Table A. Free Speech Scale Scores and the Nonerror (Scale) Responses Pattern by the Three Communities in Percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Nonerror (Scale)</th>
<th>Response Pattern*</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Combined Samples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Criticize</td>
<td>Criticize</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A Agree totals (%) 99 100 100 99
U Undecided 246 225 618 1089
D Disagree

Social Change and the Jazz Musician*

Edward Harvey
Princeton University

Abstract

Interviews with 118 randomly selected jazz musicians and four months of participant observation yield evidence strongly suggesting changes in the occupation ideology of jazz musicians. Age controls on the findings suggest that jazz musicians are becoming less hostile toward audiences and the larger society, that in-group norms promoting cohesiveness are weakening, and that jazz musicians are becoming less inclined to interact only with their own kind. These major attitudinal shifts are attributed to an increased positive valuation of jazz music by the general public. Implications drawn from the study include a criticism of a priori assumptions of homogeneity in the study of occupational or deviant groups and some further comments suggesting the value of a focus on occupational ideologies in the study of occupational change.

There is a growing amount of evidence that jazz music, especially in North America, is gaining an increasing degree of public recognition and approval as a serious musical form. In addition to the writings of Berger\(^1\) and Leonard\(^2\) on this "new popularity of jazz," a number of recent articles in a major national jazz magazine also lend support to the suggested trend. These articles and others have taken up such matters as the proliferation of jazz education at schools and universities,\(^3\) the increasing use of "jazz tours" by State Department cultural


See, for example, George Wiskiren, "Jazz Education at the College Level," Downbeat Magazine (September 26, 1963), p. 15.

---

* The author wishes to thank Dr. Richard Hamilton and Mr. Allan Lewis for comments on an earlier version of this paper.
2 Neil Leonard, Jazz and the White American:
exchange programs, and the increasing number of jazz concerts to be held at such prestigious locations as the White House and Carnegie Hall.

Our concern in this paper, however, is not with the growing acceptance of jazz music qua jazz music. Rather, we are concerned with how shifts in the social valuation of jazz have generated a number of changes in the jazz musician's subculture, whether the latter is viewed as an occupational or a deviant group.

In particular, the following hypotheses have guided our investigations:

1. As public acceptance of jazz music has increased,
   (a) recruitment into the occupation from a middle-class base has increased;
   (b) role strains previously reported in the occupation have diminished.

2. As role strains have diminished and middle-class recruitment has increased, the deviant ideology and practices which have previously been reported as characterizing the group have also diminished.

We shall attempt to assess the suggested changes by comparing our findings with previously reported ones in five major areas: the recruitment of jazz musicians; the relationship between the jazz musician and his audience; the relationship between the jazz musician and the larger society; the amount of racial tolerance found among jazz musicians; and, the degree to which jazz musicians seek to isolate themselves through a process of self-segregation. In the course of the paper, we shall also question the utility of that approach to the study of occupational or deviant groups that begins with assumptions of a homogeneous subculture.

This approach, we contend, underestimates the susceptibility of such groups to outside influence and also overlooks the possible pockets of incipient social change within the groups themselves. We shall also attempt to indicate the usefulness of a focus on occupational ideologies in the study of change in occupational groups. It will be noted that many of the findings reported in this paper diverge considerably from previous sociological investigations of the jazz musician. We do not intend to imply that these earlier investigations were in error but rather that they are accurate only in a time-specific sense. For as will be seen, our evidence offers no support for the contention that "many deviant groups, among them dance musicians, are stable and long lasting."

DATA AND METHODS

Our findings derive from interviews with a random sample of 118 jazz musicians and four months of participant observation in two cities with populations of approximately one million each. Defining the universe for random sampling presented special difficulties since jazz musicians are not constituted as a distinct formal unit within most musician's unions. It was therefore necessary to extract from the union lists for the cities in question those musicians who could be considered "jazz musicians." This process was handled by the panel method. In the case of each city, six jazz musicians (not included in the sample) were independently defined. Our findings derive from interviews with a random sample of 118 jazz musicians and four months of participant observation in two cities with populations of approximately one million each. Defining the universe for random sampling presented special difficulties since jazz musicians are not constituted as a distinct formal unit within most musician's unions. It was therefore necessary to extract from the union lists for the cities in question those musicians who could be considered "jazz musicians." This process was handled by the panel method. In the case of each city, six jazz musicians (not included in the sample) were independently defined.

---

6 Howard S. Becker treats the group from both perspectives. See, for example, Outsiders (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1963).
7 Ibid., esp. chap. 5.
8 Ibid., esp. pp. 80-83.
9 Ibid.
11 Becker, op. cit. In Outsiders, dated 1963, Becker bases his argument on data gathered in the early fifties. He briefly refers to other and later observations and comments, "Although I have not kept formal notes on my experiences in these other settings, none of them furnished data that would require change in the conclusions I reached on the basis of the Chicago materials" (p. 85). Unfortunately, in the case of these "other settings," as in the case of the "Chicago materials," Becker gives no information on data characteristics. Not even the number of musicians talked with is indicated. This renders it difficult to suggest why our findings with regard to change should be so disparate. Perhaps one possible reason is that Becker has restricted his observations to a particular age group.
dently asked to select from the relevant list the names of those persons they considered "jazz musicians." Only those persons receiving at least five affirmative choices were admitted to the universe. This procedure yielded a list for each city with 190 and 226 names respectively. A sampling ratio of one in three was selected and each list was sampled independently by random numbers which gave us 135 prospective interviewees. As mentioned above, 118 of these interviews were successfully completed.

Each of the statements used in the interviews combined a prestructured part which was followed by a probe. In the case of the prestructured part, two degrees of agreement and two degrees of disagreement were used with the exception of the interaction statement considered below. The tabulation of data shown in Table 1 refers only to responses to the prestructured part of the interviews. It should be added, however, that in every case, data gathered from participant observation and interview probes have been used as a check on the reliability and validity of the responses to the prestructured part and that confirmations, discrepancies or additions have been reported in the paper. There also remains to be discussed the procedure used in an attempt to assess the processes of social change which we contend have affected the group in question. The impracticality of a longitudinal study has led us to employ a cross-sectional age control in terms of which the sample has been split into two age groups, those 35 and under and those 36 and over. The use of such a cross-sectional age control does, however, demand the clarification of two questions. First, if differences between the two age groups are found, could this not be a result of the younger musicians having spent insufficient time in the occupation to acquire the attitudes or characteristics of the older musicians? We shall attempt to argue this question by presenting evidence to show that the social backgrounds and recruitment patterns of the two age groups are very different and that it is these factors, rather than length of time spent in the occupation, that are likely to influence the attitudes and behaviors with which we are concerned. It might also be mentioned that the cut-off age of 35 is sufficiently high that a great many of the "younger" musicians have in fact been in the occupation for quite some time. The second question requiring attention is that if differences are found between the age groups, could these be a consequence of radically different attrition patterns for the two groups? In this connection, however, data gathered from the musician's unions of the two cities in question indicate, for the recent ten-year period studied, no significant relationship between age and attrition. In general, then, we would argue that the age control represents in this case a valid means of investigating social change.

THE RECRUITMENT OF JAZZ MUSICIANS

It has been argued that the choice of jazz musicianship as a career tends to be viewed as a deviant and not to be encouraged act. In support of this line of argument Becker, for example, has cited a jazz musician's contention that "... most guys have had a terrific hassle with their parents about going into the music business." Becker goes on to observe that, "The reason is clear; regardless of the social class from which he comes, it is usually obvious to the prospective musician's family that he is entering a profession which encourages his breaking with the conventional behavior of his family's social milieu."14

In an attempt to assess the possibility of change having occurred in this area, the following statement was put to the members of our sample: "It has been suggested that prospective jazz musicians receive little support or encouragement from parents or relatives in the selection of jazz music as a career." As may be seen from Table 1, the tendency to disagree with the statement varies inversely with age. Our probes and observations further suggest that in addition to decreasing resistance to jazz as a career choice there was, for younger musicians, considerably more occupational inheritance than previous research has sug-

12 The reason for selecting this particular age grouping derives from a concern to compare those musicians who have been in the occupation for under 15 years or so (in our view, the major period of change) with musicians who have been in the job for a longer period of time.

13 Becker, op. cit., p. 115.
14 Ibid.
Table 1. Responses of Jazz Musicians to Interview Statements (percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No Career Support</th>
<th>Hostile Toward Audiences</th>
<th>Admire Anti-social Behavior</th>
<th>Absence of Prejudice</th>
<th>Social Control &quot;on the job&quot;</th>
<th>Social Control &quot;off the job&quot;</th>
<th>Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35 and under</td>
<td>agree 21</td>
<td>disagree 79</td>
<td>agree 17</td>
<td>disagree 83</td>
<td>agree 20</td>
<td>disagree 80</td>
<td>N=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 and over</td>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>42 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x^2=22.4</td>
<td>x^2=18.6</td>
<td>x^2=21.6</td>
<td>x^2=7.13</td>
<td>x^2=16.6</td>
<td>x^2=5.3</td>
<td>1 2 66 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p =.001</td>
<td>p =.001</td>
<td>p =.001</td>
<td>p =.001</td>
<td>p =.01</td>
<td>p =.001</td>
<td>p =.05</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1=more with colleagues
2=less with colleagues

The dominant theme emerging from the interviews with musicians in the younger group was that, in their view and that of their parents, entry into jazz musicianship was regarded as a respectable pursuit with artistic overtones rather than the beginning of social deviance. The probability of jazz musicianship having been viewed as a deviant choice by parents, relatives, or the musicians themselves increased in the older age group. It is also of some interest to inspect the question of recruitment from the perspective of social class background. In this connection, it was found that a significantly higher proportion of musicians in the younger group came from middle-class socioeconomic backgrounds than was the case for musicians in the older group, the latter coming from predominantly working-class backgrounds. In general, our data consistently suggest that the type of person recruited into jazz musicianship in recent years has rather different social characteristics and social orientations from his predecessors. In short, the image of "lower-class deviant" is being replaced by that of "middle-class artist." We shall now explore this process of transition further in other areas.

The Jazz Musician and His Audience

It has been argued that jazz musicians are hostile to their audiences because the latter (a) do not "understand" jazz music or the musicians; (b) try to influence or dictate the nature of the performance, in particular, to force the musician to play despised non-jazz forms of music. In an attempt to clarify the relationship between jazz musicians and their audiences we put the following statement to the members of our sample: "It has been suggested that audiences do not understand jazz music or the musicians, that they attempt to influence the musician's performance and that, in consequence, jazz musicians are hostile toward their audiences." Turning to Table 1 it may be seen that a tendency to disagree with the statement varies inversely with age. The probe to the question and our own observations consistently suggest the predominance of a single factor behind this pattern of response. That is, shifts in general public attitudes toward jazz music have concomitantly involved the development of new audience norms. Our observations and musicians' comments suggest that audiences who now hear jazz performed are more likely to have an intrinsic interest in the music and are more likely to identify the musician as an artist rather than as a "hired employee." Second, the expansion of general interest in jazz music has led to the proliferation of many...
"jazz clubs" where only jazz music is played. The development of these clubs has broadened the employment opportunities available to those musicians who desire to play only jazz music. This situation, certainly not in effect at the time of earlier observations, substantially reduces the occupational role strain of jazz musicians having to play despised non-jazz forms of music in order to make a living.

THE JAZZ MUSICIAN AND THE LARGER SOCIETY

It has also been contended that the hostile feelings the jazz musician has toward his audience become generalized to the larger society, and that, consequently, behavior which flaunts conventional social norms is "greatly admired" by jazz musicians. Becker, for example, cites two anecdotes involving a musician who jumps on a policeman's horse and rides away and another instance in which a group of musicians decide to set their car on fire after it has run out of gas. Becker comments that this conduct is "... more than idiosyncrasy; it is a primary occupational value." In an attempt to test the validity of this assertion, the following statement was put to the members of our sample: "It has been suggested that jazz musicians tend to place a high value on behavior which would be regarded by the general public as odd or even antisocial." As may be seen from Table 1, the respondents in the younger age group reflect the stronger propensity to disagree with the statement. The probe to the question elicited a number of replies which indicated that it was now "old hat" for a jazz musician to engage in behavior that would lead to his being characterized as a "delinquent" or "misfit." Rather, it was widely felt in this group that the jazz musician had a responsibility to the occupation in general to behave in such a way as to bring credit to jazz music and musicians. It will be seen from Table 1 that this orientation becomes less pronounced in the older age group but that, even here, there is sufficient variance in opinion to suggest that either (a) the occupational value in question does not enjoy great consensus as to its primacy, or (b) that the attitudes of the younger musicians are becoming diffused through the occupation's age structure.

ETHNIC TOLERANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL AMONG JAZZ MUSICIANS

Following the line of argument regarding the relations between jazz musicians and the larger society, it has been observed, "As they do not wish to be forced to live in terms of social conventions, so musicians do not attempt to force these conventions on others. For example, a musician declared that ethnic discrimination is wrong, since every person is entitled to act and believe as he wants to." Attempting to assess the extent to which this contention is empirically true, we put the following statement to our respondents: "It has been suggested that there is very little or no racial or religious prejudice among jazz musicians." As may be seen from Table 1, a good many musicians in both age groups show disagreement with the statement. The suggestion that change over time is taking place is reflected in the distribution of the response by age group, that is, disagreement with the statement increases as one moves from the older to younger group.

There is other evidence bearing on this question. In the last three years, a national jazz magazine has organized panel discussions (involving well-known jazz musicians and jazz music journalists) concerned with "Racial Prejudice in Jazz" and "The Need for Racial Unity in Jazz." The apparent development of such inner divisions within the jazz subculture at least suggests that the increased general acceptance of jazz has to some extent diminished the minority group cohesiveness which has been attributed to jazz musicians and has lessened the in-group normative sanctions against apparently divisive behavior.

As a corollary of the ethnic and religious tolerance argument, it has also been contended that "Musicians will tolerate extraordinary behavior in a fellow musician without making any attempt to punish or restrain him." In this connection, Becker cites the

19 Ibid., p. 87.
18 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 See, for example, Downbeat Magazine (April 11, 1963), pp. 16-21.
22 Becker, op. cit., p. 88.
case of a musician who classified a friend’s sex behavior as wrong but added the qualification “... if he’s happy that way, then that’s the way he oughta do.”\textsuperscript{23} The second example cited, and a more important case for our purposes, is that “... the uncontrolled behavior of a drummer loses a job for an orchestra; yet, angry as they are, they lend him money and refrain from punishing him in any way.”\textsuperscript{24} In this connection, the writer’s own experience as musician and observer suggests that this occurrence is in fact an extraordinary exception and no basis for accepting the contention that jazz musicians do not exercise social control over one another, especially in the job sphere. This last point has also been endorsed by Cameron, who comments,

Becker erroneously implies that no social control exists in the dance band. Informal control exists in all dance bands, being a minimum in the ‘gig’ or pickup job where a band is assembled for only one performance. In large bands, considerable formal control exists as well. The reaction to the severity of this control is one of the factors which makes for the popularity of the (jam) session.\textsuperscript{25}

It is clearly possible to distinguish here two modes of social control—the kind that obtains “on the job” and another variant that involves the attempt to extend control over the private lives of one’s colleagues. Consequently two statements were used in this connection: (1) “It has been suggested that jazz musicians are reluctant to regulate the behavior of other jazz musicians in connection with the jobs they play”; (2) “It has been suggested that jazz musicians are reluctant to exercise influence over the behavior (of a jazz musician friend or colleague) which may be regarded as deviant by either jazz musicians themselves or persons outside the jazz world.” As may be seen from Table 1, jazz musicians in both age groups are much more likely to exercise social control “on the job” than “off the job.” Nonetheless it will be observed that exercise of such control “off the job” is by no means unknown, especially in the case of the younger group. As may also be seen from the table, the younger group are generally more ready to exercise control of both kinds.

\textbf{ISOLATION AND SELF-SEGREGATION}

It has been suggested that jazz musicians are well integrated in their subculture, have considerable consensus over the alleged values of the subculture, one of which is a general hostility toward audiences and the “squares” who comprise the larger society. Because musicians feel this way about nonmusicians, according to Becker, they seek to isolate and segregate themselves.\textsuperscript{26} The point is taken up again by Cameron who remarks of jazz musicians that “... many of their peculiar characteristics can be traced to the fact that their contacts with outsiders, when not restricted or actually prohibited, are distorted into limited patterns.”\textsuperscript{27}

In our own observations of jazz musicians we found little support for these claims. By way of an attempt to test further these observations we asked the jazz musicians in our sample to indicate to what extent they interacted with other jazz musicians and to what extent they interacted with other persons not connected with the music trade. The following question was used: “In your day to day contacts with people, other than your parents, wife, children or other relations, would you say that you have more frequent contact with other jazz musicians or with persons not involved in the music trade?” (The response scale was (1) much more with jazz musicians than others, (2) somewhat more with jazz musicians than others, (3) somewhat less with jazz musicians than with others, (4) much less with jazz musicians than with others.) As can be seen from Table 1, the propensity to interact more with musicians than with nonmusicians is directly related to increase in age. Even in the case of the older musicians, however, it is clear that a substantial amount of interaction with nonmusicians is carried on.

\textbf{DISCUSSION}

We have been concerned to investigate and illustrate the contention that increased public acceptance of jazz music has reduced role

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., pp. 88-89.
\textsuperscript{25} Cameron, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{26} Becker, \textit{op. cit.}, esp. pp. 95-100.
\textsuperscript{27} Cameron, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 118.
strains previously reported in the occupation and has also led to an increased recruitment of middle-class persons into jazz musicianship. We have further argued that these developments have greatly modified patterns of deviant ideology and behavior previously attributed to the group. Evidence in support of this line of argument has been presented in the course of the paper. To conclude, we shall briefly discuss what we take to be some of the general implications of the research reported here.

First, it is suggested that the findings reported here call into question the utility of assumptions of homogenous subcultures whether one is analyzing occupational groups or deviant groups. If for no other reason, we would argue this point on the basis that the focus on homogeneity tends to overlook the pockets of deviation which may be instrumental in the genesis of social change. Furthermore, we would suspect that when such assumptions are fused with the method of participant observation it is possible that an artificial strain toward consistency, rather than objectivity, may obtain.

Second, our findings point to the emergence of a new occupational ideology in jazz which, in this paper, has been linked to changes in patterns of public taste and recruitment into the occupation. Although we shall not systematically develop it here, it would be possible to extend this focus on ideology to analyze further processes of change within the occupation, in particular by linking up ideological differences with different interest groups and points of strain within the occupation. From the perspective of ideology as a response to strain, it would seem evident that the old deviant ideology was in large part a response to a keenly felt role strain. Changes in public taste have diminished that strain but have replaced it with another, in this case the fact that a degree of public acceptance seems to have generated anxieties about maintaining or enhancing this acceptance. Concern over this acceptance is typically associated with the younger of the two age groups considered. In addition to being a response to this type of strain, the new ideology is also linked to identifiable interests at work within the occupation. This was particularly evident in that many of the younger members of our sample were involved in organized efforts to routinize and formalize standards of competence within the occupation. Although such standardization has a long way to go, in both cities studied there were emergent institutions for training would-be jazz musicians. The owners, faculty, and students of these jazz schools were, with only minor exceptions, younger musicians.

This increased emphasis on formal education for jazz is of course in part an outcome of demands arising from increasingly critical recording techniques, the increasing complexity of jazz music, and the development of more sophisticated public tastes. Our observations of these schools and discussions with their representatives also make it clear that, in addition to musical training, these organizations also represent an institutionalized basis for the new ideology. As a member of the executive board for one of the largest and most successful of these schools put it, “We are naturally concerned with the moral character of students as well as their ability to play (jazz). A guy may be a fine musician, but if he is going to get involved in a lot of off-color dealings, we don’t want him.” Such schools, of course, not only provide training but also exercise control over informal occupational contact networks serving to place jazz musicians in jobs. It is interesting to note here that a great many of the older musicians felt that the younger musicians were deliberately attempting to squeeze them out of work. As far as our research indicates, this outcome was by no means inevitable. This content downloaded from 192.136.22.4 on Thu, 17 Jan 2019 17:20:07 UTC All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms
means accidental but, rather, appeared to be linked with a conscious concern to eliminate potential or actual detractors from an essentially agreeable new public image.

The increasing emphasis on acquiring trained competence in jazz music through participation in schools with formal curricula has done much to make recruitment into the profession more universalistic. This factor, coupled with greater public acceptance, has resulted in the occupation of jazz music being far less of a Negro stronghold than has been the case in the past. Our research suggests that the reactions of the Negro jazz musicians to this have been twofold. For one group, the situation is interpreted as being indicative of increasing integration and, as such, a desirable event. A smaller, but vocal group, regards the development as an encroachment upon a Negro art form by non-Negroes. This latter group, at the time of our investigations, appeared to be involved in the development of an ideology of its own. The appropriate content of this ideology appeared, however, to be a problematic question for its propagators. For a return to the old ideology of deviance had, for these jazz musicians, too many historical connotations of "Jim Crow." On the other hand, acceptance of the new ideology implied acceptance of a new social structure of jazz in terms of which Negro dominance of the field was diminished. It is still somewhat early to assert with certainty what the future nature of this group, its behavior and beliefs, will be. On the basis of our research it would seem likely that this group’s ideology will build around a rejection of "white jazz," an emphasis on their own esoteric musical forms, and a projection of conflict feelings to the civil rights movement.29

We would contend that what has happened in jazz musicianship is in some respects comparable with events in other occupational groups we have analyzed, in particular, pharmacists and accountants.30 In each of these cases, changes in the occupation’s general environment have led to the occupation being upgraded or downgraded. To take pharmacy as an example, we have elsewhere shown how patterns of technological change significantly downgraded the professional character of the occupation. In the case of jazz musicianship, it would appear that shifts in the public valuation of jazz music have somewhat upgraded the occupation. In addition to pointing to such sources of change in occupational groups, it is also necessary to consider the patterns of reaction to change that occur within occupational groups. With regard to this last question, we have found that a focus on changing and emerging occupational ideologies provides a useful tool for the analysis of the internal dynamics of occupational groups and in the prediction of likely directions of further change. In pharmacy, for example, the problem of downgrading has led to the emergence of two opposing ideological camps, one of which calls for a return to the "old professionalism," the other which contends that the pharmacist must seek new occupational prestige as a "businessman." In the case of the study of jazz musicians, we have similarly referred to the emergence of new ideological perspectives. In our analysis of pharmacists and accountants, we have been particularly concerned to develop methods for identifying such occupational ideologies and, in turn, linking them to patterns of conflict and interest groups within the occupations.32 In the present study of jazz musicians, however, we have restricted our investigations to an attempt to discover sources of change, the forms of change resulting and, in this last section, to offer some minor speculations about possible future developments. As album titles as "Freedom Suite" and "We Shall Overcome" a consequence.

29 A separate paper could be addressed to these questions. In brief, we found among these musicians a disdain for the jazz music written and played by white musicians and also for those Negroes who had accepted this situation. The jazz written and played by this group was highly experimental, musically speaking, and as soon as such innovations became at all generally accepted, they were promptly disowned by their instigators. A number of these musicians have incorporated their concern with civil rights in their music with such

30 Harvey, op. cit.
31 Ibid.
32 Refer, in particular, to the Value scale and Indhu scale in Harvey, op. cit.
our concern to develop a frame of reference for the comparative analysis of occupational change processes will be pursued with primary reference to data gathered on other occupations, we shall not discuss it further here. The fact, however, that the data gathered on jazz musicians do not seriously challenge a frame of reference developed in the course of research on widely different occupations augurs well, in our view, for the actual feasibility of developing such a comparative approach in the sociology of occupational groups.

EXPLORATION IN CASTE STEREOTYPES*

GOPAL SHARAN SINHA RAMESH CHANDRA SINHA
Patna University, India

ABSTRACT

In a traditional society like India the old values, norms and images of different social classes are expected to be replaced by new ones. Presuming this, an attempt has been made to explore the stereotypes of ten important castes of the province of Bihar. Two hundred students of Patna University, selected by simple random technique, were administered questionnaires consisting of a check list containing 100 characteristics and a device to measure the preference for association. The findings were: (1) the caste stereotypes explored did not record appreciable change when compared with the stereotypes reported by other authors, (2) a rho-coefficient correlation of .94 was obtained between stereotypes and preference for association, and (3) the traditional functions assigned to the castes seem to have greatly influenced the caste stereotypes held by the students.

Caste, virtually the characteristic feature of Indian society has been pervasive to the extent that even the Indian Muslims who theoretically do not recognize the social stratifications made on the basis of caste have not been exempted. Since Indian Independence caste has become an effective vote-catching device and has initiated keen competition and struggle for social and political power. Caste prejudices as manifested in recent caste riots and tensions throughout India have not only affected the integrating forces of the country adversely, but have also endangered the national unity to a great extent. Davis rightly observes:

The very weakness of a caste society makes it incapable of political unity over a large territory, and virtually helpless against an invader. As a result, political conflict develops, which not only turns caste against caste but also area against area.1

Since the publication of a series of UNESCO reports describing the findings of tension studies conducted on Indian conditions2 and a few other studies3 no serious effort has been

---