number of forces in motion that ultimately brought a dramatic transition in black-white relations and the ecological distribution of blacks in many major cities.

Blacks joined the union in Nashville in the aftermath of the 1954 Supreme Court decision forbidding segregated public schools. According to Walton, this judicial emphasis on desegregation had a national impact on local unions. It resulted

...indirectly in the formation of amalgated musicians's unions. The loss of institutional support and control vested in the Afro-American locals led to a diffusion of black musicians into white musicians, removing their former identity as a special interest group (Walton 1972:114).

Given the fact that Nashville then was segregated and black Nashville was concentrated in and near the inner city, how did the union relate to black musicians in terms of recruitment? According to this pioneer, the union president

...made it clear that he was only concerned about the blacks being in the union when they played in white places like the downtown hotels or city auditoriums or places like that. He didn't mind blacks playing on Jefferson Street and not being in the union. He knew there were a lot of nonunion black musicians playing and it didn't bother him as long as they played in black Nashville. But if a name black group like Duke Ellington came to play on Jefferson Street, they would show up and collect work tax and traveling tax and all that. But they didn't bother the local black musicians unless they played a white job (Waldo Int 1, 1983).

In 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man and move to the rear of a city bus in Alabama. This act precipitated the successful Montgomery bus boycott under the auspices of the Montgomery Improvement Association led by Dr. Martin Luther King. During this period

Southern resistance from governors, state and local legislatures and organizations like the White Citizen Council manifested itself often in illegal repression and terror. The success however of the Montgomery bus boycott revealed that modest gains could be achieved at a high price in the face of strong Southern resistance and that dissatisfaction with the substance and pace of governmentally sponsored desegregation attempts was growing. It was during this period, the year 1958, that our modal interviewee performed for money for the first time - in a church.

Again, as the church served as training matrix and first employer for our modal respondent, on a broader scale, it served as social base for the soon to emerge civil rights movement. Oberschall argues that there is a direct relationship between the degree of social organization within an "aggrieved collectivity" and the likelihood of sustained protest. He presents the following analyses of the genesis of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the progenitor of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The rapid formation of the MIA [Montgomery Improvement Association] and the successful implementation of a bus boycott by 17,500 daily black bus riders was only possible because of the pre-existing organizational network centered on autonomous black churches in which most Montgomery blacks were caught up in one way or another. When King arrived in Montgomery a year before the boycott and became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, he immediately set about expanding the civic and political functions of his church by activating a set of committees in which many of his parishioners became involved... As a result, his church membership grew, the income of the church tripled, King got to know the members of his congregation, they became a more cohesive group, and a set of intermediate-level black leaders, active in these committees, was formed... After the Rosa Parks precipitating incident this network allowed for rapid mobilization in support of the boycott. Black churches provided the technical resources for mobilization: meeting places and rallying shelters, focal points for communication centers;... the formation of a car pool to provide alternative

transportation and so on. The later Southern Christian Leadership Conference was formed in a similar manner of merging and drawing upon pre-existing black associations and leadership, especially autonomous religious bodies free of white control (emphasis mine) (Oberschall 1973: 126,127).

During the period from 1954-1958 when our modal interviewee was moving from late childhood to early adolescence and entering the music job market as a performer, other key events were taking place in music. The late Elvis Presley, the "King of Rock and Roll" was making his startling impact on the music and cultural life of the teenagers of mainstream America. Rock and Roll is generally a white adaptation with Nashville roots ("rockabilly" as some call it) derived from the pioneer work of black artists like "Little" Richard, Chuck Berry, "Bo" Diddley and "Big Mama" Thornton, the trailblazers for American popular music of the second half of the 20th century. In Nashville, the country music industry was beginning to blossom as Nashville was becoming "hillbilly heaven" for aspiring country musicians. But other things of major significance were happening in black Nashville during this period.

In 1956, the famed Fisk University Jubilee singers made their second triumphant tour of Europe where 54 concerts were given in 9 countries. They were also presented in concerts in most of the principal cities of the United States and in guest appearances over nationwide radio and television networks. This event among others out of black Nashville reflects the extent to which the black community was then a vital part of the overall music scene in Nashville. The Grand Ole Opry was not the only "Nashville Sound." In fact, some argue that in view of the overwhelming success and world impact of these tours, the music of the Jubilee Singers and the global acclaim generated by this group from Nashville (as much if not

more than the Grand Ole Opry and the country industry music) are responsible for Nashville's "Music City" nickname.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision set the tone and Rosa Parks lit the fuse for the coming social explosion for human rights in America and all over the world. In Nashville and all over the South, there were signs of racial unrest that were manifested in various ways -- a black-white flare-up in North Nashville, a white policeman-black citizen incident in East Nashville and other incidents indicated that something was about to happen (see Johnson 1970).

The period from 1960 to 1965 was a period of active mass protest at its zenith led by the eloquent but non-violent militance of Martin Luther King, Jr. The climax of the non-violent movement was the 1963 March on Washington when more than two hundred thousand persons rallied at the Lincoln Memorial for jobs, public accommodations, education, housing, and the right to vote one hundred years and eight months after the Emancipation Proclamation. In that moving address to the huge crowd assembled and to millions of people over the air waves of radio and television, Dr. King stated:

We have come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of calling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood (Johnson 1970:99).

The goal then was integration and equality. This struggle for integration and equality was fought on such battle grounds as Nashville, Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma, Oxford and New Orleans -- all in the South.

Thus, it was also during this period when blacks were generally concentrated in "their" part of the city that the very system of de jure segregation was successfully challenged and virtually eliminated by a cumulative series of legal victories and protest action. This movement, rooted in a vast complex of events and developments traceable back to slavery, was buttressed and given spiritual impetus, leadership and support by the black church, particularly in the urban South. Black Nashville was in the foreground of this reform movement (See Johnson 1970). It was one of the first cities in which student-led sit-in demonstrations occurred.¹² These demonstrations drew their participants from the universities and colleges in black Nashville and from the local community. The leadership at the major higher education institutions in black Nashville endorsed this effort to secure basic civil liberties for racial minorities. Thus during the era of "Jim Crow" and the early struggle to remove "Jim Crow" from the face of the South, black Nashville was a community in the sense of physical proximity, the common experience of segregation and the subsequent shared determination to overcome and change in some measure the established social order. And the black musical community was a vital part of this wider community.

Our modal interviewee was nineteen in 1963, a part of the protest generation of black college students -- the vibrant new militancy which engulfed the national black community and expanded this phase of the

¹²See Johnson (1970), Ash (1972), Oberschall (1973), Brisbane (1970), Lovett (1982), Doyle (1985), and The Spire (1985) for further analysis of the civil rights movement in Nashville and the South.

struggle from the courts to the streets with the tactics of direct confrontation through passive non-violent resistance. These students marched, sat in, boycotted, demonstrated, irritated, agitated, and disturbed the existing social order and eventually reformed it. In Nashville, our modal respondent was caught up one way or another in this struggle. Nearly every major public and private industry and institution in Nashville practicing racial discrimination was a target for some type of sustained protest action except music row. This appears to be strange at first sight but remember that, during this period, jobs for black musicians in the gigging scene within and outside of Black Nashville were still available. The night scene was flourishing, night clubs featuring live entertainment were thriving. The black populus looking for entertainment was concentrated within a 20 mile radius from Jefferson and Cedar Streets in North Nashville. Music row at least at that time was not viewed as a problem perhaps because black musicians generally were not seeking employment there. Things were going well in the local "chitlin circuit" and the energies and resources of the movement were focused elsewhere.

Not only was our modal interviewee a part of the activist generation but was also a part of the black middle class which played a major role in this effort. The grievances in the South cut across class lines as evidenced by the class heterogeneity of Black participation in civil rights activity. In reference to the Montgomery bus boycott for example, middle class blacks who typically did not ride the city buses to their offices, classrooms and places of business carried the heavy responsibility of providing leadership and other resources for the movement. Why then were they mobilized around an issue that did not directly concern them?

The answer must be understood as being more than symbolic since the restrictions placed upon blacks who used the city buses for transportation were placed upon all blacks no matter what their socio-economic status might have been. The black middle class saw Mrs. Parks' refusal to give up her seat to a white man as an opportunity to express their own long repressed feelings of indignation. C. Eric Lincoln recognized this as early as 1964:

The Negro middle class has borne the brunt of the civil rights protest. The civil rights fight, at least insofar as it visualizes an integrated society, is a middle class fight (Lincoln 1964:25).

This middle class movement achieved significant legislative victories, the greatest of these being the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965. The legislative victories provided, however, no tangible benefits and relief for the central problems facing the northern working and lower class blacks. The economic condition of the majority of lower class urban blacks either remained stationary or worsened at a time of increased national prosperity despite the War on Poverty of 1960-1968.

Early in 1965, there was a restless stirring within the black community. The feeling grew that the demonstrations and non-violence were not working. "You can only sing 'We Shall Overcome' so many times," a young black said "before you realize that it is not the way to overcome" (Johnson 1970:100,101). The center of the black struggle was moving North where the ghettos were, where blacks could easily see that the white world was still discriminating against them. It was fertile ground for the use of angry militance. The day of peaceable marches beginning at black southern churches and ending in damp southern jails was passing. In northern cities black patience was wearing thin and frustration was reaching the boiling

point. The larger problem has always lain in the North, ignored by whites who paid only lip service to the ideal of equality.

Attempts by the civil rights leadership and organizations to mobilize the black urban masses remained unsuccessful:

because these organizations had a Southern base and because their efforts at improving housing and job opportunity for blacks in the North were met by increased resistance from northern whites whose enthusiasm for the black cause was considerably weaker when the satisfaction of black aspiration would require a change in their way of life rather than of Southerners and because the solution to the problems produced by de facto segregation and the goal of integration are considerably more intractable and costly than was true for desegregation in the South (Oberschall, 1973:207).

Therefore, there emerged on the American scene and in the black community a new ideology with new spokesmen, new methods and new techniques. Despite the enactment of nearly every legal safeguard that could have been enacted, residential segregation was intact in the north. Job discrimination remained pervasive. Black poverty was severe. De facto school segregation was common. Despite the entry of blacks into such formerly all white preserves as the Senate, the Cabinet and the Supreme Court, there was a wider spread feeling of powerlessness and the average black man saw little change in his daily life. Out of the wash of frustration came black nationalism formulated in successive stages by Malcolm X who after his religious pilgrimage to Mecca in 1964 was able to define the goal of 22 million Afro Americans.

The common goal of 22 million Afro-Americans is respect as human beings, the God-given right to be a human being. Our common goal is to obtain the human rights that America has been denying us. We can never get civil rights in America until human rights are first restored. We will never be recognized as citizens there until we are first recognized as humans (Malcolm X 1964:304-305).

Malcolm contended that the black man's task was to develop his own humanity to embrace it, to enrich it, to identify it, to honor it, to grasp its African heritage, to be proud of it without consideration of the regard that the white man may have of it and to see the Afro-American struggle as part and parcel of a global crusade for human rights. The resources of the black community must be mobilized and committed to the development and enrichment of black humanity, he argued.

Our modal musician in Nashville was 21 when Malcolm X was assassinated. With his death, the blacks of this country saw history as beginning just yesterday. His black consciousness ideology was articulated by Stokely Carmichael who visited Nashville, rallied the increasingly militant activist black students and was involved in some violent racial confrontations in Nashville. The pronouncements of the black nationalist fell like a bomb shell on the playground of integrationist black theoreticians. Their ideas were like hand grenades which were thrown into the marches of blacks singing "We shall overcome...someday," causing disturbance, confusion, disarray but eventual acceptance of the new philosophy of violent self defense.

Our modal interviewee was 21 years old, a young adult, at the beginning of the raging turbulence of the period from 1965 to 1970, when Freedom Now was replaced with Black Power and the unheard of the black ghettos of urban America arose and spoke through their action the language of violent confrontation with the symbols and substance of an everpresent racism-now open, then hidden, but real in its substance and impact on black America. During this period the "We Shall Overcome" anthem of the earlier years was supplanted by the battle cry, "Burn, Baby, Burn" and the locked

arms of passive resistance were replaced with the flaming presence of the "molotov cocktail" hurled at white America. This era reached its peak in 1968 when Martin Luther King, Jr. was murdered and America was engulfed and shaken at its foundation by a wave of riots almost unprecedented in its history. Our modal interviewee was then 24 years old.

The events of 1968, which increased black consciousness was reflected in the increased popularity of the "protest" theme in black music. This year saw the rise of such songs as "We're Rollin' On," "Say it Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud," by James Brown, and "Black is Beautiful," "Soul Pride," and "Choice of Colors," by the Impressions. After his death Martin Luther King was eulogized in a song by William Bell in his "Tribute to a King," and his message was continued in such songs as "Let My People Go," and "Wish I Knew How it Felt to be Free." One recording, "This is My Country," by the Impressions, seemed to address specifically the popular slogan "America, Love it or Leave It." This song made it plain to the white community that blacks considered their sacrifices sufficient credentials to call for change in the system.

As a result of the civil rights movement and other events, the South experienced tremendous social, cultural and demographic change in race relations and in other related areas like housing and population composition. What happened in Nashville is a reflection of what happened throughout the urban South.

A perusal of census tract data for Nashville-Davidson County from 1950-1980 reveals a pattern of black de-concentration and redistribution away from the central city and its fringe to the outer areas. In 1950, before consolidation of city-county government and before annexation, what

is now called "Old Nashville" contained 85 percent of the combined city-county black (at least half of non-white)¹³ population. Old Nashville embraced the central city and the residential fringe, North, South, East and West Nashville. The county embraced "Old Nashville" plus areas up to the county line. Thirty percent of the Old Nashville population was black but only 6 percent of the population beyond the city limits but within the county was black.¹⁴

The mainly black neighborhoods in Old Nashville were mixed socioeconomically.¹⁵ I lived in North Nashville on 15th Avenue which was about three blocks from downtown. My street was a residential street. Within a half a block from my home, however, were the John Henry Hale housing projects. Within a block from my home on Charlotte Avenue, there was a group of stores - three clothing stores, three grocery stores, a drug store, a shoe repair shop and a liquor store. There were at least three churches within two blocks of my home. It was a thriving neighborhood - busy, active and diversified. Perhaps it was that very quality of class heterogeneity among blacks that fostered what Wallace calls ethstyle, "a distinctive ethnic life based on shared style rather than a single class" (Wallace 1980:299).

The community based on ethstyle becomes better able to sustain its own leaders. The needs of its people are varied and so are the

¹³ See Gist and Java (1964). Nashville census tract data provided by the Metropolitan Planning Commission.

¹⁴ Metropolitan Planning Commission-Census data for 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980.

¹⁵ Metropolitan Planning Commission-Census data for 1950-1980.

resources...the community can mobilize to fulfill needs (Wallace 1980:160).

In 1960, the proportion of blacks living in Old Nashville decreased to 75 percent. The more affluent blacks began to relocate into areas like Haynes Heights, the "Gold Coast", and Bordeaux. Though the old city limits had extended slightly the 40 census tracts that constituted Old Nashville still was the ecological locus of the vast majority of Nashville blacks.¹⁶

By 1970, Nashville Davidson County had been consolidated.¹⁷ This was also after the major civil rights legislation had been passed, after the "New Frontier" and the "Great Society" administrations of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson respectively, after the enactment of liberal social programs, and after the assassination of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy. In 1970, the percentage of blacks living in the Old Nashville census tract areas had dropped to 60 percent. Who left? Simply put, those who could afford to do so moved voluntarily. They qualified for loans or federal assistance and were able to take advantage of new opportunities for housing. Those who could not afford to resist relocation did so somewhat involuntarily.

In 1980, only about four out of ten Nashville blacks live in the Old City census tract areas.¹⁸ Today Nashville has grown both in land area and population. As Nashville has spread, so has the black population.

¹⁶ Metro Planning Commission

¹⁷ This is Nashville! Profile compiled by Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce.

¹⁸ Metropolitan Planning Commission

Multiple factors have been invoked to account for this shift across class lines of the black population. Urban renewal and the numerous projects generated by it account for the uprooting of low income and poor blacks to other areas of the city. Anti-discrimination housing laws and increased housing opportunities made available to blacks through government assisted housing programs during the 1960-1970 time span helped spread the movement of blacks away from the central city area. City-county consolidation, annexation of surrounding areas, expansion and/or relocation of industries and the movement of new industries into the expanded city also brought about the weakening if not demise of the traditional solidary black community as neighborhood.

Yet concentrations of blacks still remain in sections of the central city, the city fringe and suburban Nashville tracts. For example, there are four tracts in North Nashville that have at least 95 percent black population. There is one tract in North Nashville with a 99 percent black population. There are three tracts in South Nashville with over 80 percent black population. In the Waverly-Belmont area of South Nashville, blacks comprise over 80 percent of the population.

The mainly black suburban areas tend to be (1) formerly predominantly white areas that through black expansion and white flight became over the 30 year period (sometimes sooner) predominantly black, (2) relatively new areas that were earmarked for black expansion and (3) "old" areas into which affluent blacks relocated during the first phase of
19
deconcentration.

¹⁹All data provided by the Metropolitan Planning Commission.

Bordeaux is an example of "older" suburb into which blacks begin to relocate in the 50's. Today, more than 80 percent of the Bordeaux population is black.

The spirit of community however, which pervaded black Nashville, the class diversity which made it almost a city within a city, "a miniature society" (Wallace 1980:160) during the days of segregation were not sustained in the post segregation era. Many moved from class heterogeneous neighborhoods in which coping mechanisms were devised in the face of Jim Crow into areas inhabited almost exclusively by persons economically like themselves.

In black Nashville during spatial concentration the neighborhoods were composed of people who were economically diverse but racially alike. So that a black doctor in some cases shared common space within a two or three block area with a black domestic worker. A row of houses was sometimes within a block or two of housing projects. Many lived within or in the fringe of the central city. All shared the social consequences that their color symbolized. For example, all blacks in their interaction with whites were expected to conform to a "racial etiquette" that kept blacks and whites socially distant from one another.

They moved from a black inner city to a different world created in part by civil rights.²⁰ They shared space with old neighbors in a new setting or new neighbors in a new setting. Some neighbors were white and friendly; some were not friendly. The new environment tended to be economically homogeneous and racially diverse or homogeneous with respect

²⁰Metropolitan Planning commission census tract data.

to race and class. This sense of peoplehood with other blacks across class lines -- established during segregation -- weakened in the migration from "Old Nashville" to the suburbs.

This sense of community has been cited as a critical need of the black community but its emergence in a new form to fit the new situation has yet to occur. Jim Crow was overcome; the new adversary is James Crow, Esquire.

Does the foregoing mean that spatial concentration is necessary for the maintenance of community? Advocates of the ghetto hypothesis say yes. They argue that a loss of space or territory translates into a loss of sense of community. In reference to the Jews for example Wirth contends that with each generation of American Jews, "not only does the Ghetto disappear, but the race tends to disappear with it" (Wirth 1928:74).

Other investigators disagree with this position. Etzioni (1959) argues that physical dispersion has not weakened the ties that bind Jews as a people. They cluster together in several suburbs but without reestablishing exclusive Jewish areas. Interaction as a people is sustained through shared activities, by networks, by telephone and perhaps newsletters (Lavender 1977). Etzioni concludes "a group can maintain its cultural and social integration and identity without having...[a territorial] basis" (Etzioni 1959:258).

With things as they are ecologically, the black musical community as a subsystem of the wider black community -- once close together in the central and its fringe -- is now dispersed everywhere. The black community overall has become a "highly differentiated and structurally complex entity characterized by neighborhood heterogeneity and social class diversity" (Warren 1975:7).

The black musical community as a component of the whole has become as differentiated and complex as the wider community.

Black Musicians as Community

Our data suggests that there is at most a fragmented sense of community among black musicians in Nashville. The perception is drawn from the interview responses and the ecological redistribution and dispersion of black Nashville. In the early days with most of the black population within a 20 mile radius of Jefferson Street, black musicians were in an advantageous position to interact with one another. A few of them lived within walking distance of each other. This physical proximity reinforced the communal bonds which were reinforced by the many opportunities to play together, to attend jam sessions, to learn and exchange ideas, to hear the others play, and even to study music together.

Today, black musicians are scattered all over Nashville. A few live in "Old Nashville" but most live beyond. The modal interviewee lives in a mainly black neighborhood in the suburbs. They are caught up with the daily responsibility of family and job and do not have the outlets for social interaction with other musicians generally that were once available. This new ecological situation reinforces the tendency to confine relations to career cohorts and coworkers and/or to those with whom a common background is shared. Remember some of our musicians grew up together in Old Nashville. This translates into continued interaction through common networks and activities as a suburban resident among some musicians. This response captures our point in a concise way.

Is there a sense of community among black musicians in Nashville?

It depends on where you work or your background. Giggers know each other -- most of them do. Your church musicians know each other...Guys like _____ who teach music and gig know one another. Black musicians on music row know each other...It's not that many of us. Black musicians who grew up in Nashville have a lot in common -- church and all that -- and they keep that bind, sort of, if they stay in Nashville even if they work and play in different areas. But all in all the sense of community is limited (Terrence Int 1, 1981).

It is perhaps through the church that this fragmented sense of community could be broadened to a generalized communal bond as black musicians.

Thus our modal interviewee has witnessed the rise and fall of overall community among black musicians. Having begun to play for pay in the formative years when black Nashville was segregated, close knit and thriving with opportunities for musical employment both within and outside of black Nashville, our modal interviewee witnessed the deterioration of traditional black Nashville and experienced the weakening of those ties that bound the black musical community together.

There is indeed a paradox in these developments. When black Nashville was a segregated but close knit community and the structure of employment opportunities for blacks generally was limited to certain areas of work, employment opportunities for black musicians were abundant. Today in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement which generated among other things increased housing and employment opportunities for many blacks, today when Nashville stands as a major national music and recording center -- a development which occurred noncomitantly with the growth of the Civil Rights Movement -- employment opportunities for black musicians have decreased significantly.

Again, in many other urban communities black and white local musicians unions merged. What impact did amalgamation or desegregation of locals have

on employment opportunities for black musicians in those communities?

According to this excerpt from a resolution presented at a national meeting of the American Federation of Musicians

...reports from black musicians throughout the country indicate that they have lost job opportunities, been discriminated against; been made victims of tokenism; and been used as 'window dressing.' All of these situations are directly attributable to the merger of locals and the thrusting of black musicians into the white old line establishment...The Federation Civil Rights Department has never functioned effectively except to encourage or force merger without safeguards to insure the welfare of the minority group (Drucker 1972:10).

According to Walton, this national pattern of discrimination against black musicians is reflected in these examples in New York, Hollywood and San Francisco.

Discrimination against black musicians extends beyond radio and television to the biased hiring policies in Broadway and off-Broadway musical productions [and] Hollywood staff orchestras...A survey of employment practices in Broadway pit orchestras in New York City, conducted by Robert Magnum of the New York State Division of Human Rights, in 1970, disclosed an almost complete absence of Afro-American musicians in these positions...There is still a noticeable absence of blacks playing boat or cruise jobs or appearing with the San Francisco Symphony ballet or opera (Walton 1972:162, 165).

Walton gives this description of what was said to the black musician before and after amalgamation.

Before amalgamation, the black musician was told: You are different from us (whites) and must join a Negro local. With amalgamation, the formulation changed to: You are no different from us, so don't pull that 'Black stuff' on us. What remained constant? You black musicians are still unqualified to play our best paying jobs (Walton 1972:114).

In Nashville, there was no black local to merge with a white one. Nevertheless, our black musician faced the same dilemma. Employment opportunities that existed during black concentration and segregation were

not sustained in other ways when black deconcentration contributed to the erosion of gigging opportunities for black musicians.

III. CENTRAL COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

In addition to playing and singing for pay, what else are our interviewees doing, what have they achieved, where are they living--these and other questions will be addressed in this section. In the course of our discussion, childhood-adult life comparisons will be made to illustrate what our interviewees have accomplished.

Family

Hill (1971), identified the strengths of black families. These strengths are particularly relevant to the formative years time-span of our modal interviewee's family of origin. To put it another way, these strengths fit the type of family in which our modal interviewee was raised, that is, they fit the type of black family that produced the type of adult our interviewees became.

Otto also cited strong kinship bonds and adaptability of family roles as basic strengths of black families. According to Otto:

It is a strength when family members can 'fill in' and assume each other's roles as needed. For example, a father can function as a 'mother' and children temporarily be 'parents' to their mother and father" (Otto, 1962, 72-80).

It is this type of flexibility of family roles which

...exists in many black families and is a source of strength and stability. Much of this role flexibility probably developed in response to economic necessities. Because of the high proportion of working wives in black families, it is common for older siblings to act as 'parents' of younger siblings...Such role flexibility helps to stabilize the family in the event of an unanticipated crisis (Hill, 1972: 17).

Our interviewees were raised in an environment where the kinship bonds were strong and family roles adaptable and are themselves raising children within a strong and nurturing family context. As one interviewee expressed it;

I am determined to give to my children the same love and direction my parents and grandmother gave to me...When times were difficult for them they still sacrificed for us, their children...No matter what, my children will always be my first concern... (Betty, Int. 1, 1981).

A strong religious orientation was another strength cited by Hill.

A strength of black families that has been widely discussed...is their strong religious orientation. Blacks have been adept at using religion as a mechanism for survival and advancement throughout their history in America. During slavery, religion served as a stimulant for hundreds of rebellions that took place. It was also a major source of strength during the Civil Rights Movement of the '50's and the '60's (Hill, 1972:33).

Willie asserts that the middle-class black family is typically consumed with work-related activities but does set aside time for "regular involvement in church affairs" (Willie, 1976:23)

The Church

Using church attendance as an indicator of this religious orientation, the data reveal that close to 95 percent of our interviewees indicated they attended church usually or always during childhood. Most in our sample indicated that they, in their adult life, continue to attend church and support it financially. These responses illustrate this point:

DO YOU ATTEND CHURCH NOW?

Yes, I am a regular church attender now. I'm involved with the male chorus whenever I have time. I am a supporting, tithing member of the church (Myron, Int. 1, 1983).

Almost every Sunday. See a lot of times I'm asked to sing at other churches, so I don't perhaps go to church but I've attended

somebody's church. And if I don't get it on Sunday, I'm usually there during the week (Dorothy, Int. 1, 1983).

To strong kinship bonds, adaptable family roles and a strong religious orientation, Hill adds another strength of black families, a strong achievement orientation. Hill notes that this achievement orientation is found in black families in low income as well as middle income brackets. "One of the unheralded strengths of blacks is the strong achievement orientation of low-income black families" (Hill, 1971:27).

Willie makes a parallel observation about middle class black families:

Because education and consequently economic affluence are so closely tied together for middle income black households, parents tend to go all out for their offspring. Particularly do they wish their children to go to college immediately after graduating from high school...An ambition of most parents is to give to their children opportunities which they did not have (Willie, 1976:22).

The close knit family of our interviewees combined with strong church ties and an overall environment that supported their musical aspirations all would suggest that our interviewees were encouraged to acquire the credentials necessary for achievement. This is indeed the finding when we asked our interviewees about their formal education. We have already discovered that music educators have earned higher education degrees in music. But many also earned degrees in other fields.

Considering higher education as a whole, both in music and outside it, ten of our interviewees finished college with an undergraduate degree; ten completed a graduate degree and four of our interviewees hold a Ph.D. degree. Thus, 77.5 percent of our interviewees have earned higher education degrees and 45.2 percent hold graduate degrees.

Of those who went to college, 61.3 percent majored in music. The reason behind an aspiring musician majoring in music is obvious. But why did some of our interviewees (35.5 percent) choose a non-music major?

...That's a good question...I just don't think my interest was there and deeply rooted to a point where I would try to perfect...I'm a versatile person...At first I majored in Health and Physical Education because I am an athletic type and I just wanted to be a Health and P.E. teacher at that point...then I changed to Sociology because I felt like I was more interested in people...but I never left music... (Evelyn, Int 1, 1981).

Music was natural. I am a self-taught musician...I really didn't need anybody to teach me how to play the guitar or any other instrument. I took senior level theory in my freshman year. I didn't need to study music in a formal academic sense. I majored in Paralegal Technology because I wanted to know the business side of the music business. I learned business law...taxes...corporate structure and used this knowledge in my job experience...and all of this made me a better businessman in the music business because I can speak the language (Mike, Int 1, 1983).

...I think I was burned out with just studying music, playing music and I was ready to get off into some other field. something that could be connected with music. I found this in psychology, a field that fascinated me...I see how psychology could have sharpened my skills in terms of communicating musical thought to an audience...there is psychology involved in selling a piece of music to an audience and selecting the right note and phrasing notes in such a way that the audience can absorb it and really appreciate it...there is such a thing a thing as psychology of music (Myron, Int 1, 1983).

A few majored in music at the undergraduate level but switched to a non-music major at the graduate level. Why was this?

...Piano was my main instrument...but I never thought about my end results in majoring in music. My mother saw that end result was to perform...be a concert pianist...So I was just entrenched in music...I decided I wanted something else...I majored in math for a while but was bored...I switched to English...And then I saw this girl working on these funny looking symbols like phonetics over there at Vanderbilt Speech Pathology...I decided to major in that...But interestingly my courses (in music) helped me in my various Speech Pathology courses, especially with voice disorder cases...My musical background enabled me to deal with voice harmonics and overtones...it

was in the same state but not the same city...There is some connection (Mildred Int 1, 1983).

Of the four who hold a PhD degree, two received it in music and were music majors from the undergraduate to the terminal degree. The other two received the PhD in a non-music area. Though not in music education per se, one interviewee with a non-music PhD is committed nevertheless to cultivating in young students a desire to play a musical instrument. The following is a description of a program designed to create such an interest.

I started this thing in an effort to provide an incentive...that would cause them to put forth a greater effort to practice that instrument and to go further with their instruments than maybe they had originally planned to go. It was strictly a motivational idea.

DO YOU THINK THE PROGRAM HAS ACHIEVED ITS PURPOSE?

Well at least to some extent. Of course, it will take time before this question will be answerable in any concrete terms...Hopefully, 10 or 15 years from today, we'll see some of them going towards careers in music. Or at least playing through grade school and secondary school (Sheldon Int 1, 1983).

Hill cites still another strength of the black-family relevant to our modal interviewee, a strong work orientation.

...the data presented...indicate a strong work orientation exists among blacks as it does among most Americans and, self help is the characteristic pattern of most black families (Hill 1972:14).

Willie makes this observation about the type of black family in which our modal musician developed.

Middle class black families in America manifest probably better than any other population group the Puritan orientation toward work, success and self-reliance so characteristic of the basic values of this nation. For them, work is a consuming experience (Willie 1976:23).

Occupation

A high status job is the ultimate practical end to which these impressive credentiate should lead. As the saying goes, "You can have a B.A., a M.A., even a PhD, but if you don't have a J O B you are still in bad shape." Using occupation of father and mother as a point of departure for comparison, our musicians generally exceeded the occupational status of their parent(s) or equalled the status of those parents in the professional/managerial or proprietary category. While 53% of our sample had professional/managerial fathers and 43% had professional/managerial mothers, 75% of our interviewees (3 out of 4) achieved professional/managerial jobs for themselves. While 35% had mothers who worked in the service sector, only one of the interviewees work in a service sector job.

Let us look at some secondary data. According to the 1980 census, working blacks in Tennessee "are more likely to be found in the service industries...About 57% of employed Blacks in Tennessee in 1980 were operators, fabricators, and laborers, or were in the various service occupations" (Rollins 1984:2). However only 12.2% of working blacks in the State of Tennessee are in the professional/managerial occupations. In Nashville, the city where our research was conducted 40% of the working black population are in service jobs but only 17.7 % are in professional/managerial occupations. Thus our sample has over six times the proportion in professional/managerial occupations than the total working black population in Tennessee and over four times the proportion of black professionals/managers in the city of Nashville.

According to the census, 18.8 percent of the total working population in Tennessee is in the professional/managerial category and 25 percent of the population in Nashville have professional/managerial jobs. Again our sample has close to four times the proportion in professional/managerial jobs than the total population in Tennessee and three times the proportion of professionals in Nashville. Again, compared with census data on the black and total working populations in Tennessee and in Nashville, our interviewees have done exceedingly well for themselves in terms of achieved occupational status.

These comparisons indicate that our musicians who were born into a middle or upper middle class home achieved that same or higher status overall for themselves. This is further attested when we compare childhood/adult life location of home. All musicians who were born in a rural area or the inner city are now living in the suburbs.

Further, our modal interviewee grew up in a private-home and is living in a private home now. Those few musicians who grew up in low rent housing live currently in private dwellings. Thus in term of educational, occupational and housing achievement, none of our interviewees experienced status reduction from formative years to adult life.

In summary, our modal interviewee was born in the urban South in Tennessee in 1944 to middle or upper class parents, He has lived in Nashville for more than 20 years. While growing up, our modal musician attended church regularly, was involved in the music program of the church, was nurtured in an achievement oriented environment and was encouraged by significant others to pursue musical aspirations and become a professional musician.

As a result of this supportive background, our modal interviewee as an adult is a family person, raising children and attending church and supporting it financially. Further, our modal interviewee is typically a secular performer who has earned at least an undergraduate degree in music, is employed in a professional occupation and lives, as did the parents, in a private home in the suburbs. Thus our interviewees were typically born into a middle or upper middle class home and have achieved the same or higher status for themselves as adult. They are in turn transmitting to their children the very strengths that shaped and nurtured their growth and development during the formative years.

Income

Earlier, we stated that the black musician is typically a secular performer for whom music performance is an avocation -- a supplement to a full-time income earned elsewhere. Why is this so? We have examined mean income and income range by careers and reported the findings which have given us a partial picture of the current status of the black musician as music professional. A look now at the mean income and income range for the total sample will enable us to understand why our modal interviewee is not playing an instrument, singing or providing some other musical service exclusively to make a living. We have indicated that four of our interviewees earn more than \$17,000 per year. The mean income however for the remainder (56%) of our total sample is around \$5,000 per year. The modal income for our sample falls in the less than \$3,000 income range.

A comparison between "reality" and perception is interesting at this point. When asked to assess the income earned by black musicians

generally for musical services, over 85% indicated that black musicians²¹ earn around \$3,000 per year. The following illustrates our points.

WHERE DO BLACK MUSICIANS WORK IN NASHVILLE?

In the clubs (nightclubs), joints and side the road places -- not downtown and not in the studios.

HOW MUCH MONEY DO THEY MAKE?

Thirty dollars per night, may be two nights per week (Robert Int 1, 1983).

Thus, music income for our interviewees is typically a part-time supplement to some other full-time professional job and it is the perception of our interviewees that most black musicians in Nashville earn a bare minimum from their musical talent. Our modal interviewee earns less than \$5,000 annually and perceives that black musicians generally earn even less for musical services in Nashville. The money flow is barely a trickle.

Our musician has lost economically. Eighty per cent of our sample indicated a salary of less than \$50 earned on the first engagement. Thus, our modal interviewee at an average age of fourteen in 1958 played for the first time for pay and made \$15. Today at the age of 40, our musician²² makes \$30 per engagement. Based on a conservative estimate of the inflation rate between 1958 and 1984, our musician should be making at least \$45 per engagement today.

Behold our modal black musician in Nashville! Urban born and raised in the South in a stable, at least, middle class family that encouraged,

²¹ This total was computed by multiplying the total weekly salary (\$60) by 52 (the total number of weeks in a year).

²² Based on the Consumer Price Index for 1958. This index indicates that salary of \$5 per hour (for 3 hrs.) in 1958 should be \$15 per hour in 1984.

through church experience and training, achievement in music and in education, credentialed with at least an undergraduate degree most likely in music and confirmed as musically talented and even gifted, our modal black musician, a family person. earns an average musical salary that is at least \$4,000 below the poverty line for a family of four. Small wonder our interviewees are employed elsewhere.

IV. OBSTACLES

How then do our interviewees account for this bleak picture -- this dilemma -- of the black musician that emerges from their testimony? Again, our respondents equated, rightly so, (as discussed in a previous chapter) working in the music industry -- music row -- as a giant leap toward higher income as a music professional in Nashville. Thus, the various responses given to the question, "Why are there so few black musicians working on Music Row?" will lead to an examination of a number of variables that may give some insight on the actual and perceived status of black musicians generally in Nashville.

Generally, there were four types of responses to this question. Let us then examine these cited by our interviewees and respond to selected ones in the light of the profile emerging from our data of our modal or typical black musician in Nashville. This profile is generated by the collective "story" our interviewees have shared with us.

Fragmentation

One subcategory of these attributes may be classified under the sub-heading, fragmented community. In a previous section, we concluded that an

overall and binding sense of community does not exist among black musicians in Nashville. It is this very lack of solidarity and mutual support that constitutes in the opinion of some of our interviewees, a hindrance to improving opportunities for blacks. It is this lack of cohesiveness that explains the peripheral position of black musical talent in Nashville. The following exchange illustrates this thought.

YOU INDICATED THAT BLACK MUSICIANS AS A GROUP HAVE NOT ADVANCED OVERALL IN NASHVILLE. WHY DO YOU THINK THIS IS SO?

That's a good question. There could be a hundred answers to that I guess...But basically I would say that black musicians remain where they are -- qualified and talented though they may be -- because we are not together -- not organized in any way -- there's no feeling of outreach and support for each other...If anything we make problems for each other. Not only black musicians, but black people generally make problems and fight each other...There is a bit of jealousy that occurs, a lack of comradeship because of a lack of understanding about what positive things can come from that...And because of these attitudes, we have not as a group progressed. In fact, if anything, we have gone backwards (Barry, Int 1, 1982).

Organizational Problem

The crucial advocacy and professional organization for the local musician is the local musicians' union. The Nashville Association of Musicians was chartered in 1903 as Local 257 of the American Federation of Musicians.

Joining a local union makes one a member of a national brotherhood, over 400,00 members strong; the American Federation of Musicians. If after joining a parent Local like 257, a musician decides to settle down in another town, he/she can do so on a transfer basis by paying a transfer fee. In fact, a member musician can join as many locals as desired on a transfer basis.

An organizational problem is the charge that black musicians have not advanced because they simply will not join the musicians union. This concern is reflected in the following response.

It's back to the thing called professionalism. In every profession there are unions that represent the professionals. Black musicians don't belong to the union here but they call themselves professionals. When people are called, the first thing they do is go through the union book. So how can they be professional if they don't belong to a professional organization? I think they need to be involved and broaden their area of interests and activity and not suffer from what we call tunnel vision. This is precisely what happens. They see only things from their perspective and not from any other perspective.

If you're professional you've got to be a member of the professional organization. If you're in the music business you need to belong to some of these organizations that are a part of the music business. Its exposure, its PR. People don't know you. You've got to make yourself known. They're not willing to do that. They think 'well I'm so good somebody gonna come over here and just plug me out,' you know, it will never happen. So I think being a member of a professional organization that represents their craft. It's difficult for one to be a professional singer if they're not a member of AFTRA. If one is an actor and not a member of AFTRA then you're not as professional because when they call...I've done some real good gigs because I was in the union book. And they wanted somebody black or somebody who they thought could put the black field on the surface so they called me. If my name hadn't been in the book, I doubt if I would have been called. Because it was a union gig (Mike, Int 1, 1983).

The following reviews the relationship between black musicians and the local musicians union here in Nashville.

...When I first came down here, black musicians could not join a union in Nashville. They had to join one out of Birmingham, Alabama. So it was a number of years before we could even get into the union. Now that the opportunity is here, black musicians are not a part of the union, they don't attend the meetings. The only person that we have who regularly attends and who is one of the roving delegates...and, sometimes black musicians even criticize the role that he plays. I just don't think that we're really in it. I went over to the union about the Nashville Jazz Workshop playing at Hadley Park last year. I told you about that. When I went by there what they were saying is that they wanted everybody to join the union in order to play. I was trying to explain to them what it was and still is...I said to them that this is the same thing I see happening now, as to what happened here in Nashville 20 and 25 years ago. I

said you look about you in the union now and you don't see any blacks working in the union. Well I just know that we have to start getting into the mainstream of things.

DO YOU ALSO FEEL THAT BLACK MUSICIANS MAY BE MISSING OUT ON SOME OPPORTUNITIES TO PLAY AND MAKE MONEY BY NOT JOINING THE UNION, THAT IT MAY BE HURTING THEM NOT TO JOIN?

Yes, but I also think that we have to not only join the union but we have to become actively involved in the union processes; like attending the meetings, voting, being a part of it, which we just don't do. We're not a part of it... (Lance, Int 1, 1981).

This contention was also expressed in our field work. My visits and subsequent contact with the leadership of the local union dealt with black involvement in the union and in the music business. They were willing to talk but at the same time appeared to be somewhat defensive about the topic. They asserted that most of the recordings done in the studios was still country or country-oriented (not withstanding the gradual increase of non-country music recorded in the studios). But they also asserted that there was no data available on the racial distribution of musicians involved in the recording sessions. (The forms that are used for payroll processing do not require racial identification). They did inform me that there were about 20 to 25 black members of the local union (out of a total membership of around 2400) but their involvement with union affairs and activities is "almost zero." Consistent with Lance's observation, they claimed that only one (of the black members) attends the meetings regularly. It was said in essence that the plight of the black musician in the union and in Nashville generally is like a self-fulfilling prophecy. Black musicians in Nashville generally do not join the union and those few who do join do not come to the meetings because they feel they have very little "voice" in the decisions made and since they do not come, they wind up not having any voice in the decisions made and issues presented for

action. It was alluded to in our conversation that more black enrollment and participation in the union could translate into some positive changes for black musicians in Nashville.

This claim of black non-involvement in the union was confirmed by our sample data on union membership. Sixty percent of our sample indicated that they are not members of the union. Looking at union membership by career we find that 20% of our music educators are members, 10% of our giggers are members and none of our religious/church musicians are members. But all of our studio musicians are members of the local union in Nashville.

Why is that our modal musician is not a member of the union? Of those who are not members, 92 percent indicated that union membership was simply not needed for the musical engagements they normally secure (note here that Tennessee is a Right to Work State). Why pay for something not needed was the general feeling of nonmembers. (This investigator can empathize with this position because during my playing days, the question of whether I was a member of the local union-vis-a-vis a given engagement--seldom arose).

This is not the only reason given for not joining the local. The other is connected with the purpose of the union and our musician's perception of the extent to which Local 257 is carrying out its purpose.

The Nashville local, like many others, is a microcosm of the national "Federation." The union functions to secure equity for its members. Reciprocity is built into the constitution, bylaws and general rules of the local. These codes guide the musicians, the people who employ their services, the relevant public and the union itself. The union serves as the major watchdog or judge of the proceedings in which prerogatives and

obligations as set forth in the codes are implemented. The musicians seek better pay, improved working conditions and fringe benefits. On the other hand, employers along with the public desire high quality and dependable performances and clear contractual stipulations concerning the performance.

The local is operated by officers who are elected for two year terms. Elections are structured to produce a fifty percent turn over in office holding per year. It is set up this way, but in reality, the officers generally serve much longer terms, since many continue to be re-elected. Any member is technically eligible to serve as a union official but, in reality, it is generally the more politically astute, seasoned and service oriented musicians who become one. For example, George Cooper, Jr. was elected president of the Nashville local in 1937 and was re-elected thirty-five times until his retirement in 1972. The major officers are president, vice president, financial secretary-treasurer, business representative and recording secretary. There is also a board of directors or executive board that meets every week. As part of their duties, the officers and board members serve on several committees, such as credit union, pension fund and wage. To acquaint new members with the general and specific intent of the constitution and by-laws as they apply to them, the local provides a series of orientation sessions.

During the tenure of Cooper's presidency, Local 257 grew to what was called "'one of the finest locals in the nation' by Caesar Petrillo, long-time labor leader" (Barley 1973). According to the current president, Johnny DeGeorge, "we represent all musicians, not just in the country field" (Gallagher 1977). Our musicians however do not agree with this claim. They feel that the union's major emphasis has been on representing

musicians connected with the music industry. The focus behind the negotiation for wages, working conditions and fringe benefits has been more on the studio musician, Opry musician, the radio and television musician than on those musicians working in other careers.

...the union is basically doing its job for musicians in the recording industry. But for the classics and the performer in general, they fall short there... (Drew Int 1, 1983).

Some compare the pay scale for the studio musician with that for the
23
gigger.

Studio musicians make good money because the union looks after them. Look at the pay scale. Their [studio musicians] lowest scale is twice the scale for the gigs I play. I mean, why should I pay to join an organization that will wind up doing less for me than I can do for myself (Myron, Int 1, 1983).

Some are dissatisfied with the leadership.

When I was a member, I never did see nor hear about a union leader visiting the clubs where I worked and making sure wages and conditions were up to par. It was a waste of money for me (Jack, Int 1, 1983).

There is a close symbolic association between the music industry and "whiteness." Because of this, our musicians feel that the union here "could care less" about the local black gigger.

Most of our interviewees felt that the union should not have a special mission for its black members, yet 70 percent expresses dissatisfaction or ambivalence toward the union. It was felt that the union has not fulfilled its basic purpose which was defined by over 70 percent of our sample as securing fair wages for all of its members. If

²³ The scale (minimum wage) for an engagement typical for our gigger is around \$42. For more information on studio scales see sub section on "socialization" in this chapter.

the union simply did its job, according to this line of thought, things would improve for everybody, including the black musician.

It was noted that all of our music industry musicians are members of the local union. In addition, it must be noted that all but one of our four musicians making more than \$17,000 per year are members of the union (remember three of our four \$17,000+ per year musicians are working in the music industry). The non-union members in the \$17,000 salary range is active in nearly every other music and cultural organization in the musical community and is in good standing with the union as a friend and advocate of live entertainment. Thus our modal studio musician is a member (though not necessarily active) because as expressed by Mike, the studio engagements and related major high paying jobs require union membership.

Let us now summarize our finding so far on union membership and its perceived value for explaining the current status of black musician in Nashville. Our modal total sample musician feels (1) that not being in the union has no bearing on the low income earned by black musicians in Nashville. (2) Further, in order to attract more black enrollment and participation, the union must act first in a decisive way that shows an uncompromising concern and commitment to protecting the musician. Our modal studio musician who is typically in the union feels otherwise. The union will not act until more blacks join and exert pressure from within.

Does being in the union make a difference? Our modal musician would answer in the negative but our studio musician would answer in the affirmative. Our data do not provide an answer to the question whether non-involvement with the union explains even in part the bleak income

picture for black musicians in Nashville. Two suggestions however emerge from this research. In view of the fact that our musicians in the upper income strata are members of the union, our interview data suggest that union membership could be at least an asset and non-membership could be a liability (especially as regards the music industry and its union gigs). This investigator's field experience also suggests the possibility of developing in Nashville a \$17,000 plus music career in secular performing and/or religious music without being in the union.

Attitudinal Problems

Another attribute of the musician could be classified under the sub-heading, "attitudinal problems." One form of this problem according to this charge is manifested in a lack of persistence and determination which is expressed a sense of hopelessness, lack of aggressiveness and patience. The following responses articulate this perception of hopelessness among black musicians in Nashville.

WHY ARE THERE SO FEW BLACK MUSICIANS ON MUSIC ROW?

Well, possibly because blacks probably feel it's futile to even attempt to do it anyway--knowing the competition they are going to have--knowing they are going to be competing with white musicians and realizing white musicians are going to be given priority in those situations where they are capable. This is the case for blacks in nearly any occupational area. I think they are pretty well decided at the outset that they are not going to get certain things so they don't seek to get them (Sheldon, Int 2, 1983).

Not only is this feeling of hopelessness expressed towards Music Row but it is also expressed toward Opryland, one of the major components of the Nashville music industry.

Now you have quite a few of your local blacks from TSU [Tennessee State University] and high schools who work out in the park, but not as musicians, just regular employees; candy girl, sweepers, whatever.

DID YOU EVER WONDER WHY THAT WAS?

I thought about it and I figured that the reason Opryland doesn't have too many black people working for them is because the black people here just figure it's for country singers. They don't audition. I found out you have very few blacks that audition. And that's why there aren't many. I think if more blacks could understand that there are shows that are other than Country and that they need the black people, the black voices, like Diana Ross imitations, but they just don't have enough blacks for all those parts and they have to use white people imitating these performers.

They also figure, 'I can't do that. I can't audition.' They don't have any self confidence. It's so simple. They don't see it. Anybody can audition. It's nothing special (Peter, Int 1, 1983).

Passivity is another reason cited for black musicians not making more money with their musical talent.

...I think I've been pretty bitter because I've seen some things that have happened with black musicians in the white community as well as the black community. I can name a place right now where I think they are exploiting the black musicians. This is a black-owned place. These fellas go and play and the guy pays them based upon what he takes up at the door. We've always been doing that, percentage. But this is not the case at this particular place. What he is doing is, they will come down on Friday night. If they don't have anybody in the house, he'll let them go home and don't have anybody in the house, he'll let them go home and they don't get anything, no percentage. Percentage means that if ten dollars comes through the door, the band's going to make six of that ten and the owner keeps four. If there are six musicians in the group, everybody gets a dollar a piece. What makes it so bad is that the youngest musician is about 30 years old. The others are 35, 40, 45, and these are supposed to be men who are pretty well on the way in terms of profession. It's this kind of thing. This is a black-owned club. It's on Jefferson Street...I think that we have been our worst enemy.

THE BLACK MUSICIANS THEMSELVES?

Yes, the black musicians.

WHY?

By accepting anything, almost anything, that was offered. I remember there was a musician in town called Hoss Allen, a disc jockey/musician [white]. I drove all the way from Lebanon, Tennessee with my young family to be with him at five o'clock that afternoon, because I knew that I was going to make ten dollars. I drove all the way here and we stayed there until four o'clock in the morning. Well, he didn't say, O.K., you've worked longer than I expected and here's fifteen dollars. But, I've seen too much of that sort of thing happen, you know. I could just name you case upon case where this has happened (Lance, Int 1, 1981).

Other black musicians are alleged to go to the other extreme in terms of

attitude. They lack patience, that is, want too much too soon and, as a result, defeat their own purpose.

I have gone through a process of negative situations with black musicians in Music City, USA. I think their presentation is musical, but their attitude in some of them leaves a lot to be desired and I am speaking of about 15 or 20 that I have experienced. They seem to have a suspicious and accusatory disposition and impatience that I don't think is necessary. They will accuse the white establishment of not giving them the opportunity to perform and in many instances when they are given the opportunity to perform they get impatient...money becomes the priority rather than trying to develop something so that the money can come later (Barry, Int 1, 1982).

Does this attitudinal description fit our black musician? Is there a sense of hopelessness among our musicians? Are they either too passive or too impatient to be upwardly mobile? Let us look at the data to respond to these questions. When asked to identify their music career goals, over 95 percent of our sample articulated clear and specific goals that are being systematically and actively pursued. Debra wants to record with Quincy Jones and is working to achieve this goal. Julie is organizing a black mass choir for concerts and recordings. Robert wants to write an instruction manual for his instrument. Carolyn wants to open up a school for music and dance. Jack plans to open up a jazz club. Myron wants to sponsor a series of symposia in area black churches on jazz and other forms of secular black music.

Except for Robert, Carolyn, Jack and Myron these goals include, in some way, the music industry in Nashville or some component of it. Robert wants to play more recording sessions in Nashville. Elizabeth wants to do more back-up singing in the studios. Faith is seeking to become the first major black female country music entertainer and writer. Boris and Lyle are moving toward increasing their recording activity. William is

preparing to audition for one of the Opryland shows. Thus, the present behavior of our interviewee is goal-oriented. And though perhaps discouraged by present conditions, our sample overall has not given up on the music industry. Our modal musician, in various ways, actively attempting to gain entry into the music industry. Whether the "right" strategies are being used, we do not know. But there is no generalized lack of persistence and determination in our sample interviewees.

Furthermore, our data indicate that our interviewees response to a given musical job in terms of pay is based on their perception of what the job is able to pay. A small club with limited clientele and resources that pays a bare minimum off the door is more or less seen as doing the best it can do under the circumstances at least for the initial stage of its program. If the entertainment brings in more business, our interviewees will expect to receive more money for their services (unfortunately programs of this type are rarely sustained long enough for the latter to happen). On the other hand, there is the perception that a major production, show or night club, with abundant resources, facilities and clientele (brought in by the entertainment) should yield a greater salary and/or recognition than our modal respondent often winds up receiving. Thus, our data suggest that when our black musician is patient, that patience is justified, when "impatient," that impatience is justified.

Another even more critical attitudinal problem is the argument that black musicians are not versatile in terms of types or forms of music preferred for playing. More specifically the charge is that black musicians do not like and will not play country music. This musician

expresses the attitude that is perceived to be the typical feeling of black musicians towards country music.

As far as the music scene in Nashville...I wouldn't be interested in doing it because I can't identify with it because I don't have that background and I just really don't like it that well. I have often said that if I have the opportunity to become famous in country music, I would rather turn it down to play what I want to do if I had to play on weekends and work a day job... Country Music, I don't knock it, but I'm not trying to get in it, I don't like it and I'm planning to move to an area where there is more exposure and a better outlet for the black music market (Frank, Int 1, 1981).

Is Frank typical for all or most black musicians in Nashville? Our data suggests not. In fact, our modal interviewee expresses a positive attitude towards Country Music. First of all, during the formative years (as mentioned before) our interviewees listened to a variety of music which often included country music which came into their homes through radio and television.

...I grew up with listening to the Grand-Ole-Opry way back when, and now when I have moved to Nashville I started playing in white clubs that came up and requested these old tunes. I could hear the changes in the songs and the songs just came right back. I can go in the Music Row area and sit down and talk about any artist to anybody and talk about the history, people like Patsy Cline, Maybelle Carter, Stonewall Jackson, Bill Monroe and the Bluegrass Boys (Terence, Int 1981).

In addition, 71 percent of our sample indicated they like Country Music generally or like some forms of it; 63 percent indicated they have performed Country Music and are willing to play it in the future. Further, when asked, "Who listens to Country Music," a majority of our sample stated that blacks were a part of the Country Music audience.

YOU SAY THERE IS A BLACK MARKET FOR COUNTRY MUSIC, WHAT MAKES YOU FEEL THAT WAY?

Well, to start with, all black people don't like black music. All whites don't like Country Music. We are getting to the point in our society where we are realizing where whites are realizing that black people have plenty of sense, they have plenty of money and they have a lot of ambition and drive. A lot of blacks like music that

tells a story. A lot of blacks can identify with the country theory or theology in music, see country music is built up around poor people, around the farm people, around struggling to get someplace. As a race, we have come a long way. You are getting a Ph.D. We can identify with struggle. We can identify with being poor. We can identify with sitting there on Saturday afternoon waiting on the watermelon truck: my latest song is called 'Watermelon'...Those who produce and promote country music realize there is a black market for this type of music (Faith, Int 1, 1983).

Thus, our modal interviewee likes Country Music, likes to play Country Music and feels that blacks like to listen to Country Music.

This perception conforms to the finding of other investigators. For example, in a survey done in Texas, Mississippi and Georgia--a study which may be indicative of a national trend--over 500 black adults were asked which music they most often listened to on the radio. The findings were surprising. Less than 10 percent answered "Jazz", while another 20 percent indicated "Blues" as their first choice. Over 30 percent indicated that the music they most often listened to was "Country and Western". (Their other choices were "Soul"--35 percent and "Rock"--25 percent.)²⁴

Yet there is an irony in our data -- a disjuncture between self-evaluation and other evaluation. When asked how many black musicians in Nashville play or sing Country Music, close to 60 percent answered that only a few of the musicians they know of play/sing Country Music. Perhaps this is an indication that black musicians know themselves but not each other in terms of playing preference and versatility. Perhaps this is a reflection of the broader lack of the overall feeling of community that some black musicians perceive among themselves. Self-awareness may be high but other awareness in certain areas is low. Again, our modal interviewee

24

A report of this study can be found in the Country Music Foundation Library and Media Center, "Blacks in Country Music" file.

likes country, likes to play country music, rightly perceive that blacks generally like it, but somewhat erroneously perceives that only a few black musicians in Nashville play country music. Therefore, the charge that blacks do not like country music does not appear to be empirically grounded.

Preparation

So far, we have discussed three sub-categories of black musician "attributes" cited to account for the present status of black musicians in Nashville, fragmentation, organizational problem and attitudinal problems. Let us move on to discuss a fourth obstacle invoked to explain the present state of affairs for black musicians, "professional preparation."

There is the argument that black musicians are not in the upper income levels of musical income because they typically have limited musical skills.

...You can't play just one instrument and make a living in the recording sector and move-up in this business...That's our problem as black musicians. We can only do one thing...brilliant with that one talent. But multiple talents most of us don't have and because of it most of us are on the outside as single talent musicians (Mike, Int 2, 1983).

Is our modal respondent a "single" talent musician? Ninety-four percent have, at least two major marketable skills; eight out of ten have at least three musical talents including writing, composing, and arranging as well as singing and even dancing. Terence plays the keyboard, and trumpet and sings, writes and composes. Mildred plays piano, clarinet and sings. Sheldon plays all the woodwind instruments and writes. Mike produces, composes, arranges, plays the guitar and other instruments. Carolyn sings, dances, and plays an instrument. Barry sings, directs, composes, and

produces. Kenneth does everything and plays just about all of the instruments. Therefore, our modal interviewee is not limited to one talent, but is multiply gifted with talents highly valued in the music industry.

We have noted that our modal interviewee is formally trained in music and holds at least an undergraduate degree in music. Nevertheless, some argue that the formal training our modal college-educated musician receives is heavily oriented around teaching music but not enough around the music business. In other words, the musical curriculum, especially in black higher education, does not adequately prepare its students for commercial music in general and studio work in Nashville in particular.

Each year I meet about 10 to 15 young white musicians across Nashville. Some of them are just out of college. They are coming from all over the United States to Nashville because Nashville is a big recording and music center and they come seeking employment in the music field. Some make it and some don't but I noticed one thing about it, some 99 percent of them have completed some music school or some conservatory or state college and they are very, very good in commercial music. When they come out of school they have good training. When I was going to TSU, I was in a good music program. It was a good musical program. It was a good band instrumental program and a good voice program, but everything was geared toward the classical and towards teaching...other schools have gone into commercial music programs and getting experience while in college and when they come out of college they are ready for the market and a lot of the black schools like TSU, Fisk, Morris Brown, are not preparing these kids for the current job market. They have not adapted their programs to the times. They are not ready (Boris, Int 1, 1982).

DO YOU THINK THAT SCHOOLS LIKE TENNESSE STATE AND FISK THAT HAVE CURRICULA IN MUSIC EDUCATION ARE PROPERLY TRAINING THEIR STUDENTS TO ENTER THE JOB MARKET AS MUSICIANS? AND IF NOT WHAT SHOULD THEY DO?

I don't think they are properly training the students for the commercial music industry. They may be training them for the "educational" curriculum, and they may be doing a good job but they are not training them for the commercial music industry. They are not prepared. They should do what Belmont has done. If they're serious about getting black musicians in the music industry. I think it's a shame that a black school does not have a commercial business,

music business program. Because we're getting further and further behind. It is the people who finish Belmont who get the first shot. The first interview, the chance to do it in the music industry, because they work in an apprenticeship position while they're doing it and they just move right in. That's the void we've got to fill (Mike, Int 1, 1983).

The question was raised whether majoring in commercial music really makes any difference in terms of a career in the music industry?

Let me say yes and no. We're having an argument now with the music school. In terms of fundamentals, basic musicianship and all that, yes they do. TSU did prepare musicians to do all that. I think a lot of that is up to the musician himself, whether you play jazz or not. I do know we have a lot of courses on Studio Music, Music Industry and all that. Personally I think it's a fraud because a lot of kids will go into that and will bypass becoming a musician. Instead of becoming a musician and learning the fundamentals, he will go into how to make a record. But then he can't get hired for it because he doesn't have the fundamentals. It's not as if you get the guy who is completely equipped to go into that. On that basis, yes and no. We do prepare and we don't prepare.

SO YOU THINK IT'S ALSO UP TO THE STUDENT?

Yeah, it depends on what he wants to do. The kid has to make up his own mind as to what this future will be. I've always said that (Waldo, Int 1, 198?).

In light of the concerns expressed by music educators and others about the appropriateness or relevancy of training in music offered by black higher education, this music educator projected this goal but with reservations and observations.

...I would like to modernize the curriculum in music at Tennessee State University...I would like to have another...concentration other than in teaching. Right now, teacher education is just down cast...[But] I predict in about 5 years the field will be wide open again...I'd like to see at this time a program that would permit a student to concentrate in studio work, not that that's going to help the blacks too much to be frank with you.

WHY NOT?

Because of the politics connected with Music Row. If you look at the people who are down there, they don't have degrees in studio work. They learn through the system. You know me and I know you; I can feather your nest... (Reuben, Int 1, 1983).

Reuben's observation is confirmed partially by our sample. None of our studio musicians majored or concentrated per se in commercial music. Yet, Mike majored in paralegal technology to learn the business side of the music business (Mike, Int 1, 1983). This, he feels, proved to be an asset to his career because it provided valuable technical competencies that a traditional music education major would not have. Terence is involved as both student and teacher in continuing education courses related to the artistic, legal and technical aspects of the music business. Kenneth has taken courses in commercial voice and as a producer has advised some of his proteges to enroll in a studio course at one of the local colleges. Thus our studio musician, while not a commercial music major as such, is a strong advocate of such training and is involved in various continuing education programs connected with this area of competency.

Even Reuben, in spite of his expressed reservation eventually reveals further on in the interview the value and significance he sees in commercial music training.

...in studio work, when they come down on beat, they don't want you to be finding that measure, they want you to produce what's on the page. We can read quite well most of us, but in our formal training we learned to read with a band director standing over us counting. It's a rarity to find a musician who can really do studio work right off hand. We haven't had an opportunity for "on-the-job" training. We have been deprived of this type of experience that white musicians have had. That's why I want to get that degree program in studio work started. It will provide the formal preparation, exposure and experience not available otherwise to us as they are to whites. And when you consider that blacks are expected to be exceptional in everything, this could make a difference (Reuben, Int 1983).

What does our data ultimately say on this issue? The basic message that comes out of the data is that commercial music training while not

necessary or sufficient for mobility could be an asset for those blacks who seek to enter and remain in the commercial music business.

Another even more serious preparational charge is that black musicians remain where they are in terms of music income because they can not read music.

...I was surprised at the number of black musicians that could not read what was on the paper. I was surprised. Fellows I had been playing around with for years and have known. They felt threatened. As long as were playing Grade I and Grade II they could deal with it but when we started to going up to Grade III, IV, V and VI, it was a threat and they just could not deal (Boris, Int 1, 1982).

AMONG THE BLACK MUSICIANS YOU KNOW, I KNOW YOU DON'T KNOW A LOT OF THEM IN NASHVILLE, BUT THE ONES YOU KNOW, HOW MANY CAN READ MUSIC?

I'm in a different situation. I came to Nashville as an outsider, therefore I associated myself with the folks who could read music...I have encountered a lot of people who could not read music, I've had to teach some people how to read rhythm charts, particularly rhythm musicians. What I have discovered is that your horn players are better musicians than your rhythm musicians. They don't read. The bass players, the drummers in most instances. The exceptional drummer reads and that exception drummer is the one most in demand. So, as I see it, we have three levels. A level of people who play just because they like music, someone who is trying to break in and who hasn't had enough experience yet, has not had the right opportunities to let them know the importance of reading, then, of course, we have those professionals, there is only a handful that I know of... (Mike, Int 1, 1983).

Is it valid to describe Nashville black musicians generally as non-readers? Does this description fit our modal interviewee? First the reader must recall that our modal musician is a product of intensive preparation, practice and training which culminated in the earning of a degree in music from a university.

Further, we must ask if "reading" in the traditional sense is the method by which the typical Music Row musician interprets "written" music?

...As far as being able to play in a studio, a lot of the musicians are not able to read music, but they understand the concept

of what a scale is so consequently they can use what they call the number system...A lot of this has been done on hit records. They don't sit down and try to read note for note...in the regular way of reading (Terence, Int 1, 1981).

WHAT IS THE NUMBERS SYSTEM?

The numbers system is a chart that is not written out in notes or letters, they write it out in numbers. So any key you go to you'll have the base and the number system will have defined what your chordal progression will go to...It's really simple...Black musicians here could very easily learn it...at least, the one I know...The numbers system falls short in a song with a lot of progressions. Because as soon as you change key in the numbers system, that one is lost because it has changed key too...But it is a good technique used in the recording sessions, which is indicative of the fact that the music itself is not that complex...you couldn't use it on a song with complex or weird chords, but you can use it on Country Music...A simple system for a basically simple form of music (Debra, Int 1, 1984).

But the issue of reading music goes beyond the trained reading skills of black musicians or the numbers system used in the studios. Underlying this issue is the recognition of the reality of a racial double standard to which blacks are confronted generally in American society. This double standard is articulated in the following:

The outlet for white musicians in this town, to make money, is greater than it is for blacks. At the outset of our interview, you asked the question concerning what someone had said about the skills of black musicians. We almost have to end up being a super person on a given instrument to be able to do anything as far as they are concerned. Yet if you walked on Opryland's stage on Saturday night, I would imagine that 70 or 80 percent of those musicians don't know anything about music or can't read music. All of those arrangements are head arrangements, and yet these people pick up checks from the union daily. And, big money checks, you know. But what I'm saying is that it seems to me that we have to be super technical in order to get any kind of recognition, in terms of performance, when a mediocre white can be just half as good (Lance, Int 1, 1981).

In essence, this charge or claim of reading deficiencies among black musicians is arguing that the black musician should be keenly aware of this double standard--unjust though it may be--and should either eliminate it or

conform to it. Since the former has yet to be done, black musicians should pursue the latter--should be a fluent reader of any and all notation systems. Black musicians in Nashville, it is claimed, have not entered into higher musical income levels because they have failed to measure up to that higher standard by which they will be inevitably evaluated.

We know-or should know-what we're up against in this society. The white man has one standard for himself and his people and another for us...We can't be adequate...we have to be almost undispensably-superb in all of our skills and then we might get a break...And until things change or until we get our own, that's the way it is...We haven't gone beyond just being good...You can't just be a reader. A black musician has to be a super reader of anything (Myron, Int 2, 1983).

Is then our modal interviewee a "super reader?" Let us answer this by looking at what our interviewees have to say on this issue. When asked "can you read music," all of our sample said "yes." Our next task was to get a self and group evaluation of reading skills. The strong positive reinforcement our interviewees received from various sources during their formative, training and professional years would suggest a strong, positive self evaluation of reading skills. Such was in deed the finding. Among those who indicated they could read music, nine out of ten stated that they were above-average or exceptional readers. Further, our interviewees were asked to assess the reading skills of those black musicians whom they know. Seventy per cent indicated that all or most of the black musicians they know are fluent or above-average readers.

...Of all the people that I've mentioned and my role models and the people that went through the school system's and the college band program that I went through, we came out reading our ass off and we really did. That was in us and it still is... (Jack Int 1, 1981).

Thus, our modal interviewee according to self-evaluation is at least an above average reader and perceives at least most of the black musicians in Nashville to be in the same category.

Of course, our analysis of this issue is based on subjective evaluations. Our study did not measure or determine in some objective way--that is, by using some procedure or test or "outside" evaluator--the music reading skills of our interviewees. Therefore, the question whether our modal interviewee is an exceptional or even average (or less) reader is not answered definitively by our data in the sense of both subjective and objective analysis. But our data does perhaps suggest that our modal interviewee is capable of handling any musical job that requires the reading of any type of notation system. Thus, the argument that black musicians' low income can be explained by the failure to achieve fluent reading skills does not appear to fit the profile of the modal interviewee in our sample.

Socialization

There is another concern expressed in reference to the black musician that goes further than just reading fluency or technical skills. It calls to question whether the black musician is prepared for big paying musical jobs not in terms of multiple talents or formal training or type of training but in terms of a broader sense of background socialization and acculturation. In short, this argument states that black musicians have not been oriented or acclimated to work in a studio setting. They are not sensitive to or aware of the structure, roles and cost of a recording session or a major production. The very nature of their experiential frame

of reference and worldview produces a musician whose disposition is incompatible with the "strict routine of studio work" (Peterson 197:78) where time is expensive and "artistic-freedom" is under rigid control.

Let us now describe a typical recording session on music row in terms of structure, cost, purpose and roles and then recapitulate and build on our profile of our modal interviewee in the light of this argument and its fit with our data. First of all, according to the local union pay scales, the musicians are paid either by the hour (demo session) or per three hours (master sessions). For a demo session, a sideman gets a minimum of \$31.71 per hour and the leader gets twice that amount, plus an additional 10% of that pay goes into a pension fund and there is a further \$4.75 health and welfare payment to musicians. These supplementary costs apply to both demo and master sessions. For the master sessions the sidemen receive \$87.06²⁵ per three hours and the leader gets twice that amount per three hours.

In addition there is the cost of studio time itself which can range from \$60 to \$200 or more per hour. These costs may or may not include the cost for the engineer. Thus, recording sessions are expensive. And, according to this respondent

It's a tremendous amount of pressure when you're making a recording session. You've got to give within three minutes the most brilliant and creative parts of you. In other words, those producers see that talent in term of dollars and cents. Are you commercial? Can you play a commercial lick that will make somebody in the audience buy that record...You think in terms of when they invest hundreds and thousands of dollars in recording sessions there are certain things that they want out of that and most of them don't want to take chances on somebody coming in and not being able to do the part (Terence Int 1, 1981).

²⁵ This supports our giggers' view that the union looks after the studio musician but does not extend concern beyond the music industry.

Again let us look at our musician in terms of playing experience. We have established that our interviewees are formally and informally trained with multiple talents in music. Having begun to play for money at an early age in settings where they were free-sometimes required to explore, "take liberties," express individuality, and develop style in terms of musical interpretation, our interviewees for the most part continued to play in the same type of setting as their careers developed. These settings were somewhat different in various ways from the studio or the major productions in which time and structure are crucial. Our modal interviewee, a gigger, wound up, settling into the type of job where human relation-interaction with the audience and others involved are essential, where the atmosphere is "laid back," where time is less important than establishing rapport, being flexible and generating excitement. In this type of setting, being fifteen or thirty minutes late or not starting exactly on time or taking an extended "break" or making a musical "suggestion" will not upset the normal flow of things. In this setting, there is more room to "do your own thing" musically while at the same time entertaining the audience in such a way as to get them (the audience) to stay, listen, participate, or dance and come back for more or re-engage the band for future events.

What type of jobs are these? They are the lower paying jobs in the gigging scene-the weekend gig in a nightclub that may pay off the door, the annual fraternity or sorority dance or social for which the facility often costs more than the band, the special program at a school that pays, a "token" honorarium (or a hearty thank you) to the musicians. These are the jobs that the higher priced musicians accept occasionally or not at all. These are the seasonal jobs, the one night stands, the jobs that are

here today and gone tomorrow and sometimes reappear in the future. This is indeed the local circuit in modern Nashville for our modal black musician. This circuit does not require union membership because the jobs are predominantly "non-union" jobs. On the map of musical jobs in Music City, USA, this-the modern "chittlin circuit" black Nashville style -- is argued to be the job locus of our modal musician.

Therefore, when our seasoned black performers whose multiple talents have been confirmed and exalted abundantly take on a studio job, what happens?

They look at themselves as God's gift to earth and think that there are special provisions that are supposed to be made. I think the problem of black musicians until here of late, not coming, not showing up on time, not being able to take direction. I write one thing down, they tell me something else. Now there are times when I've changed my mind because somebody comes up with a better idea. But you'll find the white musician more receptive to taking instruction and directions than black musicians. They come in as being accomplished and don't want to come in as an apprenticeship position. They think they know. Now, that's not everybody, of course. But those are some of the problems that I've had (Mike Int 2, 1983).

What happens when our giggers take on a major job in the performance sector? According to this charge they are conditioned -- even shackled -- to the

...traditionally black method of doing things, for instance, the job starts at 9:00 and the black horn player shows up at 10:00, you know, C.P.T (Colored People's Time). What I'm saying is nobody has time to fool around with this cat. Everything is strictly rehearsed...This particular show came into town with a musical director with some charts. The rehearsal was from 5:00 to 7:00, a paid rehearsal. While the rehearsal was going on, the engineer was in the engineering booth timing every tune and asking the musical director how long each tune and item on the show could last. The engineer was programming a computer. The show the next day started at 7:30. The curtain went up at 7:30 on a computer. The lights were on computer, everything was computer operated. The band must fit into the computer system that's set up to change scenes according to how it is programmed. A completely computerized production is what we are talking about and we don't have time to deal with a cat who says he is

late because he had a flat tire or his car ran out of gas and all that kind of jive. It's just a different day...We need to overcome this habit (Boru Int 1, 1982).

Noting that there are only a few black musicians on music row, this music educator contends that

...those who have been able to get into the music industry-those blacks- have not reached out to lend a helping hand to other blacks to bring them in... (Lance Int 1, 1981).

Some say that they do not bring other blacks into the music industry because they are not dependable.

...I want to help my brothers and sisters and bring them into the fold. There is a whole lot of untapped black talent out there playing the gigging scene. But I'm torn between helping my people on the one hand and maintaining credibility in the music business on the other. It's tough...it's difficult for me to recommend somebody for a session if I don't even know whether they are going to show up. So it puts me between a rock and a hard place (Mike Int 2, 1983).

What do our interviewees have to say about this perception that black musicians cannot take orders? How do they see themselves and other black musicians in reference to this contention? When asked to state their choice between a musical job in which they are basically on their own or one in which they are told what to play and how to play it, over 50 percent saw themselves as being able to function professionally in both a free (gigging type) and controlled (studios or Opryland) job context. In addition, over 60 percent of our interviewees said that all or most of the black musicians they know of are willing to take orders and function in a controlled job situation and only a few would not if given a chance. Thus, our modal interviewee's self-evaluation and the evaluations of other black musicians do not support the argument that black musicians are unwilling to take orders.

Furthermore, nearly all of our musicians have on occasion worked the more structured musical job--where they were basically told what to play and how to play it--in nightclubs, private clubs, churches, concert halls and for special programs. Some who are not in the recording sector have played in a few recording sessions where the strict routine is prevalent. They were able to function in that type of musical job, enjoyed the experience and in fact would like to have more engagements of that type.

I've played the kind of gig where you have to sort of play exactly the way some dude wants you to play or give a certain sound from your horn. It was a challenge and I like it. It was like having to please an individual instead of pleasing an audience -- a live audience. This guy knew what his audience wanted and I gave it to him. This was different -- a change of pace from a nightclub gig or playing a dance. I hope I can get some more gigs like that (Peter Int 1, 1983).

Our entire discussion of musicians attributes leads to the general but direct question drawn from Peterson's (1971) assertion that black musicians are not hired in the studios in essence because of their own shortcomings. When asked to respond to this point of view, 40 per cent of our sample agreed.

When I cut my first demo tape which was the lousiest demo that I ever cut in my life...we had all black musicians. Now, nobody came to rehearsal on time, nobody had equipment, now when we went to the studio, nobody had a way to get to the studio. When we got there, we had to rehearse in the studio, on time that's being paid for... (Faith Int 2, 1983).

While 40 percent agreed, 60 percent disagreed with the view that black musicians are not working in the studios because of their professional shortcomings.

I think it's stereotyping the black person. I don't think that's right. You're putting everybody into a pack as they always have been. All blacks are lazy and all blacks do this and it's wrong. I think you should take an individual and test him out and see what he can do (Dorothy Int 1, 1983).

I just feel that among those musicians I know in town, they appear to be as businesslike, as punctual and as inclined to do what they are supposed to do - some more than others - and I just don't feel that that is a valid explanation - that it's the fault of the black musicians as to their low representation on Music Row. I just don't buy that (Myron Int 2, 1983).

Generalizing why black people are not used on Music Row is partly the fault of white people and black people accepting that because 6 black musicians who are all late for a session, that's not all black musicians in Nashville. You've got to develop the policy, 'I'm gonna hire musicians, I don't care what the color is'.

But for a lot of black musicians, it's a problem to come in and just sit there and do your job because there is so much that you feel you have to do to impress them that you're OK to be hired the next time.

I refuse to say that black people are not used because of that. It has been understood, that because a few black people screwed it up that the rest of the black people just took it for granted that their chances were nil. In a lot of instances, they might have been (Delia Int 1, 1984).

Racial Double Standard

As with the issue that blacks are not in music row because they can't read music, professional socialization as an explanation also stems from the dual standard of behavior based on race.

...I think they would be more inclined not to put up with the lack of certain things with a black musician as opposed to a white musician. For an example, I remember a number of years ago that I played a recording session...with some pretty well known white musicians at that time. And I remember the bass player, a real fine white bass player...He was reading numbers and I was reading notes and chord changes. He was amazed at what I was doing because he couldn't do it...But I could do what he was doing. He was late for the session and jived-around a little bit and they put up with it. I was on time and businesslike -- ready to do what I was expected to do...They would tell him to do something and sometimes he would challenge it but they went along with it...They told me to do something and I did it. But I think they would not have put up with me, a black musician, if I came on like that. What's good for the white goose is not good for the black gander (Lance Int 1, 1981).

How then must the aspiring black musician deal with this double standard?

...we got to face reality. We haven't changed anything yet in terms of having to be super musicians on music row. We have to read everything on sight... That's the way it is. Being on time is not enough, we have to be early...We just can't take orders in the recording session, we have to know what they are before we get them...like this character "Radar" on television...when they see or think about us, they have to see dollars, profits that they can't make without us...It's either that and its unfair-or we simply start our own industry (Mike Int 2, 1983).

To get a clear grasp of the relevancy of socialization and acculturation for the music business, let us recap our analyses of the beginnings and job experiences of our interviewees. Our modal interviewee is connected experientially to two somewhat contradictory job situations. On the one hand, he is perhaps a product of musical jobs in which punctuality and following orders are viewed as good traits but are not necessarily crucial requirements. On the other hand, remember also that our interviewees are products of the type of black family that embraced and inculcated middle class values like punctuality, time management, obedience to legitimate authority, teamwork and efficiency into their offspring. This family orientation was a key factor in the educational achievements of our sample. These educational credentials translated into professional/managerial "day jobs" in a bureaucratic/institutional setting where time is money and punctuality and carrying out directives from the upper levels are essential for a continued employment and advancement. The structured job scene is not an alien world to our interviewees.

Cognizant of the racial double standard, our interviewees perceive themselves to be victims not of their background and experience but a negative perception of their ability to "handle" a controlled and structured musical job. They feel this perception is a stereotype, the

result of generalizing from a few problem cases. They feel that they are capable of functioning in any type of musical job--"free" or controlled and have done so from time to time.

To summarize our findings, our modal musician, urban born and bred, a middle class resident in Nashville for more than 20 years, college educated in music and employed in a non-music job because of insufficient musical income, is a gigger. Our modal interviewee is multiply talented, and oriented toward music industry related goals but is not in the union mainly because union membership is not needed for the type of musical jobs he now has. Due in part to changes in black Nashville, our musician feels at most a fragmented sense of community with some black musicians but not with all or most black musicians in Music City. He feels that this lack of community is a major reason for black musicians remaining in the lower strata of musical income. Our musician likes and plays country music (among other forms of music), is aware of a market for country music among blacks, but perceives that few other black musicians in Nashville play country music. Self and other evaluated as a fluent reader of music, our modal interviewee views himself and his colleagues as capable and willing to conform to the strict routine of studio work. Arguments to the contrary stem from the racial double standard against which black talent is measured generally in all areas of life in American society and particularly in the upper levels of the music scene in Nashville.

Our interviewees view race as having an impact on their music career life chances in Nashville. When asked the question, "Does color make a difference [in one's musical career]?", over 75 percent of our sample answered "yes." When asked why color makes a difference in the Nashville

music scene over 40 percent said color was significant because of white racism in the industry.

When I first came here, I was told by the people who hired me that I would have a chance to do some part time work over at Music Row, and even that someday I might want to leave school. But it didn't work out like that because I don't care how you look at it. Music Row is racist. They are just as nice as they can be to you. But when time comes for that gig, you seldom see a dark face up there, if ever. Now some are getting into it, in fact, two of my former students are now working full-time in Music City...But you see very few full-time blacks making a living like those guys are (David, Int 1, 1983).

I would start answering that question by asking one. Why isn't he on Music Row? There's a man who did it there and he stayed until he got into a certain bracket and they couldn't stand to see him make \$75-80,000/year and they got rid of him. So there is a degree of racism. That would be my first answer. I think it's mainly racism. There is some truth to the fact that the average black musician in Nashville, perhaps cannot perform on the level that they would desire because he hasn't necessarily had the experience. He has been deprived of the experience (Reuben, Int 1, 1983).

Close to 60 percent of our sample had personal experiences of racial antagonism. Here are some of their stories.

All the time, every night. At the club where we play a white boy can come in there and just be sitting in and the whites will come up to the stage and ask him to play something. They'll go all around us and go to him. That's one form. Like I said, I've been lucky. I've been lucky and being able to be with a lot of musicians that really know how to get over. You see, racism didn't bother me and doesn't bother me like it would my son. What passed by me, wouldn't pass by him (Jeff, Int 2, 1982).

Thousands of times, my good God, yes. I guess the first time, I was singing in one club one night, a man says, 'Why don't you go sing your own damn music.' Then one night somebody says, 'Nigger!' and I said, 'Where?' That kind of threw them so bad that they got up and left. That and being railroaded out of my job at the _____ was probably the lousiest deal that ever happened to me.

WHAT HAPPENED AT THE _____?

Well, you know that I was the first black woman to ever play down there? And I was there 36 weeks last year and it was just pure, lowdown racism and the woman was jealous, the manager was jealous that I made more money than she made. I've been offer the job back several

times, I don't want it. It pays more. That's a \$350 to \$400 a week job, plus \$200 to \$300 in tips. But the atmosphere is so rotten. You can't erase history. It's in my repertoire. It's in my biography that I was there so that's more important, to have been there. They can't take that away from me. I'm doing well at the _____ and I don't want to go back down there (Faith, Int 2, 1983).

Sixty percent of those who said color makes a difference gave this more subtle interpretation. Race is significant less as a result of racial prejudice than as a result of economic expediency. They view Nashville and Country Music as being promoted and marketed as white products for white consumption. This is manifested in the promotional material designed to sustain and increase the tremendous wave of tourism generated by the music industry. It is manifested in the racial composition of the entertainment in the major Nashville nightclubs that seek the tourist dollar. It is manifested in Printers Alley and in the racial face of Music Row itself. It is not prejudice per se but profits -- the political economy of Music City, U.S.A. -- that causes color to make a difference.

Other Structural Barriers

The racial double standard discussed thus far involves self - and other - imposed social psychological attributes. There are also characteristics of the organization of the music industry which may stimulate or retard the musical talent of Nashville's black musicians. While these system or structural conditions may be related to the proceeding discussion of social psychological attributes, first we need to explore the organization of the music industry by itself.

First, to what extent is the music industry in Nashville "open" to newcomers?

...Nashville like any other city is very cliquish. You are either in the clique or you are out of the clique. And there are people who are in the clique who have been here 15-20 years. And when the calls are made, they call the people in the clique. They don't call the new folk.

TELL ME ABOUT THE CLIQUE. WHAT IS THE CLIQUE LIKE?

The clique is what we call the A session players. The people who get the call the first time all the time. And they seem to control certain things...as far as just walking in the door and getting somebody to back you, it's tough. You have to prove yourself in this town (Mike, Int 1, 1983).

DOES THE SAME THING HOLD TRUE FOR WHITE MUSICIANS TOO?

...Some of your greatest white talents, Willie Nelson, Dolly Parton, The Bellamy Brothers, which I am personal friends to, won't even perform in Nashville because they were treated so low down here. They just won't sing here. It took Kristopherson ten years to get one song cut. And the song that he got cut, it was a smash, was "Help Me Make It Through The Night". He followed it with five or six other gold records. So it's rough for everybody because of the number of people sitting in their home town figuring I'm greater, you know, you come to Nashville and not realizing how many other good people are here (Faith, Int 2, 1983).

Music Row is perceived by our sample as a system, however, that has ultimately given Nashville an international musical identity. When asked to identify what Nashville is known for, 25 percent answered the "music industry," but 75 percent of our sample specifically indicated "Country Music" as the product for which Nashville is known.

We have noted that our sample indicated that blacks are a part of the country music audience. In addition, 88.4 percent of our sample feel that blacks have had a significant influence on the growth and development of country music and 8 out of 10 in our sample indicated that the stars of the "Nashville Sound" get their ideas and inspiration directly from black sources. How have blacks influenced country music and white country

musicians? The following illustrate the various ways in which this line of thought was expressed by our interviewees.

Black people started country music. On the plantation when they wanted to have a nice dance, all the dances and hoe downs on those plantations, who do you think was calling those dances? Black people! country music was started by black people as well as gospel and spiritual music. This is part of our heritage...there were black cowboys, more black at first than white because the job was menial labor and they used the slaves to do it. We are a part of this, it's just the propaganda that has kept us away from the country music (Delia, Int 1, 1984).

Well, all of us know that the roots of all things go back to the spirituals and the blues. That's where it all starts really. Anybody who has studied musicology, and if you analyze harmonically what they are doing, it all goes back to the same blues roots. Take for example, Elvis Presley. He told everybody that he got this ideas from the blacks. He took what they were doing and he got the right guy Colonel Parker, made him millionaire. Contacts, you see. They get their ideas from black people. Chet Atkins guitar, 6 string guitar. He's a fine guitarist. If you ever go to a recording session and you catch these guys between takes when they are just gigging, he sounds just like Kenny Burrell. That's what they play. And when you go to their homes and listen to what they play on the record players, they play the same thing I do. All of the great black jazz artists. They play them and they listen to them, they study them. The white musician is very smart. I think the white musician who is successful, is successful because he plans his success. He decides he's gonna be a successful guitarist, so therefore he studies all the guitar he can study, listen to all the guitar players he can listen to and then he copies them, learns to play like they play. And when they learn to play like they play, then they can add their own little twist to it and boom, they got it made. I think that's the way it's done. In fact, I know it's the way it's done. They analyze, they plan it (David, Int 1, 1983).

Boots Randolph, Yakety Sax was a black idea from King Curtis. He used to play with the Coasters when they had something called Yakety Yak, well that's where he got the idea from. King Curtis was the original Yakety Sax man. Boots picked it up and made a lot of money off it. You see, a lot of people don't know that black folks used to play banjo and things. Banjo is really an instrument from Africa (Kenneth, Int 1, 1983).

Country music today is a modern version of R & B from the era of '65 to '70. When you listen to the old early Spinners, Impressions, Temptations, Diana Ross and the Supremes, you're listening to country

music today. And I've got the records to back it. I can show you similarities. I can show you Alabama doing Temptations harmony, singing Temptations lines. I can show you Johnny Cash's daughter trying to sound like Diana Ross or Mary Wilson. That's exactly what it is (Faith, Int 2, 1983).

Again there is an interesting consistency between the views of our interviewees and the findings of other investigators. The Country Music Foundation and Library has a section on Blacks and Country Music. This special collection includes biographical profiles on known and somewhat unknown past and present blacks who have made some contribution to country music. The writings and article examine the influence of blacks on the history and development of country music. Moore notes that country music should not be written off as "Bill Conner music" or "George Wallace music in a state of hopeless artistic decadence" (Moore, 1973).

It is also the music of my super-soulful Grandma, born a few years after Emancipation, come North in the Twenties and listening to it ever since to assuage homesickness. And it is the music of Ray Charles ("I Can't Stop Loving You"), Joe Simon and current black country star Charlie Pride. And some of it sounds downright pleasant to me and to a lot of black people...A little research makes the quandary even more interesting. For there is as much black music as white represented when one is listening to Country Music. Expecting record companies to hip people to that fact would have to be an exercise in futility. Ragtime, blues, minstrel, string and jug band, or jazz elements can be detected in virtually all Country Music from well back into the 19th Century and its post-British Isles origins to the present day...Country Music early in this century picked up a fixation on ragtime and a wide selection of blues fast tunes are under the influence of either ragtime or boogie--swing blues (Moore, 1973).

Frechette reaches the same conclusion.

According to historical researcher Ann Malone, in the anthology Stars of Country Music [1975]. Country Music has always borrowed heavily from Black Music and musicians. In the antebellum South, Black fiddlers played for both Black and White celebrations. The five string banjo, a standard country music instrument, is said to have been brought to these shores by African slaves. Black railroad construction workers in the early twentieth century were partly responsible for introducing the guitar to the mountain folk of Appalachia, one of Country Music's most fertile regions. Itinerant

Black musicians have also been credited with introducing the guitar to the Cajun country of southwestern Louisiana. Black country bluesmen, such as Mississippi John Hurt, Son House, Georgia Tom Dorsey (who subsequently became gospel songwriter Thomas A. Dorsey and authored such popular church songs as "Peace in the Valley"). Robert Johnson and Leadbelly have had a significant effect on Country musicians throughout the years.

Few white country stars fail to acknowledge the influence of Black Music, whether the source be Jazz, Gospel or Rhythm & Blues. Some, such as Charlie Rich, Jerry Lee Lewis and the late Hank Williams, were first taught to play and sing by local or traveling Black musicians. Country singers Bobbie Gentry ("Ode to Billie Joe") and Tony Joe White ("Polk Salad Annie") sounded so soulful that fans thought they were Black. Elvis Presley was influenced by bluesman Otis Blackwell, author of "All Shook Up" and "Don't Be Cruel", two of Presley's biggest hits; while Mississippi-born singing brakeman Jimmie Rodgers learned a lot about music, including his famous "blue yodel" from blacks in railroad work gangs (Frechette, 1981).

May (1983) reveals how modern country music reflects the influences of blacks. In his article he discusses what he has identified as a

...movement that is seeing a growing number of Blacks with Bluesy roots begin to influence and be influenced by Country Music. In small but increasing numbers there are now Black performers, writers, record producers, and Black "closet Country listeners"...

Bill Malone, a professor of history at Tulane University has drawn on his extensive research into southern music to produce a series of books and the annotation or a Smithsonian Institution collection of Country Music. He calls the phenomenon 'homogenization of American popular music'!

In purely musical terms, the development is natural because Country singers have always picked up styles and techniques from Black performers, particularly in the South where racial relationships often have been close, if not always good...

Thus far...the principal effect of the changeover has been financial gains for Blacks and Whites within the Country Music industry. And Malone, while agreeing that breaking down racial stereotypes could occur, is worried that a thorough mixing might destroy both forms, creating Eunich music.

For better or worse, however, hardly anyone questions the existence of the growing musical connections between Blacks and Whites in the Country field--what Bill Ivey, Director of the Country Music Foundation, calls a 'mixture of shared and separate cultural experiences' (May, 1983).

Thus in this discussion we have noted that our modal respondent perceives the music industry as a closed and cliquish system which has

given Nashville prominence as headquarters for country music. This view blends with the findings of other investigators which were shared in our discussion of the music industry career. Our interviewees also indicated that black music and its artists have had a strong impact on country music and its artists. This also conforms to the published views of other commentators who have investigated the role of blacks and their music in the emergence and evolution of country music.

Since the experts have noted the influence of blacks on country music and the country music "Stars" have acknowledged the personal influence of black music, are whites generally, in the country music "audience" aware of this influence also? When asked this question four out of ten in our sample answered, "no." The following reflects how some responded in the negative to this question.

No, I don't think they are. First of all, because there haven't been that many. I'm sure you remember when Charlie Pride came out, he took a lot of heat. I'm sure it was difficult for him. There are a lot of whites today who are not aware of people like Deford Bailey...W. C. Handy down in Memphis (Drew, Int 2, 1984).

A lot of them aren't. That's why they hold on to it so tight. If they knew we had anything to do with it, they'd drop it like a hot potato (Delia, Int 1, 1984).

Sixty percent of our sample felt that whites in varying ways are at least partially aware that black influences are present in country music.

How can they not be aware of the soul sound in Country Music? If you listen it's so obvious and Whites know the Black sound and they can hear it in Country Music ...They may not be enthused about admitting it...but they are aware of it (Faith, Int 2, 1983).

Yes they are but that's the extent of it...I read a book that discussed the black base of country music...very interesting. But a professor writing a book that documents what blacks have done in country and your average white country music fan accepting it are not

the same. Or a white recognizing it and expressing what he knows around other white folks are two different things. What you are doing is telling a "die-hard" white fan of country music that this music that he thought was lily white has a whole lot of black in it...that country 'twang' got a black 'hum' running through it. You can make him aware and I think they are, but he's grudging and silent about it...And I don't know of any effort to change it...He's aware in his mind but in his heart country music is still lily white...And if he is not confronted with this black stuff too much--something he would rather not think about--he will come to Nashville again and again, spend his money, and enjoy this white music that he knows in his heart is black rooted (Myron, Int 2, 1983).

The preceding response makes a distinction between awareness and acceptance and a further distinction between awareness as a private mental act and a public articulation and manifestation of that of which one has become aware. These shades of distinction are relevant to understanding the country music public and Nashville's relationship to the public. This perception of a grudging white awareness of the black influence on the growth of country music fits the following quote from the biography of the award winning and renown Country star Loretta Lynn.

It seems like the whole country was ready for Country Music in the '60's and I'm gonna tell you why...Ray Charles made it easier for all of us to reach a bigger audience and I don't feel he has ever gotten the credit he deserves from Nashville (Lynn 1977:47).

Thus to summarize at this point, our modal interviewee described the music industry as a closed and cliquish system that has made Nashville the international headquarters for country music. This perception is confirmed by other investigators. Our modal musician perceived not only a market in the black community for country music but also, indicated that the black contribution to the music has been significant. Further, whites have recognized, somewhat reluctantly, this contribution and influence but this awareness is not expressed publicly in terms of appreciation and acceptance overall of black country artists.

Country music is king in Nashville and this is reflected in the perception of 85 percent of our sample who said that the popularity of non-country music has not and will not match the popularity of country music in Nashville.

They believe that those who control Music Row will maintain the status quo and limit the advancement of black musicians. When asked to describe "what happens to the music you write or otherwise create in Nashville", 76 percent indicated that their creations or innovations in music receive limited exposure. When asked "What happens generally to music created or written by blacks in Nashville," 68 percent stated limited recognition is given to black-created music. Yet the Nashville Music Association has sponsored special black songwriters workshop and seminars designed to encourage and develop black talent and interest. Does this not contradict the argument that there is limited recognition for black songwriting and composition? Does the system have a built-in structural boundary that holds to a bare (or "token") minimum the number of blacks in the upper levels of musical income. The following provides one reconciliation of these contrary points of view.

...our music gets recognition in a way. It's not the kind of recognition given to white songs or songs composed by Whites and its...here today and gone tomorrow. You see, you got to understand that a lot of things have gone down that at first look good for Black talent but when all the fanfare is over nothing has really changed. A few of us who create something may get publicity...have an article written about us...maybe get into something heavy if there is room for another token but that's about it...I'll know some real change is taking place when more than just a handful of worthy Black talent is working regularly in the studios...That's when that recognition for one of us every now and then will really mean something for all (Myron, Int 2, 1983).

Let me tell you this story about racial politics and Blacks getting recognition for their work...I was commissioned by the late conductor of the Nashville Symphony to write an overture...which I did [The late conductor never got a chance to hear it because he died two months before the premiere date] and naturally I dedicated it to him. So...it was premiered with the Nashville Symphony and it got good reviews and so on. But to this day, no one from the Symphony...has asked to use that score again. Not even in a memorial service for the late conductor...It has been played again by the Nashville Baroque Orchestra but not by the Symphony. The man who wrote a biography of the conductor, a former critic of the Nashville Tennessean does not mention my work in his book, although he reviewed the premiere of my work and praised it (Reuben, Int 1, 1983).

Recently within the music scene in Nashville, a reciprocal influence between country and other forms of popular music is opening up.

"Crossovers" among country and soul artists are becoming a frequent occurrence. The various forms of popular music including country are becoming more eclectic in terms of style and audience appeal.

Notwithstanding these encouraging trends however, black musicians today perceive that the sine qua non of country music today remains white domination and black nonparticipation or (at most) token participation. Leach notes this reality and how some blacks are attempting to deal with it.

With the notable exception of Charley Pride, Black singers have had a tough time becoming successful in Country Music. People like Big Al Downing, O. B. McClinton, and Stoney Edwards managed a few modest hits but weren't able to build on them as Pride has done. None has had a top-selling record in years. But it appears Black artists have found a new way to succeed in Country. They are becoming producers for established white stars (Leach, 1980).

Uehlein claims that the "unfortunate irony is that many blacks today, particularly rural southern blacks, perform Country Music, but few are allowed to reach the big time" (Uehlein, 1980).

Will the circle be unbroken? The Black roots of Country Music came to full circle two years ago when Charlie Pride became the first singer ever--Black or White--to put Hank Williams tune at the top of

the charts. Hank Williams songs have been re-recorded by Country, Pop, Rock, and Blues artists more so than any other songwriter, but none have been able to take one of Hank's songs to the top of the charts. That was phenomenon reserved for Hank himself, who did it prolifically. Well, Charlie Pride put "Honky Tonk Blues" by Hank Williams in the number one spot for many months, and at the same time Charlie had another Hank Williams song, "You Win Again", in the top ten (Uehlein, 1980).

Even Charlie Pride may not be exempt from the lingering tendency to exclude Blacks according to Uehlein.

So here we have our sole big time black country music singer being the only person other than Hank Williams himself to put a Hank Williams song at the top of the charts. Charlie titled that golden album "A Little Bit of Hank in Me", of which the title song sings of how Charlie grew up along the Mississippi River listening to the music of Hank Williams, and how that music made a permanent impression on the style of Charlie Pride. Just as the Black Blues and Country Blues artists made important impressions on Hank Williams, Sr., and many others. It seems as though the circle is unbroken in some small way. The sad irony is that during that very same year Hank Williams, Jr. hosted a national TV special in tribute to his father, Hank Williams, Sr. Every big name in Country Music was present, but not Charlie Pride. Maybe Charlie was invited and said no, but maybe Charlie just wasn't invited (Uehlein, 1980).

Thus our modal musician feels race does make a difference less because of prejudice per se than because of the political economy of the "big time" music scene in Nashville. In addition the power structure is viewed as music industry connected and having a vested interest in maintaining the racial status quo--a white face for Nashville--and country music as dominant music, notwithstanding the cross-over phenomenon and a significant increase in the proportion of non-country recording done in Nashville. Our black musician feels that token recognition will be given for music created by black musicians but that recognition whenever given does not generate any substantive changes for this group. And finally, our modal interviewee views the union as more of a part of this strategy--partners with the power structure, of preserving the existing social order and expanding its

dominance -- than a guardian and protector of the musician and advocate for equal opportunity for all qualified musical talent.

In view of past developments and present realities, we could assume that our interviewees do not view advancement chances as favorable. This assumption is confirmed. When asked to assess how far under present circumstances a black musician can advance today in Nashville, 47 percent felt advancements chances are more or less favorable but the majority, 53 percent expressed a more negative outlook.

Let us look at both types of response, first those indicating a favorable outlook for black musicians.

It depends on what he wants, I think he can go as far as he wants. _____ started out just playing strings over at RCA because there were no string players hardly in Nashville. During the time that he was playing they really realized how great he was and eventually he became foreman.

I just saw in Sunday's paper where _____ has been put on staff of one of the companies here, ASCAP or BMI, one of the two. Of course, those guys have been inside and out of the studios and on staff. It depends on the person and how much time you want to put in it. My professor out at TSU used to say, 'Surround yourself with the people who already have what you want'. You know, if you get over in that society and are constantly surrounded by that, something sooner or later will happen if you have something. Those of us who work and are not fulltime musicians, we don't have time for that kind of politics (Derrick, Int 2, 1983).

I don't see that there would be any limit; it would depend on, now that there are not as many barriers as there were there should be no limit to it, depending on his ability, his drive because now the whites are not afraid to let a black man on stage. If a black musician is good, there's just no telling where he could go (Lucas, Int 1, 1983).

On the other side are those who view advancement chances in a negative light.

Not too far. This is just my opinion because of race being a factor. Now it's a factor in a subtle way, yet it's a factor that cannot be ignored. They just don't use Black musicians, they just

don't use Black musical talent. It seems to me that unless one has contacts, is willing to pay some dues in the sense of sacrificing a comfortable lifestyle and just hang around the music industry and just be there all the time, unless they are willing to do those kinds of things, most Black musicians will wind up the way I am, on the outskirts looking in. Racism is there but it's there subtly. There is no overt conspiracy to keep Blacks out, they just don't call Black musicians to do the sessions. They don't call us to do too much of the writing. Even though some have gotten into that area through contacts, through perseverance, through being at the right place at the right time. But I would consider that to be one of the necessary ingredients to have--persistence, determination, multiple talents, to be businesslike, to offer a service that would be of some benefit to a given studio and to constantly present yourself in that way. But it's a closed society, it's closed even against many White musicians who come to Nashville trying to seek fame and fortune and you add racism to the picture, it really becomes very difficult. It is my opinion that chances for really advancing up the ladder in Nashville are not that strong because of the combination of racism, the politics of the industry (Myron, Int 2, 1983).

...the chances are slim unless they are involved in country music. Nashville is known for the country sound. The home of country music. Therefore people who live in Nashville are people who love country music. People expect country when they go out, to hear this style and not really to hear blues and jazz, so if you lived in Nashville longer than I did you might have found a couple of places with blues and jazz. But I didn't.

Personally, I wouldn't try to become a great black musician in Nashville, but for the area I want to be in, I think Memphis is a better place right now.

I didn't find everybody in Nashville to be prejudiced, but I guess they were to a certain degree with their music. If you don't do country...

I'm not country and I never want to be country. I wouldn't choose that style of music to perform for a group. But blues and jazz and entertainment, I'm ready. I think I would have a better opportunity in Memphis because Memphis is more black oriented in its music and musicians (Peter, Int 1, 1983).

The next response was coded "somewhat unfavorable" about the present. The future, however, looks better.

I don't think they can go too far because I don't know enough people in the music field, or in any kind of enterprise related to entertainment, and I mean in all sectors, that are interested in black people enough to encourage it or promote it or push them to reach heights, just to know a person in this area, I think we are getting there, but we will see that, because I know a guy that was in Jet

Magazine who has recently come to Nashville. _____ is a producer, he is looking for about 17 groups in the local area, in the surrounding area to promote black groups because _____ had not had that before. He got 'Producer of the Year' and they had him in Jet and everything. So they paid him big bucks just to come here and find these people to do some things for _____, and I think that these record companies are seeking to have more blacks involved in whatever. I just don't think that the opportunities are that great. You have to really know somebody and really work hard, but I think that's in anything you do, just getting the right connections and being able to trust somebody here is tough. I think it's hard here in Nashville for a black person, I really do and that's just my opinion but it will get better. It's getting better (Evelyn, Int 1, 1981).

V. SUMMARY

Born and reared in a middle class family in the urban south, nurtured and encouraged by a supportive environment to become a musician, our modal Nashville Black musician emerged and achieved middle class professional status as an adult and is transmitting to the offspring that same type of middle class orientation that impacts strongly during the formative years. A secular performer by experience, our modal musician does not fit, nevertheless most of the attributes typically connected with blacks in this career.

The typical gigger is reputed to be attitudinally confused and disoriented but our typical gigger is well oriented toward clearly defined career goals connected with the music industry. The typical gigger is reputed to either be too passive or too impatient, with respect to money given for musical services, but the responses of our gigger is contingent on and commensurate with the income capabilities of a given musical engagement. The typical gigger is reputed to play only a certain type of music, is narrow in terms of type of music preferred for playing and disdains the thought of playing a form of music foreign to that narrow

framework. Our typical gigger plays a variety of music and is identified artistically and culturally with a broad range of music traditions and innovations.

The typical gigger is reputed to be a single talent musician, but our modal gigger is multiply talented and has utilized those diverse skills in the music job market. The typical gigger is reputed to be lacking in reading skills, but our gigger by virtue of formal and informal training in music and performing experiences that required the ability to read a written score is an above average reader capable of handling any type of music notation. The typical gigger is reputed to be, because of a background in the nightclub scene, out of place in the controlled environment of a studio job. Our gigger is by virtue of family background, education, professional experience and employment elsewhere, well indoctrinated and accustomed to the strict routine of structured work. He is quite capable of functioning in both a "free" and "controlled" musical engagement in a studio. The typical gigger is reputed to be so absorbed in a narrow focus of interest so as to be oblivious to the social forces impacting on the production, promotion and consumption of music. Our modal interviewee gigger is well-informed on the forces that underlie history and broader current events relating to music and articulates a plausible interpretation that views race as a significant factor in the overall structure of the political economy of the Nashville music scene. We must therefore conclude that these labels do not fit our modal musician.

But some labels do fit. The typical black gigger is reputed not to have a feeling of community with other black musicians. Our musician feels a sense of intracareer community with some black musicians within career

framework. Our typical gigger plays a variety of music and is identified artistically and culturally with a broad range of music traditions and innovations.

The typical gigger is reputed to be a single talent musician, but our modal gigger is multiply talented and has utilized those diverse skills in the music job market. The typical gigger is reputed to be lacking in reading skills, but our gigger by virtue of formal and informal training in music and performing experiences that required the ability to read a written score is an above average reader capable of handling any type of music notation. The typical gigger is reputed to be, because of a background in the nightclub scene, out of place in the controlled environment of a studio job. Our gigger is by virtue of family background, education, professional experience and employment elsewhere, well indoctrinated and accustomed to the strict routine of structured work. He is quite capable of functioning in both a "free" and "controlled" musical engagement in a studio. The typical gigger is reputed to be so absorbed in a narrow focus of interest so as to be oblivious to the social forces impacting on the production, promotion and consumption of music. Our modal interviewee gigger is well-informed on the forces that underlie history and broader current events relating to music and articulates a plausible interpretation that views race as a significant factor in the overall structure of the political economy on the Nashville music scene. We must therefore conclude that these labels do not fit our modal musician.

But some labels do fit. The typical black gigger is reputed not to have a feeling of community with other black musicians. Our musician feels a sense of intracareer community with some black musicians within career

lines but not with others, especially those in the music industry career. This sense of fragmented rather than overall community is acknowledged by our modal musician and is viewed as a major reason for the overall low income status of black musicians.

The typical black musician in Nashville is reputed not to be a member of the local musicians union. Our modal musician is also not a member primarily because union membership is not required for his lower income engagements. But there are other reasons as well. Our modal interviewee feels that while the local union should not have a special mission per se for its black members, it should demonstrate a genuine concern for those members who are not music industry connected and be an advocate for all members. Our musician refuse to join the union because he feels that the union has failed to secure fair wages for the giggers who are members. Further, the local union is viewed as having sold out to the power structure, having become a pawn used to maintain the racial status quo.

Hence our modal musician has multiple talents and persistence and determination, two elements identified as necessary individual qualities for advancement into the upper levels of the music scene Nashville. The third criterion, contacts, may be missing in our modal interviewee. It is the opinion of some that by not joining the union, our modal black musician could be missing out on an opportunity to develop those inside contacts needed for moving into a music industry career.

There are real and present obstacles facing our musicians as racism continues to be a factor in their professional life as black musicians. The racial dual standard requires that our black musicians be at least twice as good in musical skills as white musicians. Overt and covert

racial prejudice and discrimination face our musicians in the Nashville music scene. Finally, the political economy of Music City is structured to emphasize, recognize and promote white talent and participation in the music industry. This minimizes the visibility and involvement of black musical talent in the music industry.

CHAPTER VI

BLACK NASHVILLE IN MUSIC CITY

I. COLOR AND STATUS

Our previous discussion revealed how black music symbolizes the status of blacks. Color itself can be a social symbol that defines how people interact, their status and the distribution of life chances connected with the social meaning attached to a given color. Colors, in essence, can have their own hierarchy with different values, connotations and consequences hence, social meanings attached to different colors which can then be stratified in terms of access to socially valued goods and services. Race as both social fact and color symbol can be so interpreted. According to Banton:

When racial differences are used as a way of dividing up a population and different sets of rights and obligations (roles) are ascribed to the division, then the outward differences serve as signs [symbols] telling others the sorts of privileges and facilities to which the person in question is conventionally entitled (Banton 1967:19).

How does this relate to the black musician in Nashville? Our analyses and discussion of primary and secondary data indicate that Nashville's image as Music City, USA has a color or racial symbolism attached to it. Due to perhaps a combination of prejudice and economic expediency and reinforced by how Music City is marketed, this racial image has colored the general face of the music scene here in Nashville. Nashville is unlike New Orleans where black musicians are a visible element in the public portrayal and promotion of its rich heritage. In the genesis and spread of jazz from Bourbon Street, New Orleans became an international tourist attraction

heavily colored by the physical presence of black musicians past and present (Buerke and Barker 1973). Nashville is quite different from Memphis, her sister city in West Tennessee, where the black legacy of the blues, Beale Street and W. C. Handy make black musicians prominent in the city's musical physiognomy. The public color of the racial face of Nashville is quite different from that of Detroit, the home of Motown, a black company which for a long period of its history featured black artists almost exclusively. Through the leadership of Barry Gordy and his associates Detroit has "become one of the dominant forces in popular music...an institution at the center of the music scene" (Morse 1972:7). Detroit is one of the Northern cities to which Southern blacks migrated first during the 1920's, bringing with them their culture and music which today has given the Motor City, a tremendous legacy in traditional and modern jazz. (Bjorn 1981) Nashville has not matched Detroit in making the public aware of the crucial role black musicians have played in building its musical heritage. Music Row is to Nashville what Bourbon Street is to New Orleans or Beale Street to Memphis or Motown is to Detroit but the public color of Music City is almost lily white. Blacks are not visible in the industry's public projection that creates a public image. To the man on the street, Music City is virtually white only. Not only has this racial image colored the general face of the music scene but also the racial distribution and stratification of musical jobs in Nashville.

Split-Labor Market

The split labor market thesis (e.g. Bonavich, 1972;1975;1976) assumes the existence of three classes: employers (usually white), higher paid

labor (unionized and usually white) and cheaper labor (usually non-union and non-white) and refers to a condition in which employers hire minority (non-white) groups or minority individuals for lower pay than the majority (white) will accept. Higher paid labor attempts to resist displacement and when sufficiently strong tends to exclude cheaper labor from their region or territory. If this strategy does not work, higher paid labor attempts to impose a caste system and coerce "management" into hiring cheaper labor only for occupations or careers that are non-competitive and do not undercut the position of higher paid labor.

Applied specifically to black-white relations, this thesis argues that employers use black workers as strike breakers and in other ways to undercut the position of white workers (e.g. the early union movement during the 1920's and 1930's). White workers seeking to protect this privileged position are threatened by cheaper black workers and resist them in various ways; including exclusion from or denunciation by unions. Consequently, black labor becomes hostile to unions, unwilling to join and quite willing to scab whenever there is an opportunity to do so.

Nashville has its own version of a split labor market among its musicians. Here the better paying jobs are given mainly to white musicians who tend to be unionized. The black musicians, mostly non-union, take whatever jobs are left. Here the employers do not hire black musicians to undermine the white union's higher priced musicians but, to the contrary, hire the white musicians to the extent that black musicians both union and non-union tend to be excluded from the higher income jobs. White musicians do not attempt to exclude black musicians from joining the union but within the union form an informal clique that in turn controls

access to the higher paying jobs, especially the studio session jobs (Peterson and White 1979). (More on this later.) Because of this, black musicians are somewhat antagonistic or dissatisfied with the union. They are unwilling to join and they scab whenever there is an opportunity to do so. This scabbing, however, is often and primarily with jobs that higher priced white musicians do not want anyway.

The Studio Clique

In Chapter 5, we discussed our musician's perception that the recording studios are "cliquish." Peterson and White (1979) in a fourteen-year field study of studio musicians in the record industry confirm this perception. Observations were made of recording sessions not only in Nashville but in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago as well. They noted in reference to Nashville that, among the "112 professional trumpet paying members of Nashville's Local 257, four out of the twelve judged competent to play the studio session jobs, monopolized the studio jobs, "thus earning upward of \$100,000 'per year,' while none outside the top five earned over \$15,000 from professional trumpet playing" (Peterson and White 1979:412).

Why was that? Those first call musicians (in the top five) and their agents said, the best and most reliable get the work. Those outside said "its politics, its contacts, its who you know, its getting in with the clique" and so on. Remember this is what our modal black musician also said, "You get into the recording scene by having connections with the right folks -- Knowing and being known by the right folks...Contacts is the name of the game" (Myron Int 1, 1983).

The investigators concluded that those first call musicians who monopolized the studio jobs were good but those "out" were as good, perhaps better. Again, this is consistent with the findings of this study on our sample. Being good or competent is not enough, other factors are also significant, if not more so. Peterson and White found among studio musicians who monopolize the jobs a form of self-protective interpersonal association. They call this association the simplex which they define as a form of association whose emergence serves to protect its members from "a situation of perfect competition." (Peterson and White 1979:417).

What does it take to get into the simplex? They contend that in New York and Los Angeles, the recording scene is relatively open.

...session musicians in New York and Los Angeles come from remarkably divergent backgrounds. A simplex may include the son of a back-country black Louisiana share cropper, a mid-west Polish accountant's son, a San Francisco ex-flower child, and the Juilliard-trained son of a New Jersey merchant...successive fads give them a common social experience to talk about (Peterson and White 1979:425,426).

In Nashville, however, the situation is different. They found that "it is important to be male, white, to come from the Southeastern states" (Peterson and White 1979:425) to get in and stay in the studio jobs.

In addition to these ascribed qualities, they indentified other requisites for entry: technical competence, social reliability, craftsman-like bearing, willing acceptance of illegal [e.g. "manipulation of sound so that the work of a few musicians sounds like that of a full orchestra" (Peterson and White 1979:420)] and all available work and the occupational ideology of craftsmanship. All of which means in the words of our study that a musician in the studio must be able to comprehend and deliver on demand the sound required by someone in charge.

How do simplex members protect their turf and freeze out qualified outsiders? In addition to shared social identity or activities, five other general strategies are identified and discussed, some of which were said to be done behind the "facade of helpfulness": (1) Restricting competition by a process that puts the evaluation "of all musicians largely into the hands of regularly employed studio musicians themselves" (Peterson and White 1979:427). (2) Ranking hierarchically all players of a given instrument who are studio regulars in such a way as to "reaffirm the hierarchy and stress their collective excellence relative to nonmembers and to instrumentalists in rival recording centers all over the world. They do not openly criticize each other's play nor do they try to out perform each other in public" (Peterson and White 1979:429). (3) Discouragement of aspiring musicians in the form of (a) discouraging advice, (b) isolation, (c) shaming the recruit, (d) recommending the aspiring musician for "the sort of paying jobs which render the recruit unavailable for studio work" (Peterson and White 1979:428). All of these tactics are done in the name of helping the outsider "break in." These tactics and the subtle but real deception that accompany them explains perhaps the perception of some of our interviewers that black musicians are not on music row because they are effectively discouraged from seeking employment there.

Our sample identifies persistence and determination, multiple talents/versatility and contacts as the attributes needed for entering a music career in the music industry. Our analysis of our modal music industry careerist supported the general relevancy of those attributes. But specifically speaking, how do newcomers or outsiders become full time studio musicians? Peterson and White identify three distinct strategies

that answer this question and at the same time "tell us much about how simplexes operate to maintain their power over the allocation of studio work." One type of strategy is called the client who is defined as the kind of newcomer who is invited to record a number of sessions by a particular hiring agent. This is in essence getting in through a contact who may not be a musician.

When the patron cannot provide regular work, the newcomer adopts one of the other two strategies. The rookie as a strategy, accepts the norms of the simplex by remaining humble and staying in her or his place until brought into a simplex by an established payer/mentor "who wants to or may be forced to by failing ability to get out of studio work" (Peterson and White 1979:430). Rookies typically believe in the system that they see "as frustrating insofar as they are excluded but rational and fair" (Peterson and White 1979:430). This attitude is an expression of the persistence and determination invoked by our sample as a necessary attribute for a music industry career. Peterson and White point out however that "though most simplex members begin as rookies, most rookies do not become simplex members" (Peterson and White 1979:431). Some become impatient, others are passed over in favor of new recruits who become full time studio musicians. They leave the system with self-doubt and/or with bitterness about a system which failed to reward their loyalty.

The rival challenges the simplex and goes directly to hiring agents and succeeds if he is able to convince some of them that he is better than established players in delivering the sound required in the recording sessions. They buck the system and incur the opposition of simplex members

who remain determined to protect their job turf from outside intrusion and take-over.

These strategies illustrate variant forms in which sponsored mobility has been institutionalized formally or informally among studio musicians in the recording industry as well as other spheres of musical work. It supports the claims of those on the outside trying to get in that contacts are important in moving up the career ladder. It shows that especially in the music business the often used expression, "It's not what you know, it's who you know" (and I might add "who knows you") does have some validity.

Which strategy describes the entry of the black musician into a music industry career? Our study does not specify the strategy in terms of client, rookie or rival but suggests that our modal musician moved into the music industry by way of client sponsorship or some version of it. Further, from the perspective of musical income, Peterson and White state that simplex members earn \$100,000 or more per year. Our data do not indicate how money is earned directly from recording sessions per se. Nor does it show how much money above \$17,000 per year our modal music industry musician earns from possibly varied musical roles. Most likely they are doing (along with studio work) a combination of jobs that are music industry connected such as songwriting, arranging, producing, composing and so on. In fact one of our music industry careerist is a studio pianist and vocalist, songwriter, producer, occasional teacher, live performer and executive in a performing rights corporation - a living example of multiple talents. Our data indicate however, that none of our black musicians in the music industry has fulltime membership in a simplex and none is making \$100,000 per year or even half that much from studio work.

II. CONSENSUS OR DOMINATION

The concept, shared values (interests and attitudes), was invoked to describe our sample in terms of modal beginnings, experiences, careers and musical income. Shared values in the form of ethno-race, gender, region or in the form of common interests that cut across lines of ascribed status were cited by Peterson and White (1979) to explain the emergence and continuity of the simplex among studio musicians. In a broader sense, shared values will be used (in chapter 7) to explain and predict the relationship between musician and audience.

Structural functionalism has taken this concept to an even broader shore. Defining society as a system of independent parts which contribute to the maintenance of the whole, this model views society as being held together by a consensus of shared values. Thus postulated, identity between the parts and the whole permits for example the assumption that stratification is compatible with the needs of societies as social system and the needs of all or most of the component parts. Consensualists contend that without common values, the stratification structure would be highly unstable as much as the unequal distribution of rewards would not be perceived as legitimate (Parsons 1954). Finally, these theories argue that societies and their component elements tend to persist (Parsons 1954). Once established a stratification structure may survive for generations because it is unchallenged for, as Lenski states, human beings "accept and take for granted even those distributive arrangements which work to their disadvantage and are not essential" (Lenski 1966:37).

The role of shared definitions is crucial in the realm of race and ethnic relations. Race is by no means an entirely subjective phenomenon but again, the social definitions of race and of "appropriate" intergroup behavior are highly symbolic. Only by acknowledging the ultimate importance of shared definitions can we explain the fact that a physically white, obviously (at least phenotypically) caucasian person can be classified as "black" in the United States while a dark skinned obviously "Negro" person may be classified as "white" (or franco) in Brazil (Van den Berghe 1967). The point is that when men define themselves as basically alike or different, they act and interact in accordance with this definition.

Further, unless the dominant and minority participants embrace common conceptions regarding appropriate behavior vis-a-vis each other, strain and/or conflict will characterize the relationship. These shared definitions must be complimentary. Where a white defines a black as subordinate, the black must define the white as superordinate. Moreover, the means of expressing difference and superiority must be agreed upon. Where the degree of consensus is achieved, stability is built into the patterned race (and ethnic) relations and the stratification system in general. Normative consensus based on shared values indicates that dominant and subordinate alike view the system as just and proper (i.e. normal) and therefore, neither will seek to change it.

Let us stop here and raise this question. Does this model fit our black musician? Can the present racial division of musical jobs be explained, in part, by a consensus between white and black musicians that the status quo is just? There was in the Peterson and White sample of white

studio musicians an endorsement of the simplex system naturally by those who are "in" and an indication of acceptance by some of those on the outside trying to enter. But do our black musicians consent to a system that defines white as "in" and black as "out"? Do they feel that a local industry that adapts their music but excludes them as musicians is just or proper? The data show that, while our sample is optimistic about the future because of present trends pointing to possible improvement of opportunities, our modal musician is by no means satisfied with the present state of affairs. Our musicians do not consent to the status quo in Music City, U.S.A. That some black musicians during the later sixties and at other times sought employment unsuccessfully on music row and in some cases expressed their grievances about the music industry is evidence of their lack of consensus. The black consciousness movement in Nashville may be interpreted as an attempt to redefine the social meaning and consequence of blackness and heterogenized the color image, hence the simplex profile of the music industry in Nashville. Thus the concept of value consensus emerging out the structural functionalist model does not account for the current status of the black musician in Nashville.

The conflict model takes a different tack. It holds that the most important aspect of social order is the domination of some groups by others. Society is viewed as an arena of actual and potential conflict between various interest groups struggling for control over scarce goods and services. Things may look peaceful (as in Nashville) not because of value consensus but because someone is sitting on the lid. Consensus and shared values are seen as real but conflict theorists emphasize that norms, values, popular attitudes, and symbols are often defined, sustained, and

manipulated by groups in power in order to maintain their position. Their attention is focused on who controls the communications media or the music industry and how these controls are used to maintain the status quo and induce acceptance of the existing social order.

Not only does the conflict model provide a different approach to understanding social organization, but it gives insight on what makes for social change. It focuses attention on how the potential for change has a material base, especially in reference to the rise of new groups capable of challenging or even replacing existing institutions and arrangements. In explaining structures of relationships in terms of the distribution of power rather than shared values, it suggests that a dramatic shift in that distribution can affect social history. Banton states that "for sociological analysis it is the sign function of racial characteristics that is usually more important for study" (Banton 1967:10). Forsythe feels that Banton's approach is static and ahistoric and overwhelmingly status-quo oriented.

What is equally, if not more important is a sociohistorical analysis of the specific factors that gave rise to such role allocations. This method of analysis at least offers the chance of devising methods to counter such factors (Forsythe 1973:217).

The general tenets of the conflict paradigm are reflected in the class model of racial stratification. The model is rooted in the Marxian premise that status and life chances are rooted in the organization and relations of the means of production

Generally, class analysts place primary emphasis on exploitative advantage and the role of racism in maintaining class domination. The proponents of this model have both a general theory and a theory of

history. When applied specifically to the black experience in America, capitalism is cited as being the basic source of the oppression of black Americans. Capitalism is a system of production for profit - a system which by its nature requires that the masses be proletarianized - stripped of all their resources except their labor power, which must be transformed into a marketable economy. All workers are exploited under capitalism and because of this shared experience, could join together to overthrow the capitalist order. The capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, does all in its power, according to this model, to prevent this from happening.

The ideology of racism has served two major functions for the white capitalists in America. While African slaves were imported to fill a particular need, the ideology of racism was imported by the American colonies to serve as a justification of slavery. The conflict between two white capitalist classes resulted in the abolition of slavery in the United States. The material changes generated by the abolition of slavery included eventual need for wage labor which became increasingly important as blacks moved North and into the cities generally to become part of the industrial labor pool. These changes were accompanied by a change in the function of race prejudice. It now serves to racially divide the working class, keeping it weak and exploitable. A system of white-skin privilege evolved through which white workers were led to believe they have a vested interest in the status quo, while black workers were led to view white workers as their adversaries. Thus black workers could be and have been used as a reserve army of the unemployed and as strikebreakers. While the split labor market thesis implies that the labor elite sets workers against each other, the class model argues that capitalists have a vested economic

interest in preventing racial solidarity among workers and racism, serves the ultimate interests of the capitalists and not the labor elite.

What is the exact relationship between blacks and the proletariat or working class? There is some disagreement among class analysts on this question. Some (See for example James 1947) argue that blacks constitute a separate group having somewhat distinctive interests and problems. In this analysis, blacks are called a marginal proletariat or a sub-proletariat and are seen as being in a less privileged position than white workers vis-a-vis the social organization of work. Blacks have dirtier, harder, sometimes more dangerous or less desirable jobs, are more likely to be unemployed or less paid when employed. Some argue that white workers have been caught up by the racial disadvantages that black and white workers have a different set of group interests. Others (see for example Cox 1948) disagree with that position. They assert that there is a basic uniformity of class interest - if not experience - shared by all workers regardless of race. This indeed is an ongoing debate among class analysts. But generally speaking, the class model shares the characteristics of the assimilation model that asserts that blacks do not experience any special oppression because of their race. They suffer solely as a member of a class (class model) or suffer the difficulties of adjustment solely as an immigrant (the assimilation model) (Geschwender 1978).

To the extent that black musicians in Nashville do not own or control the means and technology of music production and marketing and have only their labor in the form of musical services to sell to the music business, they have something in common with white musicians in the same position.

To the extent that black musicians wind up getting the less rewarding, lower paying or less desirable jobs, they are "marginal" or a "subproletariat" vis-a-vis white musicians who get the better jobs in and around the music industry. But there are some white musicians in the same position as blacks according to Peterson and White.

What does this mean in terms of an interpretation of the status of black musicians in Nashville? The problem, as this investigator sees it, with the class/conflict model in its general form is that it tends to reduce race to class (Blauner 1972:11). The concept of marginality as defined in this model tends to emphasize class oppression and minimize the significance of racial oppression. It sees blacks as part of a more general group proletarianized to serve the interest of the capitalists. Thus, black musicians are "out" less because of their race than because they, like many white musicians, have not been admitted into the clique whose criteria for entry are controlled for economic reasons by the "capitalists." They are simply a part of the reserve army of qualified musicians - black and white - or a subproletariat - waiting at the margin to be let in the clique or "simplex." We must, however, acknowledge the reality of white skin privilege generally. More specifically white is the color of the simplex in the Nashville music industry (Peterson and White 1979). The significance of race cannot be denied. The aspiring white musician does not have to reckon with being racially different in a white-owned, white controlled and white dominated industry. Race, to the aspiring white musician, is not necessarily a factor to be aware of, to cover-up (as Charlie Pride did), to be sensitive to, to ignore or overcome or even to turn into an asset. Further, to put it another way, if it is

difficult for white musicians to break in and stay in a white-oriented industry, it must be and is especially difficult for blacks to gain entry and move up the ladder.

The colonial model as a variant of the power-dependency framework is generally sensitive in its various forms to the significance of racial oppression and exploitation. This model has two basic historical phases when applied to white/black relations in America. The first phase was from about 1928 to 1957, with the Communist Party's advocacy of the submerged nation thesis. The Party argued that black Americans living in the Black Belt (named after its particularly rich black soil) in the South comprised a submerged or oppressed nation. Blacks were perceived as having met all the criteria of a nation as specified in Joseph Stalin's classic definition "a nation is an historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological makeup manifested in a community of culture" (Foster 1954:463). Both during and after slavery, the Black Belt plantation system generated an agricultural economy shared by all its residents. The black population was dependent on the plantation system and the plantation system depended on external northern capital. Thus the whole area constituted an internal dependency and the relationship of blacks to the plantation system produced the "historically evolved stable community" essential to nationhood (Gerschwender 1978).

Finklestein in his classic study, Jazz: A Peoples Music which was written during this period, applied the submerged nation thesis in his analysis of the social origins of jazz.

The Negro people are in a sense a group within America, a nation within a nation...Bound together by their common economic life and struggle, the Negro people have built up a history, tradition and

cultural life of their own, along with a growing sense of their own nationhood...A land does not take its life and character from those who own its property or who speak it. A land is given its real life and character by those who live and labor on it. Just as American history, economic life and civilization are to a considerable extent the creation of the Negro people, so American culture is to a considerable extent a creation of the Negro people.

...the Negro people, the most oppressed and exploited among us, have had a powerful and terrible story to tell, the telling of which in more explicit languages has been denied to them by repression and censorship. 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. It expresses the hope and struggle for freedom, the vitality which enables a people to wrest joy out of misery and to assert the triumph of human beings over the obstacles which would grind them down (Finklestein 1948:20,21,28).

When industrialization stimulated migration of blacks out of the Black Belt and into the cities and also created occupational differentiation as more blacks left agriculture for industrial work, the Communist Party eventually abandoned the belief that blacks comprised an oppressed or submerged nation. The final repudiation occurred in 1956 (Geschewender 1978). Furthermore, the concentration of blacks in the Black Belt diminished as whites moved into the area, replaced some of the blacks who left and eventually became the majority population. The Communist Party concluded that the major conditions for black nationhood had ceased to exist and they changed their position to conform to the class model (discussed earlier). The concept did not die in its entirety however. In around 1965, there was a revival of this thesis in a modified form which shifted the focus of attention to blacks in urban, largely northern ghettos. Blacks in this revised colonial model were referred to as an "internal" or "domestic colony." In general, they (see for example Clark 1965, Blauner 1972, Allen 1970) argue that blacks are still a controlled and exploited people who form a colony within the confines of the United States. Concentration in

multiple ghettos of industrial cities has replaced concentration in the Black Belt.

There are different versions of the internal colonial model but all concur on some basic arguments. Blacks were brought to the United States because it was profitable to whites. In the process, black culture was undermined. From slavery to the present, blacks have always lived under a system of white domination profitable to whites. Blacks are not simply another immigrant group that will ultimately melt into the mainstream. Class and colonial models agree that blacks are exploited but disagree as to the nature of that exploitation. Colonial analysts assert that blacks are not simply a part of the proletariat. They argue that the oppression of black Americans is qualitatively different from that experienced by other groups and that the internal colony model is the special model needed to describe the black experience in America. In addition, black liberation requires independence but whites will resist black independence in various ways (Gerschwender 1978).

Another feature of this model is its recognition of the importance of indirect rule and the perception of the role of the middle class black. Colonialism traditionally develops some form of indirect rule as a means of accommodation, that is of maintaining a system of domination/subordination at minimal cost to the ruling power. This indirect rule may be manifested in internal class differentiation among black Americans. The major ally of the white corporate elite may be the new militant black middle class (of our modal musician) who achieved their militance through participation in the civil rights movement. Their experiences in the movement led them to reject integration as a failure. Rejecting the old black elite as "Uncle

Toms," they fought for black power but pursued their own interests as a class (Allen 1970). Allen concluded that black Americans achieved formal political equality through civil rights legislation without becoming a threat to white dominance over black Americans. A neocolonial relationship developed with an alliance between the dominant white corporate elite and the new black middle class. Thus this class bifurcation of the black community and the co-optation of the black middle class through recruitment, education, socialization and funding represent the major strategy by which whites resist genuine black independence.

The one major difference between the various expressions of the colonial model lies in the difference between form and process. While most of the models begin with an analysis of the structure of relations between 'colonial and colonized peoples, Blauner substitutes a process analysis for the analyses of forms (Blauner 1972). While most colonial analysts evaluated the extent to which white/black relations in the United States approximated that between colonial and colonized peoples, Blauner listed the five basic components of the colonization process. (1) Colonization begins with a forced, involuntary entrance into the dominant society, (2) The colonizing power acts on a policy to constrain, transform or destroy indigenous culture, (3) Representatives of the dominant power administer the law and control government bureaucracies, (4) There is a separation of labor status between the colonizers and the colonized, (5) Racism develops as a principle through which people are seen as biologically inferior in order to justify their domination and exploitation (Blauner 1972). This process approach allows for variation in details. For example, as our discussion in the next section will indicate, geographic concentration in

the Black Belt or even in an urban "ghetto" is not necessary for the process of colonization. Our modal middle class black musician lives in the suburbs but remains relative to the music industry as much a victim of racial exploitation and exclusion as the black lower class living in an urban ghetto.

The colonial model in emphasizing racial oppression as social reality in its own right and not a mere by product or adjunct to class oppression has made a tremendous contribution to understanding the complexities of social stratification in America. Blauner's process approach frees the model from a "static 'yes-no-how much?' kind of interpretation of forms that does not lead very far" (Gerschwender 1978:90).

However, Blauner fails to explore fully one major question asked by the Communist Party; "Do all whites gain equally, or even at all from the exploitation of blacks?"²⁵ The Communist Party, among others, argues that many whites - white workers - actually lose more than they gain. Blauner explores the issue far enough to conclude that some whites may gain less than others.

On the other side of white gain is the issue of black deprivation. Warren notes this limitation:

The colonial model...presumes a high level of economic stagnation and this in turn implies an absolute rather than relative deprivation vis-a-vis whites. A number of the studies of riveters in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Newark indicate that the most active groups were not those at the bottom of the economic ladder, but those feeling 'relatively' deprived. If indeed the marginal working class of the

²⁵ For further reading on the Communist Party see Shannon (1959), Record (1951), Draper (1960). For a good discussion of the literature on the Communist Party see Geschwender (1978).

black ghetto are the major victims of racism and economic exploitation, it is clear that others in the ghetto have more resources, education, and the values to press for change and the return of ghetto control to its inhabitants (Warren 1975:13).

The application of the concept, neocolonization to black/white relations within America points out that de facto oppression and exploitation do not stop with the passage and implementation of civil rights legislation, but often continues in a different form. Political and economic dependency and control constitute a process which transcends the elimination of de jure segregation. Desegregation is not synonymous with independence. Civil rights legislation gives me the right to sleep at a motel but it does not make me an owner of a motel. Anti-discrimination legislation makes it illegal for a record company to discriminate against black musicians on the basis of race, but it does not make them owners of a studio. Having legal access to a studio as a prospective employee is one thing. Having control as an owner of a studio is another. As long as blacks depend on others for the goods and services they need and want, they will continue to be under the control of others. Therefore the colonial analysts argue that blacks should vigorously pursue and protect their rights as workers and consumers. They should strive to become producers and owners as well. We agree with this argument.

The discussion of the role of the middle class black in indirect rule is directly relevant to our study since our black musician is a part of that generation referred to as the new militant middle class which played a major role in the civil rights movement. In view of this interpretation, the question arises: Is our black musician an ally specifically of the the white corporate elite of the music industry? While

our study was not designed to test the colonial model our data does provide some relevant information and by implication some suggestions. As in reference to the consensus model it is difficult for this investigator to conceive our modal musician being a witting or unwitting ally to an industry that excludes and exploits black musicians. In emphasizing the class bifurcation of black America and the possible cooptation of middle class blacks, the colonial analysts fail to make clear that in many instances middle class (as well as lower class) blacks continue to be victims themselves of exploitation and exclusion rather than coopted beneficiaries of it. Further, notwithstanding the failure of the "movement" to reach the lower class blacks, middle class blacks in various ways continue to struggle not as a facade but in a genuine way for the liberation of their people. Such is the case with our sample. The black musicians already in a music industry career are the very ones who have implemented although non-collectively, various programs that could ultimately liberate those who are black and musically talented in Nashville from continuing dependency on the present music industry for high paying music careers.

The preceeding discussion indicates that shared values in various forms describe our sample's background, experience, attitudes, careers and relationships with various audiences. Our middle class black musician shares (vis-a-vis the local music industry) with all other blacks a common experience of racial exploitation and exclusion. But they do not share with others outside the black community, a consensus that the local music industry is just and proper. The concept marginality as derived from the class model but expanded to embrace the black middle class as victims of

economic and racial oppression (as emphasized by the colonial model) is a good theoretical description of the current status of black musicians in Nashville. Thus domination both of a class and racial nature rather than consensus explains the social location of our model black musician.

Blauner calls for the formulation of a new theoretical model which will be

...based on the combined existence, historical interaction, and mutual interpretation of the colonial social and the capitalist class realities. For America is clearly a mixed society that might be termed colonial capitalist or racial capitalist. Neither the explanatory framework of colonial theory nor conventional Marxist models of capitalism can adequately capture the complexity and paradoxes of racial oppression in relation to other compelling social forces (Blauner 1972:13).

Gerschwender attempts to do just that in his nation-class model. This model combines two other models. One is the class model which views blacks as an exploited subproletariat. The other is the colonial model which argues that blacks constitute a people. As a people, blacks share the common experience of racial oppression and are dominated and exploited in a manner similar to that of an external colony.

Gerschwender asserts:

All black Americans are simultaneously black and members of a particular class. All white American are simultaneously white and members of a particular class...Each racial group is internally differentiated by class and each class is internally differentiated by race. There are few black capitalists even though they are concentrated in peripheral concerns such as insurance, cosmetics, and publishing. There are many white proletarians. We may assert at this time that all workers in a capitalist society have interests in common - interests that unite them and bring them into opposition with the capitalist class regardless of the racial (national) identity of either workers or capitalists. The historical evolution of American society is such that all blacks experience oppression as blacks. Thus all blacks in American society have interest in common which unite them and bring them into opposition with whites, regardless of class...White workers have a realistic basis for unification with black workers on behalf of shared proletarian objectives. They may

easily develop the illusory perception that they have a basis for common action with white capitalists designed to protect white skin privilege...racial divisions within the working class are more harmful to blacks than whites, but ultimately are detrimental for all workers (Geschwender 1978:264,265).

Using the concepts, "race," "nation" and "people" interchangeably, he defines a nation-class as "a social collectivity comprised of persons who are simultaneously members of the same class and the same race"

(Geschwender:264). This theoretical concept could be useful for both social analyses and political action in a number of settings. Kofsky applied, for example, a version of this combined model to black musicians:

...it is whites who do own the major institutes of the music world--the booking agencies, recording companies, night clubs, concert halls, festivals, magazines, radio stations, etc. Blacks own nothing but their talent. While this in some cases suffices to ensure an adequate livelihood--that is, one comparable to that enjoyed by those whites who practice in European arts--for the most part it does not. In its relation with an underdeveloped country, (colony), a more advanced industrial economy (mother country) will use its superior technology to ensure that commodity exchange between the two redounds to the benefit of the latter at the expense of the former. The colony, possessing nothing to exchange save the labor power of its citizens and its natural resources, will have its capital slowly drained away to the metropolis...Black musicians, occasionally augmented by a few whites, labor not primarily for themselves, but to enrich those who own the means of production (Kofsky 1970:12).

Geschwender argues that this type of exploitation of black musicians as blacks could translate eventually to a similar experience for white musicians as well. To paraphrase, "If they exploit black musicians in the morning, they will exploit white ones in the evening."

III. ON THE FRINGE OF INDUSTRY

Let us now, however, focus attention on the insight our discussion so far has provided for describing the social location of black musicians in Nashville. Figure 3 pictorially illustrates the Nashville version of

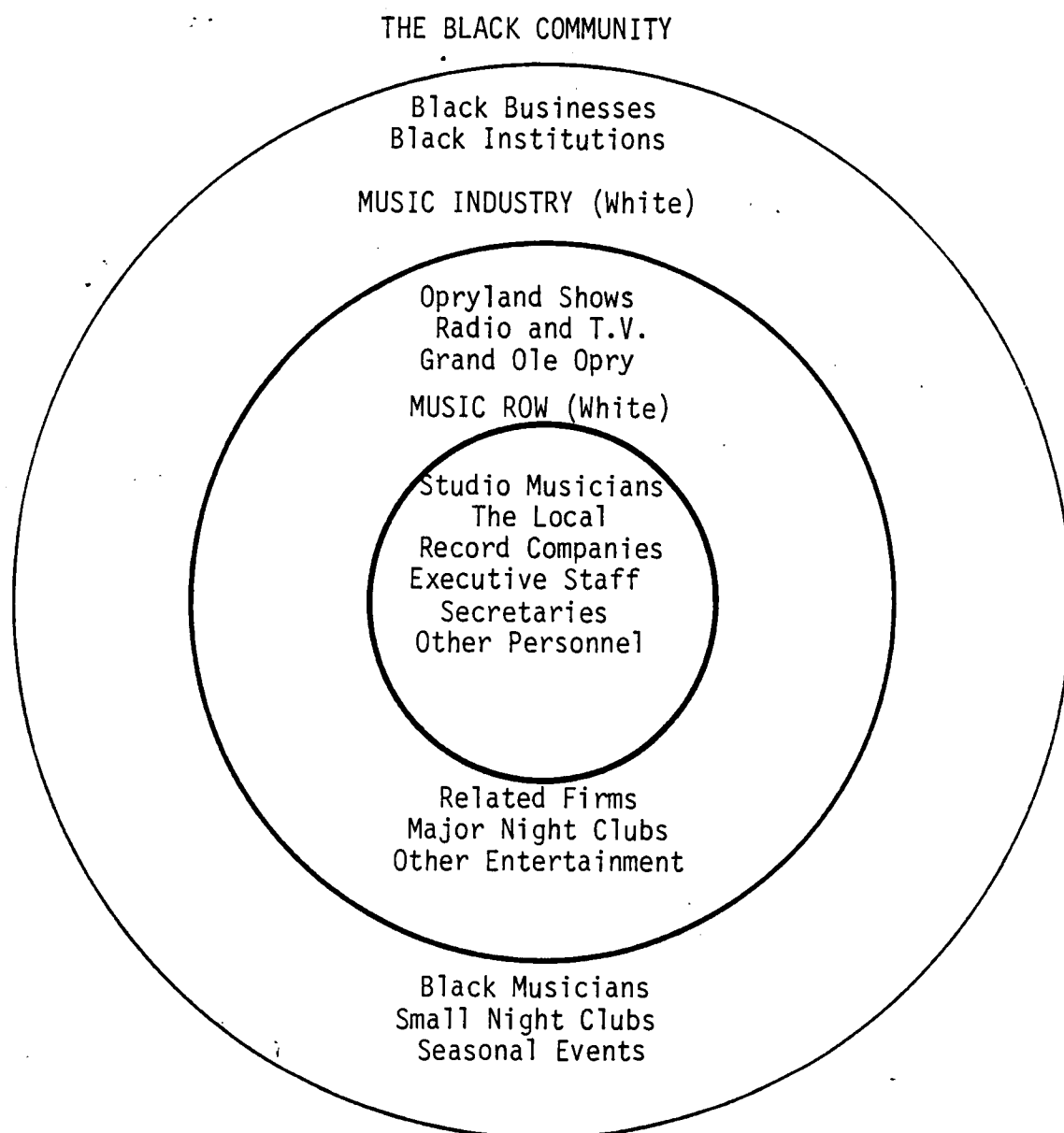


Figure 3. The Black Community and the Music Industry in Nashville.

Kofsky's analysis - the relationship between black Nashville and the Nashville music industry, hence the status of the black musician vis-a-vis the Nashville music industry. The diagram visually reflects the major points in our discussion so far. In the center, is music row with its conglomeration of record and related companies, studio musicians, the local and its members, executives, staff and an assortment of other people, tourists, and aspiring musicians. The simplex is a clique among studio musicians. Music row is white (or to be empirical) mainly white. Its racial physiogamy white, and its orientation white, but its musical roots are black or mainly black. The next circle, still within the music industry embraces the channels and outlets for live entertainment - the showcasing of the giants and the up and coming new stars, the performers on various stages and in diverse settings, the radio and T.V. shows which spawned the growth of the music industry and attracted the tremendous wave of tourism to Nashville. The major (downtown) clubs and Printers Alley are white. The stars are white or mainly white but their influence is black. The musicians who work with the stars are white. Where are the black musicians? They are there but not in the flesh. They are heard in various ways through the music of white others - the stars and giants of the country music industry who perform and record a music with black roots. The black musician is heard but not seen - an invisible presence. Outside the music industry is where you will find the black musician and black community buttressed internally by an array of black churches which nurtured the spritual and musical development of our musician. Here are the few remaining nightspots that periodically employ black musicians. Here are the seasonal, annual or periodic events the sorority dance, the

wedding reception - where black musicians are employed. Here is our black musician - a gigger - a middle class marginal in two worlds. He is in Music City but not of the music industry. We find in the music industry a reflection of white America -- an adaptation of black music and culture but a rejection of the black musician.

The boundary between black and white is not physical but social, not spatial but symbolic. The walls that separate black and white are not made with brick and mortar but are constructed through interaction (Wallace 1980). Color is a social symbol whose meaning is shared and manifested through interaction. Privilege, "status," life chances are functions of color differentiation. On music row, white is "in" and black is "out." Until the symbolism changes, our black musicians will be where the black community is -- at the fringe of the music industry in Nashville - heard but not seen.

Reflecting on our diagram in the light of the nation-class model, more questions arise. Is it plausible to consider the possibility of a viable united action between black and white musicians through or outside the union to improve opportunities for black musicians? Or are white musicians both "in" and "out" so caught up with the status quo of white skin privilege that such an action is unlikely? Will any viable change oriented action be racial in nature - an alliance between black musicians and wealthy blacks in Nashville, hence a mobilized black community that will showcase and market the black base of the Nashville Sound? Or will it be some other combination of groups working in a coalition to bring about a change? The answers to these questions are not clear at this point though there are some indications (discussed in Chapter VIII) that such an

action could develop any number of ways. This model does provide a theoretical basis for acknowledging the reality of racial as well as class oppression in the Nashville music scene, even though "racisim" may exist in part for economic reasons.

CHAPTER VII

BLACK MUSICIANS IN MUSIC CITY

I. WHO THEY ARE

Let us now review our findings on black musicians in Nashville. They are urban born. Our modal person was born in 1944. They were born in the South, a majority being born in Tennessee. Eleven were born in Music City, U.S.A. Our modal musician, however, has lived in Nashville more than 20 years.

They were born in areas outside the central city. In those locations, their neighborhoods were predominantly black.

They were born and raised in private dwellings in the suburbs. The status of their families of origin was at least middle class.

As children our black musicians were not impoverished, not living in the ghetto, not deprived of the physical necessities of life but active, involved, well nurtured children of the middle class striving for greater things. Their mothers required and encouraged them to sing or play an instrument and their fathers enforced the discipline in the home. In addition to their mothers and fathers, they had grandmothers and grandfathers, aunts and uncles, cousins and others who helped them on their way.

The impact of religion and church was significant in their formative years. The church had an influence on their spiritual, moral and social development but it also had an influence on the music careers they pursued.

It was in the church that our black musicians discovered their talent and were given responsibilities and opportunities to refine it.

Our musicians grew up in homes where the sound of music was prevalent and diverse. They were encouraged to appreciate a variety of musical genres. They grew up around relatives who were musical and they selected a musician or music educator as their role model during the formative years. Their parents, siblings, relatives, friends and associates encouraged their musical aspirations during their growing up years.

They were trained through a combination of instruction, skills development and talent confirmation and refinement. Part, if not all, of this training experience occurred in Nashville, an urban center where the sound and legacy of music is rich and diverse. They became musicians in an environment in the home and wider community that supported their interest in music and provided the incentive to get the training which in turn confirmed and refined their talent.

II. THEIR CAREERS

Black musicians in Nashville are distributed among four careers. Music educators is one career which included performers who are institutional musical instructors and/or administrators. These black musicians are engaged in a variety of activities related to music education. Some are band directors in high school, some teach instrumental music in elementary school. Some are choir directors in high school, some teach music in college. Others are in an administrative role as music educators. One is a music administrator for the public school system, another is chairman of the music department at a local university.

All of our music educators are performers. They play mainly the nightclubs and for private and public events. A few play in the church and on rare occasions have played a recording session.

The music industry constitutes another career for black musicians in Nashville. These musicians are known to work, mainly, in the music studios and other related firms in the Nashville area. They work as studio musicians, producers, songwriters, composers, vocalists, arrangers and in other roles connected with the music industry in Nashville.

Some of our black musicians work in a church music career. These musicians play or sing in church and/or serve as choir director or ministers of music. They serve as leaders or members of religious groups or ensembles that give concerts or participate in religious programs on television or radio or in a church or some other facility.

Our modal musician is a gigger, the fourth career. These are secular musicians who play in the nightclubs for the public but also for private parties, dances and social events.

As a gigger our modal musician plays engagements for which union membership is not required. Therefore black musicians typically are not members of the local musicians' union. As a gigger, our typical black musician plays on a part-time basis, supplementing their primary source of income - the day job.

Within careers, black musicians know each other. Giggers know other giggers, church musicians know each other, those in the music industry know each other and music educators know others in music education. Thus intra-career relations are somewhat close.

Across careers, the relationships are somewhat close among giggers, music educators and church musicians - these having strong roots in Nashville's black churches. The intercareer relations between black musicians in the music industry and those in other careers are weaker and more distant. Remember the modal music industry careerist is not a native of Nashville and has not had frequent contact with musicians in other careers.

III. SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Giggers, music educators and religious musicians generally perceive a sense of community among black musicians -- a sense of belonging together. Those in music industry, while feeling relationships among themselves to be positive, do not share in the perception that there is a general sense of community among black musicians in Nashville.

This is their perception. The reality is that there is at most a fragmented sense of community among black musicians in Nashville. This is due primarily to a significant change in the ecological distribution of the black population in Nashville. Today, blacks are no longer residentially concentrated in the inner city and its residential fringe. Today, blacks are scattered throughout the Nashville area. This dramatic shift in the residential location of black Nashville has weakened communal ties among blacks generally in Nashville and among black musicians as well. The present dispersion of black Nashville reinforces a tendency for black musicians to related mainly to others who share a common career and/or common background during the formative years.

IV. INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Black musicians in Nashville do not come from and are not perpetuating a broken home. They were raised in a home environment where the kinship bonds were strong, family roles adaptable, and achievement, work and religion were strongly emphasized. As adults they are raising children within a strong and nurturing family context. They, like their parents, live in suburban dwellings.

The emphasis on achievement is reflected in the educational accomplishments of our musicians. Our black musician is a college graduate with a major or concentration in music and at least one year of graduate study.

The emphasis on work is reflected in the occupational status of black musicians. We noted that music income is usually a supplement to full-time employment elsewhere - the day job. Black musicians in Nashville typically had at least one parent in the professional/management sector. Like their parents, our black musicians have achieved professional/management jobs for themselves.

Our musicians who were born into a middle or upper middle class home achieved the same or higher status overall for themselves. They have matched or excelled the educational, occupational and housing achievements of their parents.

In addition to these attributes, black musicians in Nashville attend church and support it financially. Religion remains an important element in their life and in their careers as professional musicians.

So deep are our musicians' roots in the black church that when asked to assess the role of the black church in developing musical talent in the black community, eighty per cent indicated the black church as having a positive influence in this regard. In fact, 75% perceived the black church's role as being strong and favorable in developing black talent. These responses cut across career, sex and age. According to the young female in the recording career (music industry):

Well, really it's the only place you have. The only place that the structure of the society has for black musicians, black talent is in the church. If you are not singing in the choir, you are learning to play the piano or direct. If not that, you're doing sports or gymnastics in high school. Very few children (black) have access to a wide range of options. It's kind of a shame in some ways, but it's good. I think it is at the root of our strength. If your parents are religious in any way, you've been in church since day one (Delia Int 1, 1984).

This young man in a religious/church career expresses his perception:

The black people haven't ever had anything so they were depressed and all. So the church was the way for the blacks back in slavery time. The church was the way they didn't have anything but God. The white man had taken and stripped them of everything but their pride. They had God and they just believed that the Lord would make a way. It has really been the foundation, they didn't have anything but God. And so, I think also in the music department too. Most of your black entertainers of the world today were raised in the church and have church related experiences. Your blues singers, blues songs and church music, gospel music have the same rhythm, the same style, the only difference is the lyrics and then that's the only difference (Peter Int 1, 1983).

According to this highly educated middle age male who is active as a gigger.

The black church in my opinion gave impetus to the rise of black music in general. When blacks were first brought to this country as slaves, religious music or the spiritual music was born as a result of their experiences in their time and as an outgrowth of spirituals came other forms of black music. The blues as a form of black music has certain parallels as the spiritual. The expression is quite similar. The feeling is being conveyed in a slightly different vein but blues and what became known as rock and roll and finally jazz can

be traced back to the black spirituals. The church was and continues to be the starting point of training and development for most black musicians in both sacred and secular music (Sheldon Int 1, 1983).

This retired musician shares his point of view:

Well, I have to speak for musicians in my age group because the young people, I really don't know. But when I was a kid, practically everybody went to church, that I knew. It was part of our life. We had a church orchestra. I think the music in the black church is what attracted, what held a lot of the members in the church. I couldn't tell you a thing about what that man talked about in the pulpit but I enjoyed those songs. I could remember them. The music in the black church, to me, is what encouraged many musicians in my era to perform. If you listen to the old spirituals and listen to the blues songs, you really can't tell the difference if you don't listen to the words. There's an old saying that the difference between the blues and spirituals is that in spirituals they say "Oh Lord" and in blues they say "Oh baby". I think the black church music, in fact I know the black church music influenced all of the great musicians in my era and on back. Like Duke Ellington, very religious. he wasn't a church goer, he gigged all the time, but was very religious. Della Reese, she started singing with Mahalia Jackson. Sam Cooke. You listen to Ray Charles sing, forget the words, just like you're in the church. It's the same thing. He has that kind of sound. They call it soul now (David Int 1, 1983).

The black church has played multiple roles throughout the black experience. In addition to these diverse roles of the black church in the organizational life of black America, we can also conclude from our data that black music in all of its forms can be traced to the black religious experience and the black musician can be viewed as an emergent product of the black church, which has been over time both a mechanism for integration into conventional society and a catalyst through which conventional society has been reformed. Our musicians definitely do not reject religion in their lives.

V. THE OBSTACLES THEY FACE

Black musicians in Nashville are highly skilled, well-trained, multi-talented college graduates with at least a concentration in music. Yet their musical income is not commensurate with their level of training and talent. Hence they are at most underemployed. This is so because of seven obstacles they face. Some of these obstacles are socio-psychological; others are structural. Some are real; others are stereotypes. But whether real or stereotypical these obstacles are real in their negative consequences.

One obstacle has been discussed and reviewed--the fragmented sense of community among black musicians. Because of this lack of overall identity and solidarity as black musicians in Music City, there has been no coming together collectively to meet each other, to share concerns, to identify issues, to formulate plans for action and to organize and mobilize resources to implement plans for improving opportunities for black musicians. If life chances are to improved, this is a real obstacle which must be removed.

Another factor which is viewed as an obstacle is organizational. Black musicians are not members of and will not join the local musicians' union. They fail to join mainly because they play nonunion engagements, thus union membership is not required. In addition, black musicians feel that the leadership of the local union has not demonstrated any concern for local black musicians. In short, they feel that the local "could care less" about black musicians or any other musician not connected with the music industry.

The feelings expressed by our musician may be valid. Yet many high paying musical jobs are also union jobs. Granted, it may be possible to advance to a high paying music career without joining the union. But if not joining the union and becoming active in the organization constitute an obstacle, it can be removed simply by joining and being involved. In essence, joining this organization could be an asset for black musicians.

Black musicians have a reputation of being too passive or impatient. This reputation or label whether justified or not is an obstacle. Black musicians, however do not fall into either category. They are pursuing well defined career goals in music. Yet their goal pursuit tends to be tempered with an informed awareness of the various situation in which they find themselves. If they are patient, their patience is justified. If impatient, then circumstances justify this impatience.

Another attitudinal obstacle is the charge that black musicians do not like and will not play country music. This charge is not supported by our data. Black musicians have been exposed to country music and they appreciate it. They have played country music and are willing to play it in the future. They correctly perceive that blacks generally appreciate country music. Finally, they are aware of the strong influence black music and musicians have had on country music and its musicians.

The fourth obstacle is the charge of not being prepared for the musical "big time" in Nashville. This reputation is expressed in three ways. The first is the charge that black musicians can not read music. Based on my field experience, I contend that this charge is false. It is my contention that black musicians, by virtue of their training, are fluent readers. They can read the traditional notation system and can easily

learn the more simplified "numbers system" used in the recording studios in Nashville. The second manifestation of this obstacle is the charge that black musicians are trained to teach music but are not trained to work in commercial music. Empirically speaking this charge is true. Black musicians generally in Nashville are trained to be music educators. Those blacks working in the music industry however have taken courses in commercial music, the music business or in some area related to the music industry.

Does commercial music training make a difference? Arguments have been made both ways on this question. It is my contention however that, like joining the union, commercial music training could be an asset. Taking some courses in that area would at least eliminate the charge of not having any commercial music training and it could remove an obstacle.

The third preparation obstacle is the charge that black musicians are single talented musicians - that they have limited musical skills. The data does not support this charge. Our musicians have at least two, distinct and marketable musical talents and have used their talents throughout their musical careers. In short, black musicians have multiple talents.

The fifth obstacle is the charge that black musicians are not socialized to work in a recording studio setting or any other musical job where the routine is strict and conformity to the routine is required. In other words, black musicians are not punctual, cannot take orders and are unwilling to play what is put before them. This charge is more stereotype than fact. Black musicians generally by virtue of their total work experience are flexible and can adapt to any standard of professional

conduct in the music job market. They adjust to and can perform effectively in any type of job setting - "free" or controlled.

The racial double standard is the sixth obstacle. This obstacle is real. Whites are required to be good on one instrument, but black musicians must be twice as good on at least two instruments. Whites are expected to be, at most, adequate readers; blacks must be super-readers. Whites are expected to be on time; blacks must be early. White musicians in the studios are expected to take orders and deliver on demand; black musicians are expected to anticipate orders before they are given and deliver the sound whether it is demanded or not. White musicians are expected to conform to the strict routine of studio work; black musicians are expected to disappear in their conformity. In essence, one standard is applied to white musicians and a significantly higher standard is applied to blacks.

In addition to the racial double standard, there are other structural obstacles facing black musicians. Race definitely makes a difference in Music City, U.S.A. This seventh obstacle is manifested in two ways. First, there is racial prejudice and discrimination as indicated by racial slurs, antagonism and even hostilities from whites. These attitudes sometimes come from the audience and sometimes from managers or owners of nightclubs and other places where black musicians have performed. These feelings are sometimes translated into racial incidents or confrontation with prejudiced whites. These attitudes and actions are sometimes blatant and sometimes subtle.

Race also makes a difference because of the political economy of Music City. Racial strain and ill-feelings have been exploited by the music

industry for economic gain. The music scene in Nashville is marketed and promoted with a white emphasis by the industry. The black musician legacy and contributions in Nashville get token recognition and promotion, if any at all. The multi-million dollar tourist trade generated by the music industry has a white orientation in its advertising and public relations. Music Row, Opryland and the Grand Ole Opry have a "for whites only" public image and outreach. Country music has deep black roots but the music industry promotes country as a music by whites and for whites. To enter the upper levels of music employment in the recording sector, it is important to be white. To be non white in this environment is to deviate from the political and economic base upon which the music industry in Nashville is built. And to keep the political economy "healthy", these deviations are kept to a minimum.

We have reviewed our discussion of black musicians in terms of their origins, careers, sense of community, involvement in central institutions, and the obstacles they face.

These obstacles are both socio-psychological and structural. The socio-psychological obstacles are in the form of stereotypes, assumptions and charges about black musicians. Some of these charges have been generated and reinforced by the "deviance" literature that was reviewed in Chapter One. In the next three sections of this chapter, we shall examine our black musicians in terms of three general issues raised in the deviance literature: (1) musicians' self-concept, (2) musicians' audience concept and (3) their relationship with conventional society.

VI. SELF CONCEPT

Becker asserts that "the musician is conceived of as an artist who possesses a mysterious artistic gift setting him apart from all other people" (Becker 1951:259). This self-concept is also generally indicated in our sample. Mike's assertion that black musicians "look at themselves as God's gift to the earth [and] feel they are primadonnas and God gave them something different..." (Mike Int I, 1983) is basically a valid description of the self-concept in our sample.

Now let us face reality. Musicians generally perceive that they are gifted or special persons because indeed they are responded to by others as gifted and endowed with special qualities that relatively few people have that set them apart from other people. To make music is a social act, it is to inspire, soothe, heal, comfort, stretch, excite-to provoke a kaleidoscope of emotions and thoughts in those who hear and consume. Making music with an instrument or voice or both is indeed viewed as a special endowment. To be able to make money with this endowment is seen as an even greater achievement. Thus, musicians perceive themselves to be special because those who hear them respond to them as special persons. They applaud, praise, adore, adulate and exalt. Self concept is social in origin, i.e. it is at least influenced by an interpretation of the reaction of others (Cooley 1902). The musicians in my study, in Becker's sample and in other samples have a social base for their concept even if, as in Becker's sample, that base is comprised primarily of other musicians. The unique and transcendent connection between music maker and music hearer elevates the musician to a level to be revered and even envied by those

other persons who experience those moments that only music can give.

Thus, this self-concept is no more than a mirror of the degree of positive reinforcement given by significant and generalized others. This applies whether the musician is an unknown local entertaining a small but receptive audience in some "hole in the wall," or playing first violin or third percussion in a philharmonic orchestra that receives a standing ovation after a moving interpretation of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony or lifting a cathedral congregation to spiritual ecstasy or has made a recording or series of recordings that sold over a million copies and generated millions of dollars in sales. Yes, the musician is gifted because the audience has told him so and continues to do so.

However, combined with this self-exaltation there is in our sample a sense of humility generated perhaps by the strong religious orientation of our sample. There is the feeling that the same God who gave this talent can also take it away. Whether performing in a church, nightclub, concert, dance hall or recording studio, the talents given must be used for positive and constructive purposes. It is the position of our musicians that the entertainer has a sacred obligation to communicate with the audience. The following illustrates this.

I realized at an early age that I was different -- gifted, I guess...People-my family included -- kept telling me that God has given me this gift and I developed it to a point where I can make money with it. But I gotta be responsible and stay level headed. I can't get beside myself and let it bend me out of shape. Everytime I play, I don't care where it is or what I'm playing, I have to reach the audience. God gave me my talents but if I don't use them right, I can lose them (Terence Int I, 1981).

This sense of humility is found in a study of New Orleans black musicians by Buerkle (1973). This response by an old musician from their

study captures this sense of proud humility manifested in both Nashville and New Orleans black musicians.

Myself. Jazz musician. American. I'm sixty. I tried to make it the best I could with what I had to work with. I had a little success here and there. I have always tried to do my best. Sometimes I've failed. That's natural. But, I got involved and went the route. I had a lot of ambition. You look back over the past and see things that went wrong, but they weren't always my fault...I have no regrets. I really tried and this is a country where success and comforts and enjoyments are generally reaped by what you put in it. But, on the spiritual side, I try to do the best I can so I have no kick. I'll leave some record behind and someone else can evaluate that (Buerkle and Barker 1973:123).

VII. AUDIENCE CONCEPT

Becker's (1951) sample indicated negative attitude toward the audience. Means and Dolemon's (1968) study suggested that black musicians have a positive attitude toward the audience.

Our sample of local black musicians in Nashville reveals positive attitudes toward the audience. In view of some of the stories shared about the occasions in which some members of the audience were racially hostile toward them for say, playing country music, this finding is significant. Under those conditions their initial reaction varied from surprise to chagrin but it never developed into a generalized hostility toward white audiences. In fact, they saw that hostility as coming from individuals who were the victims of an industry that failed to inform them that country music like other forms of American music has deep roots in African and Afro-American culture. They felt it to be their mission to educate the uninformed through their performance rather than "write them off" as "ignorant racists." Thus, while self-evaluated as having gifts that are extraordinary, our sample views the "ordinary" persons comprising the

audience as special, also. The common place sometimes taken for granted elements could be in the opinion of our sample, a God-given opportunity for service. The following definition of a professional musician reflects this positive audience image found in our sample.

A professional musician is one who makes money because of an ability to read the audience and make them happy. You see, the people come with their problems, concerns, hard times and good times, good and bad memories, their hangups, likes and dislikes and its up to us to inspire and lift them up in spite of everything. Whatever it takes, a professional musician gives it. If its jazz, we play it, if its country, we play it, if its rock or soul, we play it, if its gospel or hymns, a professional musician can deliver. If they don't like us because we are black, we must communicate with our music and who knows, maybe the music will change some attitudes. That's what it is all about, being a professional and pleasing your audience. Without an audience, there would be no musicians (Myron Int 2, 1983).

This conforms to the findings of other investigators who have studied local black musicians in other cities. Buerkle and Barker (1973) in their study of black musicians on Bourbon Street in New Orleans note that most of the musicians in their sample find this negative attitude toward the audience:

...completely incomprehensible. One of the main reasons they chose a career in music was to derive their own pleasure from pleasing audiences. Sometimes they know very little about the individuals in the audiences for which they play, but their intent is always to please that public -- to make them happy. They want the general public to have respect for their music and for them as individuals (Buerkle and Barker 1973:211,212).

In reference to the supposed conflict that the "deviance" sociologists said existed between the musicians desire to be a creative artist and the audience's insisting that the musician follow their dictates, Buerkle and Barker state:

The musicians of Bourbon Street Black don't see it this way. They feel they have considerable latitude in which to be creative and that this is what their audience expects of them...The jazzmen of Bourbon

Street Black have also been taught from childhood that it is good to play for audiences and that musicians are supposed to please their audiences and thereby derive their own satisfaction (Buerkle and Barker 1973:203).

In discussing his audience preferences, the musicians from their study make this point clear:

I prefer playing for an audience of "over forty" people. It doesn't matter who you play for black or white or any kind. The object is to communicate with them and do your job well. That's what really matters. When I was younger, I went for the younger audiences, though. They understood what I was doing. For instance, if I played rock to an older group, they'd say it was a lot of noise. Understanding really 'cures all ills' in that respect (Buerkle and Barker 1973:203).

We argued in section four of the chapter that the black musician is an emergent product of the black church. We also argued that the roots of black secular music lie deep in the black religious experience and this is often reflected in the performance of black musicians. The following quote from Art Blakely, jazz percussionist, illustrates how his church background has shaped his attitude toward the audience.

When I was a kid, I went to church mainly to relieve myself of problems and hardships. We did this by singing and clapping our hands. We called this way of relieving trouble 'having the spirit hit you'. I get that same feeling even more powerfully when I'm playing jazz. You get the message when you hear the music. And when we're on the stand and we see that there are people in the audience who aren't patting their feet and who are not nodding their heads to our music, we know we're doing something wrong. Because when we do get our message across, those heads and feet do move (Wilson 1966:49).

Out of the black religious experience there is a blending of sacred and secular in terms of desired audience response for both preacher and musician. As the (sacred and secular) black musician seeks while performing a physical and verbal response to the message of the music, the black preacher seeks the same type of response to the message of the sermon while it is being delivered.

If there is an element of hostility expressed by the black musician, two questions arise: (1) Toward whom is this hostility directed? (2) Why? Or, to put it another way, if there is an audience committed to jazz, popular music and other forms of black music, financially, who reaps the financial rewards? Again, hostility on the black musician's part is expressed less toward the audience per se than toward the music industry (Walton 1972:156-166).

Kofsky, in mentioning a "substratum of black resentment," states that the black musician must watch "as less talented but more palatable white imitators and popularizers reap the financial benefits of black innovation" (Kofsky 1970:26). Means and Doleman explain that "throughout the whole history of jazz...the Negro...made the major innovations while white men copied their technique" (Means and Doleman 1963:336).

In reference to musician audience interaction, what insight has been gained from our findings on the black musician. Let us discuss further the deviance literature in order to respond to this question.

We have examined how the jazz musician and by implication the black musician is theoretically treated in a major segment of sociological literature. We have examined the relevancy of the model that developed from Becker's and other studies to the profile of our black musicians. In view of the data from our study and the findings of other studies what theoretical conclusion can be arrived at concerning the relationship between musician and audience? Or to put it another way, what is the crucial variable in the relationship between musician and audience?

Cameron, Peterson, Merriam, and Mack and Stebbins all express the theme of the greater tolerance for unusual personalities and behavior found

within the jazz community as compared to the larger urban milieu. All cite identification with and vicarious participation in the ideology and lifestyle of the jazz musician as the central factor of the jazz community. Those within this sphere of identification and vicarious participation are "insiders"; those without are "outsiders." Yet this factor, though significant, does not get to the crucial factor.

None of the journal articles emphasize the theme that jazz, as a product of black culture, has an audience within that culture. The "jazz community" is, in part, the black community, a multi-diversified collectivity of people who, despite differentials in status variables, share at least one thing in common - being black in white America. Relative to the black jazz audience, does an appreciation of a jazz artist presuppose an ineffable "identification with and participation in the occupational ideology of the jazz musician"? (Merriam and Mack 1960:211). Not necessarily. The distinction between the white nonconformist and black nonconformist (and conformist) comes to bear on this question: White musicians and other whites who associate themselves with "radical" forms of black music, as an act of nonconformity do so, for the most part voluntarily. For them there is always that option of deradicalizing their behavior and returning to the mainstream. The black man does not have this option. "Merely by being a Negro in America, one [is] a nonconformist" (Jones 1963:188).

Therefore, it is not incumbent upon the black jazz enthusiast to internalize the lifestyle of the jazz musician as an act of nonconformity. The black jazz devotee, the black musician and jazz itself are all products of the same collective experience. Vis-a-vis traditional (white) values,

being black is, in itself, an act of nonconformity (deviance). There are those (more so within the black community than without) who "dig" the music of Thelonius Monk (for example) independently of "digging" his idiosyncratic stage mannerisms or lifestyle. For "soul" people, Monk's music is soul music (Monk is black).

More importantly, the journal articles do not stress the fact that through a process of plagiarization and adaptation, jazz has emerged in ethno-racial forms. Therefore, as a manifestation of the aesthetic values of a given culture, a jazz (or a style of jazz) has an audience within that culture. There are two basic attitudes in jazz, one white and the other black. The white attitude is expressed in terms of the Euro-American aesthetic which is a synthesis of European survivals and the experience of Euro-Americans in this country. The black attitude is expressed in terms of the Afro-American aesthetic which is a synthesis of African survivals and the collective experience of Africans in the diaspora (America).

The occasional gap that sometimes exists between the musician and his audience is for the most part due less to the musician's desire to create and the audience's desire to dance than to a conflict in values or expectations between the two groups -- the audience wants to hear one type of music, the musicians prefer playing another.

Further, this conflict need not be irresolvable. Often, it is worked out by a process of compromise initiated by the musicians. It is a give and take process in which the musicians engage in audience manipulation. As indicated by my findings, the musicians play what the audience wants to hear and through this process create within the audience a receptive response to what the musicians prefer playing (if it is different from what

the audience wants). It is when both groups are unyielding that the gap becomes solidified and the music(s) in question becomes a symbol of that unbridgeable gap. Therefore, in view of the arguments presented thus far, it is my contention that the crucial variable in the relationship between musician and audience is less the "outsider-insider" factor (as defined by Becker) than the presence or absence of shared values between musician and audience.

VIII. INTEGRATION INTO CONVENTIONAL SOCIETY

Our black musician was raised to fit into conventional society by being taught the values and norms of the American dream. In fact, our modal respondent is a part of that generation that fought to make that dream a reality for blacks as it has been for many whites. According to Oberschall the civil rights movement:

...concentrated heavily on specific goals such as school desegregation and its enforcement and the repeal of segregation laws. Its spokesmen linked these goals with the central American values of equality and freedom as manifested in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and Supreme Court decisions. Nonviolent direct actions, acts of civil disobedience were justified in the context of a higher religious morality and Christian brotherhood that enjoyed widespread public support and sympathy. The blueprint of the future desirable state of affairs was integration, an extension of the idea of America as the melting pot of society, that was in conformity with basic principles and values that all Americans pay at least lip service to. Blacks did not want anything that the white majority did not already have as a matter of right (Oberschall 1973:184).

The civil rights movement was not an attack or rejection of conventional society but an effort to be more a part of it. Even the ideology of black consciousness which psychologically sought a positive redefinition of self and group concept through a collective reassertion that "black is beautiful" was consistent with the widely held belief that

the American mainstream is a mosaic of diverse and proud cultures -- part of a culturally heterogeneous but united society. Thus the civil rights movement in which some of our musicians were involved directly or indirectly legitimized its specific goals and broader orientations "with respect to already widely accepted and shared ideals and values embedded in the culture" (Oberschall 1973:184). Our modal musician culturally speaking is "as American as apple pie."

IX. SUMMARY

We know that our modal or typical black musician is urban born and bred, middle class in origin and middle class in current status. We know that our modal musician is a product both spiritually and musically of the black church and the black religious experience. We know that our musician is well-educated and credentiated with at least an undergraduate degree and one year of graduate study. We know that our modal musician is black and mainstream American and proud of both. We know that our modal musician is formally trained, versatile, multi-talented and goal oriented in music. We also know about the music careers available to black musicians in Nashville and that the modal career for our modal black musician is "gigging." We also know that our modal interviewee is a part time musician due to insufficient income. We also know that our modal black musician is working full time as a professional in a non-music job.

We know that our musician is not a member of the local and is fragmented in terms of relationships with other black musicians. We know that the color of the music industry in Nashville is white but its roots are black. We also know that our musician is located involuntarily on

the fringe of the music industry in Nashville. We contend that this position of perpetual marginality in the role of consumer/artist rather than owner of the means of music production works to the advantage of the industry which has grown financially through its adaptation and marketing of new and old sounds that originate mainly from the black musician. We make this claim because we further contend that it was the earlier pioneer work of Deford Bailey at the local and regional level and the later renown recordings of Ray Charles at the national level that combined to catapult country music into national popularity. We know that black Nashville has a rich musical heritage in its own right and we contend that along with that of the Grand Ole Opry (for which black music and musicians laid the foundation), this black heritage is also responsible for Nashville's Music City, U.S.A. nickname. We contend that the black musician in Nashville is part and parcel of an ongoing critical mass of black created musical ideas that are eventually heard by the mass public often in the form of genres labeled "rock" or "country" or "pop" but played in these adapted forms by white artists and musicians. Thus, the relationship between black musicians and the music industry in Nashville is in part that of exploiter and exploitee -- excluder and excluded -- and is a microcosm of the relationship generally between black musicians and the national music industry. The fact that our black musician's class status is at least middle class does not change the fact that he/she is exploited.

We know from our discussion that most of the existing theories do not fit our black musician and those that have potential must be revised and combined with new ones. In our discussion, we drew on our data and suggested some revised or new ways of looking at issues raised by the

collective life story told to us by our sample and the samples of other investigations. We know also that the subject matter chosen for this study is a fertile area for continuing research.

CHAPTER VIII

CHANGING THE SYSTEM

1. INTRODUCTION

When asked what can be done at the collective level to structurally improve opportunities for Nashville Black musicians, only two of the total sample answered "nothing." Thus 94% percent of our sample indicated corrective action could be taken to remedy the present crisis.

II. BLACK MUSIC ROW

Four respondents proposed that Blacks move toward becoming independent of Music Row by building their own studios and performing centers.

...What has to develop here in Nashville is what developed when Stax Record Company developed from a Black point of view.

WHERE IS STAX LOCATED?

It was in Memphis. But when they were hot, when they had Isaac Hayes, Rufus Thomas, Otis Redding, that all developed because it was a Black organization that was set up down there. Naturally all the Black talent flocked there and they had a big thing going for a few years. They got to have that here; you are not going to be able to go over to Music Row and expect to set up a Black organization, it's not feasible. They're not going to know how to do that.

...It gets back to the same, Blacks have to set up their own organizations. As long as we are going over to Music Row looking for deals or looking for somebody to promote us as Blacks, it ain't gonna happen.

It basically boils down to doing it for yourself. If there is going to be a Black scene here, it's got to be done by us. Simple as that. Otherwise it ain't gonna happen. (Kenneth, Int. 1, 1983)

...I think there should be a place--decent--for Black musicians to perform. Many musicians now are from good homes, they have good character, they don't want to be caught down in some joint with a

bunch of prostitutes and dope addicts. They can't be bothered with that kind of stuff. There should be a decent place for them to perform (David, Int 1, 1983).

I have a feeling that we don't always need to take something from someone else and accusing them of not accepting us. We need to build and develop our own studios. We can't depend on the RCA's and the Columbia and the other major studios to develop professionally our musical talent. And we need to develop a plan to independently recruit, promote and market with good management skills those of us who have something to offer musically to the public.

I don't know if we should be so concerned about what happens on Music Row, if we want to work, bring the people to us, make them come to us, we should have something so good that they would want it, we don't have to blame them for it, I mean they developed their own thing, that's their business, don't cry to them 'hey give us a piece of the pie', develop your own piece of the pie...(Barry, Int 1, 1982).

The majority response (58.3%) advocated the general coming together and mobilization of the black community for sharing, information, organizing, dialogue and moving toward the development of a sense of shared interests and community among black musicians. This was viewed as an urgently needed first step toward attacking the problem with a broad-based well structured program, while at the same time encouraging the efforts of individuals and groups sympathetic to the plight of the black musician.

I think if or while other things are being done...we ought to meet and unite the community...we can meet each other, share problems, have workshops, discuss issues and develop some strategies...We can talk about education, joining the union, racism and so on, get folks interested and start moving...I think a meeting like this should be well promoted and it should be held in a church--where else--a big black church...And a good person to organize and convene this meeting would be someone doing research on black musicians. I'm throwing a hint. A person doing a dissertation can start after the dissertation is completed and get this meeting off the ground...Do you know of such a person? (Lance, Int 1, 1981).

Speaking of special efforts of concerned individuals and groups, we discovered that a few of the musicians are not only advocating a strategy

but are also implementing programs to enhance opportunities for black musical talent here in Nashville.

Right now, I am taking steps to form an organization here in Nashville...so that I can develop the talent here in Nashville. And then I could develop songwriters, artists, publishing people, sound engineers, promotional people. To develop a whole system within the music business because we don't know anything about that yet. I mean "we" the black people. Because the whites are already developed...

I'm building a recording studio now. You got to have that. I sent one young lady to school in Belmont to take the publishing course so she would have some background in that field. I went and took a course myself, as a matter of fact. So that I'd know something about publishing. When I was in L.A., I took vocal coaching so that I would know something about vocal coaching even though I'm not a singer myself. I knew that I'd be working with singers. The young people that we're working with now, I have a guy who works with them on choreography. Teaches them to dance. A lot of people say, 'What's that got to do with singing?' but that's part of it. Part of the development because when you advertise for singers that's really not the whole true story. Really you're looking for entertainers. What's an entertainer? You've got to be able to dance, sing, talk. A lot of things (Kenneth, Int 2, 1984).

...I have formed an informally organized group interested in promoting Black talent. The group was just put together. It's called Christian friends. There are people in California interested right now. There are several people here interested but it's going to be a shock for several people. We've had breaking out television show which is on Black entertainment television. That show emanated right here and I'm a co-producer. We've been presenting Black talent to some 3.2 million Black people across America for the last 15 weeks now. That's something new that's happening. All this would have been dreams 3 or 4 years ago.

...primarily it is a mass communication ministry that will by way of the Christian witness develop those talents in the areas of music, song, dance, drama and likewise because we're getting, I'm preparing now for Christian programming for television. So I'm looking at people who write plays, who have not traditionally been able to get their plays accepted by the regular media or by the White publishing houses. These kinds of things (Mike, Int 2, 1983).

One major development which occurred during the field work of my research was the formation of a community school for the underprivileged

children and youth. Here's how it started, beginning with an earlier development:

...we are one of the few school systems in the country with a recording studio, Hillsboro High School has one of the finest recording studios around. The equipment was donated by Music Row and Board of Education funding. And student musicians can profit a great deal in terms of learning from having an opportunity to study and play in a recording studio under the auspices of a music educator or instructor. Kids learn about recording procedures. You can take your high school group over and they'll record it for you. It's a class where kids can learn to do this. What is needed above and beyond that in the Black community is a school of performing arts. Arts in terms of private instruction, jazz, this kind of thing. For an example, at Hillsboro High School where the kids are predominantly white, you probably wouldn't have that many blacks who would be going there and who would enroll in this particular class. I think a center or something like that...I had often thought about a music school where we would have private instruction. Blair started off in a little building and grew from there to what it is today. We're talking about inner city kids that would not otherwise have an opportunity to develop their talents in a marketable way (Lance, Int 1, 1981).

This opportunity for the inner-city has come to fruition in the recently-opened W. O. Smith Community School of Music. Named after W. O. Smith (whom I interviewed), a long-time member of the Tennessee State University faculty, the first black to join the Nashville Symphony Orchestra and the first black to join the musicians' union in Nashville, this school will be funded by a "prestigious lineup of music industry executives" and staffed by volunteer teachers from the public school system, Vanderbilt University and others. Some of the name entertainers from the music industry are also teaching classes. In a published telephone conversation with a local news reporter, Smith stated:

This school has been a dream of mine for a long time. I was thinking of Nashville as being a unique place - one with more music and more quality music than any city its size.

I figured with all these resources there ought to be some way we could hook them up with kids in need.

...Here in Nashville we'll be able to see that somebody who lives in public housing can get a quality lesson from a quality teacher (Smith, 1983)

III. CIVIL RIGHTS

Since civil rights organizations have played so vital a role in the struggle for civil liberties and equal rights and our interviewees were in some way a part of and/or beneficiary of this quest, the question whether civil rights organizations should play a role in this effort stimulated some interesting responses. Around 25 percent answered "no." Here are two of these negative responses.

Now, when you mentioned NAACP, PUSH, I was thinking of it in terms of my helping them; not them helping me. My doing PUSH concerts or guest singer at an NAACP banquet. Those things need to happen. More Black entertainment needs to be involved in Black civic activity (Delia, Int. 1, 1984).

Mike was emphatic in his response to this question:

I don't see any role at all...I really think that for the NAACP, it should come very low on the priority list. There are more important priorities other than dealing with a group of folks who aren't organized. As I said before, and who do not have any set goals, who have no unity, no purpose, haven't done anything to help the civil rights movement so it doesn't mean too much. Now if a musician is particularly isolated and some legal precedent by which the NAACP can get involved, I think they should look at it from a totally individual perspective and not as a group as a whole (Mike, Int 2, 1983).

The vast majority, 75 percent, felt civil rights groups should play a role in bringing about some positive changes.

Well, I think they should, like when the Lena Horne thing happened, when she said she wasn't gonna sing unless everybody on stage was black, I think that they should find out what jobs are really available, and find out what percentage of blacks are qualified here in Nashville, and raise hell that get them. There are job, but like I said, we've got to stop having this defeatist attitude. Self will, can take you a long way (Faith, Int 2, 1983).

Well, they work to increase black employment in many areas with some degree of success. I would imagine that if not in Nashville, in some of the other metropolitan areas they are working on behalf of black musicians in terms of employment...they should play a role. With music being as lucrative as it is, blacks should have an opportunity to receive a fair percentage of the money to be made from the music industry. And, about the only way that will be done will be for the NAACP to insist--as it has done in other areas--on meaningful involvement among blacks in recording (Sheldon, Int 2, 1983).

They could play a role if they would use their influence and resources. But they haven't done anything so far because we [black musicians] have not asked them to do anything (Lance, Int 1, 1981).

Some specified the conditions under which the civil rights groups should become involved.

I think if ever an issue arises in the community where these civil rights organizations need to project the civil rights of its constituents of this city, then I think these organizations would be in line to assist in that direction. If it happens to be trying to perpetuate the cause of black musicians and black music then I think my other answer would be the same here, I think blacks can do it for themselves, but if there is a blatant violation of any laws in relationship to black musicians and any other civil right that's being denied, these groups should step in (Barry, Int 2, 1982).

...I think once black musicians get together, they can probably get the local chapter of the NAACP to support them, but I think it's up to them to get themselves together. Unless they're together, I don't think the NAACP should get into that because I think there are other more important and more vital issues for them to fight for right now. I think the NAACP has been generally concerned about overall opportunities for black entertainers nationally but I think it's up to us to take the initiative and just get the local chapters to step in at the appropriate time, but it's up to us to be the leaders (Myron, Int 2, 1983).

IV. THE FUTURE

Perhaps among the interesting findings from this study are the attitudes expressed by the respondents toward the future. Penetrating and transcending the somewhat bittersweet description about the conditions

confronting the Black artist in Nashville is the projection that things are going to get better. When asked "Would you advise a young, budding Black musician to stay in Nashville," this respondent stated:

I would tell them to stay here. I would speak on both sides of the question, but I would within myself hope that they would stay here because I figure you can turn the rock of Gibraltar into a pebble if you knock enough chunks out of it, and I guess it depends on the determination of the other side if you can break it off into sides. I would like to see them fight here. This is good ground because there has been a lot of blood, sweat, and tears absorbed by this ground that Music City, USA occupies. That's one reason I would tell them to stay because you never know the character of the other negatives that you're going to run into wherever else you choose to go.

For instance, if these people chose to go to the New York market with their talent, right-off they would be jumping out there with other talented people just as frustrated as them and just as dedicated as them toward making it. It's another negative, it's a positive, but it's really a negative in terms of you individually because you're trying to wade through all these other talented people to get to your goal. Here, you don't have that same obstacle because there are not as many young, promising people per capita in this market as there are in...some other markets. Maybe you have to deal with racism here, but at least you know how it looks, how it smells. So you can deal with it. You have people who can tell you and help you in making your judgments and planning your next steps, but if you have to go deal with another level of competition that you had never seen before and did not know existed, it can really turn you around (Jack, Int 1, 1981).

When asked, 'What is the future of the music industry in Nashville?,' 80 percent predicted in various ways that the Nashville music industry will continue to grow and broaden basically to the advantage of Black musical talent. Here are some examples:

...believe me this city is going to explode. This is virgin territory and there's music in this city that has never been tapped and the Nashville Music Association realizes on a daily basis that people are moving here from L.A., record producers are moving to Nashville because they know what this place is going to become. Everybody that I have talked to from out of town are tired of the hustle and bustle, jive and things that they have to deal with from day to day. A lot of the people are moving here and you would be surprised at the people that are coming here to record. Songs on top

of songs be being recorded right here in Nashville. From an economic point of view Nashville has more recording studios than any city in the United States (Terence Intl. 1, 1981).

I think it's gonna develop into a more cosmopolitan area. More and more, people from all over the world are coming to Nashville for a lot of reasons. Mostly music. And as these things come together, we are gonna have more opportunities for Blacks and others. One of the most important things is, we are producing a better student--graduate--than we used to because we have better teaching tools now plus we are getting better students. This year's class we gave an achievement test in music--they scored about 20 percent higher than the best class we have ever had. Now, then they audition, they are gonna show up better.

Also, I believe that the churches are going to give us a great opportunity to use our talent. I mean all churches, white and black (Reuben, Int 1, 1983).

This optimism is supported indirectly by the Nashville Music Association's recent announcement based on union data that over 50 percent of the recordings made in Nashville are non-Country. Because of the association between country music and "whiteness" it is felt that an increase in non-country recordings could result in an increase in non-white participation in the industry. Thus, many see this development as an indication that things are opening up for Black musicians here in Nashville. It must be noted however that some respondents were somewhat less optimistic about the future.

Well, since country music has survived a number of years, I would say that Nashville will continue to be a predominantly country music town because its native popularity and the national popularity that has developed over the years and the tourist trade it attracts...The music is medicine for a whole lot of people in our larger society...rock and some jazz available for those who want it. Recording will continue to be a viable component of this scene and will constitute a major portion of musicians' income, especially those who look at music as a means of livelihood (Sheldon, Int 2, 1983).

One respondent was even bitter:

One is the cliché that in a couple of years the city is going to change. There's going to be a market for Black musicians. Well, I've

been waiting that market for the last nine years, you know. I'm not waiting any longer because I don't see that there's going to be any great change as far as the Black music because it's just the way that politicians want it (Frank, Int 1, 1981).

This analysis of our interviewees' perception of the future yields even more information about our modal interviewee. Certain that something can be done to bring about a positive change for this group, our typical respondent feels that civil rights organizations should have at least a conditional role in this effort. Black musicians must take the first giant step by coming together, organizing themselves and mobilizing the concern and participation of the overall black community in a meeting or even series of meetings. This is seen as a necessary condition for developing a much needed overall sense of community among black musicians and reducing the fragmentation now existing within their ranks. In addition our modal respondent/musician is generally hopeful about the future. Evelyn's assertion in one of my first interviews that "things are getting better" (Evelyn, Int. 1981) was echoed throughout the subsequent interviews and reflects the hope of our modal interviewee. This positive projection of future possibilities and developments and the contention that the present situation is not beyond remedy show us that our modal musician is not wallowing in self-pity and self-doubt. With self determination, stout heart, and abundant talents, our musician is ever moving, pushing, yearning and driving for the higher prize on the other side of the caste line in Music City, U.S.A.

This hope is not idle fantasy or just wishful thinking. It is realistic anticipation often in the form of concrete plans or proposals which are based on an analysis of the present situation and the potential

it bodes for black musicians in Nashville. Some of these have already come to fruition, for example, the establishment of the W.O. Smith Community School of Music an interracial project. Our modal musician's advocacy of building an independent industry in black Nashville conforms to the conclusions of other investigators. Walton (1972:156-167) discusses in detail the need for the creation of an Afro-American music industry. He concludes with this observation on the need for a mobilized black community:

An essential step toward the creation of an Afro-American music industry concerns the involvement of Afro-American communities. The economic thrusts now taking place in black communities have rarely taken into account resources that have already been developed - the arts and in particular music arts. The ownership of recording studios and communication media goes hand in hand with the engagement of Afro-American musicians in live performances...Until [black musicians] gain a degree of broad organizational consensus and build supportive institutional structure, control over music and products will remain in the hands of others (Walton 1972:166).

Further, Peterson and White in their analysis of simplex succession make this observation which in turn may shed some light on the basis of simplex composition and change:

...major new sounds ordinarily are created by groups of nonstudio musicians or by studio players working in secondary recording centers such as Detroit, Memphis, Austin, Muscle Shoals, Bakersfield, or the Colorado Hills. Quite often they move together to the major recording centers. Rather than melding into the established simplex structures, these aggregations or rivals often form the nucleus of new simplex structures which first parallel and then succeed the older simplexes (Peterson and White 1979:435).

The idea of developing (1) a secondary industry with a new or different but marketable sound under black control and (2) a concomitant simplex matrix which will rival and perhaps replace the established one in Nashville is based on what has happened before. When is a new sound marketable? It is so when the old sound ceases to be or is no longer

allowed to be or when the new sound is seen as even more profitable than the established one. This is the process of the rise and fall of waves and fads in popular music. And it is through this process of popular music dynamics, that our modal black musician sees an opening for getting in and moving up in the music business.

The interview experience served as a catharsis -- an opportunity to tell a story about life experiences and release pent-up feelings, emotions and thoughts and bring them to consciousness and give them expression. During the course of each interview, this investigator never detected an adamant attitude -- an unyielding rage -- in reference to the issues addressed. Frustration, disappointment, confusion, anger, hurt and even indignation were manifested in varying degrees. but when it was said and the "smoke cleared", the respondents always concluded the exchange on a positive note, stated or unstated -- a brighter day is coming and we must make it happen.

V. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this dissertation in no way claims to cover all of the pertinent internal and external variables, the cross-current of social forces relevant to understanding the black musician in Nashville. We have however made a step toward that end. As a result of this study, our knowledge has expanded through the stories that were shared with us.

We asked in Chapter One whether the deviance model fits our musician. Our analysis of the data indicates the answer is no. Our black musician not only conforms to the norms of conventional society but also produces a

music which is the norm by which other musics are measured--a music from which other musics are derived.

Why then has the black musician been labeled deviant? Our discussion reveals that the deviance of the black musician lies not in his attitudes, involvements and interactions with others but in the eyes of the beholder. Thus it is not the shared values but the color of our musician that causes others to pin the deviant label on our musician. It is the color of our musician that accounts for the continued marginal status of our middle class musician.

While "blackness" perpetuates marginality and to some is symbolic of deviance, nevertheless, our data indicate that in fact "blackness" is a viable source from which some white mainstream values emerge. As American music is, in essence or adaptation, black music, so American culture is, in part, an adaptation of black culture. Therefore rather than analyzing black culture in terms of its conformity or deviation from mainstream culture, I would suggest that we examine the extent to which mainstream culture derives its norms and values from black culture.

It has not been my purpose to "tear down" the significance of the deviance model as formulated by Becker and others but to set the boundaries of this model. Becker's study of jazz musicians is fascinating and his deviance model may very well fit white jazz musicians. What may be, however, a special characteristic of white jazz musicians should not be construed as a general characteristic of all jazz musicians or all black musicians as well. Means and Doleman (1968) suggest in their study that the deviance model does not fit black musicians. Buerkle and Barker (1973) in their study reveal that the deviance model does not fit the black jazz

musician in New Orleans. Again, our study demonstrates that the deviance model does not fit the black musician in Nashville. Therefore, we argue that the deviance model is culture bound and perhaps region bound as well. Furthermore, the extent to which our findings can be generalized to black musicians beyond Nashville can only be determined by further research.

Finally, in placing cultural (and perhaps regional) boundaries on the deviance model, this study contends that deviance itself could be viewed as culturally determined, that is, what is labeled as deviant varies from culture to culture. In essence, what may be "deviant" in the eyes of one culture could be "normative" in the eyes of another. Thus, it is not the act per se but the reaction of others to the actor that creates the "deviant" or "normative" label. This reaction is itself culture bound.

Let us close with this reflection. In our analysis we shared the hope of our musician and concluded that it was realistic. This hope reflects the essence of the black experience. The investigator searched the sociological literature for a model or theory that would explain how hope could emerge out of despair and disappointment - one that would explicate the links between the variables that would produce this type of hope. But the answer was not found there. The search led me to some of the writings of social psychology but the answer was not there. On to some of the literature of anthropology, economics, demography and political science but alas my question had not been answered. Then when the answer appeared to be unfindable, the investigator, being a preacher, turned to the Bible, the sacred writing of that institution which produced our modal black musician. We looked at those New Testament epistles which were written by a commentator who also was a middle class member of an oppressed group. This

commentator had, while traveling to persecute still another group, a resocialization experience, so tremendous that it turned him around spiritually and literally changed his name from Saul to Paul. This reminded me of the stories told by some of my subjects. In one of his letters he told about being given a thorn in the flesh to keep him from being exalted above measure - to keep him humble. In this same story he shares how he discovered in prayer that God's grace was sufficient for him. This also reminded me of the story told by our modal black musician. And then in verses three through five of the fifth chapter of Romans, we find this "model":

...We glory in our troubles; for we know that trouble produces fortitude; and fortitude produces character; and character produces hope; and hope does not prove an illusion...

This is their hope - not an illusion but grounded in what can be done. This is our challenge - to bridge the gap of understanding. This is our task - to continue to build grounded theories which like Jacob's ladder, will move us from one step of knowledge to another. There are many stories to be told in and about Nashville. It is my hope, that this study has told its story of black musicians in Music City, U.S.A.

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Abdul, Raoul. 1978. Blacks in Classical Music: A Personal History. New York: Dodd.
- Albertson, Chris. 1970. "Cannonball the Communicator." Downbeat (Jan.): 13-15.
- Allen, Robert L. 1970. Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An analytic History. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday (Anchor Books).
- Aptheker, Herbert. 1949. "Consciousness of Negro nationality: an historical survey." Political Affairs Vol. 28 (June): 9-95.
- Ash, Roberta. 1972. Social Movements in America. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company.
- Ashley, Berchelle. 1985. "Black Church Expanding to Meet New Demands." Nashville Banner. (April 24): A1, A8.
- Bailey, Jerry. 1973. "The Man Who Molded 'Music City.'" The Tennessean. (Aug. 26) (pages unavailable).
- Baker, David N., The Black Composer Speaks., 1978, Scarecrow.
- Baker, Dorothy. 1938. Young Man With A Horn. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Banton, Michael. 1967. Race Relations. London: Javistock Publications.
- Baran, Paul A., and Paul M. Swezy. 1966. Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Becker, Howard S. 1951. "The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience." American Journal of Sociology. (September): 136-144.
- _____. 1963. Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: Free Press.
- Becker, Howard S. and Blanche Geer. 1957. "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A comparison." Human Organization Vol. 16 (Spring): 28-32.
- Berger, Thomas and Peter Luchman. 1967. The Social Construction of Reality. New York: Anchor.
- Bjorn, Lars. 1981. "The Mass Society and Group Action Theories of Cultural Production: The Case of Stylistic Innovation in Jazz." Social Forces. Vol. 60 (December): 377-393.

- Blackwell, James. 1975. The Black Community: Diversity and Unity. New York: Harper and Row.
- Blackwell, James E. and Morris Janowitz, eds. 1974. Black Sociologists. Chicago, Illinois. The University of Chicago Press.
- Blauner, Robert. 1969. "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt." Social Problems. (April): 393-408.
- _____. 1972. Racial Oppression in America. New York: Harper and Row.
- Blumer, Herbert G. 1954. "Reflections on Theory in Race Relations." In Andrew W. Lind (ed.), Race Relations in World Perspective: Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955.
- Bonacich, Edna. 1972. "A theory of ethnic antagonism: the split labor market," American Sociological Review. Vol. 37 (October): 547-559.
- _____. 1976. "Advanced capitalism and black/white relations in the United States: a split labor market interpretation," American Sociological Review Vol. 41 (February): 34-51
- _____. 1975. "Abolition, the extension of slavery and the positions of blacks: a study of the split labor markets in the United States, 1830-1863," American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 81 (November): 601-628.
- Bottomore, Tom and Robert Nisbet, ed. 1978. A History of Sociological Analysis. New York: Basic Books.
- Bridges, John. 1984. "50 Cents Will Buy the Best in Music." The Tennessean. (Article on the grand opening of the W. O. Smith Community School of Music), (January): 5D, 6D.
- Brisbane, Robert. 1970. The Black Vanguard. Valley Forge: Judson Press.
- Bryce-LaPorte, Roy Simon. 1971. "The Slave Plantation: Background to Present Conditions of Urban Blacks." (unpublished paper, Yale University).
- Buerkle, Jack V. and Danny Barker. 1973. Bourbon Street Black: The New Orleans Black Jazzman. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Byrd, Donald. 1972. "The Meaning of Black Music." The Black Scholar. Vol. 3, No. 10. (Summer): 28-31.
- Cameron, William Bruce. 1954. "Sociological Notes on the Jam Session." Social Forces. Vol. 33: 177-182.
- Campbell, D. 1975. "Black Musicians in Symphony Orchestras, A Bad Scene." Crises. Vol. 82 (January): 12-17.

- Carmichael, Stokey, and Charles V. Hamilton. 1967. Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America. New York: Vintage.
- Chavis, Jordan Douglass. 1984. History of the Band and Instrumental Music Program in the Black Public Schools of Nashville and Davidson County. (A treatise on the emergence of black music education in the public schools of Nashville) (Unpublished paper, Nashville).
- _____. 1984. A Profile of Nashville: Its Opportunities, Influences and Impact on Black Musicians: An Historical Sketch of the Early Emergence of Secular Black Musicians in the First Half of the 20th Century in Nashville. (Speech prepared for first conference on Black Musicians in Nashville under the direction of the investigator. (Unpublished paper, Nashville).
- Chilton, John. 1971. "Who's Who of Jazz." Book Review Vol. 6: 17-21.
- Clark, Kenneth B. 1965. Dark Ghetto. New York: Harper and Row.
- Clinard, Marshall, ed. 1964. Anomie and Deviant Behavior. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Coffman, James Q. 1972. "So You Want to be a Rock N' Roll Star: Conflict and the Rock Musician." The Sounds of Social Change. edited by R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson. Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally and Company.
- Cone, James H. 1972. The Spirituals and the Blues: An Interpretation. New York: The Seabury Press.
- Cooley, Charles H. 1902. Human Nature and the Social Order. New York: Scribner.
- _____. 1927. Life and the Student. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Corzine, Joy and Janis Sherwood. 1983. "The Occupational Orientation of Jazz Musicians: Some Recent Findings and a Reexamination of the Evidence." Sociological Spectrum. Vol. 3, Nos. 3-4. (July-December): 317-337.
- Coser, Lewis A. 1956. The Functions of Social Conflict. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Country Music Foundation Library and Media Center. 1981. "Country Black" [report of regional survey of listening preferences of a sample of blacks (over 500) in three states (Texas, Mississippi, and Georgia)]. (Publisher and pages not available).

- Cox, Oliver C. 1948. Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics. New York: Doubleday.
- Current, G.B. 1982. "Black Church Music - How Sweet it Sounds." Crisis. (November): 21-24.
- Current, G.B. 1979. "National Association of Negro Musicians at 60 -- and Still Rolling Along." Crisis Vol. 86 (December): 411-415.
- Denzin, Norman K. 1970. The Research Act. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Denzin, Norman K., ed. 1970. Sociological Methods. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Dommett, Kenneth. 1974. "The Jazz Influence; Fusion or Illusion?" Hi Fi News and Record Review. (Jan.): 93-97.
- Douglas, Jack D. 1976. Investigative Social Research. Beverly Hills, California Sage Publications.
- Doyle, Don H. 1985. Nashville in the New South: 1880 to 1930. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- _____. 1985. Nashville Since the 1920's. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- _____. 1985. "Jim Crow Died 25 Years Ago." The Tennessean. (May 12): 1H, 7H.
- Drake, St. Clair and Horace Clayton. 1945. Black Metropolis. New York, New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Draper, Theodore. 1960. American Communism and Soviet Russia. New York: International.
- Drucker, Otis. 1970. "Resolution 10." Official Proceedings of the Seventy-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Musicians. (Quoted in Music: Black, White, and Blue, Ortiz Walton, 1972. New York: William Morrow and Company:163,164.
- Dubois, W.E.B. 1970. The Souls of Black Folks. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Duke, James T. 1976. Conflict and Power in Social Life. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press.
- Edwards, F. Franklin, ed. E. Franklin Frazier on Race Relations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Feather, Leonard. 1974. "Do you Have to be Black to Play Jazz?" Melody Maker. Vol. 16 (February):55.
- _____. 1960. Encyclopedia of Jazz. New York: Horizon Press.
- Fine, Milo. 1974. "Jazz: Emergence as an International Art Form." Jazz Journal. (Sept.): 16, 18.
- Finklestein, Sidney. 1948. Jazz: A People's Music. New York: The Citadel Press.
- Fisk University Catalogue. 1980. "The Jubilee Singers." Catalogue 20.
- Flake, Tom. 1982. "Music City is known for diverse music." Nashville Banner. (July 14): (page unavailable).
- Foster, William Z. 1954. The Negro People in American History. New York: International.
- Forsythe, Dennis. 1973. "Radical Sociology and Blacks." The Death of White Sociology. edited by Joyce Ladner. New York, New York: Vantage Books: 213-233.
- Fox, Herbert, Jr. 1980. "The Jubilees Forever." Nashville. Vol. 7. (January): 35-36, 90-92.
- Frazier, Franklin E. 1957. Black Bourgeoisie. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- _____. 1963. The Negro Church in America. New York, New York: Schocken Books.
- Frechette, Dave. 1981. "Country Music Back to Black." Essence Magazine (September) (pages unavailable).
- Gallagher, Kathleen. 1977. "Musicians Union Opening New Hall." The Tennessean. (December 12) (pages unavailable).
- Gans, Herbert J. 1972. "The Creator-Audience Relationship in the Mass Media: An Analysis of Movie Making." Side Saddle on the Golden Calf. edited by George H. Lewis. Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear: 109-119.
- Gerchwender, James A. 1978. Racial Stratification in America. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company.
- Germans, Robert K. 1985. "Industry Rallies to Fight Country Music Slump." The Tennessean. (January): 1D-2D.

- Gillespie, Dizzy and Al Fraser 1979. To Be or Not to Bop: Memoirs. New York: Doubleday.
- Gist, Noel P. and Sylvia Heis Fava 1964. Urban Society. New York, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.
- Glaser, B. and A. Strauss 1967. The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Goines, L. 1974. "Reflection on the State of Black Music and the Black Musician." Journal of Asian and African Studies. Vol. 9 (July/October): 217-23.
- Goldberg, Joe. 1966. Album notes to Coltrane Plays the Blues. New York: (Atlantic Recording Company).
- _____. 1972. Jazz Masters of the 50's. New York: MacMillan.
- Gove, Walter, ed. 1975. The Labeling of Deviance. New York: Wiley.
- Gordon, Milton M. 1964. Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Green, Douglas. 1976. Country Roots. New York: Hawthorne Books.
- Hay, George D. 1945. A Story of the Grand Ole Opry. Nashville: (published by author).
- Heller, Celia, ed. 1969. Structured Social Inequality. A Reader in Comparative Social Stratification. London: The MacMillan Company.
- Hempill, Paul. 1970. The Nashville Sound: Bright Lights and Country Music. New York, New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Herman, Louis. 1976. Formalization of New Orleans Jazz Musicians: A Case Study of Organizational Change. (Ph.D. Dissertation) Virginia Polytechnic.
- Herskovits, Melvill J. 1958. The Myth of the Negro Past. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Hermenz, J. 1972. "New York Philharmonic Reaches out for Black Players." Hi Fi. (September): 22.
- Hill, Robert. 1972. The Strength of Black Families. New York: Emerson Hall Publishers.
- Hirsch, Paul. 1969. "The Structure of the Popular Music Industry: An Examination of the Filtering Process by Which Records are Preselected for Public Consumption." (Unpublished) University of Michigan.

- Hodeir, Andre. 1956. Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence. New York: DeCapo Press.
- Holden, S. 1980. "Aretha's Hard Road Back." Rolling Stone. (January): 92-94.
- Holy Bible. 1953. Revised Standard Version. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Hughes, Langston. 1926. "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain." Nation. CXXII: 692-694. Also published in Black Expression. ed. by Addison Gayle (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1970): 258-262.
- _____. 1938. A New Song. New York: International Worker's Order.
- _____. 1961. Ask Your Mama: Twelve Moods for Jazz. New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Hunt, David C. 1974. "Black Voice Lost in White Substructure." Cods. (Feb.): 12-14.
- Hunter, Evan. 1956. Quartet in H. New York: Harper and Row.
- Jacques, G. 1984. "The Rise and Fall of Modern Jazz (Bebop)." Freedomways. Vol. 24 No. 2: 87-94.
- James, C. L. R. 1947. "The revolutionary solution to the Negro problem in the United States." (1947). Facing Reality 4. (May): 12-18.
- Johnson, Charles DeWitt. 1973. The Jazz Musician and White Sociology. (Masters Thesis) Vanderbilt University.
- Johnson, Charles S. 1928. "Jazz, Poetry, and Blues." Carolina Magazine. (May): 1-11.
- Johnson, Joseph, A. Jr. 1970. The Soul of the Black Preacher. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Pilgrim Press.
- _____. 1977. Proclamation Theology. Shreveport, Louisiana: Fourth Episcopal District Press.
- Johnson, Patricia Ann. 1974. The Jazz and Blues Poetry of Langston Hughes. (Masters Thesis) Atlanta University.
- Jones, Leroi. 1963. Blues People. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- _____. 1968. Black Music. New York: William Morrow and Company: (A compilation of selected writings by Jones during the period 1959-1967).

- _____. 1969. "The Myth of Negro Literature," in Black Expression.
edited by Addison, Gayle, Jr. New York: Weybright and Talley: 191-192.
- Keil, Charles. 1966. Urban Blues. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kerbo, Harold. 1983. Social Stratification and Inequality. New York, New York: McGraw Hill.
- Kochman, Thomas, ed. 1972. Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communications in Urban Black America. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Kofsky, Frank. 1970. Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music. New York: Pathfinder Press.
- Komin, Jonathan. 1976. Rhythm and Blues in White America: Rock and Roll as Acculturation and Perceptual Learning. Ph.D. Dissertation) Princeton University.
- Kronus, Sidney. 1971. The Black Middle Class. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.
- Ladner, Joyce A., ed. 1970. The Death of White Sociology. New York: Random House.
- Leach, Hugh. 1980. "Blacks Get Some Belated Power in Country Scene." Country Scene. (Month and page not available).
- Lees, G. 1977. "Jazz-Classical Fusion: It's Working." Hi Fi. (November): 26-27.
- Lenski, Gerhard E. 1966. Power and Privilege. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Leonard, Neil. 1962. Jazz and the White Americans: The Acceptance of a New Art Form. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levy, Louis. 1983. "New Orleans Jazz: A Dialectical View." Sociological Spectrum. Vol. 3, Nos. 3-4. (July-December): 339-352.
- Lincoln, C. Eric. 1970. Foreward to Black Preaching. by Henry Mitchell Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincutt Company 1970. 5-8.
- _____. 1961. Black Muslims in America. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press.
- Lofland, John. 1971. Analyzing Social Settings. California: Wadworth.
- Lomax, John. 1981. "Sinatra Leads of Non-Country Artists Recording in Music City." Variety. (April) (Page not available).
- Lovinggood, Penman. 1977. Famous Modern Negro Musicians. New York: DaCapo. Press.

- Lynn, Loretta and George Vessey. 1977. Coal Miner's Daughter. New York: Warner Books.
- Malcolm X. 1966. The Autobiography of Malcolm X. (with assistance by Alex Haley). New York, New York: Grove Press, Inc.
- Malone, Bill and Judith McCullough, eds. 1975. Stars of Country Music: Uncle Dave Mason to Johnny Rodriguez. Champion, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Manis, Jerome and Bernard Metzger, eds. 1972. Symbolic Interaction. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Mason, Phillip. 1970. Patterns of Dominance. London, England: Oxford University Press.
- McCarthy, John and Mayer Zald. 1973. "The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization." New Jersey: General Learning Press.
- May, Lee. 1983. "Modern Country Music reflects black influences." Chicago Sun Times. (Sept.) (Page not available).
- Mays, Benjamin and Joseph W. Nicholson. 1971. The Negro's Church. New York. Institute of Social and Religious Research.
- Mead, George Herbert. 1934. Mind Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist. Charles W. Morris (ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 1938. The Philosophy of the Act. Charles W. Morris (ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Means, Richard L. and Bertha Doleman. 1968. "Notes on Negro Jazz: 1920-1950; The Use of Biographical Materials in Sociology." Sociological Quarterly. Vol. 9 (Summer): 332-342.
- Merriam, Alan P. and Raymond W. Mack. 1960. "The Jazz Community." Social Forces. Vol. 33: 211-222.
- Merton, Robert K. 1938. "Social Structure and Anomie." Sociological Theory. edited by Walter L. Wallace. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 162-183.
- Merton, Robert. 1957. Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Second Ed.
- Metropolitan Planning Commission. 1976. Social Types in Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee: A Geographic Distribution 1950-1970. (available at the Planning Commission office).

- Miller, Lloyd and James K. Skipper, Jr. 1972. "Sounds of Black Protest in Avant-Garde Jazz." The Sounds of Social Change. edited by R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson. Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally and Company.
- Mitchell, Henry. 1970. Black Preaching. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J.B. Lippincott Company.
- Moore, Carman. 1973. "This White Southern Music is Mulatto." New York Times. (January 3) (Page not available).
- Morse, David. 1971. Motown. New York, New York: Collier Books.
- Hoder Andre. 1961. Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence. New York: De Capo Press.
- Mullins, Nicholas. 1973. Theories and Theory Groups in Contemporary Sociology. New York: Harper and Row.
- Nanry, Charles, ed. 1972. American Music: From Storyville to Woodstock. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books.
- Nashville Association of Musicians Local 257. 1983. Membership Directory. Nashville: (published by Union).
- _____. 1983. Constitution and By-laws. Nashville: (published by Union).
- _____. 1983. "Miscellaneous and Steady Engagement Wage Scale and Price List." Nashville: (published by Union).
- _____. 1983. "Master and Demo Recording Scale." Nashville: (published by Union).
- Neal, Larry. 1969. "Any Day Now: Black Art and Black Liberation." Ebony. (August): 55-60.
- Newsmakers. 1984. "Cheated, Says Little Richard." The Tennessean. (November 11): (page unavailable).
- Oberschall, Anthony. 1973. Social Conflict and Social Movements. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Otto, Herbert A. 1962. "What is a strong Family." Marriage and Family Living. Vol. 24 (February): 72-80.
- Palmer, Robert. 1980. "The Prewar Black Harmony Groups." New York Times. (Nov. 23) (Page not available).
- Park, Robert. 1950. Race and Culture. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

- Parrello, Vincent R. 1980. Strangers to These Shores: Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States. Chicago, Illinois: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Parsons, Talcott. 1951. The Social System. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- _____. 1954. Essays in Sociological Theory. Glencoe: Free Press.
- Peterson, Richard A. 1965. "Artistic Creativity and Alienation: The Jazz Musician Versus His Audience." Arts in Society. Vol. 3: 244-248.
- _____. 1967. "Market and Moralists Censors of a Black Art Form: Jazz." Arts in Society. Vol. 4: 253-264.
- _____. 1971. "Jazz in Black and Red. Notes on a Theme by Kofsky." Arts in Society. Vol. 9:77-79.
- _____. 1972. "A Process Model of the Folk, Pop, and Fine Art Phrases of Jazz." American Music: From Storyville to Woodstock. edited by Charles Naury. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press: 135-150.
- Peterson, Richard and Howard White. 1979. "The Simplex Located in Art Worlds." Urban Life. Vol. 7. No. 4 (January): 411-438.
- _____. 1981. "Elements of Simplex Structure." Urban Life. Vol. 10. No. 1 (April).
- Peterson, Richard and John Ryan. 1983. "Success, Failure, and Anomie in Arts and Crafts Work: Breaking into Commercial Country Music Songwriting." Research in the Sociology of Work. edited by Ida Harper Simpson and Richard L. Simpson. Greenwich, Connecticut: J.A.I. Press, Inc.
- Pleasants, Henry. 1969. Serious Music - and All That Jazz. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Porter, James N. 1974. "Race, Socialization and Mobility in Educational and Early Occupational Attainment." American Sociological Review Vol. 39. (June): 303-316.
- Porter, Thomas, J. 1971. "The Social Roots of Afro-American Music: 1950-1970." Freedomways. (Third Quarter: 264-271.)
- Record, Wilson. 1951. The Negro and the Communist Party. Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Ridley, Larry. 1973. "The Newport in New York Seminars." Downbeat-18th Annual Yearbook. edited by Charles Suber: 40-42.

- Roach, Max. 1972. "What Jazz Means to Me." The Black Scholar. Vol. 3. No. 10. (Summer): 3-6.
- Rollins, Avon W. 1984. The Threshold of Change: The State of the Black Economy in Tennessee. (Prepared for the tenth annual retreat of black state legislators of the state of Tennessee) Knoxville, Tennessee (Unpublished paper).
- Rubington, Earl and Martin Weinberg. 1968. Deviance/The Interactionist Perspective. New York: Macmillan.
- Russell, Tony. 1970. Blacks, Whites, and Blues. New York: Stein and Day.
- Ryan, John and Richard Peterson. 1984. "The Product image: The Fate of Creativity in Country Music Songwriting." Individuals in Mass Media Organizations: Creativity and Constraint. edited by James S. Ettema and D. Charles Whitney. New York: Sage Press.
- Shannon, David A. 1959. The Decline in American Communism: A History of the United States Since 1945. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Shapiro, Nat and Nat Hemtoff. 1966. Hear Me Talking to You. New York: Dover Publications.
- Sidran, Ben. 1971. Black Talk. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Spellman, A.B. 1966. "Class, Status, and Power among Jazz and Commercial Musicians." Sociological Quarterly. 7: 197-213.
- Spradley, James P. and David W. McCurdy. 1972. The Cultural Scene: Ethnography in Complex. Chicago, Illinois: Science Research Associates, Inc.
- Stearns, Marshall. 1956. The Story of Jazz. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stebbins, Robert A. 1966. "Class, Status, and Power among Jazz and Commercial Musicians." Sociological Quarterly. 7: 197-213.
- _____. 1968. "Theory of the Jazz Community." Sociological Quarterly Vol. 9 (Summer): 318-331.
- _____. 1969. "Role Distance and Role Distance Behavior and Jazz Musicians." British Journal of Sociology. 20 (December): 406-415.
- Stewart, James. 1971. "Introduction to Black Aesthetics in Music." The Black Aesthetic. Garden City: Doubleday and Company: 77-91.
- Suttles, Gerald D. 1968. The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Szwed, John F. ed. 1970. Black America. New York, New York: Basic Books,
- Tabb, William K. 1970. The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto. New York: W.W. Norton.
- _____. 1971. "Race relations models and social change." Social Change. 18 (Spring): 431-444.
- The Spire. 1985. "King Lectures: Movement Days Remembered." Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring): 6,7. (Publication of Vanderbilt University Divinity School and Oberlin Graduate School of Theology).
- Time. 1968. "Lady Soul: Singing it like it is." (June): 62-66 (Article on Aretha Franklin).
- Truzzi, Marcello. 1974. Verstehen: Subjective Understanding in the Social Sciences. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Turner, Jonathan H. and Bughley. 1981. The Emergence of Sociological Theory. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.
- Turner, Ralph H. 1960. "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System." American Sociological Review. Vol. 25 (December): 855-67.
- _____. 1964. The School Context of Ambition. San Francisco: Chandler Press.
- Udom-Essun, E. U. 1962. Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Uehlein, Joe. 1980. "The Black Roots of Country Music." New York Times. (June 12) (Page not available).
- Ulanov, Barry. 1955. A History of Jazz in America. New York: DeCapo Press.
- United States Census Bureau. 1980. "Census of Population and Housing 1980."
- _____. 1980. "Detailed Occupation of the Civilian Labor Force, By Sex and Total Race 1980."
- _____. 1980. "Equal Employment Opportunity File."
- _____. 1974. Statistical Abstracts.
- Vance, Joel. 1974. "Hot' Jazz: Seventeen Years of Creativity and Adventure." Star Review. (Nov.) 64-69.
- Van den Berghe, Pierre L. 1967. Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

- Wallace, Samuel. 1965. Skid Row as a Way of Life. Totowa, New Jersey: The Bedminster Press.
- _____. 1980. The Urban Environment. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.
- Wallace, Walter. 1969. Sociological Theory. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Walters, Hubert. 1972. "Black Music and the Black University." The Black Scholar. Vol. 3, No. 10 (Summer): 14-21.
- Walton, Ortiz M. 1971. "A Comparative Analysis of the African and the Western Aesthetic." The Black Aesthetic. edited by Addison Gayle, Jr. New York: Doubleday and Company: 154-164.
- _____. 1972. Music: Black, White, and Blue. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Warren, Donald I. 1975. Black Neighborhoods. 1975. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Webb, Eugene J., Donald T. Campbell, Richard D. Schwartz, and Lee Sechrest. 1966. Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Webster's New World Dictionary. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company.
- Wellburn, Ron. 1971. "The Black Aesthetic Imperative." The Black Aesthetic, edited by Addison Gayle, Jr. New York: Doubleday and Company: 126-142.
- Wells, Alan, ed. 1978. Contemporary Sociological Theories. Santa Monica, California: Goodyear Publishing Company.
- Weppner, Robert S. ed. 1977. Street Ethnography. Beverly Hills California: Sage Publications.
- Williams, Martin. 1971. The Jazz Tradition. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Willie, Charles. 1976. A New Look at Black Families. Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc.
- Wilmer, Valerie. 1973. "Caught in the Act." (Report on concert by the Milford Graves Quintet) Downbeat (February): 29-30.
- Wilmore, Gayraud S. 1972. Black Religion and Black Radicalism. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.

Wilson, John S. 1966. Jazz: The Transition Years, 1940-1960. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Wirth, Louis. 1956. The Ghetto. Chicago, Illinois. The University of Chicago Press.

VITA

Charles DeWitt Johnson was born on October 20, 1943, in Denver, Colorado and was graduated from Pearl High School in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1961. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Paine College, August, Georgia, in 1972. He enrolled in graduate study at Vanderbilt University in Nashville in 1972. During his graduate study at Vanderbilt, he was awarded a research assistantship. He received his Master of Arts degree in Sociology from Vanderbilt in 1973. In 1978, he accepted a teaching assistantship at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville and continued his graduate study toward a Ph.D. in Sociology. This degree was awarded in June 1985.