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ABSTRACT

Based on 1982 and 1992 surveys sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts, this report examines participation in seven core art forms by baby boomers, individuals born between 1946 and 1965. Art forms investigated were: classical music concerts; jazz concerts; operas; musicals; ballet performances; theatre; and museums. Findings indicate that baby boomers participate in the seven core areas less than their elders. Suggestions for increasing participation include charging a blanket admission for access to several simultaneous performances, and presenting program cross-overs from fields of popular music and dance. Addressing the tastes of the broader audience would increase debate about the nature and quality of the art participatory experience. This implies a need for a reconceptualization of the arts to increase participation of baby boomers, the largest segment of the population, if the fine arts are to survive. (NP)

ARTS PARTICIPATION BY THE BABY BOOMERS

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City University of New York
February 1995

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ARTS PARTICIPATION BY THE BABY BOOMERS

INTRODUCTION

Baby boomers--those born between 1946 and 1965--make up nearly half of all adult Americans, totalling nearly 80 million. They are now in their thirties and forties, the same decades of the life cycle in which their elders fueled the arts boom of the 1970s (when the boomers themselves were in their teens and early twenties). During that period the number of artists and arts organizations, the support for public art as well as corporate and foundation philanthropy toward the arts all expanded enormously.[1] Given their sheer numbers and the greater proportion who have higher education, much had been expected of the baby boomers: it was assumed that they would carry on the activism of their elders. What concerns us here is the pattern of their arts participation: it has great implications for the future structure of the arts in the United States.

In 1982, the National Endowment for the Arts sponsored a survey (henceforth 1982 SPPA: Survey of Public Participation in the Arts) attached to the regular census interviews of over 18,000 people, which suggested that the baby boomers were participating less in most of the seven core art forms examined by the survey than their elders did. However, in the absence of longitudinal data, it was unclear whether boomer rates of involvement would increase, as they got older, to resemble the rates of elder cohorts at the same age. In 1992 the NEA repeated the survey, this time interviewing some 12,000 people (1992 SPPA). By examining both sets of data, we can now determine not only how the baby boomers differ from the older "Depression era" and "War babies" cohorts (born respectively in the 1930s and early 1940s) and from the younger "Generation X" (born after 1966), but also how they differ among themselves.

The dimensions and dilemmas of the public and private lives of the baby boomers have been discussed by many analysts. Richard J. Esterlin has argued that in general, because of the greater amount of competition engendered by their meer numbers, large birth cohorts experience greater social, economic and psychological stress, and hence a lower sense of personal well being. This, in turn, results in a lower level of identification with the cultural values and institutions of the older generations.[2] Large cohorts have proportionately fewer only and oldest "children" -- both of whom are known to identify more with established "adult" culture -- and proportionately more later borns, who are known to be more rebellious.[3]

Supporting evidence regarding the economic woes of the American baby boomers has come from such studies as Katherine S. Newman's Declining Fortunes and a wide variety of press reports

that demonstrate the prevalence of a "withering of the American Dream" among this large cohort, who for the first time in American history are not experiencing the upward mobility of their parents.[4] Indeed, even the fabled Yuppies feel downwardly mobile. Like their less educated peers -- the "New Collars" who are in technical and service jobs -- they need two incomes to maintain the standard of living once provided by a single breadwinner. At the same time, they are in the prime "full nest" period of their lives, yet many depend upon a second income in order to raise their children. With more married women in the work force, there is proportionately less leisure time for a couple, as necessary household tasks have to be performed during evening and weekend hours that previously could have been available for entertainment; for those who are single, whether they are supporting children or not, time pressures are even greater.

In sum: the reality -- and not merely the argument -- is that baby boomers are working harder even as they are losing ground; the "shrinking of the middle class" and downward mobility affect them more than they have affected their elders. As they are already prone to feelings of detachment and cynicism about the culture they have inherited, they are likely to tend to blame society rather than themselves for their lack of success.

Such a pattern of relative deprivation would predict lower rates of arts participation by baby boomers: compared to their elders at the same age, they have less money and less time to spend on such leisure pursuits, as well as less attachment to established cultural institutions. Yet a larger proportion of the baby boomers went to college. It is well known that higher education is the single best predictor of arts participation (see Figure 1A, below). Accordingly, one might expect that despite their economic difficulties, boomers would attend the arts in even greater proportions than their elders. As we shall see, that is not the case for most of the art forms that are examined here.

One possible explanation for the fact that higher education does not appear to have the same effect on arts participation for the baby boomers as for earlier generations is that it was not the same kind of education. To be sure, more boomers report having taken art and music appreciation courses in college than did their elders, and, indeed, more of them had art and music lessons while in school (see Figures 7A and 7B, below). However, such socializing influences appear to have been sporadic and without cumulative effect. In part this might be due to the decline in actual numbers of college degrees in the liberal arts between 1970 and 1980, as well as in their proportion of all degrees awarded to this much enlarged cohort. For example, undergraduate degrees in music and art fell 12 per cent in this decade and the much greater number in the social sciences and humanities fell by 35 per cent, while degrees in business, engineering, and health professions soared both in proportion and in number.[5] Accordingly, any

required arts and humanities courses became more isolated -- as did the students who majored in those subjects -- thereby reducing the chances for students to acquire a more complete understanding of the socio-historical contexts and interrelations of past and present art forms.

Another common explanation for the reduced impact of higher education and other arts socialization on baby boomer arts participation blames television. Television entered American life just as the boomers started to arrive, by 1950 reaching approximately 90% of American households. Unlike earlier cohorts, the vast majority of the baby boomers have never experienced life without TV. With its highly polished and utterly professional entertainment always available in their homes at the flick of a finger, they had less reason to acquire the habit of reading for pleasure or of going out to live events, especially those of potentially less professionalism. We will examine the relationship of television to arts participation more specifically later.

Then there is the potential effect of rock music. Like their elders when they were young, baby boomers defined themselves by popular music, selecting genres with which to identify from the varied fare offered by local disc jockeys, and then seeking it live in clubs and other commercial venues. But unlike the elder cohorts, baby boomers came of age in a time of greater affluence on the one hand, and greater estrangement from the "establishment" -- exacerbated by the Vietnam war -- on the other. Given the sheer size of the cohort, they constituted a highly particularized audience of significant mass, one to whom both political activists and the music industry could appeal without any need for broader popularity across generations.[6] Thus as they (and presumably their taste) matured, they found less "pull" from and little "push" toward the culture of their seniors: they had increasingly sophisticated rock music targeted at them, as the rock musicians themselves added new refinements to their performances. These, in turn, have kept alive the original separation from their elders, further influencing a large proportion of this cohort to disregard the culture -- including the visual arts and music -- of older cohorts, even though they this group enjoyed greater education.

What does analysis of the 1982 and 1992 surveys tell us?

I. METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

Baby boomers were born between 1946 and 1965, with the "peak" birth year being 1957. At this writing (Spring 1995), they are between 31 and 50 years old, the greatest single number being 39. In order to focus on this group particularly, we use slightly different age categories from those employed in the other NEA monographs examining the 1982 and 1992 SPPA data. The standard age brackets used are 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54 etc for the year of the survey. But the baby boomers don't fit those brackets exactly in the two survey years. We have therefore employed different age categories for all cohorts, usually in five year segments, based upon the specific birth years of the baby boomers rather than upon their actual age. Table 1A below details the cohorts' age range at the time of the 1992 survey (along with data on their size and the proportion who have attended college).

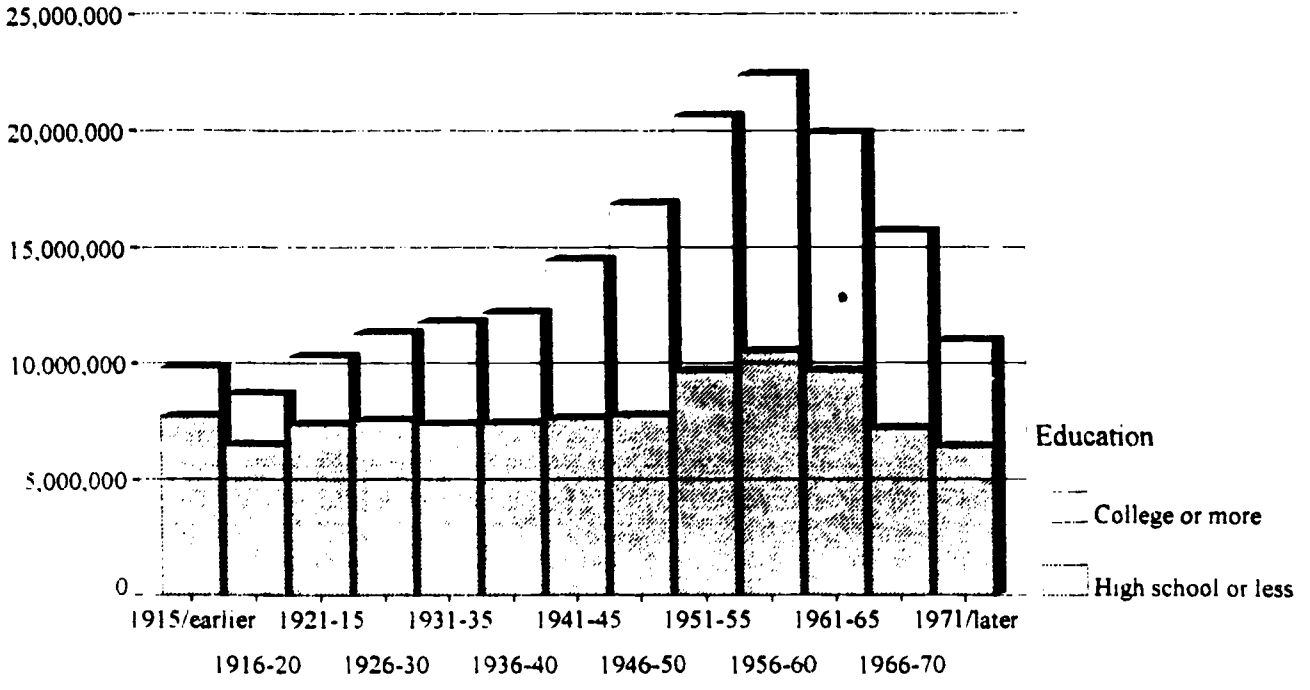
In examining the ways in which baby boomers differ from other cohorts in their arts participation, we limit ourselves to the seven core art forms which were included in SPPA'82. We consider participants to be those who took part in one activity at least once. Thus we are not counting "box office" (total admissions per year), nor do we distinguish frequent attenders from occasional ones. We are also not including personal arts participation, through amateur or professional creation and performance -- although such data were collected in the SPPA surveys. Except for our analysis below of participation through the media (television, radio), by participation we always refer to attendance at "live" events.

For each set of factors under analysis, we examine the comparative percentage rates of attendance by cohort. In several cases, we then present graphs which show how these rates translate into real numbers in the various cohorts, differing as they do in size. Relevant numerical tables are included in the Appendix.

Because higher education is the best predictor of arts participation, even among the baby boomers, it is particularly important to see what this means numerically, from the beginning. As is obvious in Figure 1A and Table 1A immediately below, the four baby boomer cohorts are not merely the largest in size: they also constitute the largest number of college educated people in the total population. (In Table 1A, baby boom cohorts are printed in **bold**, to make their differences in size easier to discern.)

It is useful to keep this graphic image and the numerical data in mind as we turn to the analysis of cohort participation in the seven core art forms. From time to time, when we examine comparative rates of attendance, we can refer back to Table 1A and Figure 1A and speculate on what the numerical attendance might have been had earlier rates held. We will return to this point in our conclusion.

Figure 1A Educational Level by Age Cohort



SPPA'92

TABLE 1A
EDUCATION AND COHORTS BY SIZE, IN MILLIONS
1992 Data

	Age in 1992	<HS Education	Col+ Education	(% Col+)
<1915	77+	7.702 M	2.086 M	21.3%
1916-20	72-76	6.462	2.202	25.4
1921-25	67-71	7.367	2.918	28.4
1926-30	62-66	7.527	3.749	33.2
1931-35	57-61	7.367	4.420	37.5
1936-40	52-56	7.411	4.785	39.2
1941-45	47-51	7.600	6.842	47.4
1946-50	**42-46**	**7.717**	**9.161**	**54.3**
1951-55	**37-41**	**9.643**	**10.970**	**53.2**
1956-60	**32-26**	**10.474**	**11.933**	**53.3**
1961-65	**27-31**	**9.643**	**10.241**	**51.5**
1966-70	22-26	7.177	8.505	54.2
1971+*	18-21	6.404	4.551	41.5

* 4 year cohort only

II. ARTS PARTICIPATION BY COHORT IN THE 1982 AND 1992 SURVEYS

Taking first the matter of attendance rates, consider all seven core art forms. In the set of graphs in Figure 2A1-7, participation in each art form is graphed to the same scale of 0 to 35% to facilitate comparison of their relative popularity and rounded off to whole percents. Each graph shows how a single cohort changed in its rate of participation between the surveys.

Comparing each cohort between 1982 and 1992, we find that with the exception of jazz and art museums, the general pattern is one of decline: successive cohorts of the baby boomers report lower attendance rates in 1992 than had their immediate elders in 1982, when they were at the same age. This occurs despite the greater proportions of their members with college education, as shown in Figure 1A. While they did increase their own participation over the decade in opera, ballet and theater -- and especially in art museums, typically they have not "caught up." With continuing declines among the succeeding "Generation X", it seems unlikely that the younger cohorts will do so without major and successful efforts to recruit them.

Figure 2A-1

1982 and 1992 Attendance at Classical Music Concerts by Age Cohort

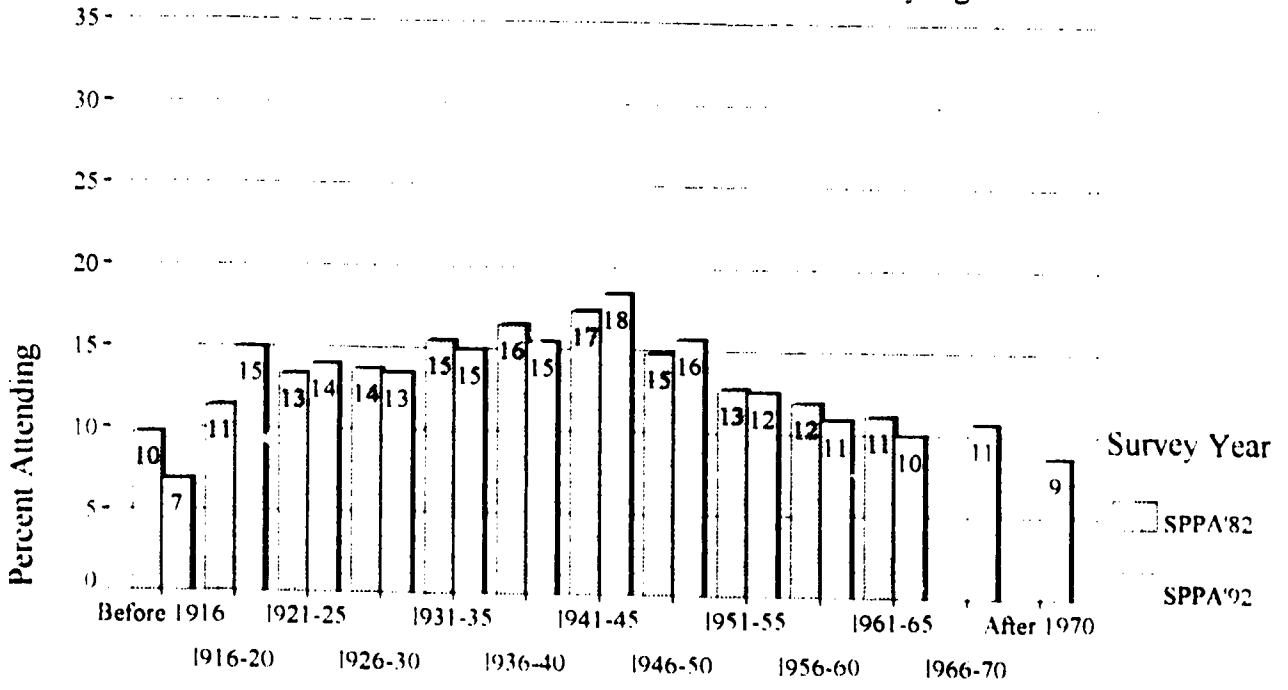


Figure 2A-2 1982 and 1992 Attendance at Jazz Concerts. by Age

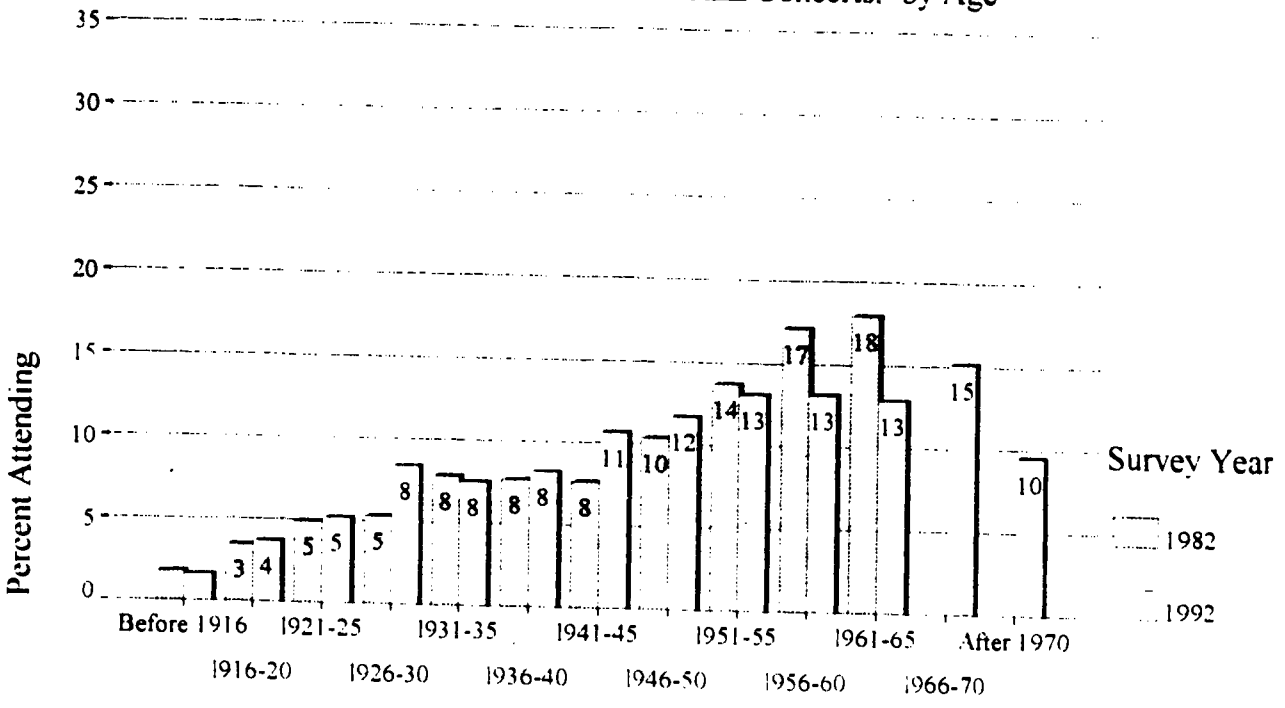


Figure 2A-3 1982 and 1992 Attendance at Operas. by Age Cohort

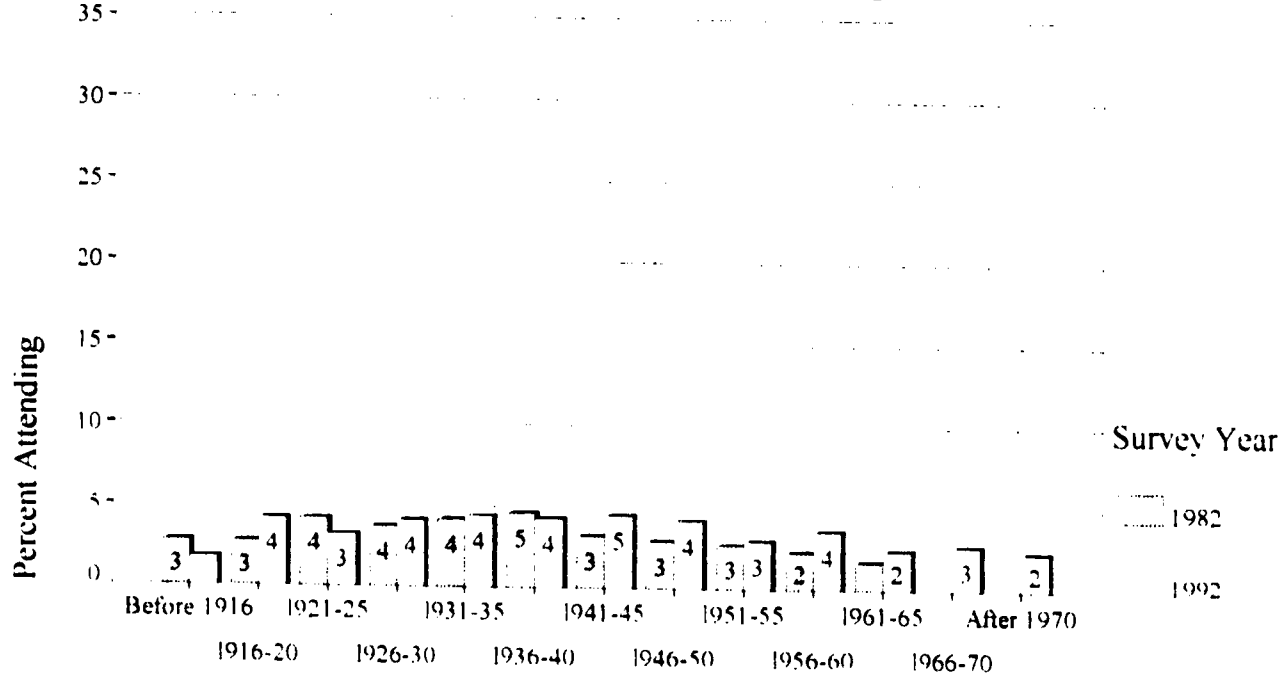


Figure 2A-4 1982 and 1992 Attendance at Musicals, by Age Cohort

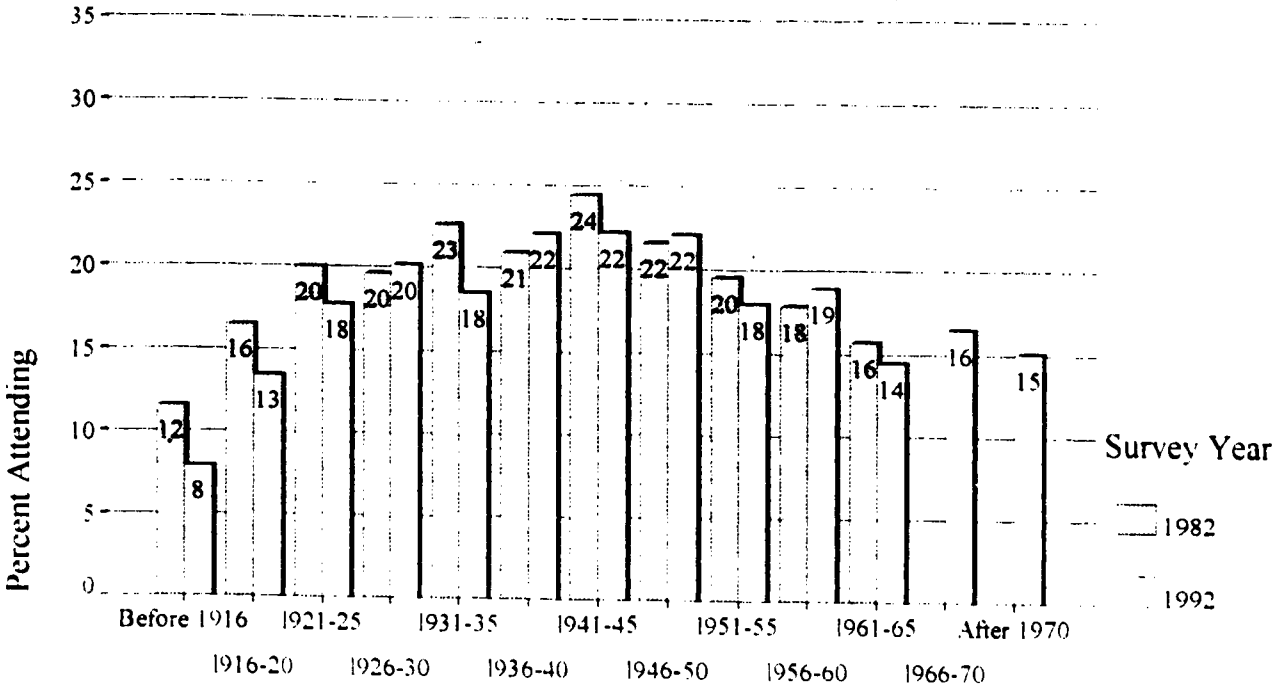


Figure 2A-5 1982 and 1992 Attendance at Ballet Performances, by Age

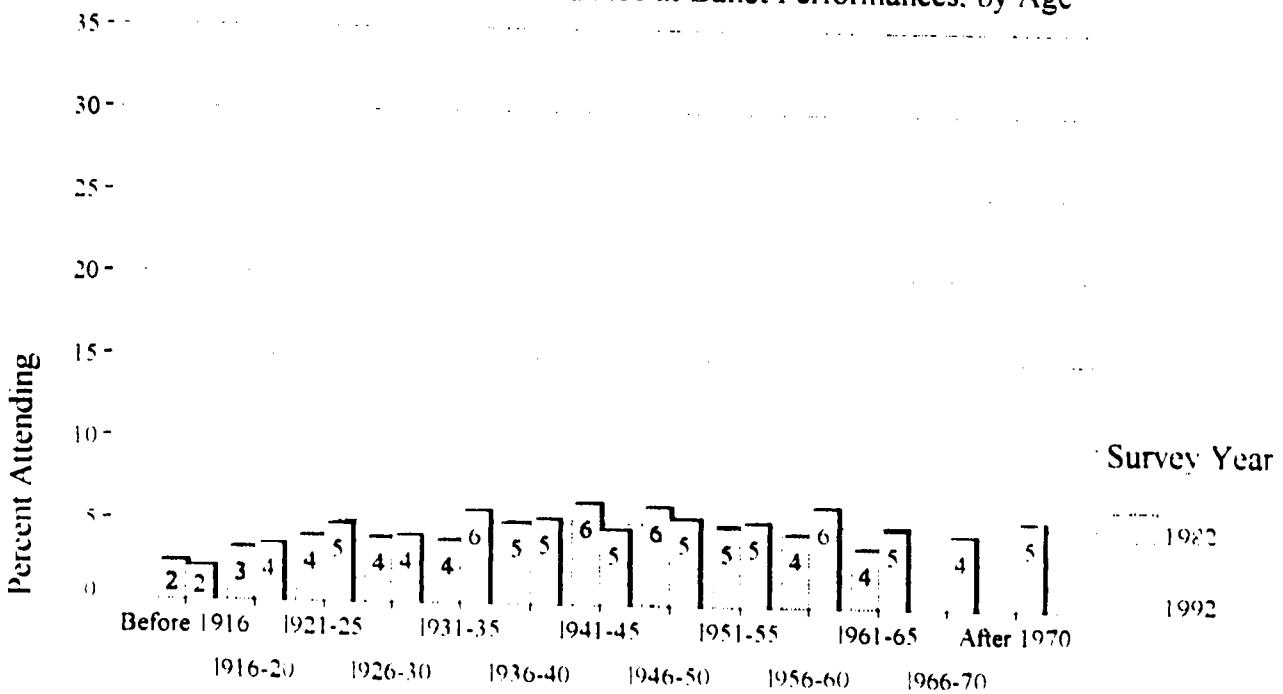
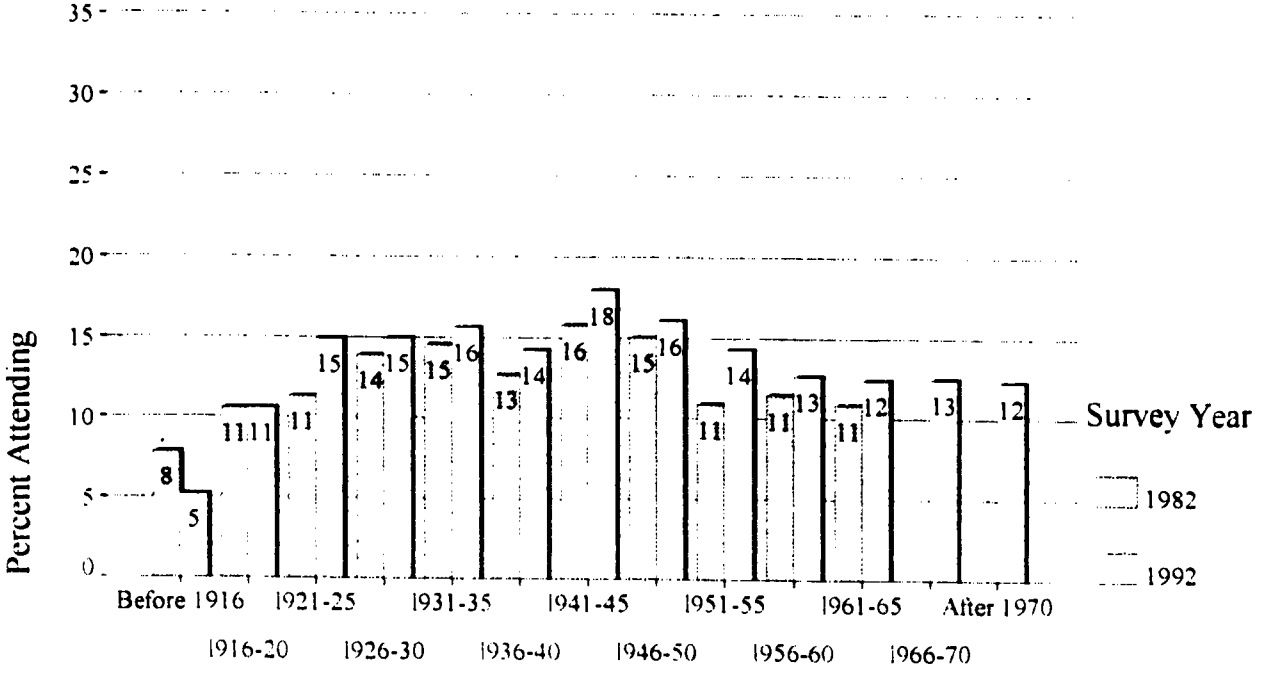
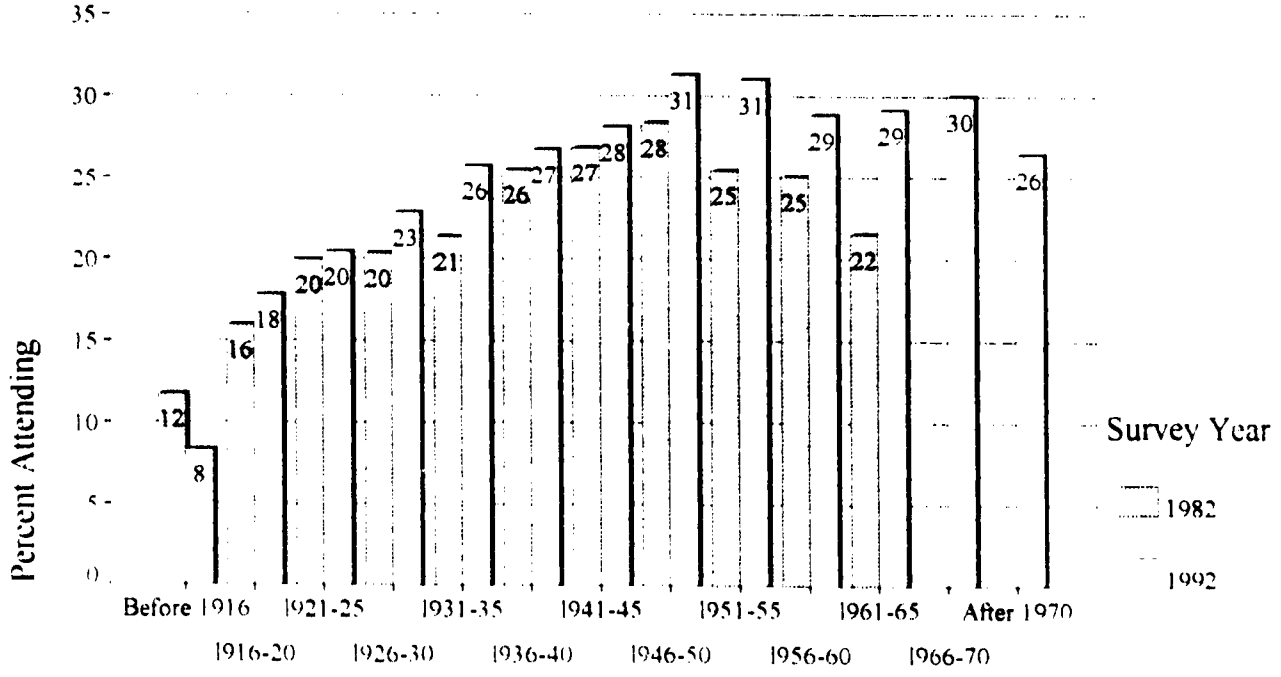


Figure 2A-6 1982 and 1992 Attendance at Theatre



Age Cohort

Figure 2A-7 1982 and 1992 Attendance at Museums, by Age Cohort



Age Cohort

One way to summarize this complex picture -- including as it does seven art forms over two surveys, and 13 five-year cohorts -- is to use the data to single out the cohort segments that attended at the **highest** rates and at the lowest (hereafter respectively in **bold** and underlined) for that art form in that survey year. The other cohorts fall between the two extremes for each art form. We use this method of summarizing in Table 2A below and later, when we examine specific factors such as education and income. In each case, full numerical data are provided in the respective Appendix tables.

TABLE 2A

HIGHEST AND LOWEST COHORT PARTICIPATION IN 1982 AND 1992
(Cohorts by birth dates and participation rates)

	1982		1992	
Classical Music	**1941-45** 17.4%	1961-65 11.1%	**1941-45** 18.4%	1961-65 9.9%
Opera	**1936-40** 4.6	1961-65 1.8	**1941-45** 4.5	1961-65 2.5
Musicals	**1941-45** 24.4	1961-65 15.7	**1941-45** 22.2	1961-65 14.5
Jazz	**1961-65** 18.0	1926-30 5.3	**1951-55/56-60** 13.1	1931-35 7.5
Ballet	**1941-45** 6.2	1961-65 3.7	**1956-60** 6.1	1926-30 4.1
Theater	**1941-45** 15.8	1951-55/61-65 10.9	**1941-45** 18.0	1961-65 12.4
Art Museums	**1946-50** 28.4	1926-30 20.3	**1946-50** 31.3	1926-30 22.8

The conclusion is obvious: those in the youngest baby boom cohort (born 1961-65, age 27-31 in 1992) participated at the lowest rates in five of the seven art forms in 1982 and in four in 1992. Taking the four baby boom cohorts together, in 1982, when baby boomers were between 17 and 36, their participation was **greatest** in only two forms, jazz and art museums; in 1992, when they were in their late twenties to mid-forties, they were top participants at ballet as well. However, even here their actual rate of attendance declined over the decade for ballet and jazz, and increased only for attendance at art museums (see Figures 2A:1-7).

In contrast, the War babies born between 1941-45 have the **highest** participation rate in four of the seven art forms in both 1982 and 1992 when they were respectively in their early forties and early fifties, with their rates increasing over the decade as well for classical music, opera, and theater (though declining for musicals and ballet). While the 1941-45 cohort does not rank highest in jazz and art museums in either survey, their rates of

attendance at these art forms increase during the period. They are never **lowest** in participation rates, even as those 20 years younger -- the youngest baby boomers -- hit bottom in nine of the fourteen possible cases.

Comparing the art forms to each other over the ten year period between surveys makes clear that while ballet and especially art museums have seen increased rates of attendance from the baby boomers, other art forms did not see such an increase, and indeed, for classical music, jazz and theater, there is a consistent decline over the rates attained by older cohorts. Ballet's popularity in 1992 was greatest for those born between 1956-60, nearly reaching the 1982 level of the then five-year older 1941-45 cohort; it also went up considerably in 1992 for the 1931-35 cohort, then aged 56 to 61. Such a mixed pattern is hard to interpret: perhaps the elders are going to Swan Lake while the youngers are going to Twyla Tharpe, and both consider it "ballet" when interviewed.

Art museums differ from the performing arts (six of the seven core art forms) in a number of ways which are likely to have contributed to their comparatively greater success in attracting baby boomers. In contrast to performance arts events which almost inevitably involve planning ahead to make ticket reservations, museums are more like shopping malls in ease, cost and timing of access, with unscheduled visits possible even with a child or two in a stroller. Museums have long provided on-site educational programs for school classes and individual children,[7] as many performing arts institutions have not been easily capable of doing. Sending performing artists to the schools or offering classes in studios do not rival the ability to invite the kids into the "Big House" in terms of familiarity with that Big House. There is a pay-off in the general comfort with which people, with or without children, experience museums.

It may also be argued that museums have the further advantage of a certain monopoly on the presentation of the visual arts, in contrast to the situation of the established performing arts which must compete with the c plex institutions that have grown up around rock music, film and video in locally competitive venues. Baby boomers have created no distinct "age-graded" institutions to frame their tastes in visual art to rival museums and galleries, comparable to the generally cohort-specific rock concert. If they wish to see the latest -- or even the oldest -- in the visual arts, they find the best examples at art museums. (Note that art galleries were included in the questions asked about attendance at visual arts events, while similarly for-profit venues for the performance of live popular music or dance, such as clubs, were not included in the questions about attendance at the performing arts. Note also that attendance at history and ethnographic museums is not included in these data, even though many audience members -- let alone museum professionals -- might not distinguish these from

art museums[8]. These are important discrepancies to which we will return.) Finally, museum audiences are composed not just of local children, but also in considerable measure by tourists from out of town, while audiences for the performing arts are far more largely composed of local residents in subscription series.[9]

In sum, looking only at the comparative rates of attendance across these art forms between 1982 and 1992, it appears that the hope that the baby boomers would "grow into" the fine arts as they matured has so far not materialized. Despite their greater education (a matter unexplored in this particular comparison of survey years), they attend less rather than more than their elders.

In Figure 2B:1-7 (see also Appendix Table 2B), we present the picture as it looks numerically rather than proportionately. This allows us to visualize and compare the respective sizes of audiences for the seven art forms, as well as demonstrating the effect of the enlarged size of the baby boom cohorts. Thus lower attendance rates may still mean greater actual numbers of attenders compared to other cohorts (thus the collective audience for any art form may not appear to be "grayer" than it used to be). However, we must also remember that the total number of artists and arts institutions has also expanded enormously during this decade, following upon a similar expansion in the previous ten years.[10] There is simply more art available to be attended to, thus diluting the effects of an enlarged total audience upon any single arts presenter. The baby boomers have not only produced enlarged cohorts to swell the potential arts audience, but they have produced enlarged cadres of real artists, arts managers and staff for arts funding organizations in both public and private sectors. Even if many more of their peers did major in business than in the liberal arts while in college, those who obtained degrees in the arts have contributed to its abundant supply as well as to its potential demand.

Figure 2B-1 1982/1992 Classical Music Concert Attendance, by Age Cohort

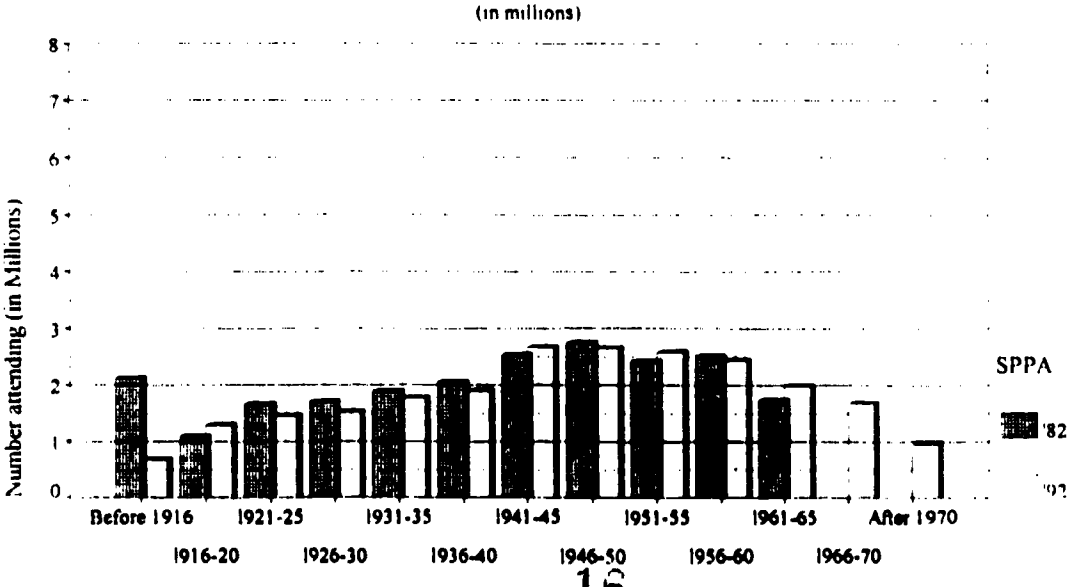


Figure 2B-2 1982 and 1992 Jazz Concert Attendance, by Age Cohort

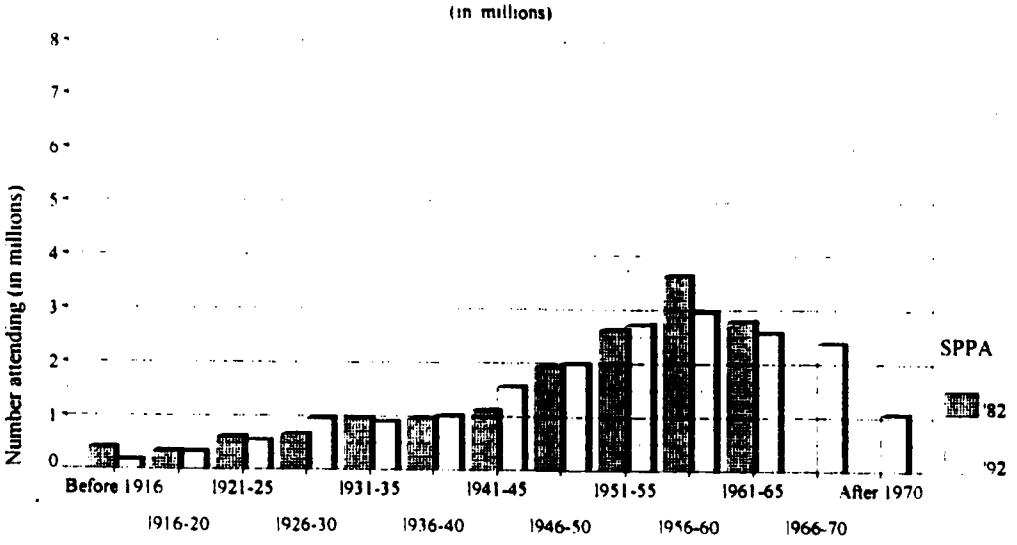


Figure 2B-3 1982 and 1992 Opera Attendance, by Age Cohort

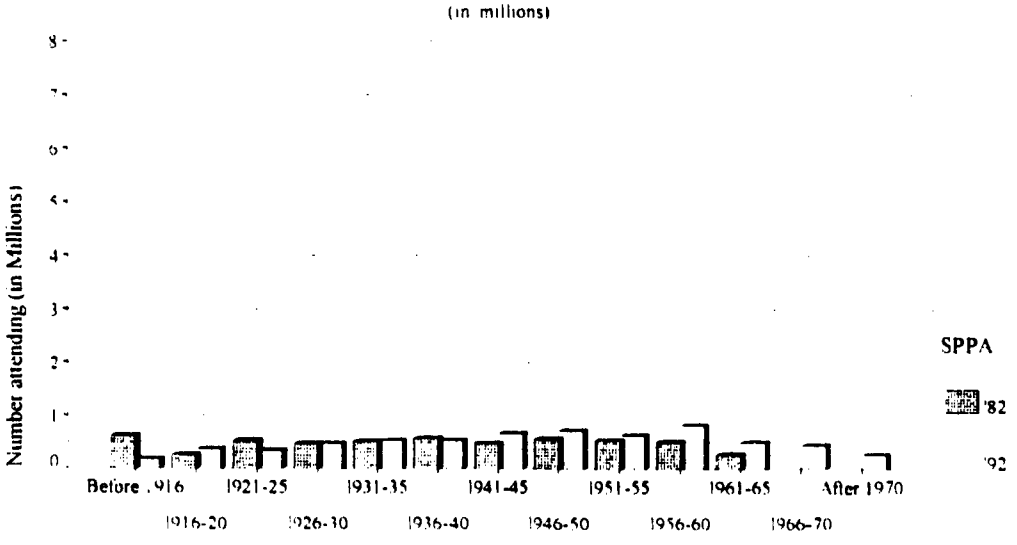


Figure 2B-4 1982 and 1992 Musicals Attendance, by Age Cohort

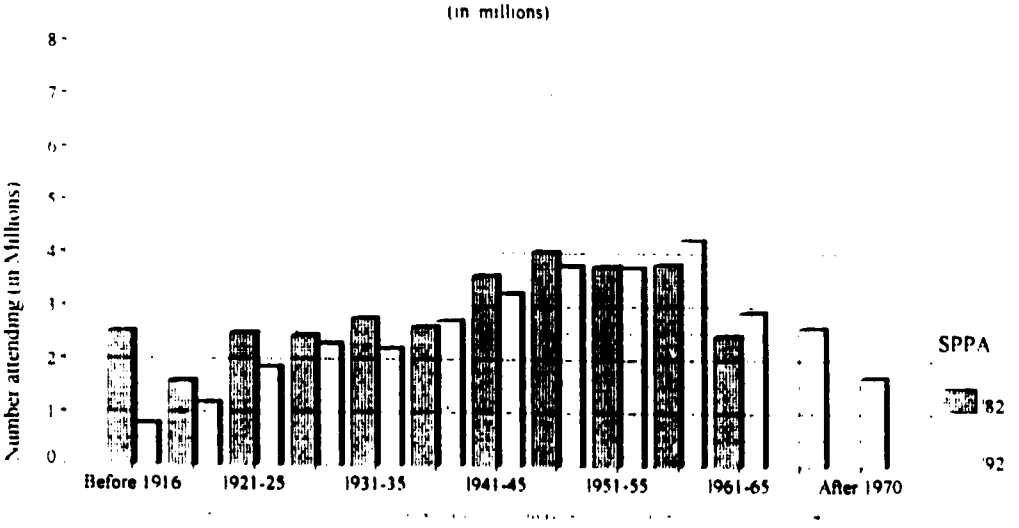


Figure 2B-5 1982 and 1992 Ballet Performance Attendance, by Age Cohort

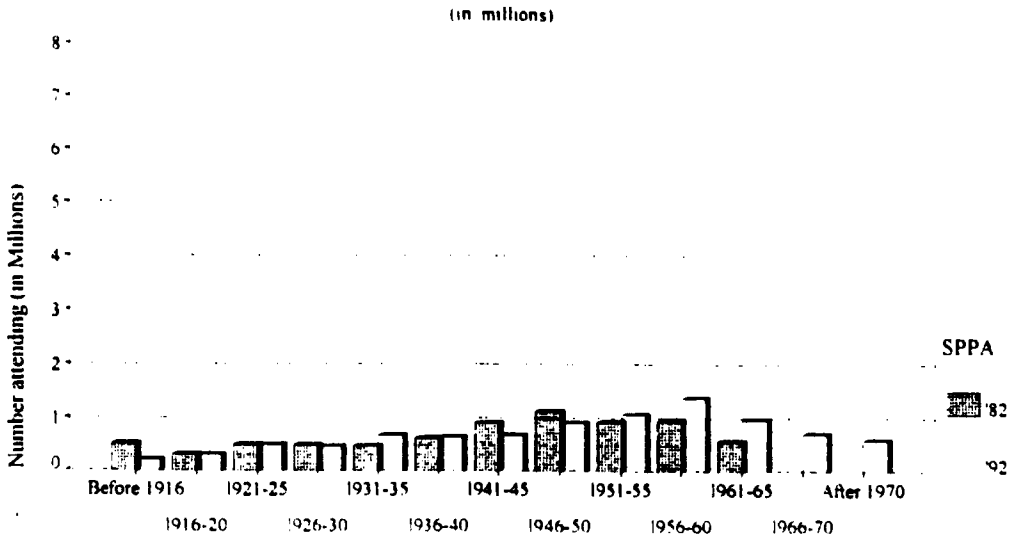


Figure 2B-6 1982 and 1992 Theatre Attendance, by Age Cohort

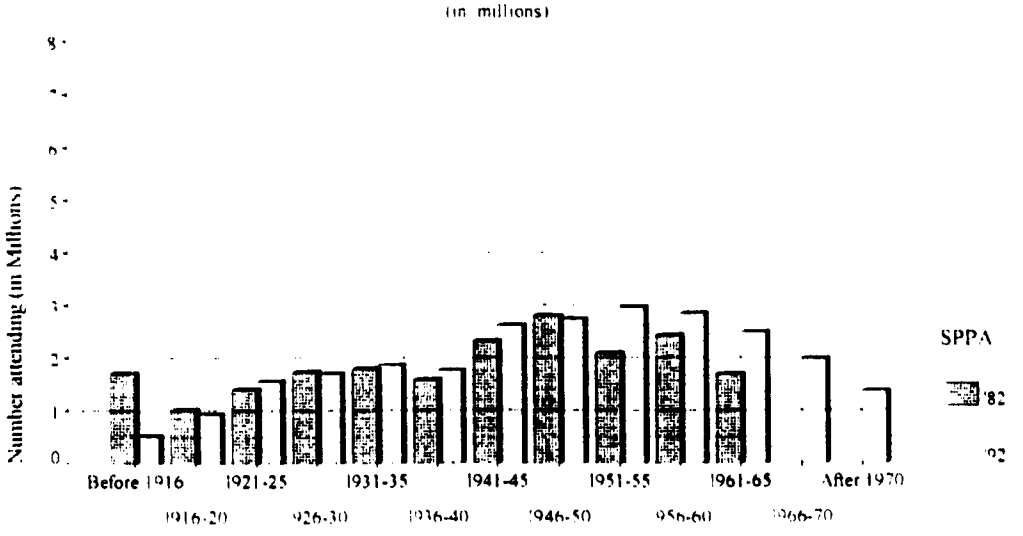
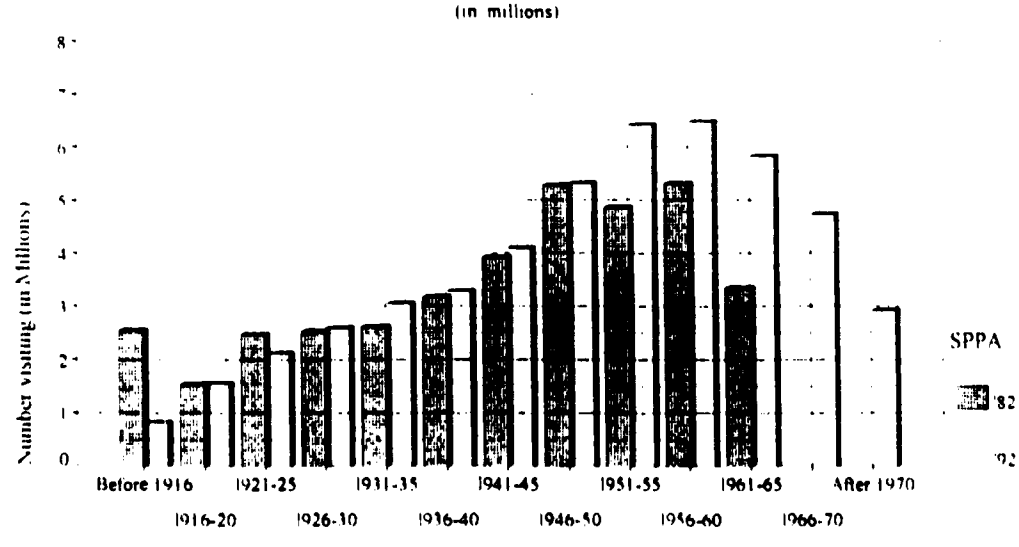


Figure 2B-7 1982 and 1992 Museum Visits by Age Cohort

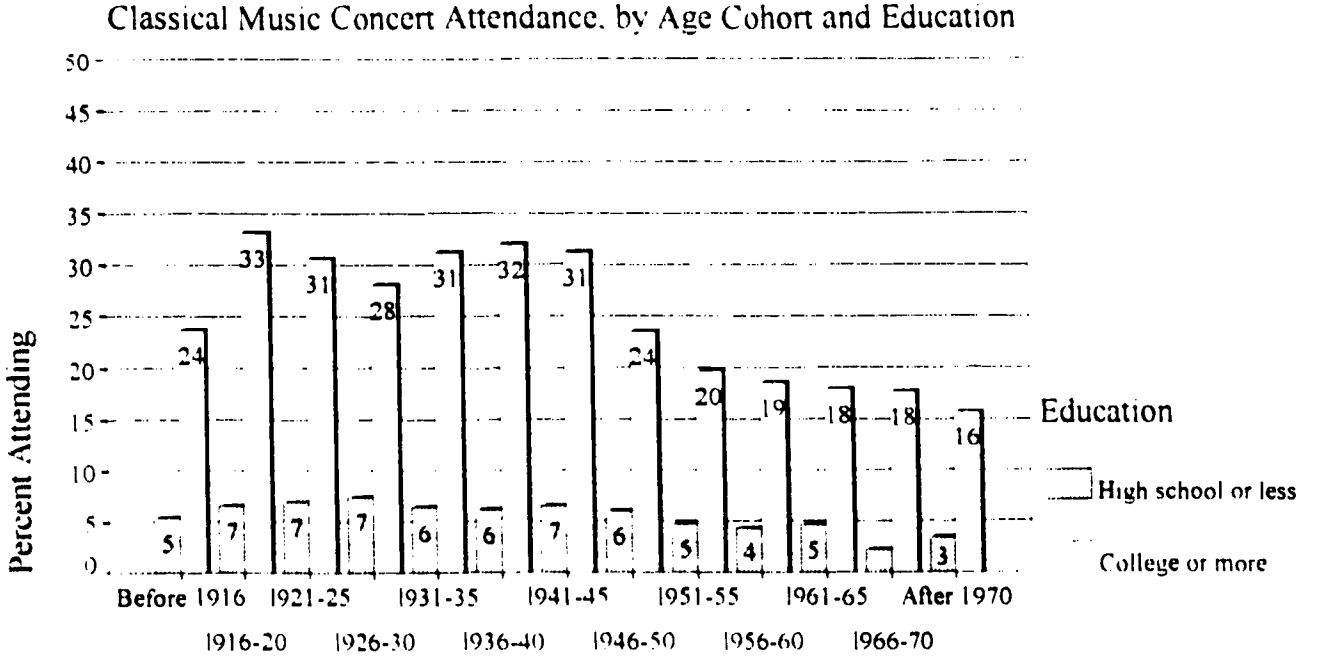


III. THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON ARTS PARTICIPATION

We have already noted that higher education differed among the baby boomers: we now focus on the issue in Figure 3A:1-7, considering the effects of education on the various cohorts' arts participation as measured by attendance at the seven art forms. We divide the survey respondents into two categories: those who completed only high school education or less, and those with some college or more. To be sure, there are vast differences between a college student who drops out freshman year and someone with an advanced degree. However, initial runs of the data indicate that using more categories for education makes little difference.

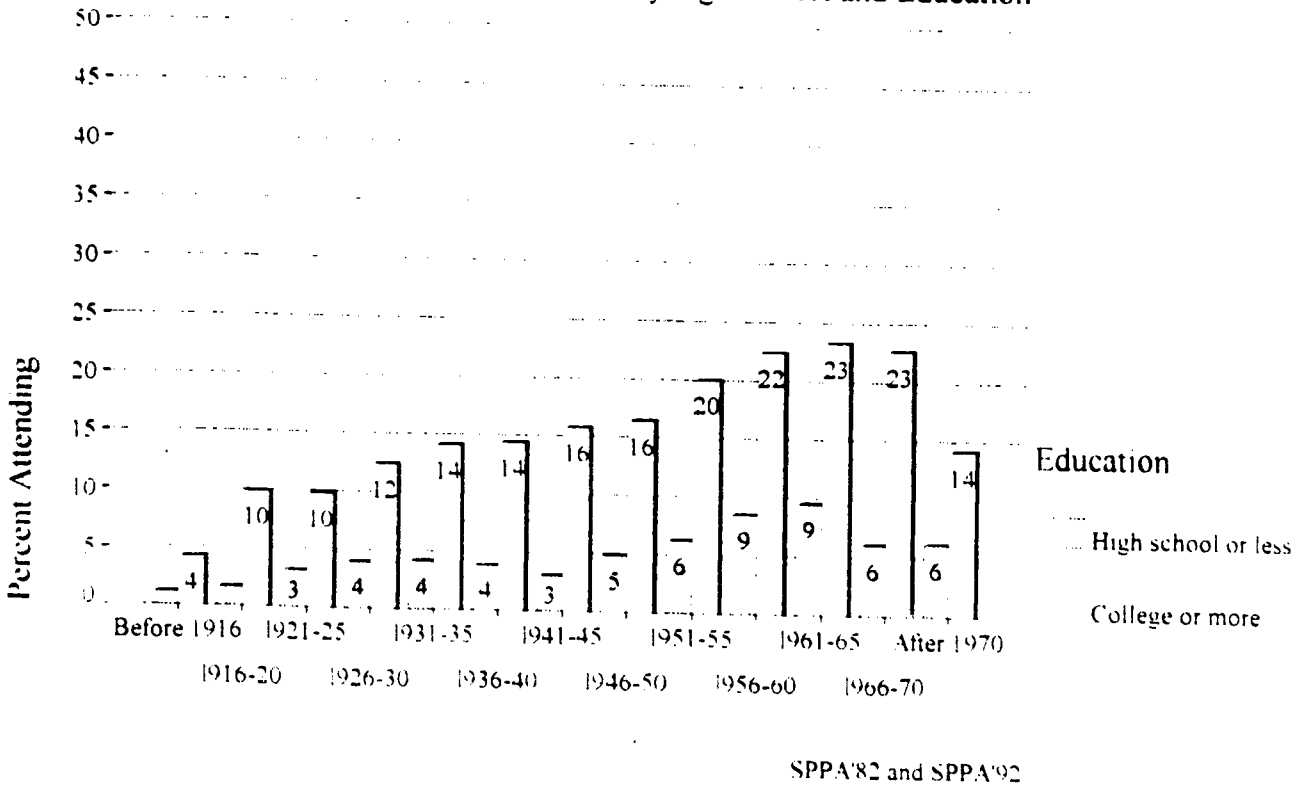
In every cohort, in every art form (including jazz), those with more education participate at higher rates than those with less -- sometimes in ratios of eight or more to one (Appendix Table 3A). Nonetheless, the basic pattern remains: there is an overall decline after the cohort born 1941-45. Note here that both 1982 and 1992 data are included, so that differences in cohort attendance between those two surveys -- whether up or down -- are averaged out. As has already been suggested by Figure 1A, a lower rate of attendance among college-educated baby boomers could still mean higher numbers of baby boomers attending than of their elders, simply because of the sheer size of that large cohort. At the same time, the declining attendance rates among the better educated baby boomers supports the hypothesis that it was not "the same" higher education than that obtained by their elders.[11]

Figure 3A-1



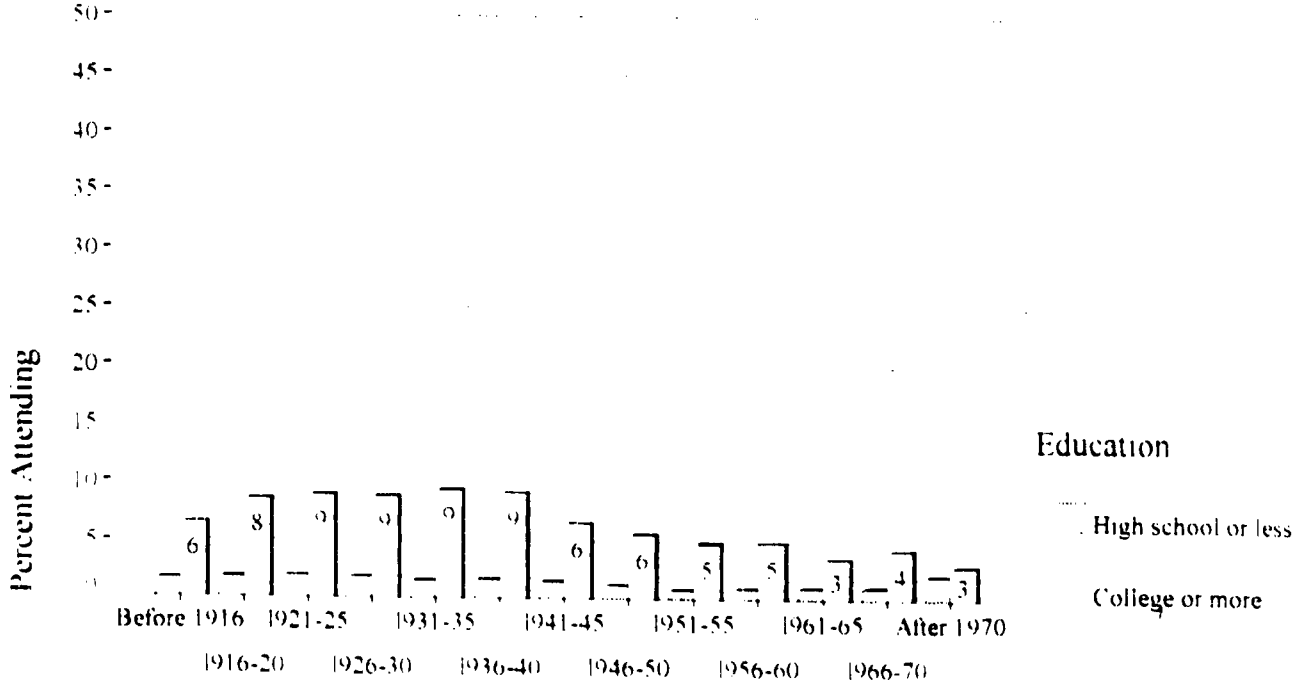
SPPA'82 and SPPA'92

Figure 3A-2 Jazz Concert Attendance.by Age Cohort and Education



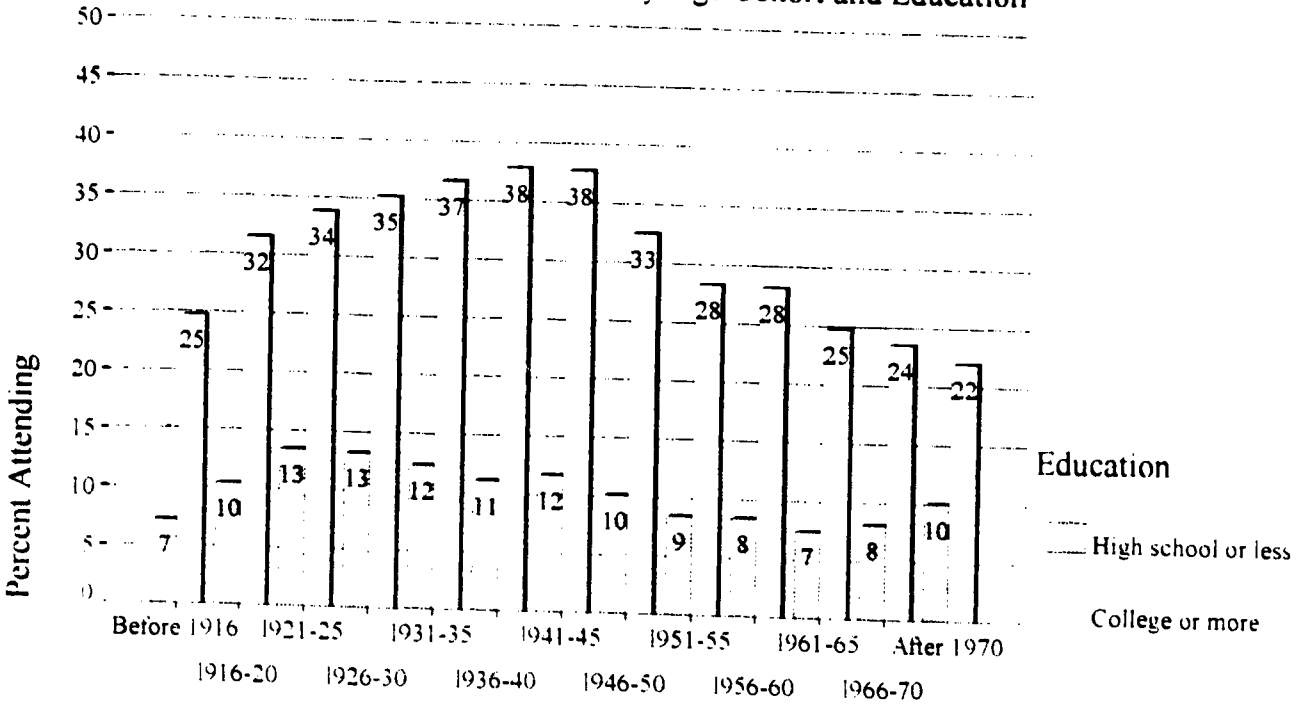
SPPA'82 and SPPA'92

Figure 3A-3 Opera Attendance. by Age Cohort and Education



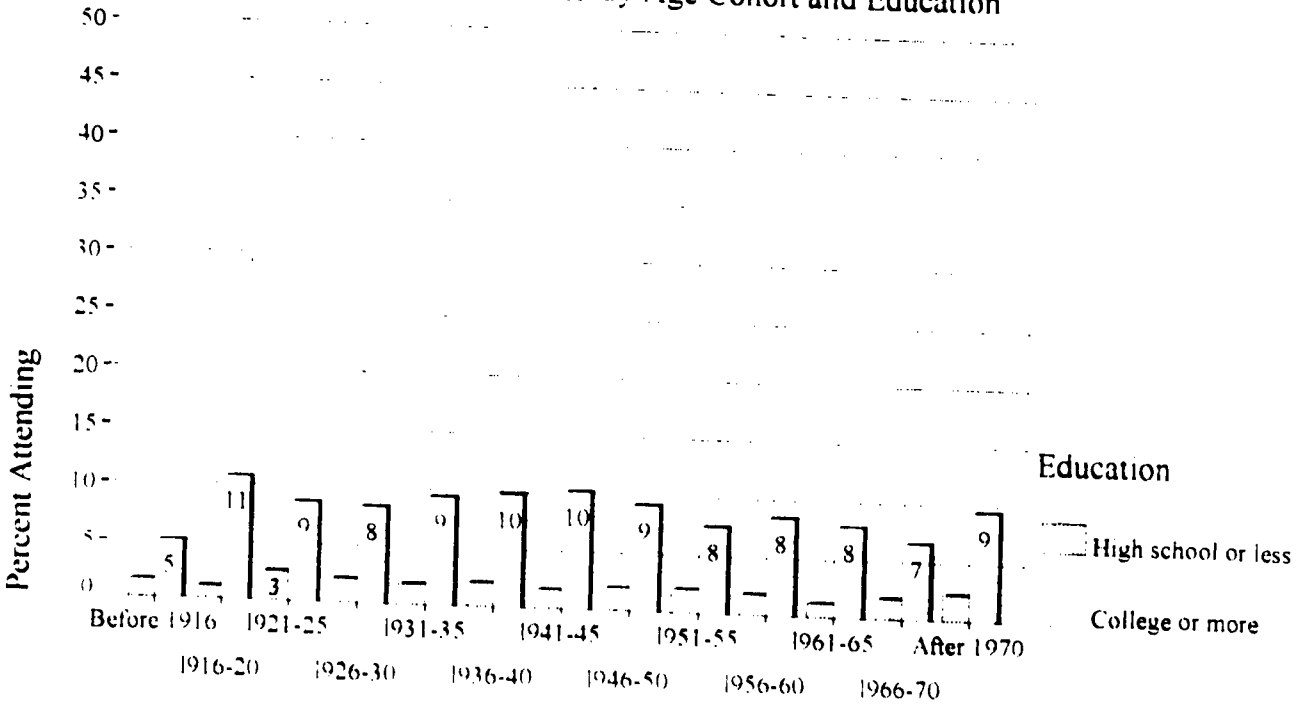
SPPA'82 and SPPA'92

Figure 3A-4 Attendance at Musicals, by Age Cohort and Education



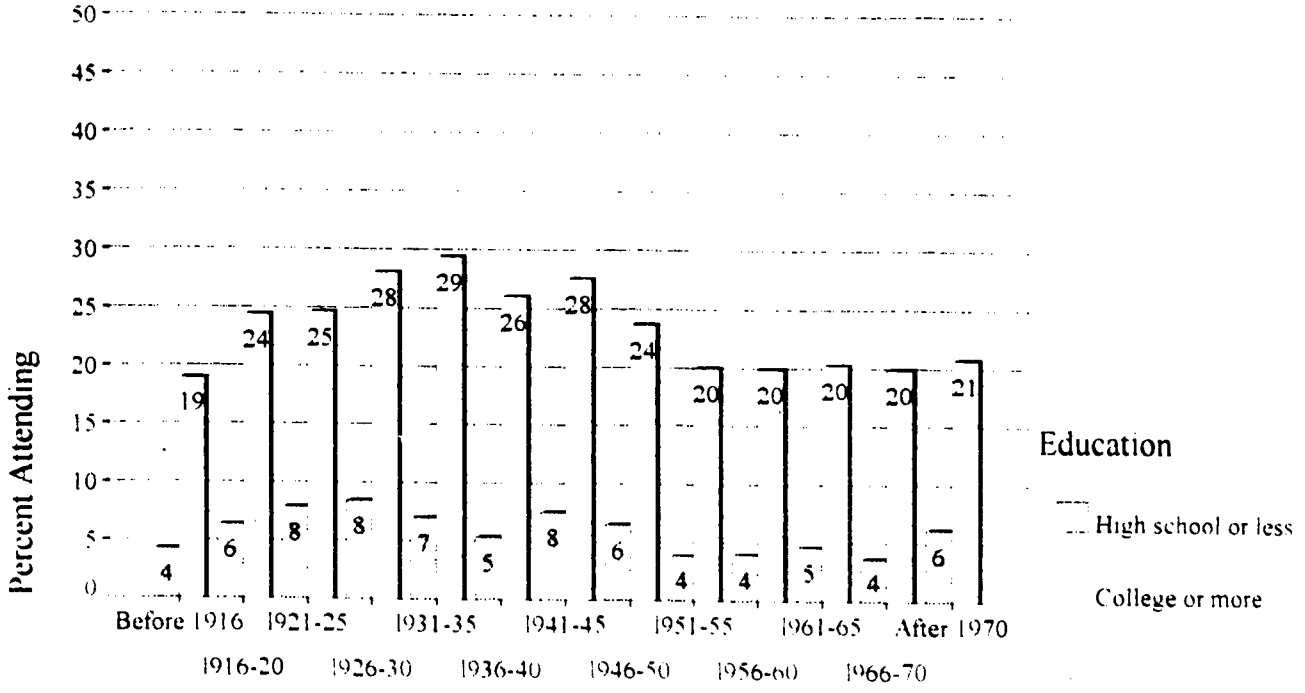
SPPA'82 and SPPA'92

Figure 3A-5 Ballet Attendance, by Age Cohort and Education



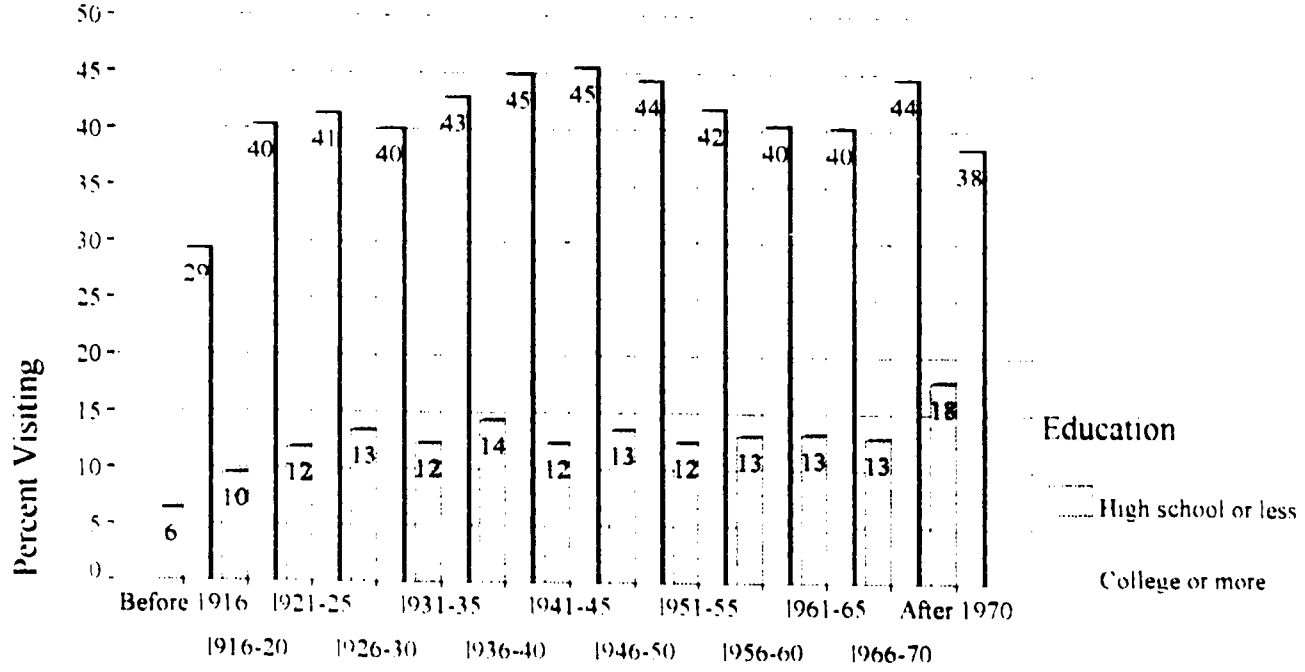
SPPA'82 and SPPA'92

Figure 3A-6 Theatre Attendance, by Age Cohort and Education



SPPA'82 and SPPA'92

Figure3A-7 Museum Visits, by Age Cohort and Education



Age Cohort

Following our analysis above in which we summarize the data by concentrating on those who participate at the **highest** rates and those whose rate of participation is lowest, in Table 3A we compare the cohorts in terms of their level of education rather than comparing the two surveys (for full figures, see Appendix Table 3A and 3B).

TABLE 3A
HIGHEST AND LOWEST COHORT PARTICIPATION BY EDUCATION
(Cohorts and participation rates by <HS or Col+, 1982+1992 data)

	<HS		COL+	
Classical Music	**1926-30** 7.4%	1956-60 4.3%	**1936-40** 32.0%	1961-65 18.0%
Jazz	**1961-65** 9.5	1941-45 3.1	**1961-65** 23.3	1926-30 12.4
Opera	**1926-30** 1.8	1951-55 .8	**1931-35** 8.8	1961-65 3.5
Musicals	**1926-30** 13.3	1961-65 7.5	**1936-40** 37.8	1961-65 24.8
Ballet	**1926-30/36-40** 2.2	1961-65 1.3	**1941-45** 10.2	1951-55 7.6
Theater	**1926-30** 8.5	1951-55 3.9	**1931-35** 29.5	1956-60 19.9
Art Museums	**1936-40** 14.3	1931-35 12.2	**1941-45** 45.4	1926-30 40.0

Among those with high school or less education, those born before 1940 show the **highest** rates of participation in most of the art forms (six out of seven). This is not surprising, as these cohorts have comparatively low rates of college attendance so that those with less formal education were not necessarily as self-selected as they were among later cohorts with more opportunities.

Among the less educated baby boomers, only in jazz are they ranked **highest** in attendance, while they are lowest in five of the activities. Among those with a college education -- which considerably more baby boomers were able to obtain -- baby boomers are again **highest** only in jazz, and lowest in six of the seven art forms. Indeed, it is particularly those born between 1961-65 who are most frequently low: among the less educated, they are lowest in two forms; among the more educated, in three, for five of the fourteen lowest ranks. Together, the four baby boomer cohorts hold ten of the fourteen ranks as lowest for their education category.

Thus whether one looks at cohort differences over the ten years between the two surveys (Table 2A), or between less or more educated people, averaging out the rates of the combined surveys (Table 3A), the cohort that is most frequently lowest in participation are those born 1961-65. If we combine Tables 2A and

3A as representing different ways of measuring respective participation by cohorts, we now have 28 slots of **highest,** and also of lowest. The 1961-65 cohort occupies fourteen out of the combined total of 28 lowest ranks; it is **highest** in only three of 28 (all in jazz). Together, the four baby boom cohorts account for nineteen of the lowest slots and only five of the **highest.** In contrast, the 1941-45 cohort ranks lowest only in the category of the less-educated attending jazz; it is **highest** in ten.

Of particular interest here are art museums, where the ratio of less to more educated attenders -- especially among the baby boomers -- is lower than that for the other art forms (jazz is a close second among the younger cohorts). In other words, museums have attracted -- and held -- their less educated audiences without losing those with more education. Yet even here, among the better educated it is those born between 1941-45 who attend at the highest rate.

What might account for the differences between the baby boomers and their most immediately older cohort, the War babies? They are **highest** in arts participation, while the baby boomers fail to continue their trend of involvement. In contrast to younger age groups, the childhood of the War babies was filled with the stuff of patriotism. If they attended college, they typically graduated in the mid-1960's and emerged into adult culture to join the optimism and the institutions of their elders who had survived the Depression and World War II, especially those born 1931-40 (who for some art forms still rank highest in participation). They graduated from college when the Beatles were emerging and before rock music became as sophisticated and commercialized as it is today. Despite the anti-establishment activity of some of the younger members at this time, for most the civil rights movement was seen positively. They may have been in college when Kennedy was assassinated, but the general sense of disillusionment and anger that followed the later assassinations was still ahead. The minority who took art and music appreciation classes and became more fully socialized members of established elite culture may have been incipiently radical, but they were typically willing to follow the rules even in resistance, even as the controversies over the Vietnam war became more heated. However, perhaps because of their smaller cohort size and their typical lack of "trouble making", the War babies have attracted little attention among the pundits and analysts compared to what has been showered upon the baby boomers. Thus our explanations for their very high participation rates are based more on personal experience and less on other data than is our understanding of that of their successors, the baby boomers.

It is clear that in both 1982 and 1992 those born between 1941-45 attended the fine arts at rates that are usually higher than those of the other cohorts. Evidently, for many of the War babies the established masterpieces of human creativity, of past and present, are felt to be accessible to inspire and console. But

some willingness to suspend disbelief may be necessary for the arts to work -- and for those immediately younger -- especially those ten or 20 years younger -- cynicism is all too typical instead, at least according to many analysts.

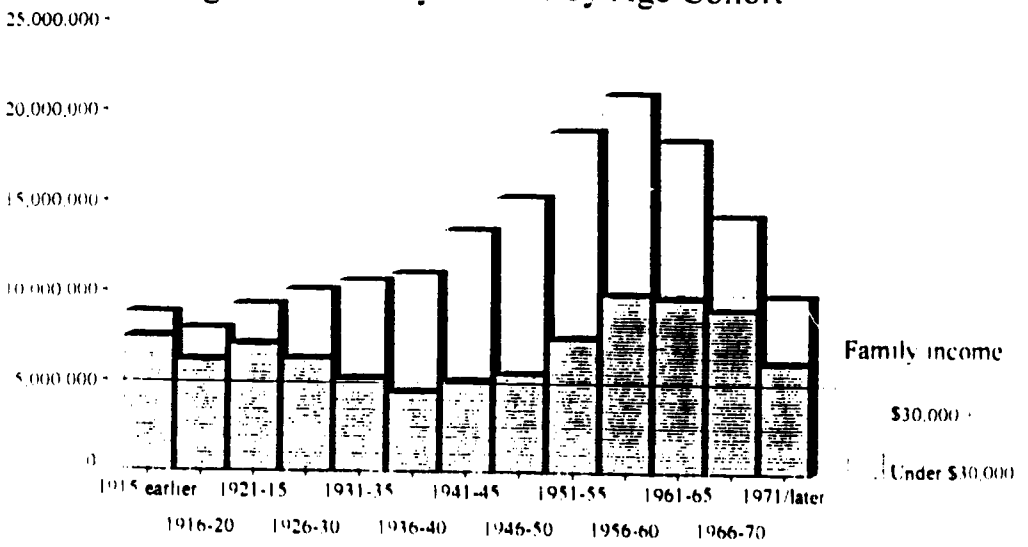
IV. THE EFFECT OF INCOME ON ARTS PARTICIPATION

Cynicism among the baby boomers is often thought to be linked to the "declining fortunes" that affect so many of them, as we have noted. In addition to what we have suggested, while they have more -- if somewhat different -- higher education than their elders, another way in which that higher education has differed is in its lower "pay off". Not only was it not "the same" education, but it does not produce the same income. Proportionately fewer baby boomers have advanced into top professional and high salaried positions, despite their advanced degrees, and basic costs -- especially for housing -- have increased to the point that home ownership is difficult for middle income people, even with two wage earners to pay the mortgage.[12] How has this situation possibly affected their arts participation? Consider here rates of attendance by income rather than by education (only 1992 data are used here, given the complexities of correcting for inflation).

Figure 4A shows the respective proportions of the cohorts in the two income brackets: below and above $30,000, selected as benchmark because it is closest to the national median family income out of the available SPPA 1992 income categories. The data are given in real numbers, comparable to Figure 1A which similarly examined education.

Proportionately more of the 1936-40 and 1941-45 cohorts earn above the $30,000 median family income than is true of the baby boomers, as we would expect older workers to earn more than younger ones. Still, the proportion -- let alone the real numbers -- of baby boomers whose family incomes are in the top half is sizeable indeed. (This obviously has not reduced their financial worries, as two incomes are more typically involved in pushing them into the upper bracket than is the case for their elders, as we have indicated.)

Figure 4A Family Income by Age Cohort



How does family income -- whether the product of single or dual wage earners -- affect arts participation by cohort? Comparable to the models we have used above, Figure 4B:1-7 shows the results for the seven core art forms (see also Appendix Table 4B).

Figure 4B-1

Attendance at Classical Music Concerts, by Age Cohort and Income

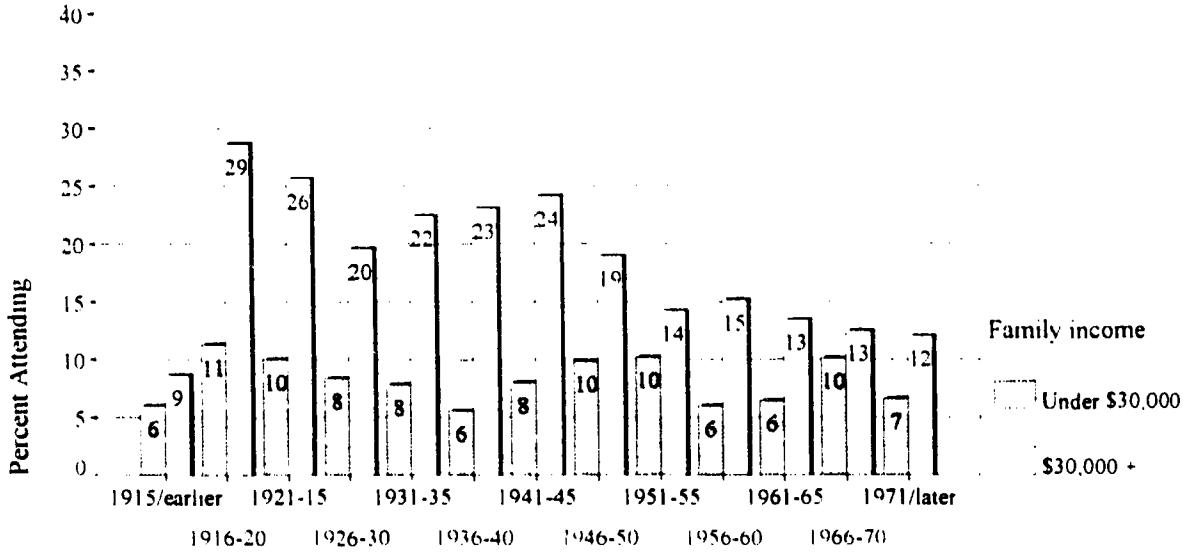


Figure 4B-2 Attendance at Jazz Concerts, by Age Cohort and Income

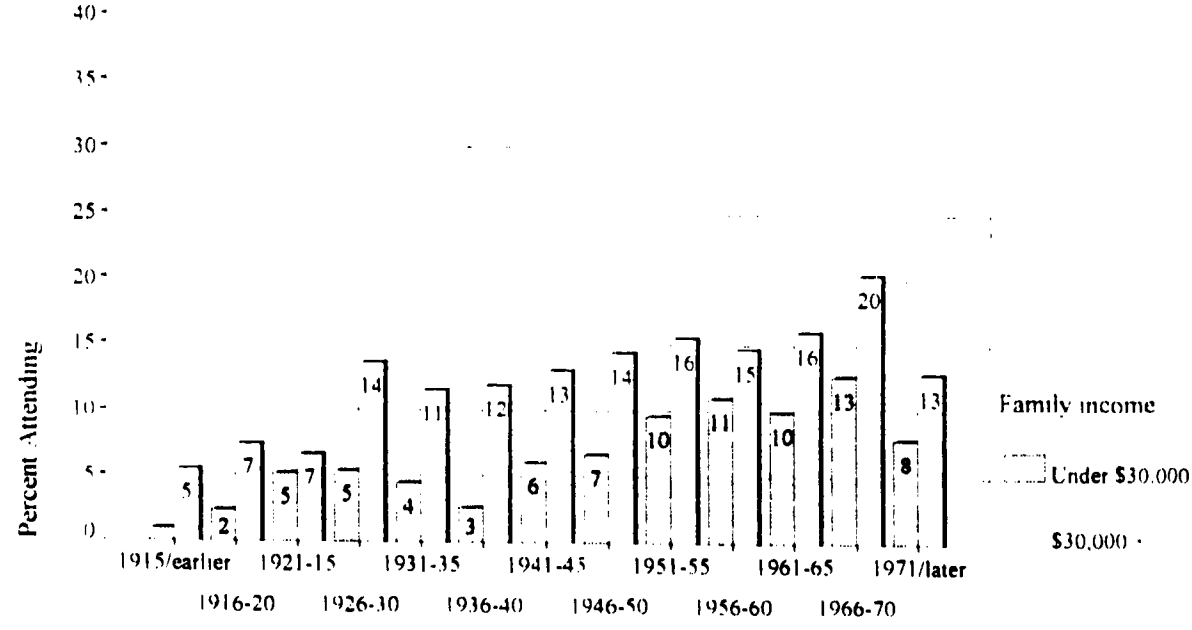


Figure 4B-3 Opera Attendance, by Age Cohort and Income

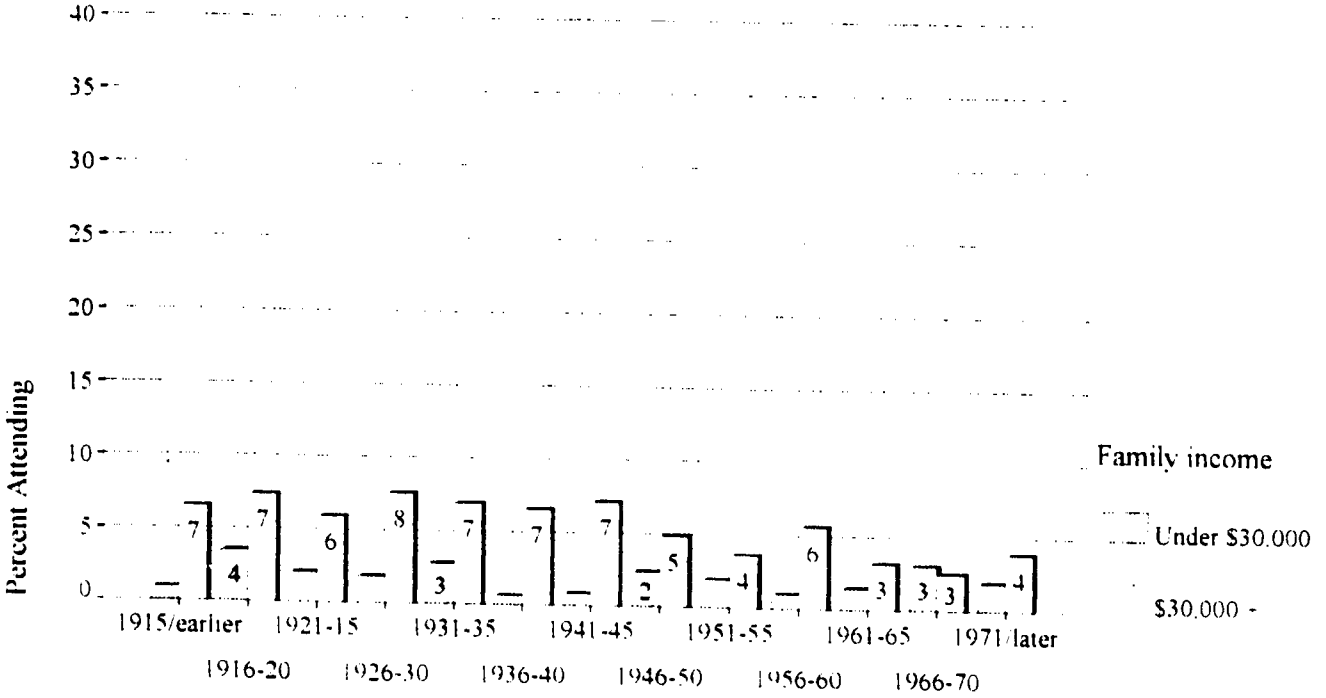
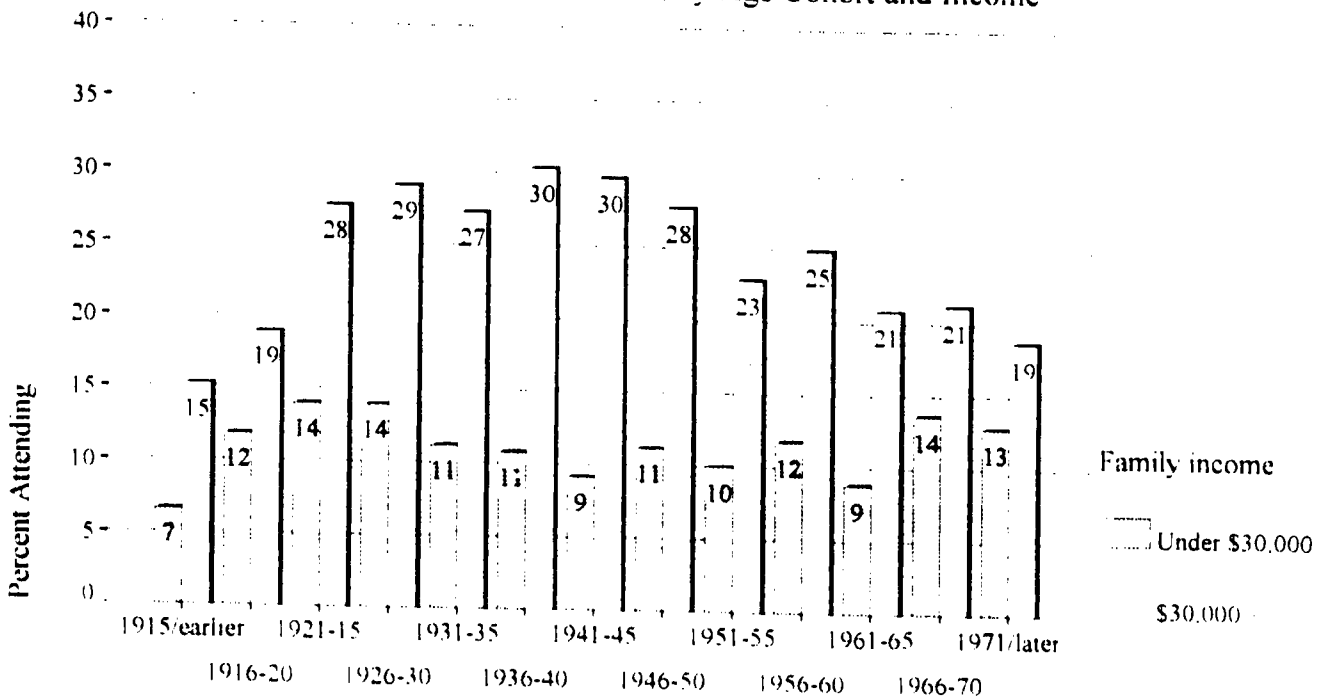


Figure 4B-4 Attendance at Musicals, by Age Cohort and Income



SPPA'92

Figure 4B-5 Ballet Attendance, by Age Cohort and Income

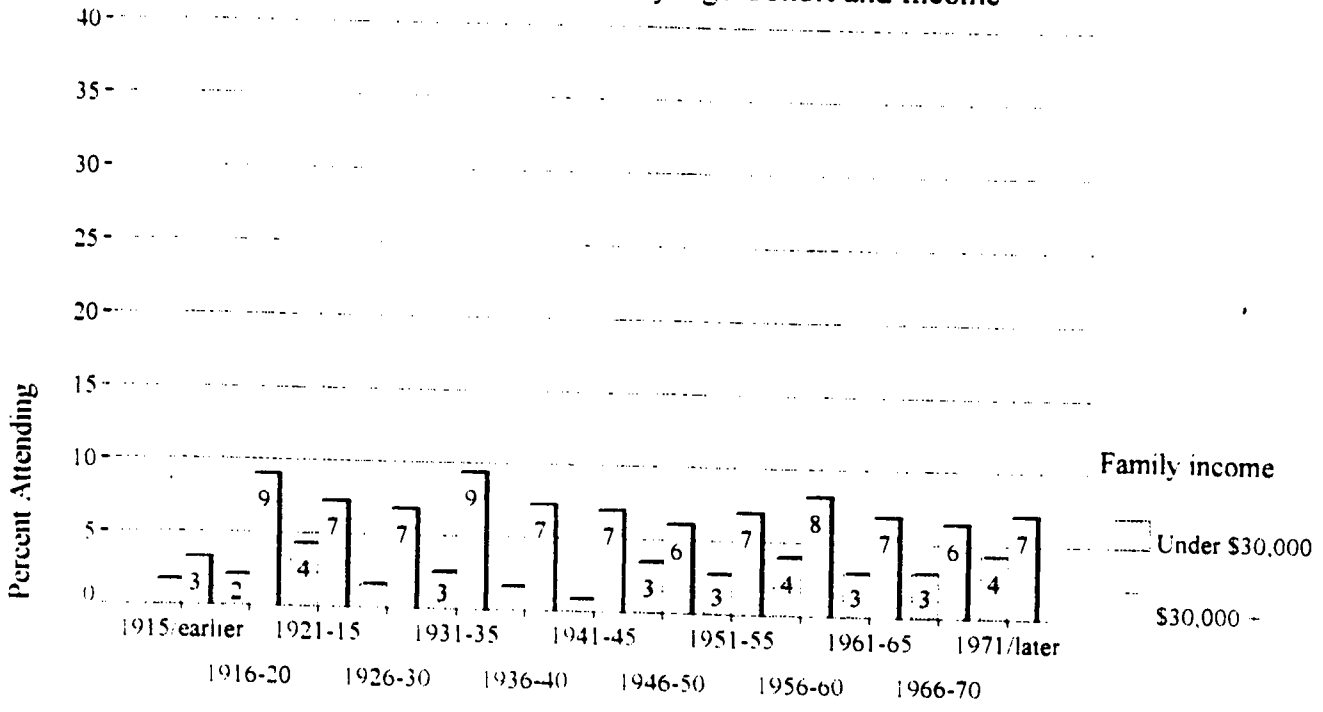
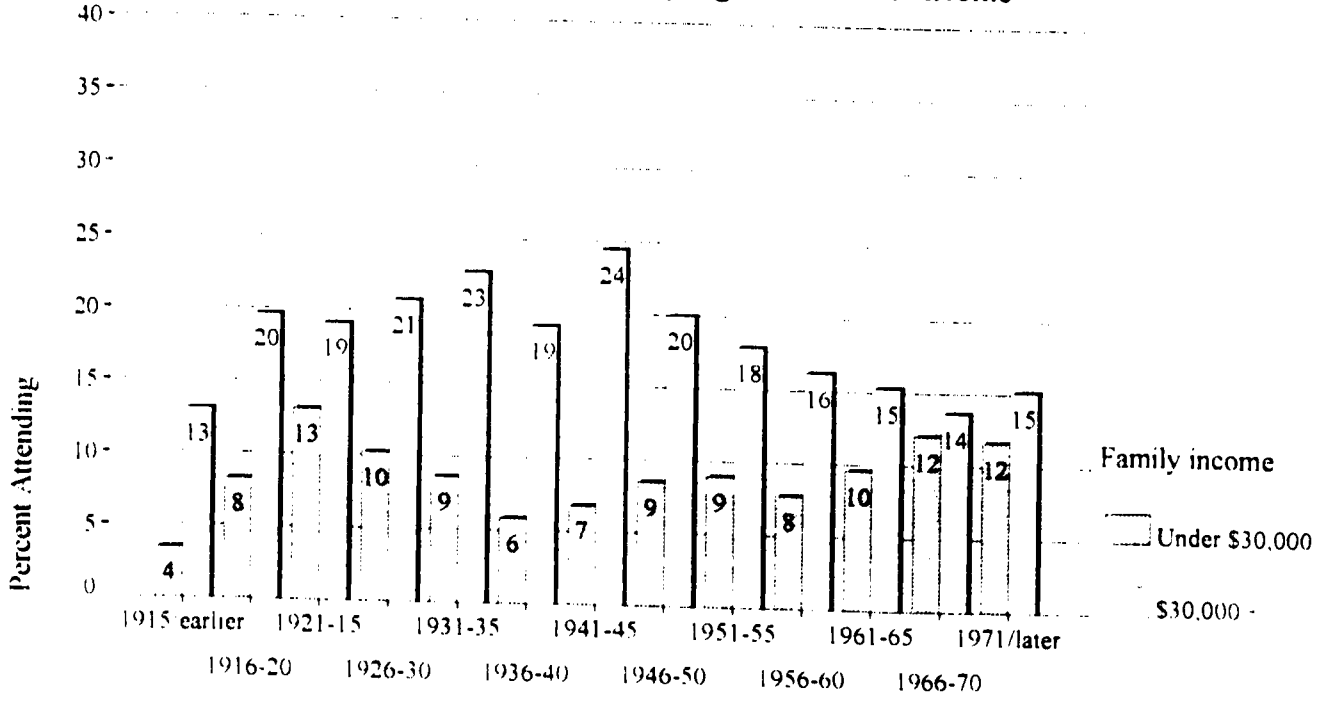
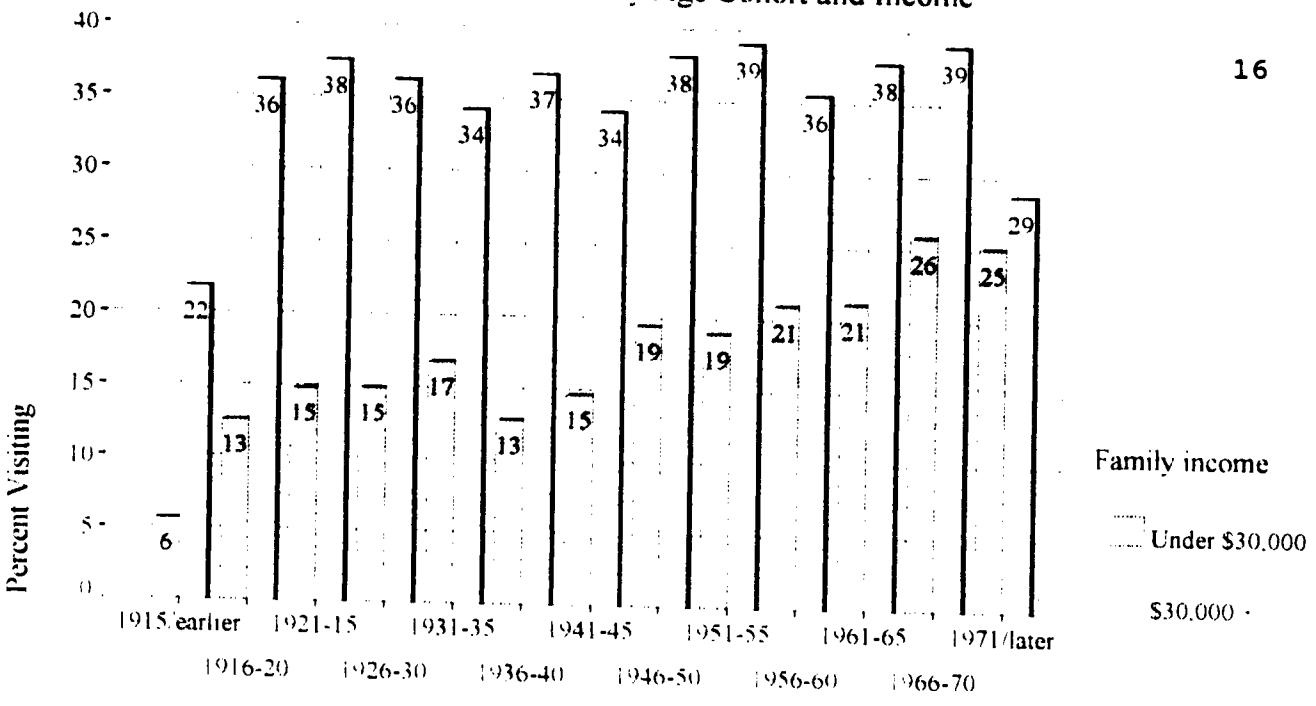


Figure 4B-6 Theatre Attendance, by Age Cohort and Income



SPPA'92

Figure 4B-7 Museum Visits by Age Cohort and Income



SPPA'92

As we would expect, those with higher incomes attend the arts more than do those with less money: higher education is the best predictor of more income just as it is of more arts participation. However, in this case the picture is considerably more mixed, as becomes apparent when we summarize the **highest** and lowest cohort rates of participation in Table 4A, following the model of analysis found in Tables 2A and 3A (the oldest cohorts -- those born before 1926 -- are "lumped" together in this summary table).

TABLE 4A

HIGHEST AND LOWEST COHORT PARTICIPATION BY INCOME
(1992 data only)

	<$30,000		$30,000+	
Classical Music	**1951-55** 10.2%	1936-40 5.6%	**1941-45** 24.1%	1971+ 12.1%
Jazz	**1966-70** 12.7	1936-40 2.6	**1966-70** 20.3	<1926 6.6
Opera	**1966-70** 3.0	1936-40 .7	**1926-30** 7.5	1966-70 2.5
Musicals	**1926-30** 14.0	1961-65 8.9	**1936-40** 30.3	1961-65 20.8
Ballet	**1971+** 4.3	1941-45 .9	**1931-35** 9.4	1946-50 6.1
Theater	**1966-70** 12.0	1936-40 5.9	**1941-45** 24.5	1966-70 13.6
Art Museums	**1966-70** 25.8	<1926 10.8	**1951-55/66-70** 39.0	1971+ 28.8

Compared to the figures on participation generally and participation by education, when we consider income the youngest cohorts do not come in last so consistently. Indeed, among those with lower incomes, those in Generation X -- including both those born 1966-70 and those born 1971 and after -- attend at the **highest** rates in five categories although they did not appear in any such slot when lower education was the variable being considered. Lower income older baby boomers appear as **highest** in only one slot, classical music; their younger boomer peers are lowest in only one, musicals, yet collectively the less-educated boomers held five of the lowest slots and only one of the highest, for jazz. Instead, among those with lower incomes it is the Depression era cohort of 1936-40 who attend at lowest rates for four art forms and the 1941-45 cohort for a fifth.

Among those with higher incomes, two baby boom cohorts are lowest in attendance rates, one for musicals, the other for ballet, with Generation X lowest for four of the seven art forms. However, among the wealthier that same younger cohort attends at **highest** rates for two art forms, jazz and art museums (where they tie with the 1951-55 baby boomers). The 1941-45 War babies attend **highest** at two as well. Thus when we look at income rather than education, baby boomers fill only two of the lowest ranks rather than ten (both for musicals), and the 1941-45 cohort does not shine so consistently at the top. Instead, it is the better-off post-baby boomers, Generation X, who fill four of the lowest slots--in each case, among those with more income--yet they are at a time in their lives when presumably they have lower family and professional responsibilities than they will later acquire. At the same time, when we look at the top ranks, members of Generation X with lower incomes occupy five of the seven **highest** ranks in total reversal of their more affluent peers.

How can we make sense of this picture, contradicting as it does the patterns already established regarding education, which correlates generally with income? It is probable that differences in income are less significant for arts participation among the youngest cohorts because at that stage income and life style are not as linked as they will be later, when careers and places of residence are more established. This process seems to be the case among the baby boomers as well.

This conclusion is supported when we examine the connections between income and arts participation, by calculating the mean ratios of attendance rates between the two income brackets (figures in Appendix Table 4B). This ratio is about 1.5 for Generation X (that is, those with higher incomes attend about one and a half times more often than those lower incomes) and it is about 2 for the baby boomers (those with higher incomes attend twice as often as those with less). Among the senior cohorts, however, the ratio is over 4 (those with higher incomes attend four times more often than those with less).

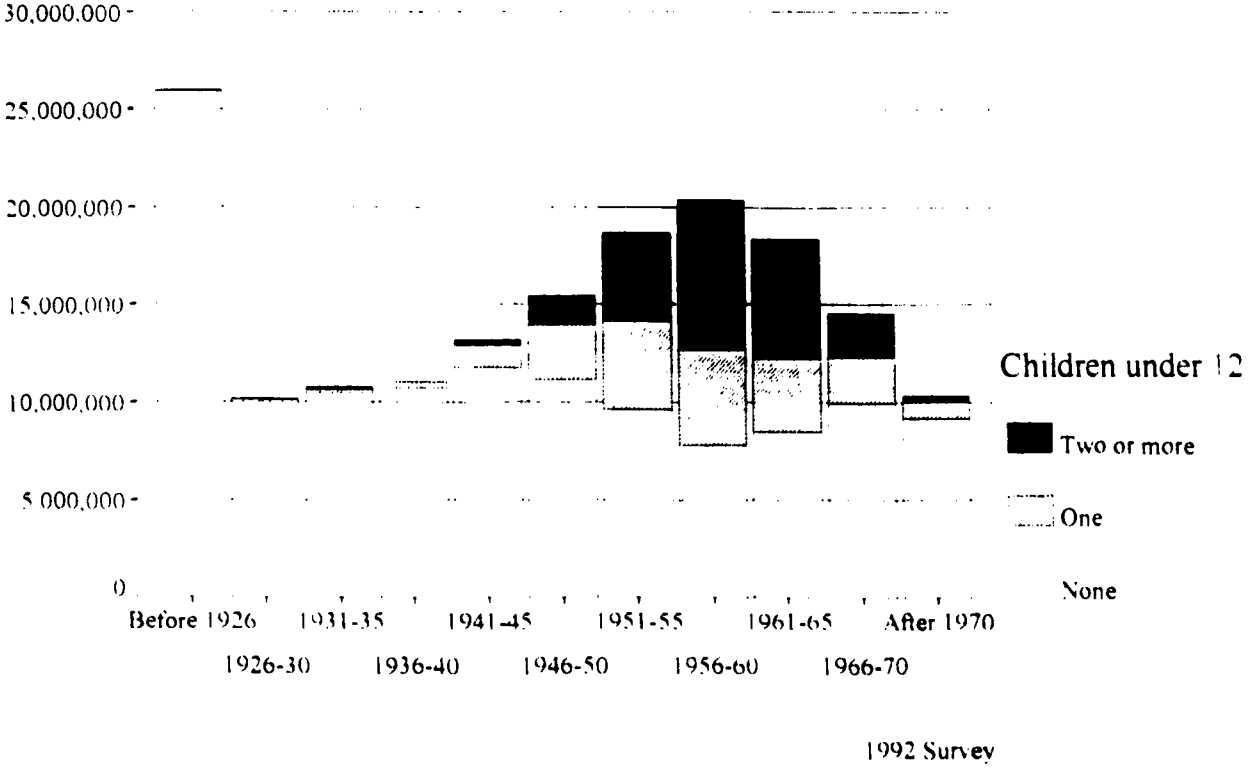
For all cohorts born after 1941, the average ratios of attendance by more or less education are higher (nearly 4 in all cases) than they are for income. For older cohorts (whose education ratio is only slightly higher at 4.5), this correlates with the ratio regarding income, but it does not for the younger ones. In sum, "internal" differences in arts participation among members of the baby boom cohorts are less related to their comparative incomes than is case for their elders, but they are more related to educational differences. Seen another way, here is further support for the thesis that for baby boomers, their higher level of education has produced less financial "pay off" to distinguish them from their less educated peers. Following the argument about "cultural capital" developed by Pierre Bourdieu and others,[13] this finding should make participation in the fine arts all the more important as a status marker, when income itself does not serve. Compared to their elders, baby boomers and their younger siblings are more likely to have "champagne tastes on beer budgets," with the greater need to demonstrate their tastes accordingly. Yet even this additional factor is insufficient to induce greater proportions of the better educated to take part in most of the fine arts.

V. THE EFFECT OF THE PRESENCE OF CHILDREN ON ARTS PARTICIPATION

It can be argued that it is neither cynicism nor lower incomes that keep baby boomers--especially the younger ones--away from the arts: one of the reasons they may not have time or money to attend (even if they have the inclination) is that they are home with the kids, in what little free time their full-time work affords them for family life. Let us consider the impact of having children under the age of 12 upon arts participation by looking at the rates of attendance for those who didn't have children in contrast to those who do.

Figure 5A shows the proportional numbers of the different cohorts with no children under 12, one such child, or two or more in 1992. (Unlike Figures 1A and 4A above showing proportionate numbers of cohorts according to education and income, here the oldest cohorts -- those born before 1925 -- are combined, so that their proportional numbers appear greater than in previous graphs.) Both in rates and in numbers, baby boomers make up fewer of the childless than the older and the youngest cohorts, and more of them have two children under 12 than have only one.

Figure 5A Number of Children under 12 by Age Cohort

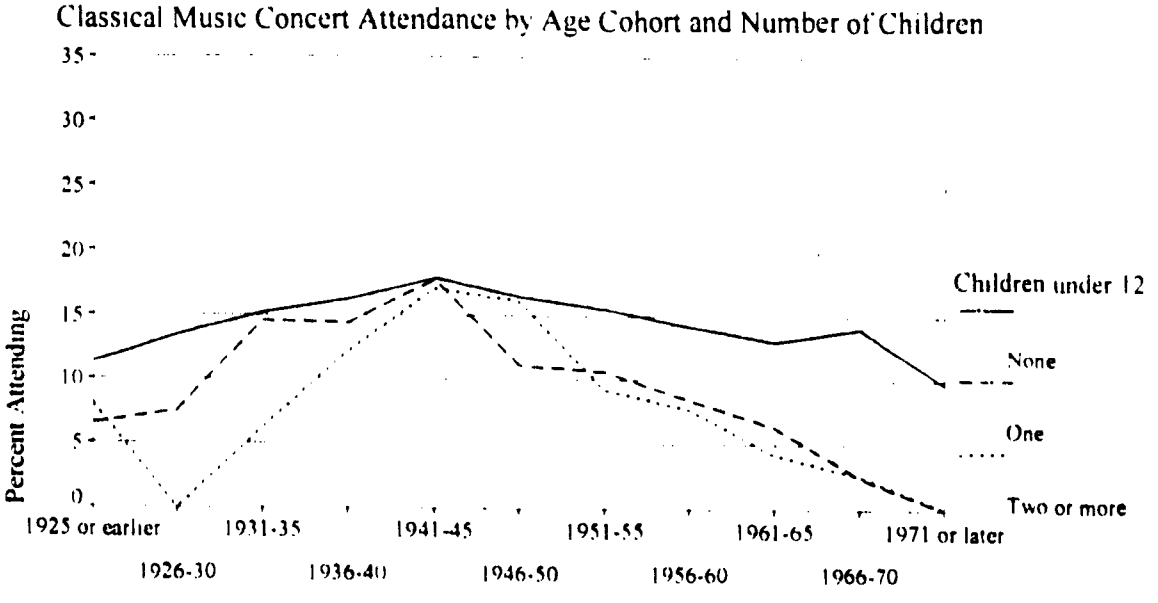


In Figure 5B:1-7 (which combine the 1982 and 1992 surveys), we compare attendance rates of cohorts according to the number of children under 12 for each of the seven art forms (see Appendix Table 5B). To be sure, as seen in Figure 5A the proportions and numbers of the older cohorts with such children (presumably people raising grandchildren) are very small. Similarly, the number of Generation X members with two or more children is also very small; like the seniors in such a situation, they are likely to stop attending altogether, or otherwise to greatly reduce their rates of attendance.

Turning to the baby boomers (where the proportions of those with children are higher and thus the numbers more reliable), we find that having children induces quite varying effects across the art forms. In particular, classical music loses the young parents in greater proportions than it loses their peers without children. Still, it appears that if baby boomer parents want to attend -- especially in the less popular art forms like ballet and opera -- they find ways of doing so. In fact, frequently the rate of attendance is higher for baby boomers with two or more children than it is for those with one child. Not surprisingly, given what we have seen above, art museums remain highest in attendance among the childless baby boomers -- but they also hold that allegiance once the children arrive.

Nonetheless, as Figure 5B:1-7 shows us, the basic shape of the curve doesn't change from what we have learned so far: regardless of presence or absence of children, those in the 1941-45 cohort attend at the highest rates and those in the younger cohorts reduce their attendance below that attained by their elders at the same age, and presumably at the same stage of "full nest" family life.

Figure 5B-1



SPPA'82 and SPPA'92

Figure 5B-2 Jazz Concert Attendance by Age Cohort and Number of Children

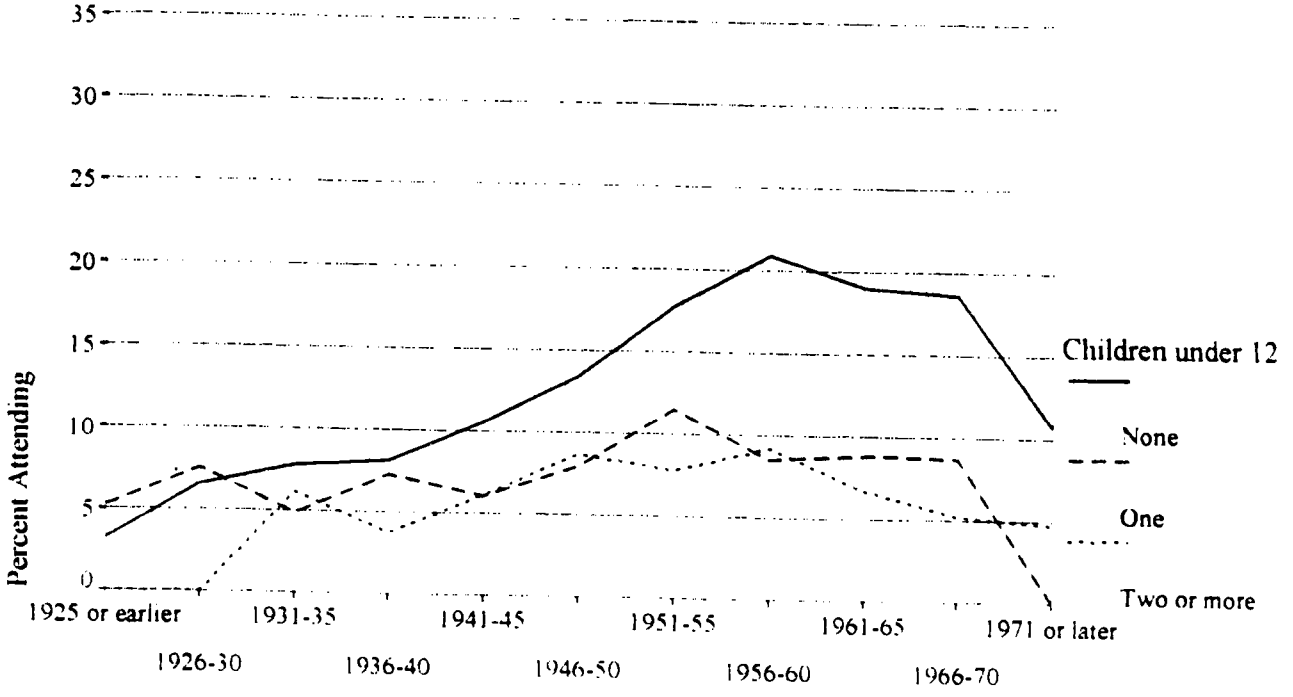
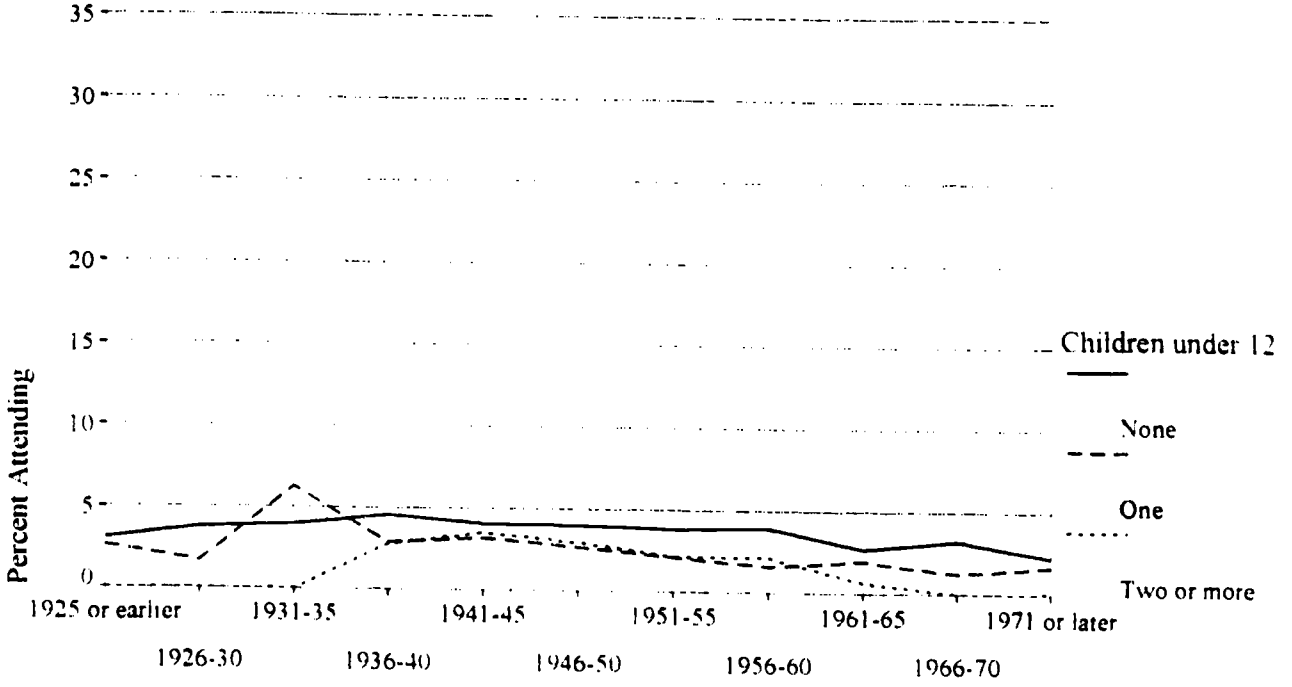


Figure 5B-3 Opera Attendance by Age Cohort and Number of Children



SPPA'82 and SPPA'92

Figure 5B-4 Attendance at Musicals by Age Cohort and Number of Children

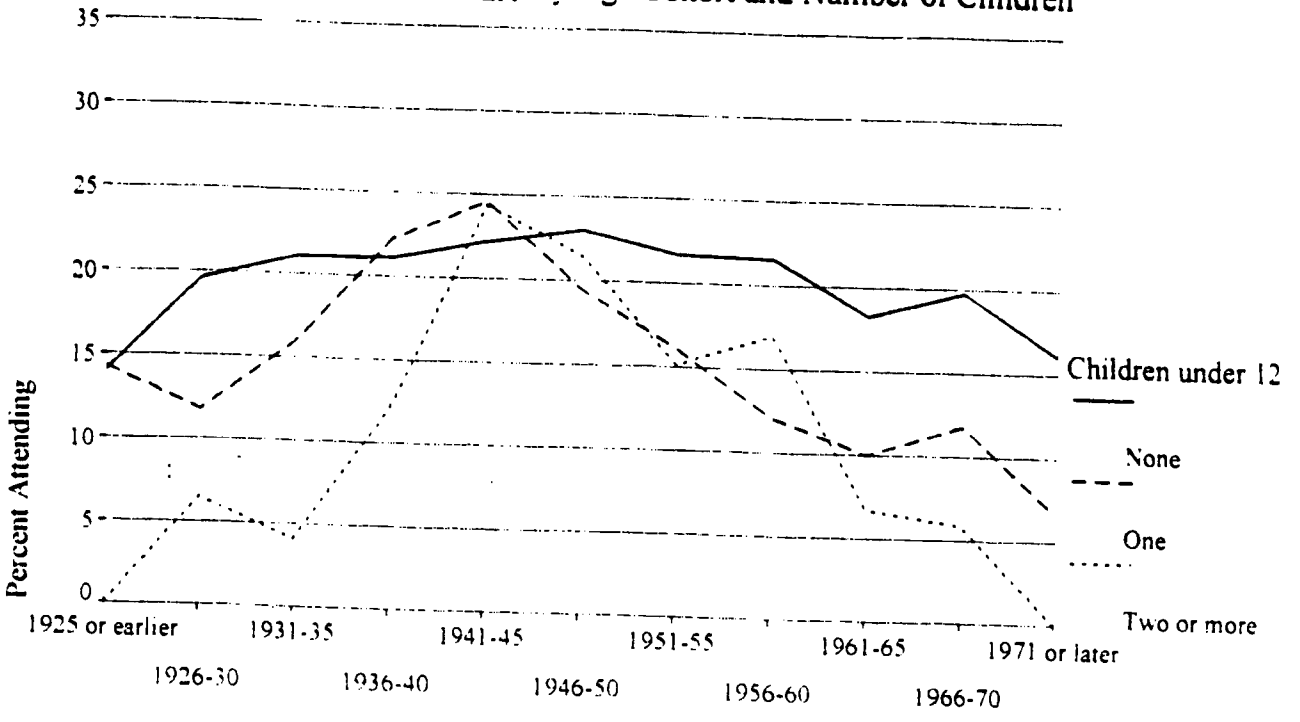
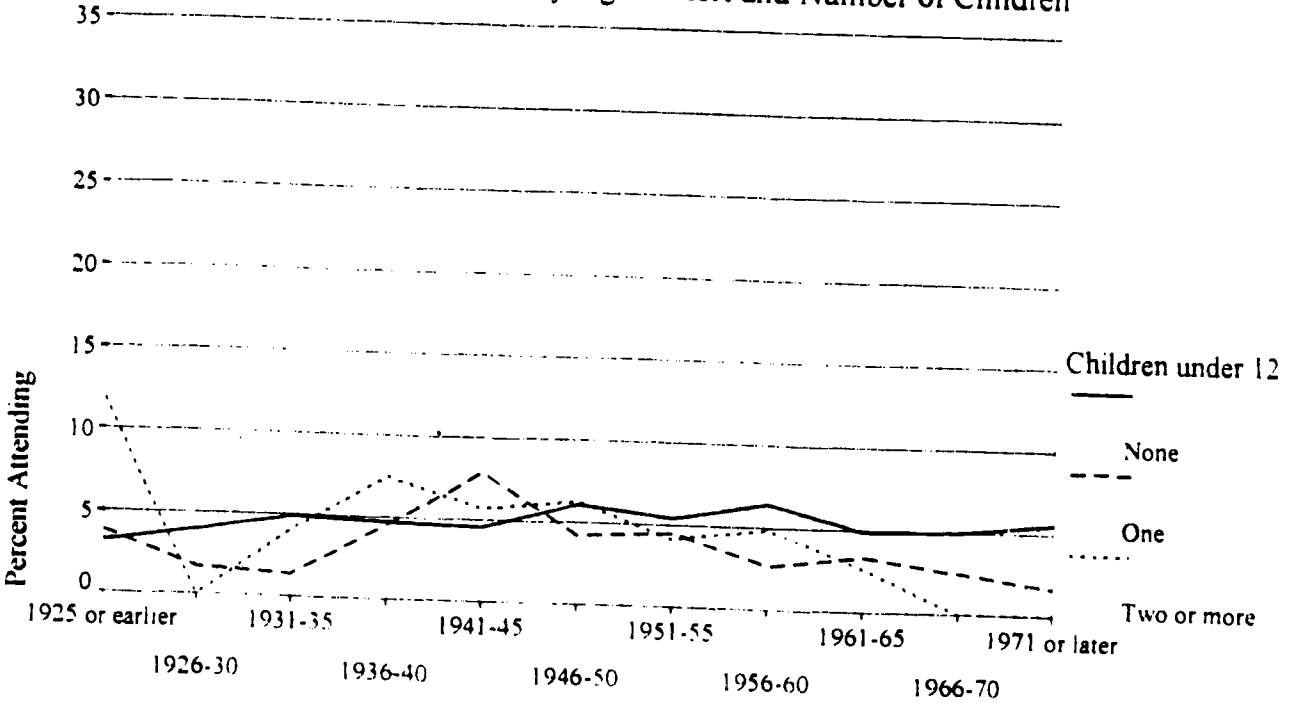


Figure 5B-5 Ballet Attendance by Age Cohort and Number of Children



Combined 1982 and 1992 Surveys

Figure 5B-6 Theatre Attendance by Age Cohort and Number of Children

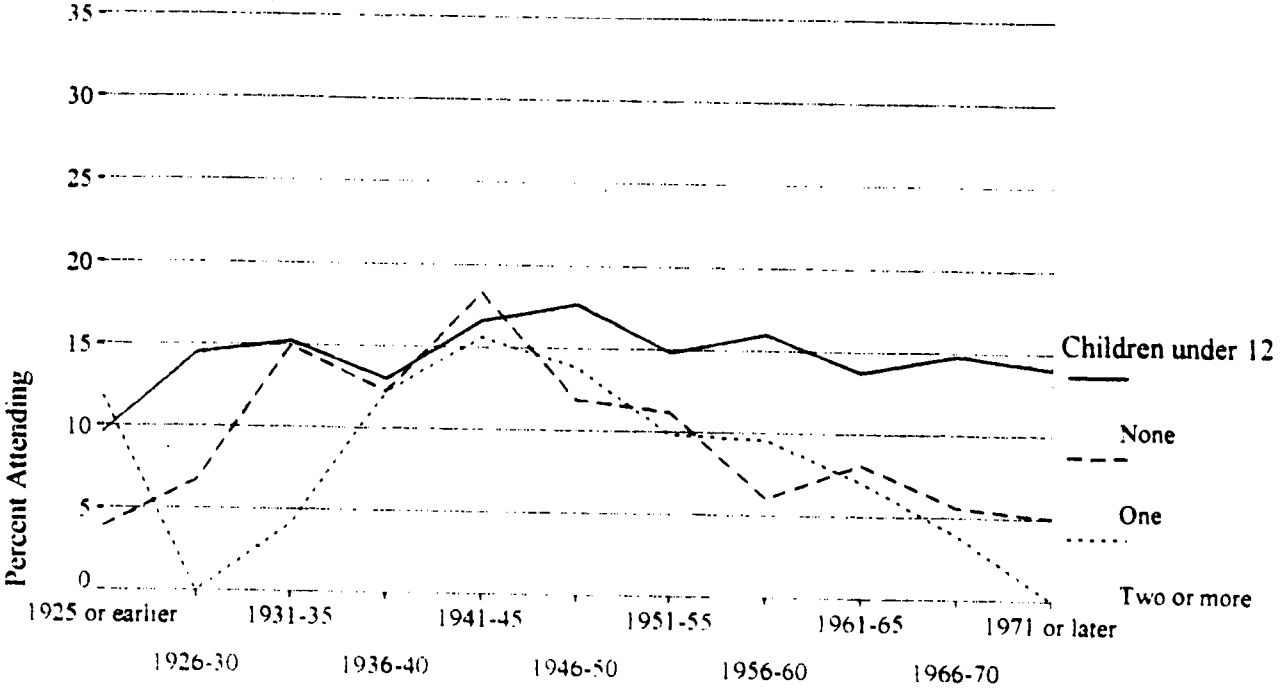
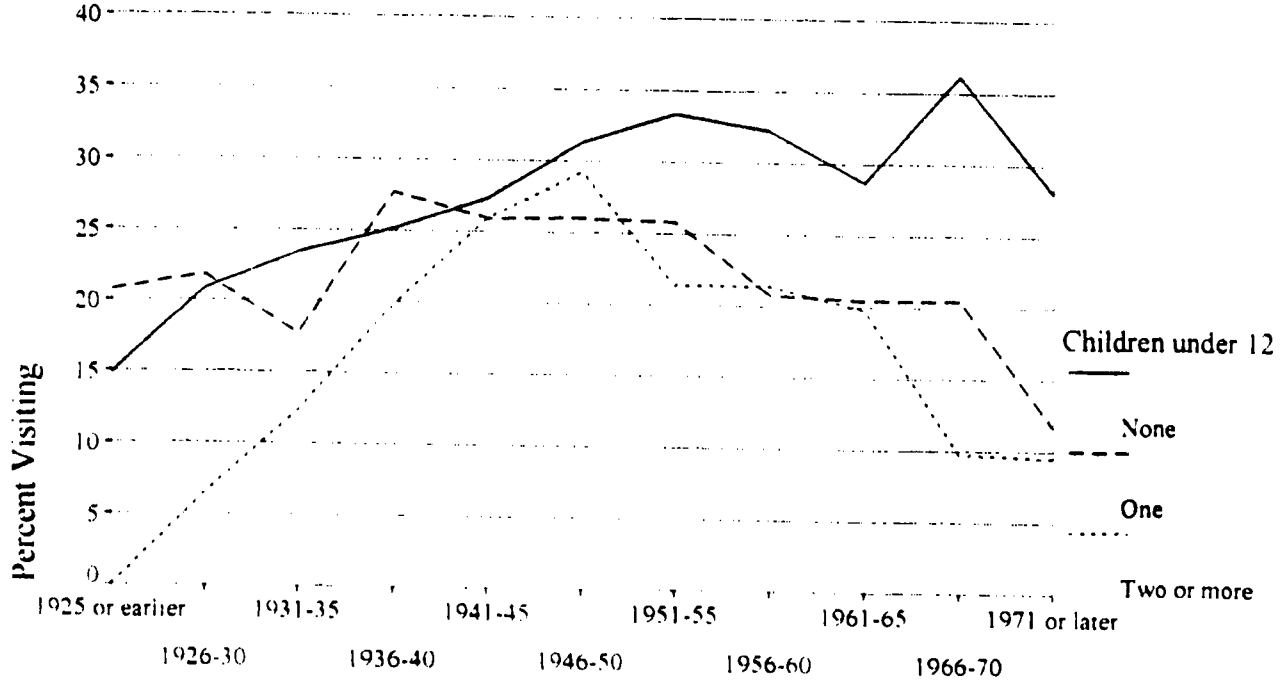


Figure 5B-7 Museum Visits by Age Cohort and Number of Children



SPPA'82 1982 and SPPA'92

VI. THE EFFECT OF TELEVISION VIEWING ON ARTS PARTICIPATION

What about the impact of television on arts participation? To answer that question, we divided television viewers into light viewers (2 hours a day or less) and heavy viewers (three or more hours). Instead of examining their participation for each arts activity, we divided them into three groups on a measure of "extensiveness": those who participate in none of the seven activities, those who participate in one or two, and those who participate in three or more.

TABLE 6A
TELEVISION VIEWING AND EXTENSIVENESS OF ARTS PARTICIPATION
(TV viewing by <2/3+ hrs/day; 1982 + 1992 data)

	<2 hrs TV/day		3+ hrs TV/day	
Extensiveness:	1982	1992	1982	1992
None	55.9%	50.3%	67.3%	65.4%
One to two	28.9	31.3	25.3	25.6
Three or more	15.2	18.4	7.4	9.0
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6A shows the relationship between heavy viewing and extensiveness of participation for the 1982 and 1992 samples. Contrary to what might be expected, rates of non-participation decline and those of extensive participation go up over the decade, regardless of hours of television watching. Thus the impact of heavy television viewing upon arts participation is not a simple one. What other factors may be involved?

Figure 6A (see Appendix Table 6A) shows the correlation of heavy viewing with education, by cohort. In every age group, those with less education watch more television: at the same time better educated seniors watch nearly as much television as their less educated peers, while the differences between less and more educated younger cohorts are more pronounced -- especially among the 1941-45 War babies (the cohort that shows the highest rates of arts participation). Regardless of educational level, the baby boom cohorts are heavy television viewers in ever increasing rates. Could this help to account for their declining attendance at live events?

Consider the evidence in Figure 6B (see Appendix Table 6B) showing rates of extensive live participation across the seven core arts activities by cohort, according to lighter or heavier television viewing. For every cohort except those born after 1966, those who watch more television participate less: heavy viewers are more frequently found among the non-participants and less frequently found among those highest in extensiveness. However, baby boomers manage both to watch television heavily and attend extensively (in three or more art forms) at about the same rates as

Figure 6A Percent Watching TV 3 or more Hours*

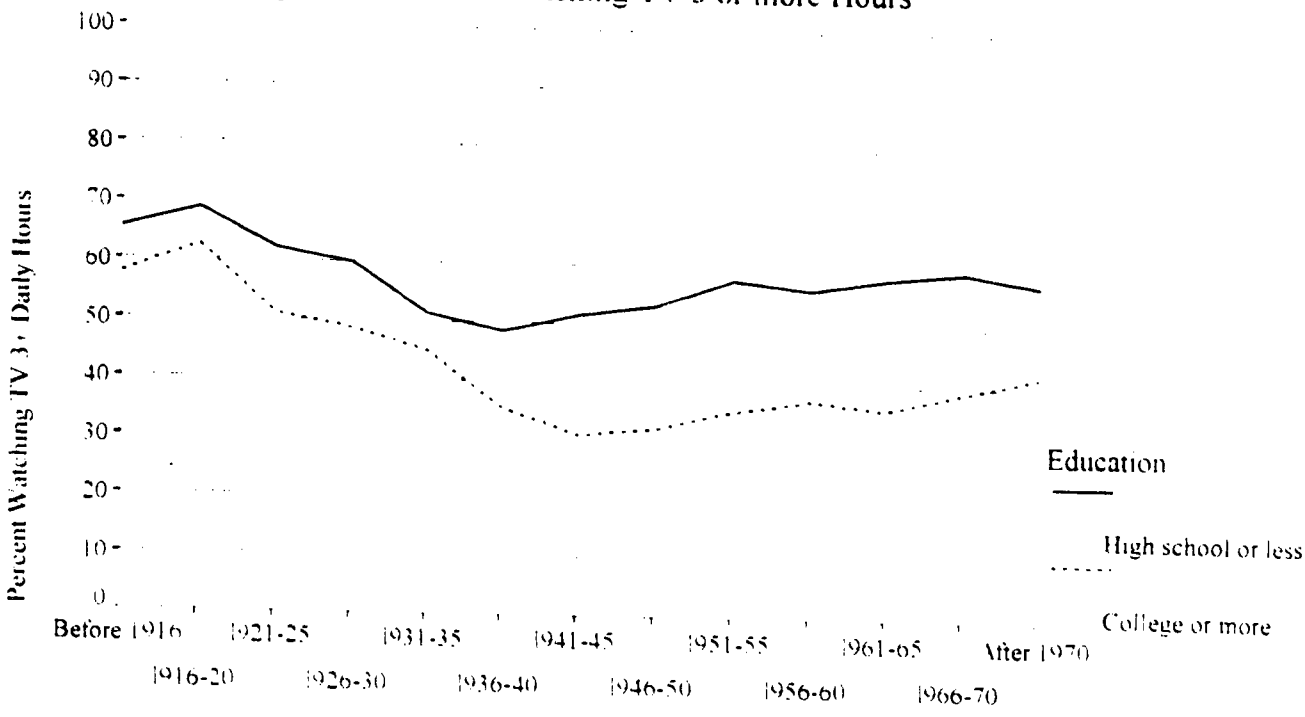
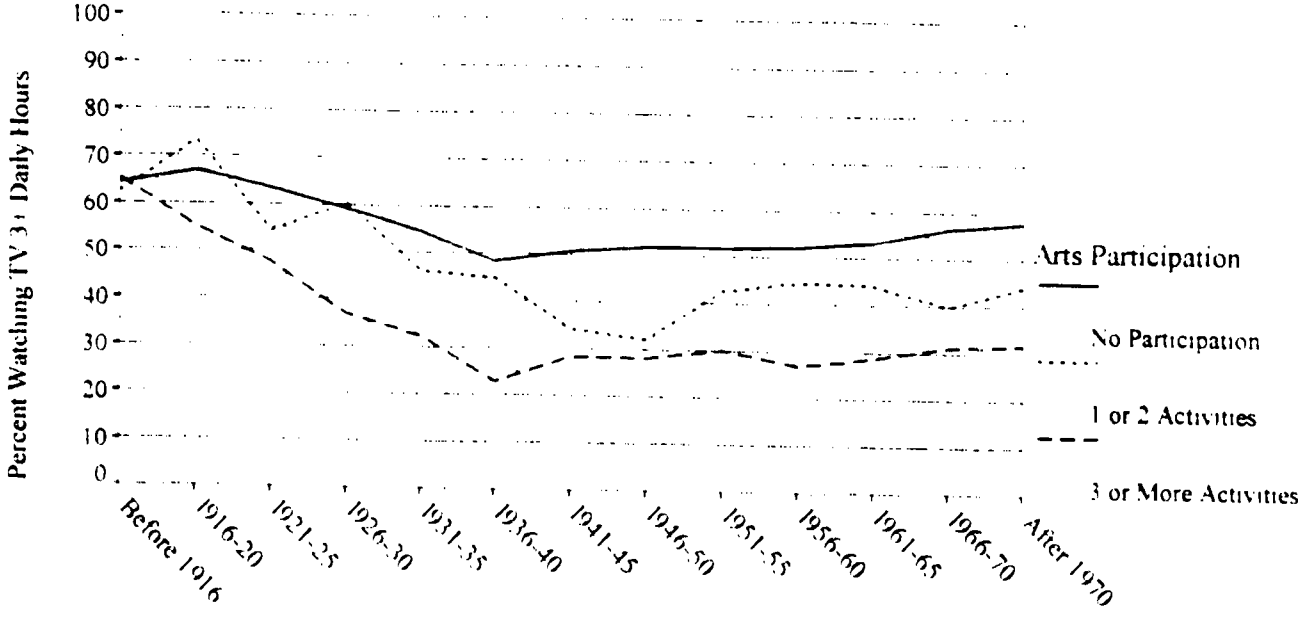


Figure 6B Percent Watching TV 3 or more Hours Daily

by Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort



Combined 1982 and 1992 Surveys

do the 1941-45 War babies. To be sure, they do not do so nearly as much as the seniors, who after all have more leisure time to fill with both television and live arts participation. Seniors who are extensive partipants rank nearly as high in heavy television viewing as do non-participants. Indeed, in every category of education and arts participation, seniors watch more television than do younger groups.

VII. THE EFFECT OF ARTS EDUCATION ON ARTS PARTICIPATION

It has frequently been asserted, with some evidence, that younger cohorts were exposed to less -- or at least less intensive -- arts education than their seniors: fewer cumulative lessons in music, visual arts, acting, dance, etc. What do the baby boomers report about their arts education in 1992?

Figures 7A and 7B show the comparative cohort proportions who had music or visual arts lessons, according to level of education. Figures 7C and 7D show the rate of attendance at classical music concerts for those who had music lessons compared to those who did not, by cohort; similarly, those who attended art museums who had had lessons in the visual arts compared to those who did not. (Appendix Tables 7A/B, C and D provide supporting data.) In every cohort and for every art form, those who had music or visual arts lessons participate at higher rates than those who did not, but as Figures 7A and 7B indicate, the previously explored patterns of higher education and its impact on arts participation are replicated here. In every age cohort, those "bound for college" are far more likely to have had visual arts and music lessons than those not so fortunate or ambitious. The rates drop slightly among the baby boomers, even among the college educated, but not to the extent that has frequently been asserted. To be sure, the duration and quality of the lessons might have been diminished, a factor not explored here. Indeed, just as more of the baby boomers had higher education, more of them had some kind of music lessons than did earlier cohorts. Yet their attendance rate declines.

These figures force us to consider as well the contrary finding: for every art form listed here and for every cohort, vastly higher rates of non-attenders than attenders also had music lessons (see Appendix Tables 7C and 7D). Even among the seniors, over 70 percent of those who did not attend classical music had taken music lessons; for the baby boomers, that figure is over 80 percent. Further, while those who did not have music lessons participate in smaller proportions across the board, what must also be explained is what brings them to participate at all without such socialization. It would seem that the presence or the absence of music lessons per se does not predict participation very well: rather, it is higher education (or its probability, within any family raising children and destining them for college) which predicts both the music lessons and, somewhat independently, later arts participation.

Consider again Figures 7C and 7D, which show the rates of music and visual arts lessons (here combining those without and with some higher education), and attendance at classical music and at art museums. The familiar patterns repeat: the War babies, born between 1941-45, are highest in participation rates regardless of whether or not there had been specific socialization into the arts, while the baby boomers, among whom larger proportions enjoyed both

Figure 7A

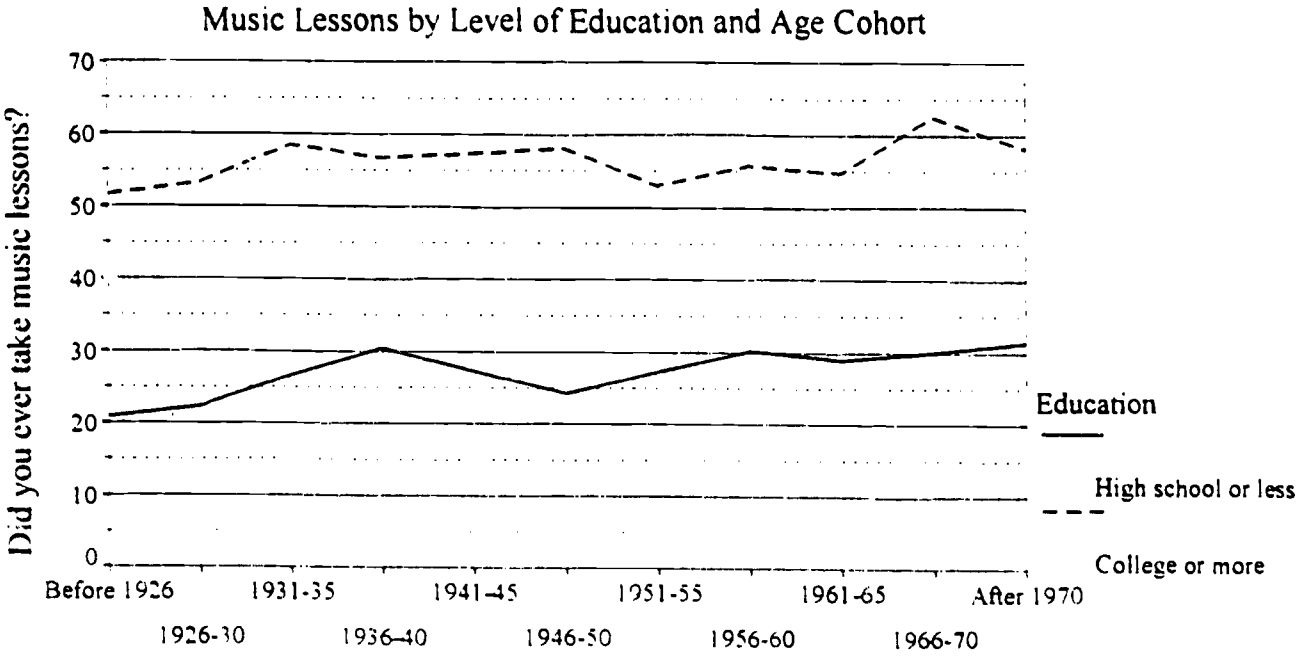


Figure 7B

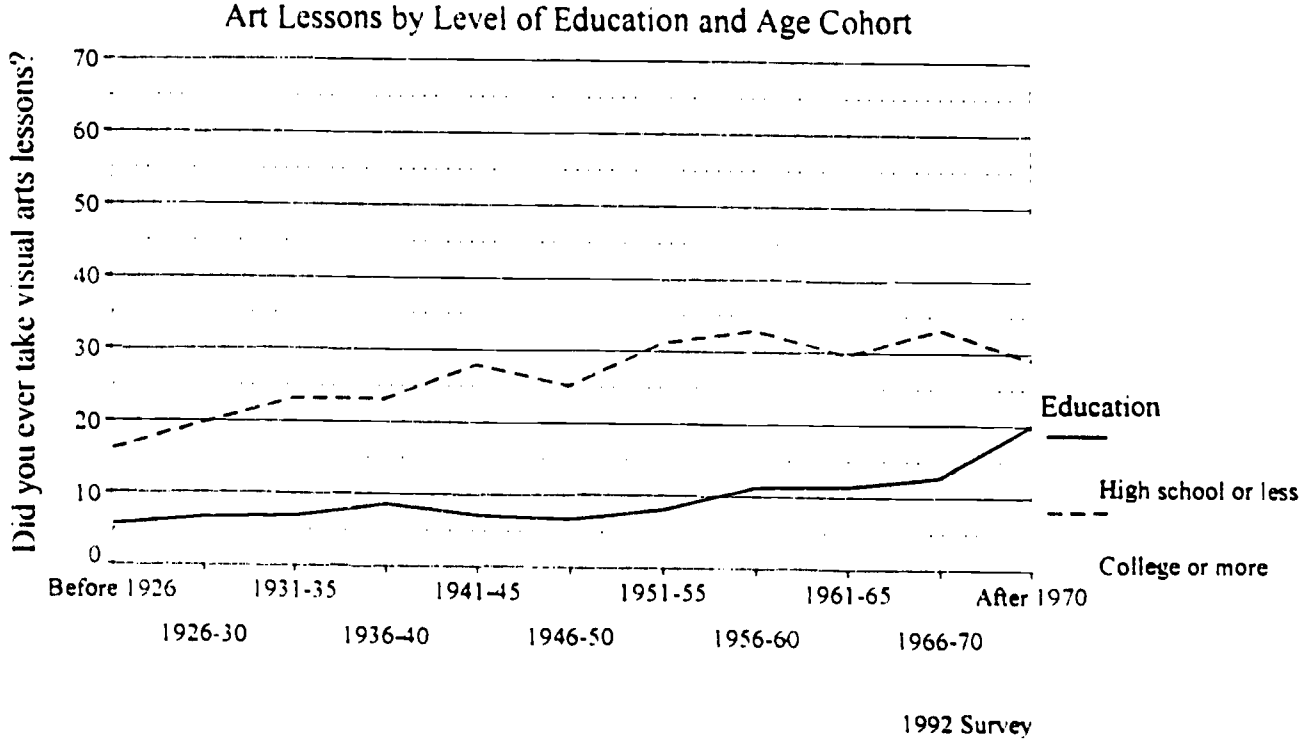


Figure 7C Attended Classical Music Concert in Past Year

by Music Lessons and Age Cohort

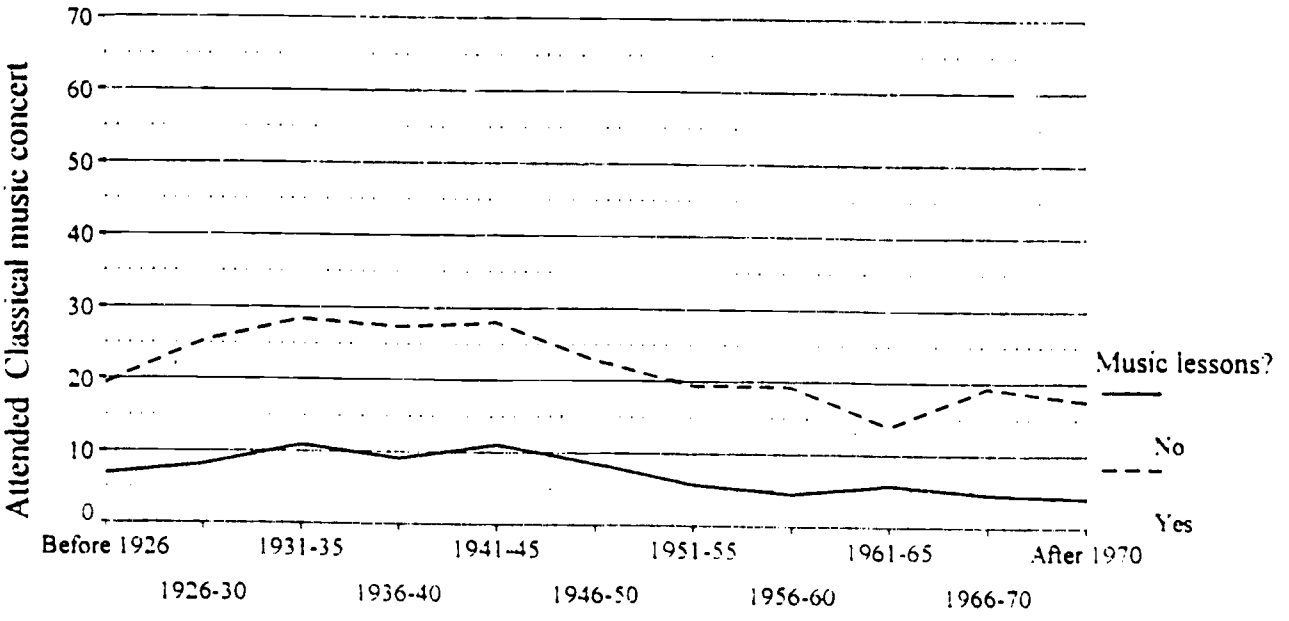
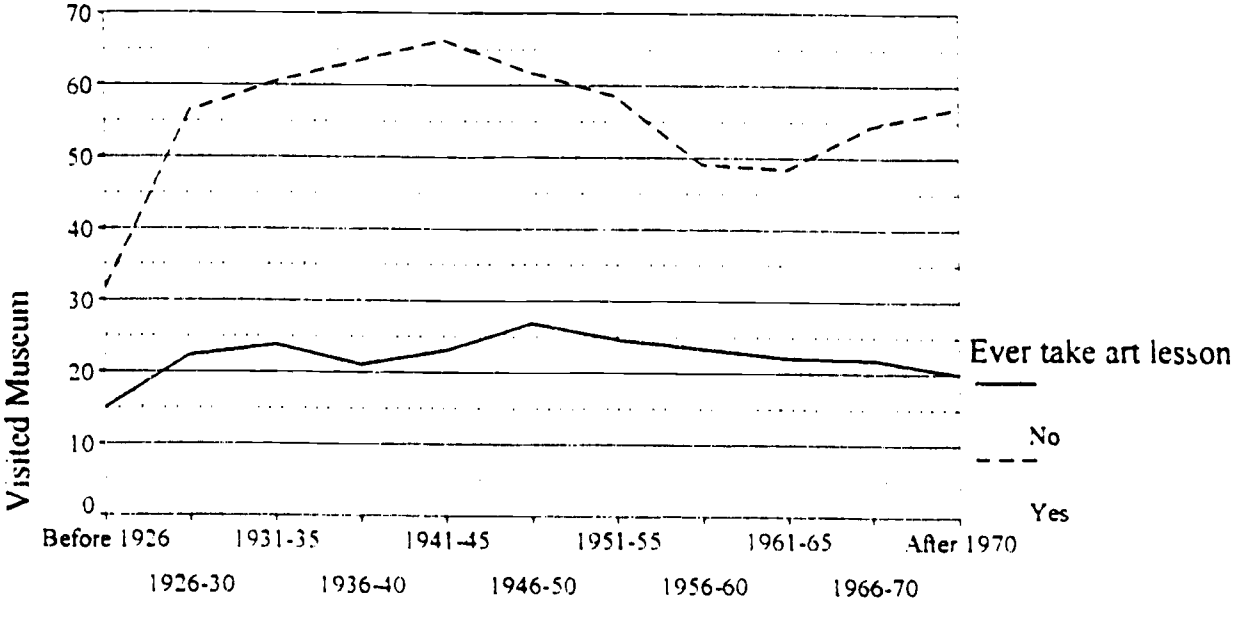


Figure 7D Visited Museum in Past Year

by Art Lessons and Age Cohort



1992 Survey

music and visual arts lessons as well as higher education (as shown in Figure 7A and 7B), do not invest this "cultural capital" to the degree their elders had done. There appears to be some "recovery" among Generation X, but many members of the youngest cohort are still in college, which may account for their higher attendance.

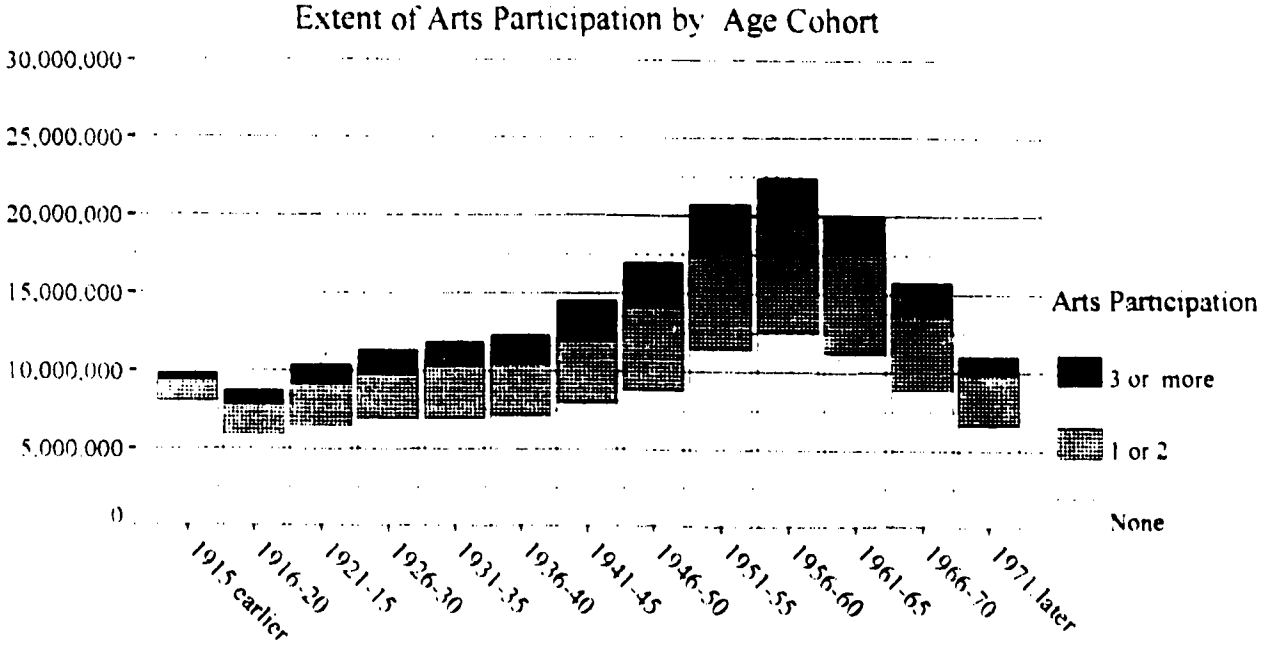
One conclusion is inevitable: arts education is important in increasing arts participation, but without information about its quantity and quality, no clear prediction can be made about later participation. At the same time, this non-predictive character liberates those who want to attract more people to the fine arts: individuals may never have learned to play an instrument or to paint, but this does not prevent them from participating once their interest is otherwise aroused.

VIII. EXTENSIVE ARTS PARTICIPATION ACROSS ART FORMS

Once interest in the arts is aroused, how extensive is it? Let us return to our measure of extensiveness. In which cohorts is extensive participation highest? Which of the seven art forms are included most frequently among those who participate less (in one or two) and among those who participate more extensively (in three or more)? Richard A. Peterson has made the distinction between "omnivore" and "univore," between those who follow the principle of "the more, the more" across several art forms and those who focus their participation on a single one.[14] (To be sure, we are here examining only the seven fine art forms, and omitting many popular art forms and their venues, such as disco clubs.)

Figure 8A shows that the rate of <u>non-participation</u> declines over the cohorts, with older baby boomers showing the <u>lowest</u> rates of non-participation, as proportionate numbers of participants indicate. At the same time, their rates of <u>extensive</u> participation also decline from the peak cohort of the War babies (see Appendix Table 8A for exact figures of rates and numbers). The baby boomers participate **more** in at least one art form, in somewhat larger proportions -- not surprising given their higher rates of college attendance -- but they participate <u>less</u> in terms of extensiveness across several art forms. Put differently, if they do take part, they are more exclusive and selective in their attendance choice.

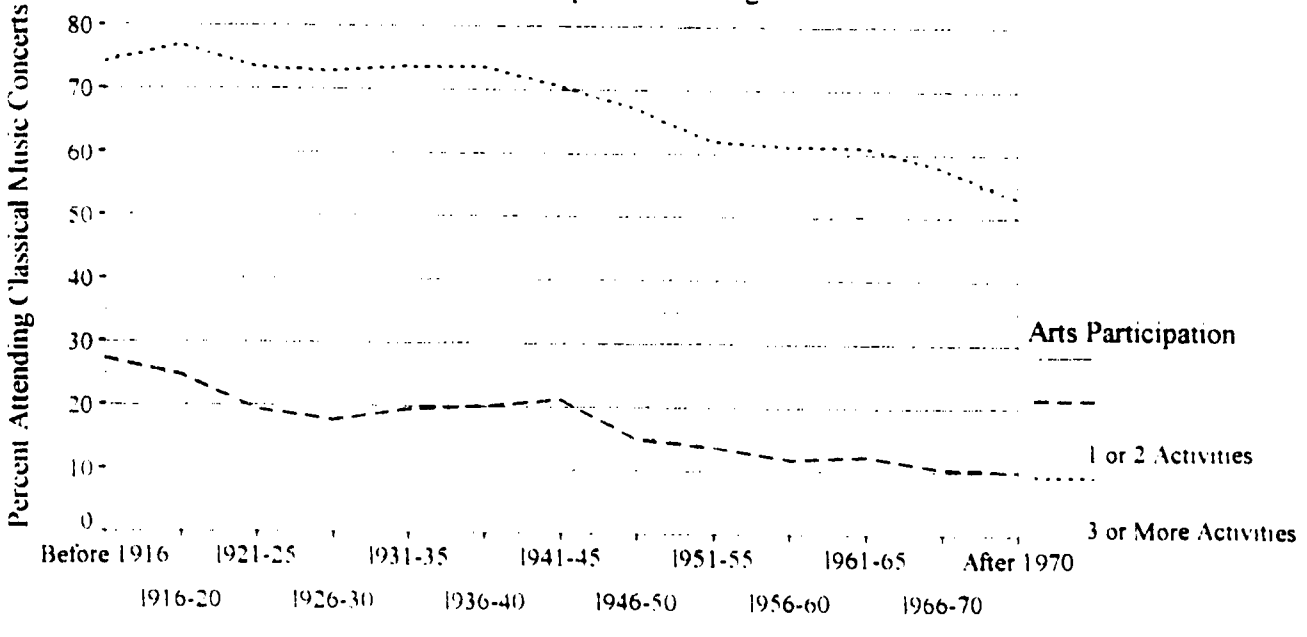
Figure 8A



As shown in Figure 8B:1-7 (and Appendix Table 8B), for the "univores" (those who participate in only one or two art forms), art museums and musicals are most likely to be included, except for the younger baby boomers, born between 1961-65, who substitute jazz for musicals. For those whose participation is more extensive, the "omnivore," art museums and musicals are also included most frequently, with classical music in third place until the 1951-55 baby boomers and later, when it is surpassed by theatre. This suggests that the decline of extensiveness among the baby boomers accounts for a considerable proportion of their declining rate of attendance at classical music -- and elsewhere. If they restrict their cultural participation, they don't choose classical music as their major pursuit, but the the more extensive their arts interests become, the more likely they are to include it. To be sure, many of those who are listed as non-participants (or as "univores") in their choice among the seven core art forms considered here may be real omnivores in their attendance and live participation in alternative art forms.

Figure 8B-1 Classical Music Concert Attendance

by Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort



Combined 1982 and 1992 Surveys

Figure 8B-2 Jazz Concert Attendance

by Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort

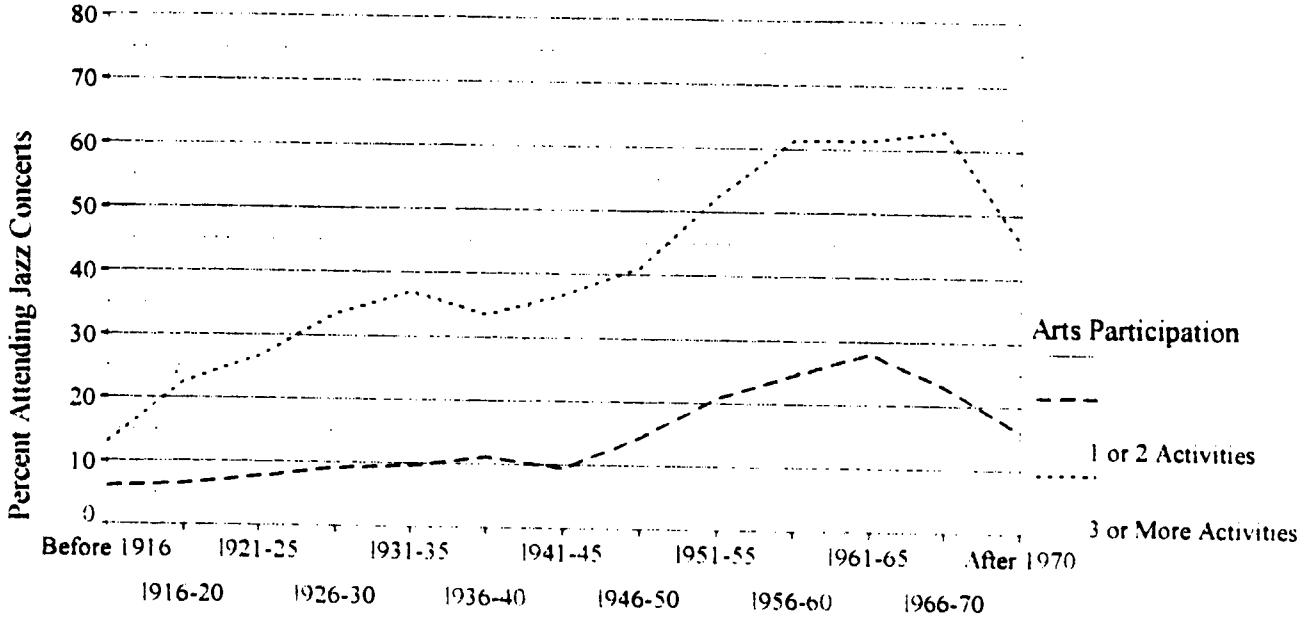
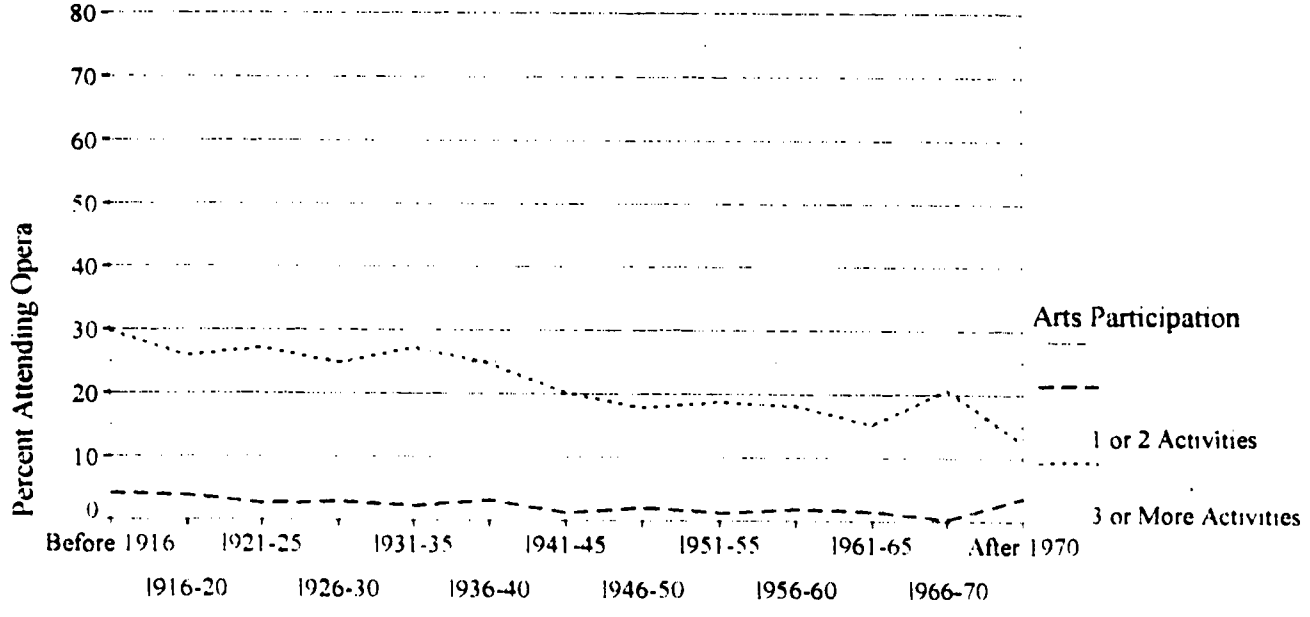


Figure 8B-3 Opera Attendance

by Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort



Combined 1982 and 1992 Surveys

Figure 8B-4Attendance at Musicals

by Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort

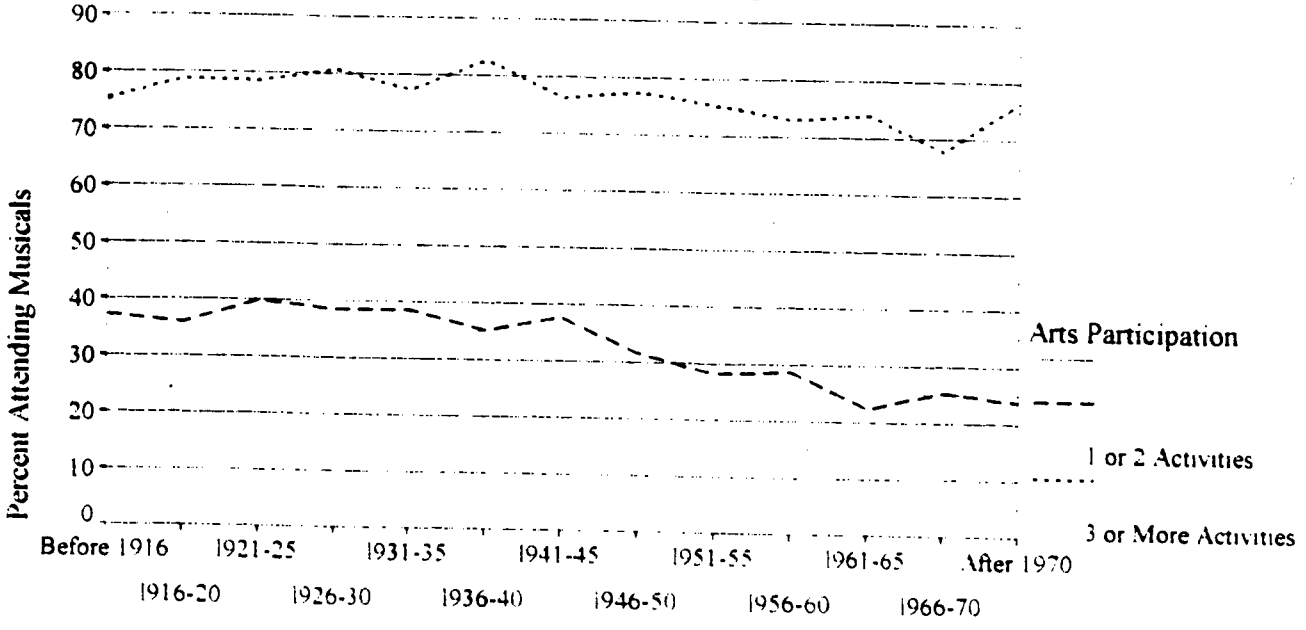
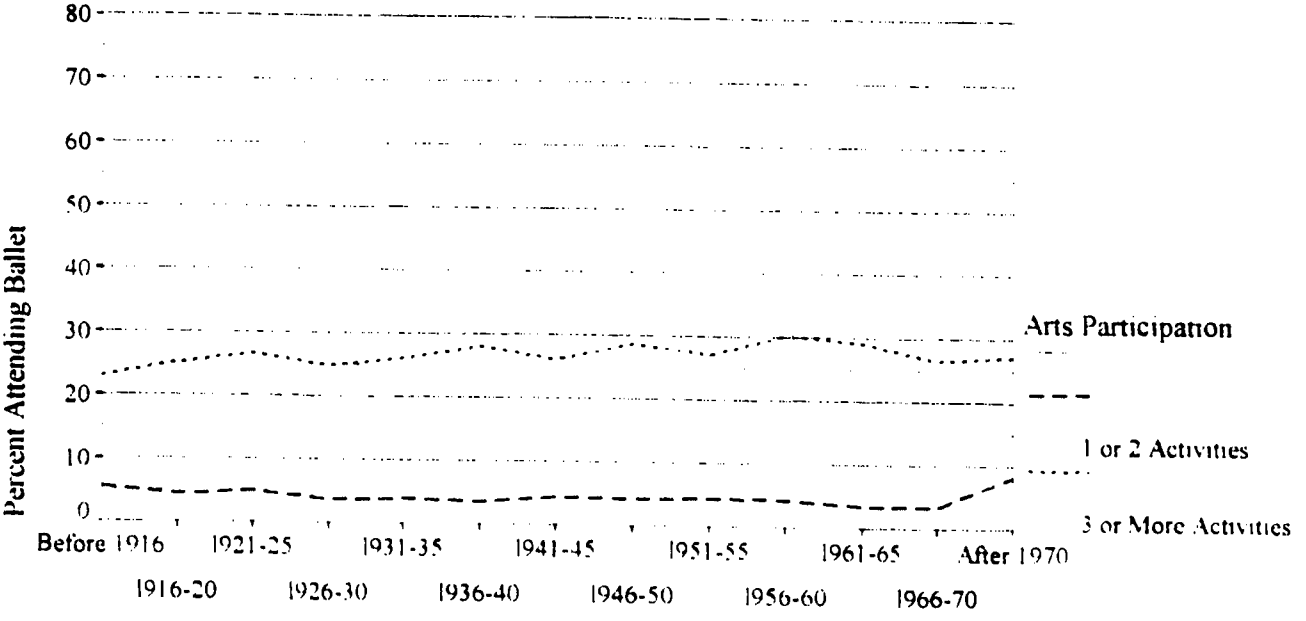


Figure 8B-5 Ballet Attendance

by Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort



Combined 1982 and 1992 Surveys

Figure 8B-6 Theatre Attendance

by Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort

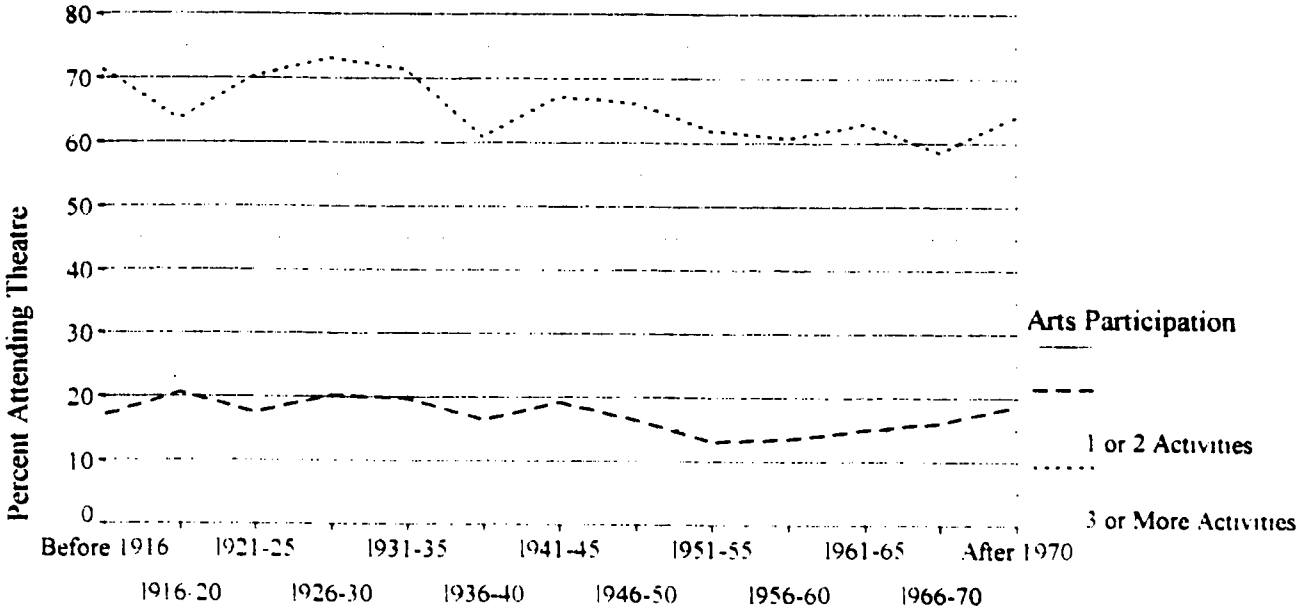
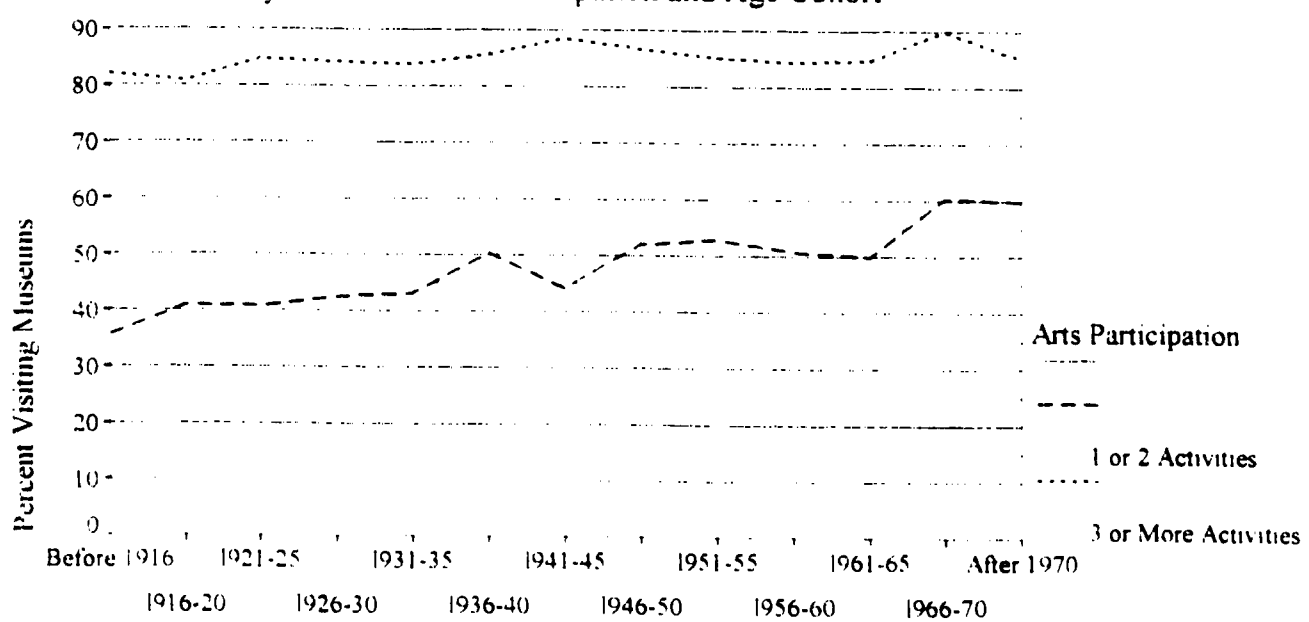


Figure 8B-7 Museum Visits

by Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort



Combined 1982 and 1992 Surveys

Among those who do participate in the seven core arts, whether they attend only one or two forms or are more extensive in their participation, there are few shifts in relative popularity across the cohorts. Baby boomer preferences are similar to those of their elders -- especially once they get involved extensively. The problem is recruitment -- to attract their participation in the first place, away from -- or in addition to -- whatever alternative arts they may pursue. Thus while these data show relatively stable patterns of comparative participation by art form, especially among those who extend their participation to three or more art forms, they do not show the pattern we have examined in other tables: the general decline in participation across the board among the baby boomers.

IX. ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF ARTS PARTICIPATION

This brings us to a final question: if the baby boomers and their successors, Generation X, tend to participate at lower rates in most of the seven core arts we have examined here, what are they doing instead? We have seen that they are not merely watching television, and other SPPA data that we have not considered here show that they are not just going to sporting events or working out -- or simply working to make an inadequate living. Without question, like their elders, many of the baby boomers are participating in the popular arts, especially in music, in ways that are not accounted for here. On that assumption, we think it is no accident that their rates of participation are highest in jazz -- the art form closest to popular music (although they dropped considerably over the decade) and in art museums, with which popular music competes least.

If the nature and location of that "other" participation could be determined with greater assurance, it would help fine arts organizations to develop strategies to "wean" the non-participants away from their present activities to those that might be considered to be more "nourishing" for mature adults. While the principle of "the more, the more" holds across all fields of leisure activity (so that those who attend live sporting events are more likely to attend live arts events -- and vice versa -- than those who attend neither), it is probably easier to attract new participants from related fields of activity. Thus those who like to listen to and attend <u>any</u> kind of live music will presumably be more attracted to another kind than those who are tone deaf and never listen to music at all, however often they may go to art museums. What is the evidence?

The 1982 SPPA included a question asking respondents whether or not they "liked to listen" to a number of different types of music. Thirteen types of music were included; the 1992 survey extended this list to 20 types. In both instances, included were classical, jazz, opera and musicals whose <u>actual</u> listening and live attendance had previously been explored in depth by the survey, and whose patterns have been analyzed here. But in neither survey were media or live participation queried for the <u>other</u> "liked" forms of music, from marching band to gospel to reggae to country and western. How can we make sensible projections of participation in such popular forms? Given the discrepancies between the two surveys, data reported here are from the more inclusive 1992 SPPA only.

We assume that those who say that they like to listen to any of these alternative forms probably "put their money where their mouths are", with live attendance, in somewhat comparable proportions to those for whom we have the data to calculate these ratios, i.e. those who say that they like to listen to classical music, jazz, opera and musicals, and who also say that they have

attended such events in the last year. On that basis -- however tentatively -- we project the liking/attendance data that we do have to the forms of music the majority of Americans say they like, and therefore presumably attend. What might we learn about the arts participation of the baby boomers -- and the other cohorts -- by this exercise?

First, let us sketch the picture of what Americans like to listen to (Table 9A, Appendix Table 9A1), before we turn to projecting their actual attendance at live events of that form of music. Twenty types of music are listed here, following 1992 SPPA. We list them in their order and rates of popularity among the War baby cohort, those now in their early fifties, who we have shown above to be the **most** active participants in the seven core arts. We also list the order and rates of liking by the younger baby boomers, those born 1961-65 and now in their early thirties, who are least active in the seven core arts. This pair of lists highlights the changes in taste in popular music and the relative position of classical, jazz, opera and musicals.

TABLE 9A
MUSIC LIKING BY THE 1941-45 and 1961-65 COHORTS

1941-45		1961-65	
1. Country & Western	61.7%	1. Rock	60.8%
2. Easy Listening	55.3	2. Country & Western	50.0
3. Gospel	45.4	3. Easy Listening	48.2
4. Big Band	43.3	4. Blues	43.7
5. Blues	41.7	5. Jazz	38.6
6. Rock	38.1	6. Gospel	31.2
6. Classical	38.1	7. Soul	29.9
8. Musicals	37.6	8. Classical	24.4
9. Blue Grass	36.1	9. Reggae	24.4
10. Folk	33.8	10. Blue Grass	23.2
11. Jazz	32.9	11. Big Band	21.9
12. Soul	24.9	12. Latin/Salsa	19.8
13. Ethnic	24.0	13. New Age	19.6
14. Latin/Salsa	22.7	14. Musicals	19.5
15. Marching Band	22.4	15. Folk	16.9
16. Choral/Glee Club	18.1	16. Ethnic	16.2
17. Reggae	17.7	17. Rap	15.9
18. Opera	17.0	18. Marching Band	7.9
19. New Age	15.6	19. Opera	6.4
20. Rap	5.7	20. Choral/Glee Club	5.9

With this comparison, we can readily chart what was perceived respectively by the two cohorts to be "our music" (what a large proportion of the cohort likes) -- as well as "their music" (what a large proportion of the other cohort likes that this cohort does not). Thus rock, jazz, soul, reggae, New Age and rap are identifiable as "younger people's music," while gospel, big band,

Figure 9A-1 Like to Listen to Country-Western music*

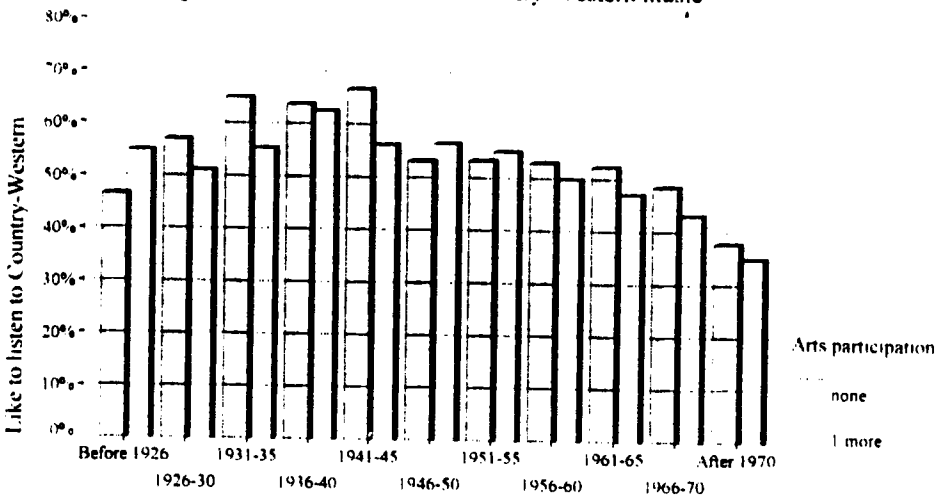


Figure 9A-2 Like to Listen to Mood/Easy Listening*

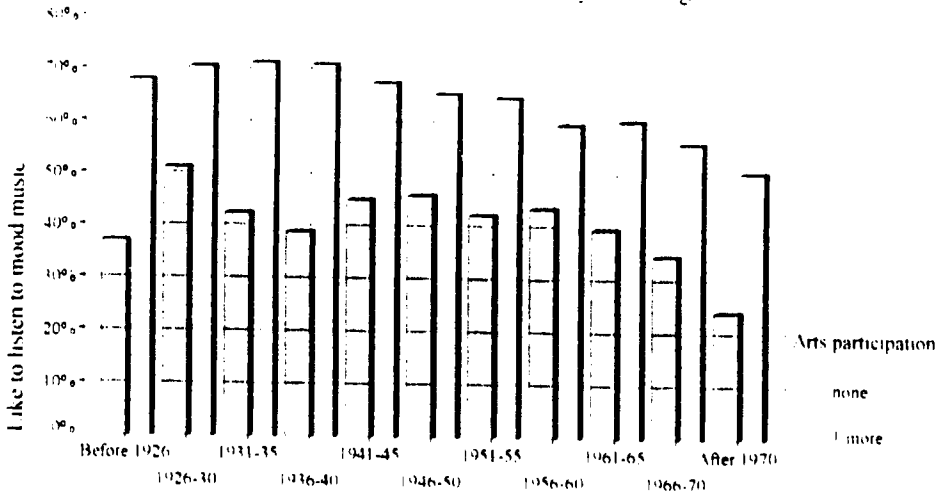
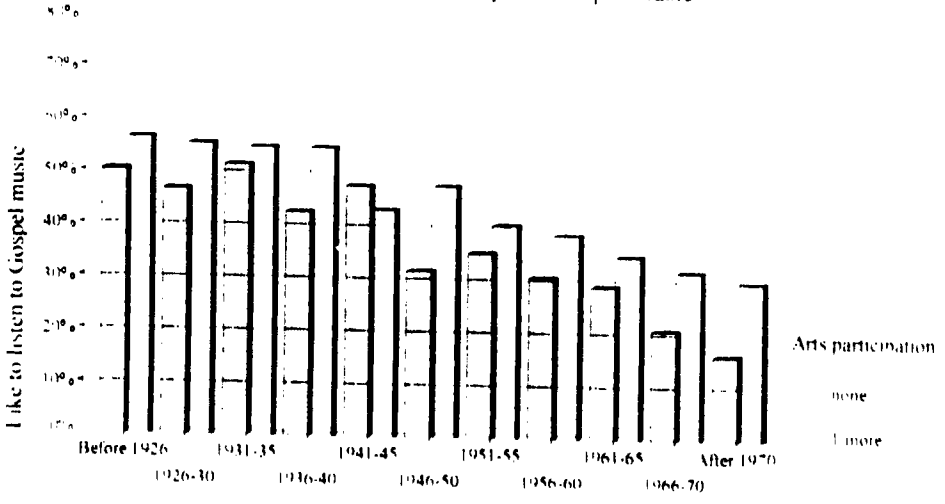


Figure 9A-3 Like to Listen to Hymns/Gospel Music*



*By Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort SPPA'92

Figure 9A-4 Like to Listen to Big Band music*

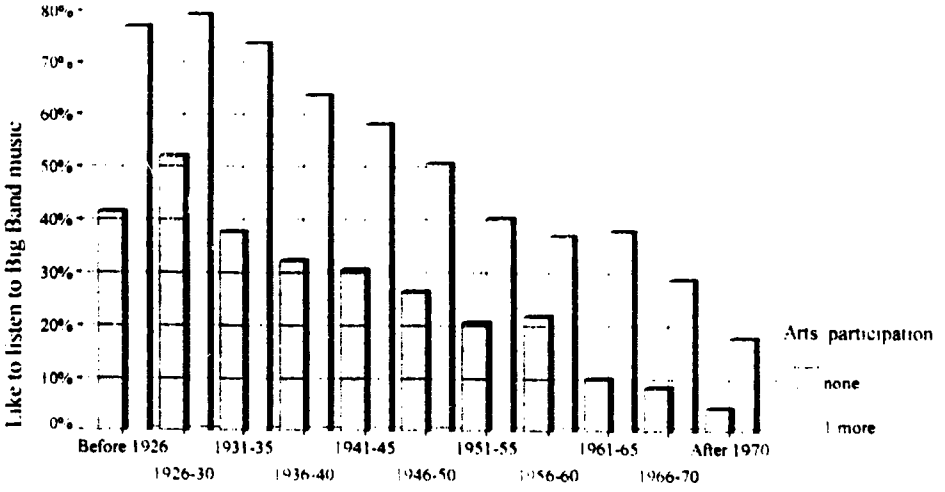


Figure 9A-5 Like to Listen to Blues Rhythm and Blues

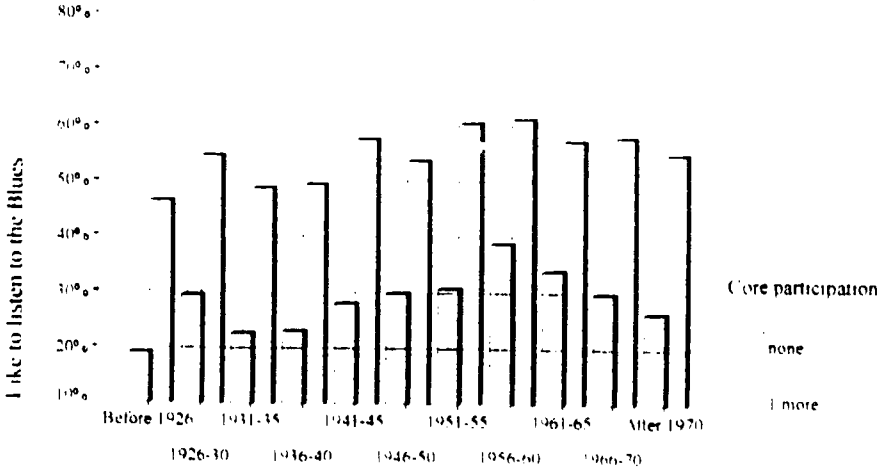
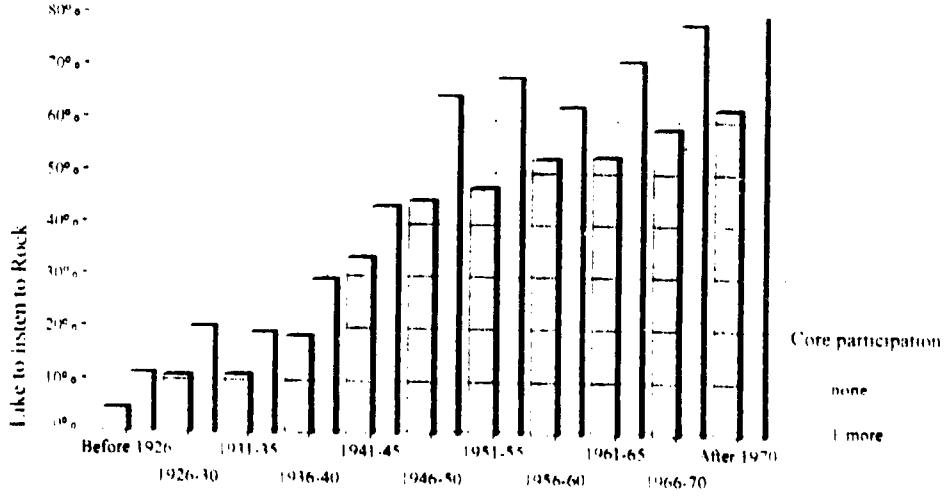


Figure 9A-6 Like to Listen to Rock*



*By Extent of Arts Participation and Cohort SPPA'92

Figure 9A-7 Like to Listen to Classical Music

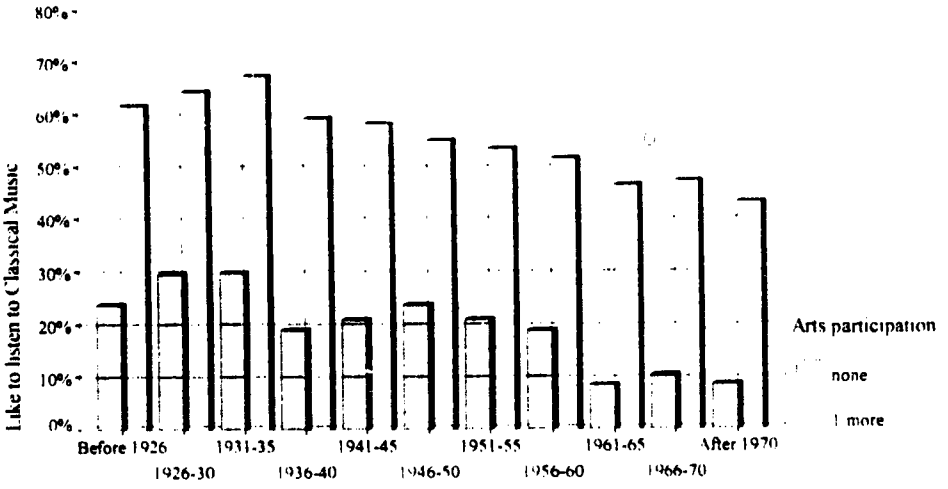


Figure 9A-8 Like to Listen to Musicals

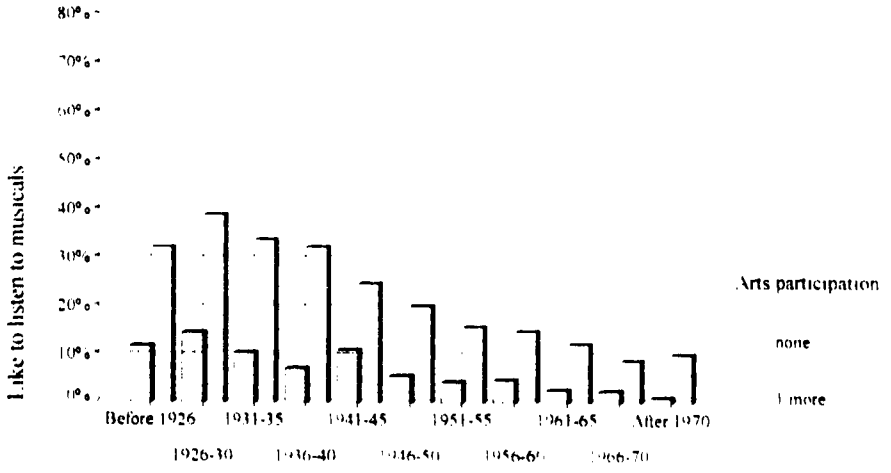
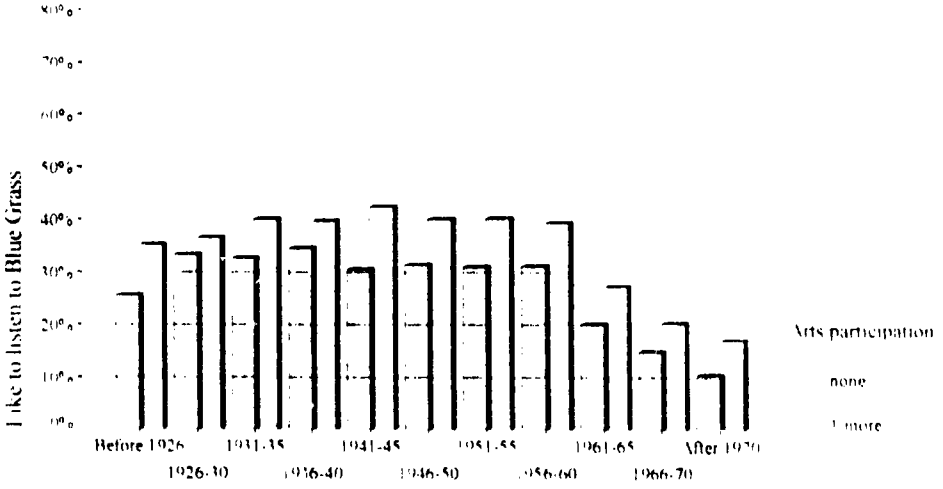


Figure 9A-9 Like to Listen to Bluegrass*



*By Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort SPPA'92

Figure 9A-10 Like to Listen to contemporary folk music

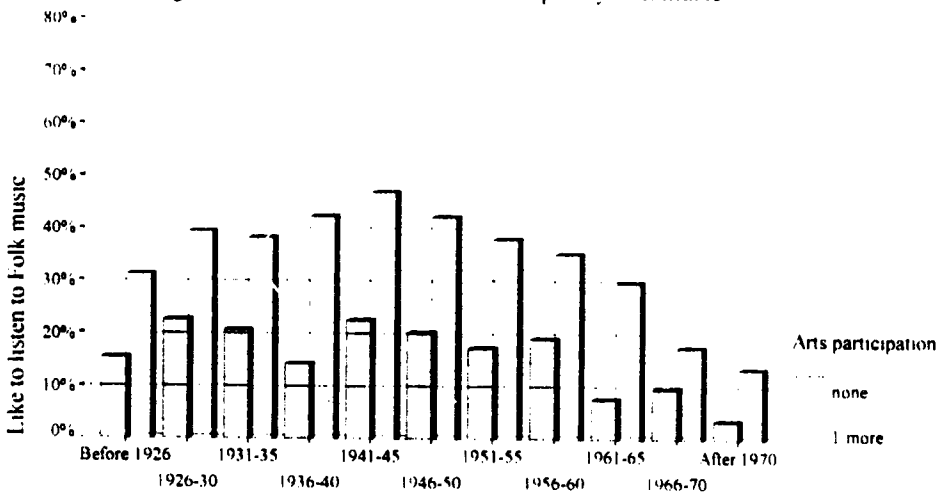


Figure 9A-11 Like to Listen to Jazz

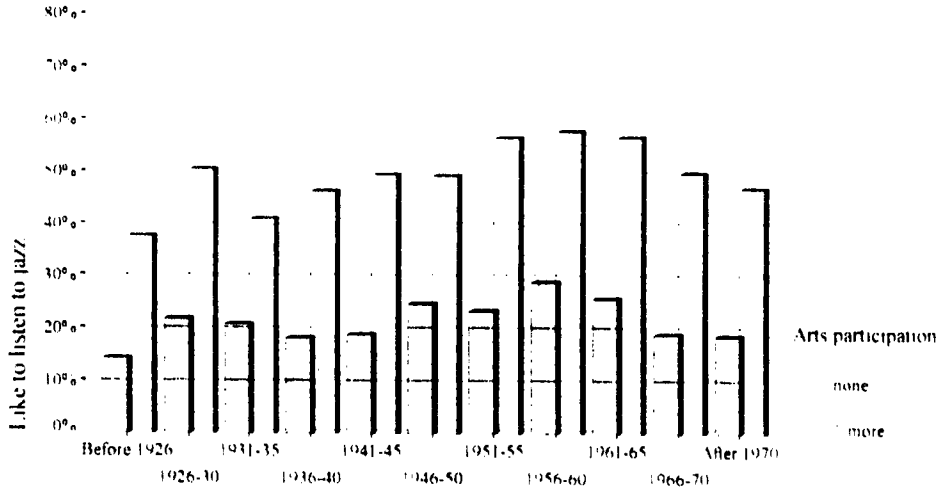
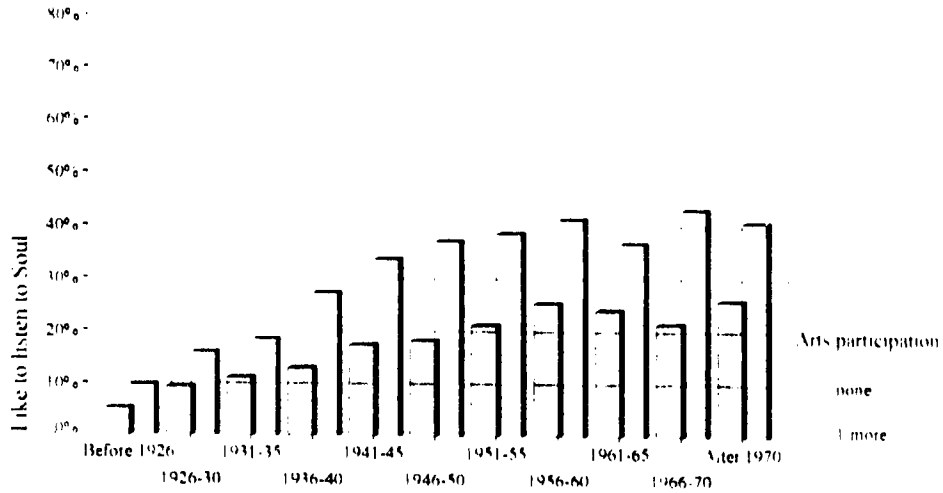


Figure 9A-12 Like to Listen to Soul Music*



*By Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort SPPA'92

Figure 9A-13 Like to Listen to Ethnic music*

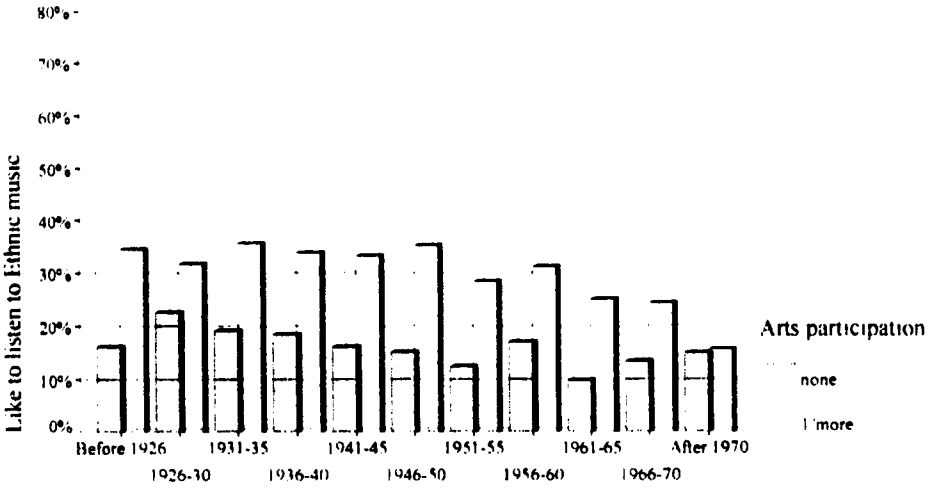


Figure 9A-14 Like to Listen to Latin/Spanish/Salsa

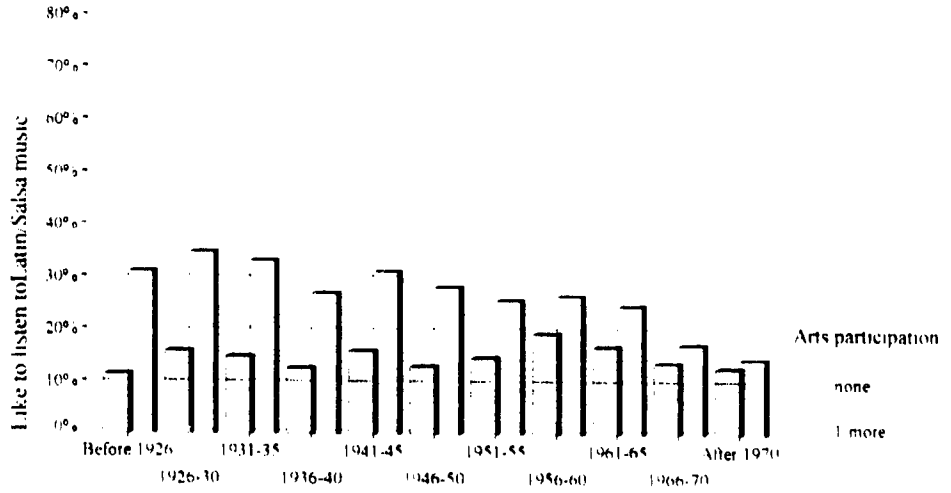
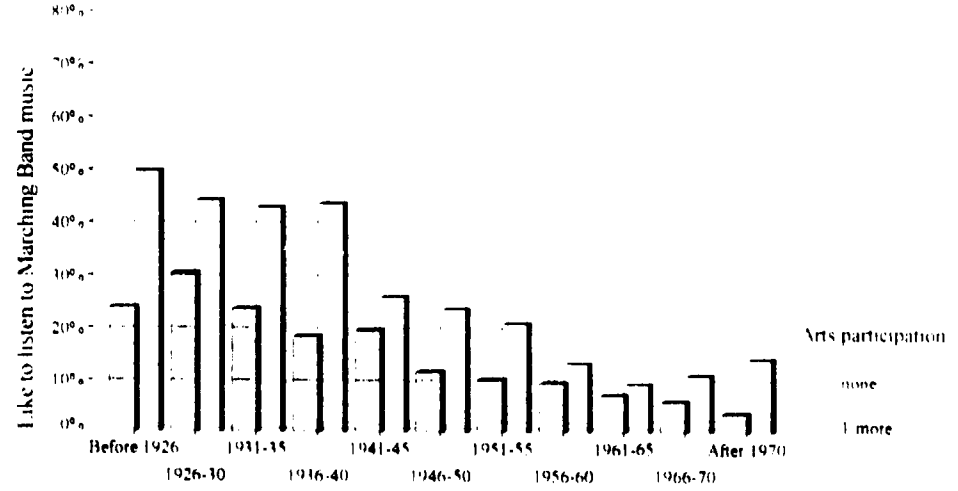


Figure 9A-15 Like to Listen to Marching Band music*



By Extent of Participation and Cohort SPPA'92

Figure 9A-16 Like to Listen to Choral/Glee Club

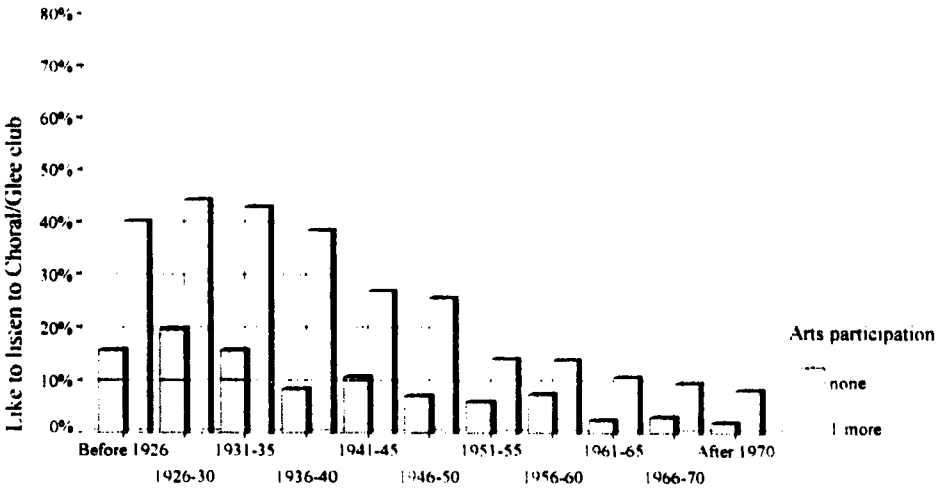


Figure 9A-17 Like to Listen to Reggae

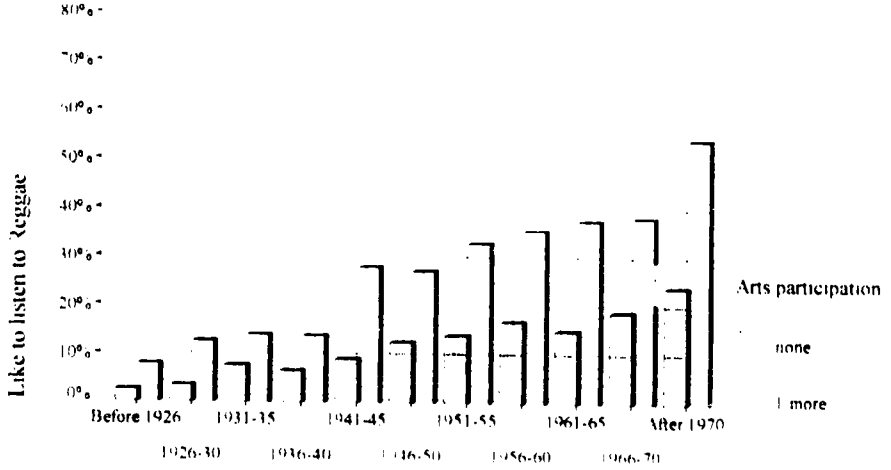
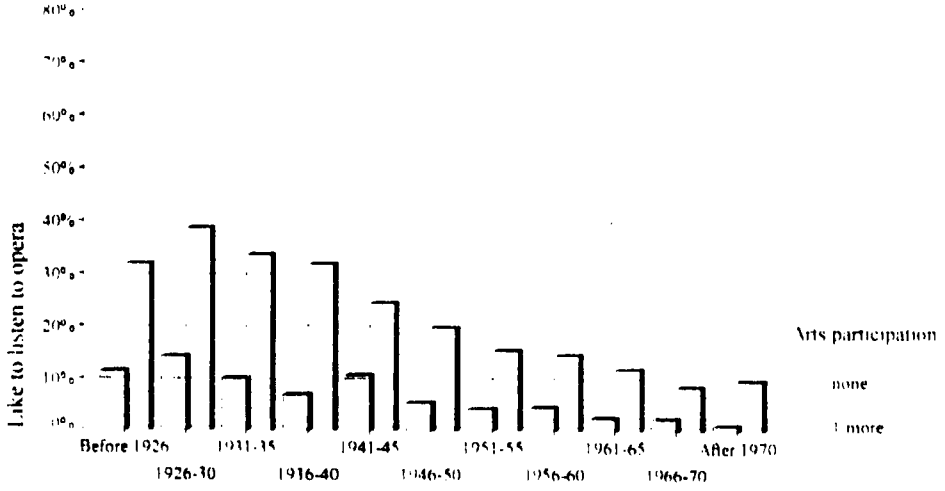


Figure 9A-18 Like to Listen to Opera*



*By Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort SPPA'92

Figure 9A-19 Like to Listen to New Age music

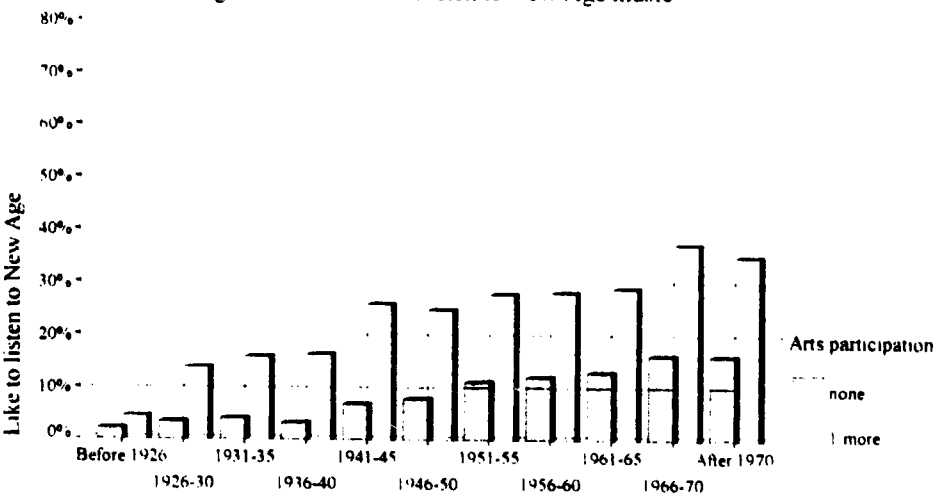
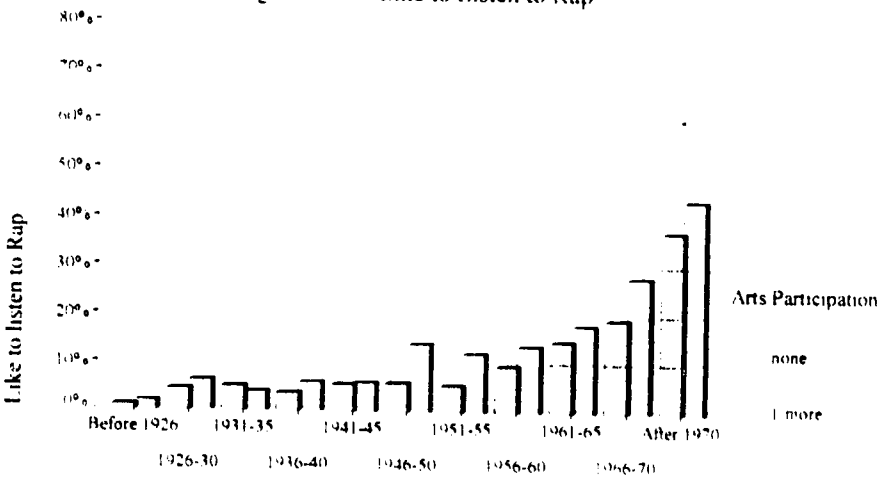


Figure 9A-20 Like to Listen to Rap



*By Extent of Arts Participation and Age Cohort SPPA'92

musicals, folk, ethnic, and choral/glee club are seen more as "older people's music." At the same time, it is instructive to note that in general, the older cohort tends to have a higher rate of liking across the twenty types of music than does the younger cohort.

Assuming that people attend in comparable proportions to what they say they like to listen to, given lower rates of liking the baby boomers are likely to attend the various types of popular music events in lower proportions than do their elders, just as they attend classical, opera and musicals in lower numbers.

Here we build on our earlier discussion of extensiveness. The principle of "the more, the more" shows up repeatedly when we look at the rates of liking among those who participate in at least one of the seven core art forms in contrast to those who do not participate in them at all. Figure 9A:1-20 presents the details. With the exception of country & western (for most cohorts, at least), in every case those who participate in one of the core arts like that type of music at higher rates than do non-participants (see Appendix Table 9A:2). Most forms of popular music are liked by more of the better educated and more affluent audiences, those already participating in at least one of the "elite" forms, than they are liked by the less educated and non-participating. This supports Peterson's "omnivore" thesis, as well as his sense that the old distinction between "snob and slob" no longer holds.[15] However, this is true across the board, not merely among the baby boomers: it suggests that programs designed for "outreach" to non-attenders must consider the tastes of older cohorts than the baby boomers, as well.

How do these rates of liking translate into numbers of those who listen, let alone actually attend? The rates of actual listening to classical, jazz, musicals and opera (or watching on television, especially the latter two) are also available from SPPA: they tend to be only a few percentage points lower than the figures reported for liking, and we assume that this pattern prevails for the sixteen alternative forms of popular music about which respondents were not asked if they actually listened or attended. With the four core types of music, we have actual attendance figures. How might these be projected?

Taking the 1941-45 and 1961-65 cohorts, as above, we consider the rates of liking and attending for classical, jazz, musicals and opera. Using the figures for cohort size presented in Figure 1A (and Appendix Table 1A), we compare the cohorts in terms of the size of the liking as well as the attending audience, in millions. (This is a very conservative projection of attendance, as it is based only on those who say they "like to listen", not on those who report actual listening or wanting to do more--people who attend in considerably greater proportions than mere "likers", yet whose total numbers are only slightly smaller than those of the likers.)

We then project the respective average ratios of their rates of liking to attendance of these four types of music, onto country & western, easy listening, gospel and rock. The ratio is .405% for the 1941-45 cohort; .462% for that of 1961-65. In other words, for the older cohort, about 40% of those who like to listen report attending; for the younger one, about 46%. As we already know that fewer in the younger cohort actually like these four core types, their higher ratio here is understandable in terms of attendance. All the more must these projections be seen as very tentative indeed.

TABLE 9B
MUSIC LIKING AND PROJECTED AUDIENCE SIZE
(% Liking and Attending, in Millions: 1941-45 & 1961-65 cohorts)

	1941-45		1961-65	
Classical	**39.0%**	5.67M	**24.8%**	4.73M
Music	18.4	2.62	9.9	1.89
Musicals	**38.5**	5.59	**19.7**	3.75
	22.2	3.23	14.5	2.76
Jazz	**33.6**	4.88	**39.2**	7.47
	10.6	1.54	12.9	2.46
Opera	**17.0**	2.47	**6.5**	1.24
	4.5	.65	2.5	.48

Ratio of Liking\Attending:
.405 .462

Projecting these ratios to four types of popular music, we find:

Country & Western	**63.1%**	9.17M	**50.7%**	9.66M
	25.6	3.72	23.4	4.46
Easy Listening	**56.6**	8.22	**48.9**	9.32
	22.9	3.33	22.6	4.31
Gospel	**46.4**	6.74	**31.6**	6.02
	18.8	2.73	14.6	2.78
Rock	**39.0**	5.66	**61.7**	11.76
	15.8	2.29	28.5	5.43

Assuming people attended these forms of popular music in comparable ratios to the liking/attending patterns found for the four core types, we have very rough estimates of audience sizes for particular genres of popular music. Note that these numerical estimates are for these respective cohorts alone: they are by no means the total audience.

Again, we note that given the much enlarged size of the younger cohort, its apparent audience for these various types of

music is often larger than that of the older cohort, even when there is a lower rate of liking. In any event, assuming that that those who like New Age, big band, salsa or reggae attend no less frequently, following the specific cohort ratio, the audiences for popular music are vast indeed, even if not counted in SPPA. This exercise could be continued for all of the thirteen other types of music whose popularity was queried in 1992 SPPA, comparing types of music and the probable sizes of their live audiences to each other as well as comparing cohorts to each other.

While baby boomer tastes in popular music are not as wide ranging as those of their elders, it is likely that they have reduced their participation in those core art forms that compete most directly with the popular arts which they also like -- given what we know of the constraints on their time and economic pressures. With increased sophistication of performances of most forms of popular music, as well as the general informality of their venues, it is no wonder that it is classical music, jazz, opera, musicals, and theatre that have suffered the largest declines among baby boomers and the younger Generation X, while ballet and art museums -- both art forms and venues having less competition from those of popular music -- have enjoyed increases instead.

X. IMPLICATIONS

For most of the seven core arts analyzed here, baby boomers participate less than their elders. Furthermore, comparing the rates of attendance in 1982 with those in 1992 (Figures 2A:1-7 and Appendix Table 2A), it appears that they are not "catching up." For some arts forms the baby boomers have increased their own attendance rate over the decade, but in general they do not match the rates of their elders at the same age. Indeed, even the younger baby boomers are not catching up with the older baby boomers. Instead, they largely continue the patterns of decline set by the older ones. Because Generation X is examined only in 1992 SPPA, we have no longitudinal comparisons, but for some art forms, they do show higher rates of attendance than did their predecessors, the youngest baby boomers, at the same age. But given the smaller size of the Generation X cohorts, even if this pattern holds as they mature it is unlikely to be a sufficient reversal to arrest the audience declines that we have observed.

To be sure, the decline in real numbers has yet to become apparent for some art forms: because of the larger numbers in the baby boom cohorts, decreased rates of attendance may still result in more actual attenders. The the total national "box office" for some art forms may, in fact, have increased over the decade. Since this surge is divided among more providers, the effect of an enlarged total audience on each art form may be slight.

More important, in a time of general economic stress and budget cuts, the arts are not necessarily protected because the size of their total audience may have increased. **The numbers of non-participants have also increased.** Let us illustrate this with classical music, taking only the better educated subset of the 1941-45 and 1961-65 cohorts, using data from Figures 1A and Figure 3A above (Appendix Tables 1A and 3A) with 1992 data only.

TABLE 10A
CLASSICAL MUSIC ATTENDANCE AND NON-ATTENDANCE: 41-45 AND 61-65
(Better educated cohort numbers in millions)

	1941-45	1961-65
Cohort size:	6.93M	10.32M
Attendance rate:	31.3%	17.6%
Audience:	2.17M	1.82M
Non-audience:	4.76M	8.50M
1941-45 rate:		31.3%
Projected audience at 1941-45 rate:		3.23M
Projected non-audience at 1941-45 rate:		7.09M

For classical music, even if the high attendance rates of the older cohort had held firm in the younger one, the numbers of non-attenders would have increased 2.33 million, more than the total attenders in the 1941-45 cohort. As it is, the increase in non-attenders nearly equals the combined audience total of both cohort segments. Multiply this example across the cohorts and one sees dimensions of the problem that are not illuminated by a comparison of rates of attenders (and their concomitant real numbers).

Most organizations presenting the seven core arts considered here are non-profit in structure.[16] Few depend primarily upon earned income to survive: rather, they receive varying degrees of "unearned" support from public agencies and foundations, as well as from private patrons. All such patrons -- individual or institutional -- are subject to pressure to use their limited funds to address the increasing social problems such as poverty, drugs, homelessness, AIDS, and a host of others. As the sheer numbers of non-participants increase -- many simply with no interest in these arts, others with real hostility toward them (as continuing battles over the survival of the NEA itself make clear) -- the political pressures to cut arts funding become increasingly difficult to resist.[17]

What is to be done? How can increased numbers of non-participants be lured into the arts audience, especially from the huge ranks of the baby boomers? The answer to this question has further implications: it is only from audiences that members, volunteers, and patrons are recruited: attendance and box office may be analogous to votes in a political campaign, but membership and patronage provide the campaign funding.[18] We make several suggestions.

First: other art forms might try to follow the model set by art museums. To be sure, it is difficult to provide the kind of open and flexible scheduling for performance events that museums provide for exhibitions, and to be as accessible to children. One technique might be a blanket admission charge, with access to several simultaneous performances -- as at amusement parks or at Chattauqua -- perhaps with reduced rates for weekend daytime events which could include didactic sessions at rehearsals, targetted at families with children who are seeking "quality time" enrichment. Special programs for young people should be scheduled, on weekend afternoons. Such programming and admission might be combined with the appeals for a United Arts Fund, especially if several arts organizations could do occasional joint programming at the same site. The popular "First Night" festivals for New Year's Eve, held in many cities across the country, provide models of short-term multi-site and multi-presenter events at lower operating costs than, say, the Spoleto festival.

Second: baby boomers might be particularly responsive to program "cross-overs" from the fields of popular music and dance,

which could be done under the auspices just noted above. Many public arts centers include both popular and "high" art forms in their programming; the televised "World Cup" joint performance of operatic tenors Pavarotti, Carreras, and Domingo, conducted by Mehta, was held at Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles and attracted a live, television, video, and recorded audience of millions around the world. It also included such "popular" favorites as Sinatra's "signature tune" "My Way", in addition to traditional "high" operatic arias. Boston "Pops" concerts have long attracted huge audiences, including many who would never dream of going to Symphony Hall to hear the same orchestra. Ease of access (both in and out); mixed programming to include rock and country and western in addition to the "nostalgia beat" of 1940's and 50's music; low costs: all are techniques useful in increasing baby boomer participation, in rates and in numbers. Finally, such programming is particularly suited to strategic marketing to non-elite potential audiences, through advertising on public transportation and media like classic rock and "easy listening" FM stations.

XI. CONCLUSION

The programming changes we have suggested might appear to some to be compromises not worth making. By addressing the tastes of the broader audience, they would doubtless deny opportunities for performances or events catering to the sophisticated tastes of the few. Indeed, they may be interpreted as cutting into the heart of the traditions of authentic art which have been the hallmark of Western culture since the Enlightenment. Whether the quintessential elements are thereby undermined is not for us to say. The great debates about the nature of popular and high culture have raged for decades, and the adversaries are not likely ever to agree. Charges of elitism on the one hand and pandering to popular tastes or outright "selling out," on the other, have been major issues in the past. It is certainly true that more music listening is occurring now than ever before; it is the nature and quality of the listening experience--and the effects of that experience--that is at the core of the problem.

One way to address this issue is to re-conceptualize the arts as cultural economists Harry Chartrand and Bruce Seaman have done.[19] In Chartrand's model (used by Seaman), four tiers of increasing complexity, expertise and status and decreasing proportionate numbers are seen as making up the arts industry, whose total workforce is 2.7% of the United States total (1989 figures) and whose total output of $314.5 billion was 6% of the GNP.

In the bottom and largest tier are the amateur, folk and ethnic arts, with the purpose of self- or community- actualization; in the second are the applied arts of design and technology, with the purpose of utility; in the third tier are the commercial and media arts with the purpose of entertainment; and finally, in the fourth and smallest tier are the "fine" arts, with the purpose of creativity or of cultural heritage. Chartrand sees the last tier as the primary resource base -- the "Research and Development" arm -- of the entire arts industry, without which it would soon lose out, both commercially and culturally, to international competition. Accordingly, he argues that more direct support should come to the fine arts from the commercial media organizations.

Individual artists and types of artistic production are not necessarily fixed in one particular sphere, and there is frequent movement from one to another. This transversal is facilitated by the fact that both top and bottom tiers are typically non-profit in organization, sharing the manifest purposes of "life-enhancement" and thus intrinsic "merit" rather than "utility", which the for-profit firms emphasize in the two middle tiers.[20] But even for the utility-oriented entertainment and design tiers of the arts industry, merit is crucial to their survival. They work partly because they are "meritorious"; the top and bottom tiers are meritorious partly because they "work". There is "magic" -- and

labor -- in all levels.

Seeing the arts as connected in this fashion helps us to raise questions which we hope future SPPA surveys will begin to explore. If the goal is to increase live attendance at the "high" arts, one needs to know about live attendance at the "popular" arts,[21] not only about consumption of the fine arts through the mass media.

The NEA is not alone in ignoring such questions. The New York Port Authority's massive study of the economic impact of the arts upon the metropolitan region[22] follows an "arts industry" model, and includes for-profit theater and film production along with non-profit museums and performing arts. Yet it totally ignores commercial outlets for popular music, such as clubs, rock festivals, or even free-lance gigs at weddings, birthdays and the like. Baby boomers make up the greatest proportion of performers in such venues, be they classically trained or not; they make up the greatest share of the audiences at such events. Arts education does not figure in the report, either: there is no listing of the economic contribution of conservatories, arts programs in universities, rehearsal studios -- again, most of which are filled with baby boomers and Generation X more than with older cohorts. Nor does the Port Authority report count movie box office or video rentals, even as they count film production -- including television commercials! The economic impact of all such presently unlisted events and organizations is enormous: if counted, it would likely double the figures already provided ($9.8 billion for the metropolitan region for 1992). It would give us a greater sense of what the majority of the population -- the baby boomers, especially -- regard as their art forms.

If one is to lure the baby boomers into attendance at the "high" arts instead of -- or in addition to -- what they presently like and attend, such a conceptualization may facilitate the development of strategies that would accomplish this end. If the fine arts are to be accessible to all the citizens of the country, thereby enriching and being enriched by the incredible variety of strands in the national culture, they must first survive in their particular localities through the cultivation of both private and public support. If the largest segment of the population -- the baby boomers -- turns away from providing both forms of support, the future for the arts is grim.

ENDNOTES

1. The NEA budget increased by ten times between 1970 and 1985; those of state and local arts agencies tripled. Corporate and foundation funding increased in like amounts, as did the number of people employed, directly or indirectly, in the arts. Among many other sources documenting the increases and discussing their implications, see: Joni Maya Cherbo, "A Department of Cultural Resources: A Perspective on the Arts", The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society 22:1 (Spring 1992): 44-63. As to employment, see: Stephen Langley & James Abruzzo, Jobs in Arts and Media Management: What They Are and How to Get One!. (New York: Drama Book Publishers, 1986.)

2. Richard A. Esterlin, Birth and Fortune 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). See also Landon Y. Jones, Great Expectations (New YOrk: Random House, 1980); and Wanda Urbanska, The Singular Generation: Young Americans in the 1980s (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986).

3. Francine Klagsbrun, Mixed Feelings: Love, Hate, Rivalry and Reconciliation among Brothers and Sisters (New York: Bantam Books, 1992).

4. Katherine S. Newman, Declining Fortunes: The Withering of the American Dream (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

5. Andrew Hacker, U/S: A Statistical Portrait of the American People (New York: Viking Books, 1983): 243.

6. Philip S. Ennis, The Seventh Stream: The Emergence of Rocknroll in American Popular Music (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press of New England, 1993).

7. See the over-800 page volume Art Museum as Educator: A Collection of Studies as Guides to Practice and Policy, edited by Barbara Y. Newsom and Adele Z. Silver (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978).

8. Baby boomers may be going to commercial galleries showing the latest contemporary art more than they go to museums, just as they may go to commercial music venues rather than to non-profit presenters of classical music. However, given the wording of the question on the SPPA surveys, there is no way to determine if this is the case. The art/history/ ethnographic museum issue is discussed by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, editors: Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

9. A study of tourism in the New York metropolitan area demonstrated that over 40% of international tourists attended art museums and galleries during their stay, while barely 30% attended any of the performing arts. Comparable proportions for "native" tourists can be traced from other evidence presented about regional tourism to the city. The Metropolitan Museum is the biggest tourist attraction in New York City--not Lincoln Center, Carnegie Hall, or Broadway. Tourism and the Arts in the New York/New Jersey Region, Part II (New York: Port Authority of New York, Alliance for the Arts, New York City Partnership, and the New Jersey Partnership, 1994): 36.

10. According to NEA data, in the 1970s the number of professional artists, as derived from Census occupational data, increased over 47%. In the 1980s, it increased by another 54%. Numerically, the total of artists rose from 736,960 in 1970, to 1,085,693 in 1980, to 1,617,278 in 1990, by which year they comprised 1.37% of the total civilian labor force. NEA Research Division Note #40 (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 1993). These figures do not include the managerial and other personnel employed by arts organizations, as discussed by Langley & Abruzzo, 1986.

11. Hacker, 1983.

12. Newman, 1993.

13. Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984 [1979]). His perspective has been applied to American arts audiences by Paul DiMaggio and Michael Useem: "Social Class and Art Consumption", Theory and Society 5 (1978): 141-161. For a different version of the relation of social class and artistic taste, see Herbert Gans: "American Popular Culture and High Culture in a Changing Class Structure", Art Ideology & Politics, Judith H. Balfe & Margaret J. Wyszomirski, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1985): 40-58.

14. Richard A. Peterson, "Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore". Poetics 21 (1992): 243-258.

15. Peterson, 1992.

16. There are good reasons for this, as demonstrated by Paul DiMaggio, ed.: Nonprofit Enterprise in the Arts: Studies in Mission and Constraint (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). See also James Heilbrun and Charles M. Gray, The Economics of Art and Culture: An American Perspective (New York: Cambridge University Press 1993).

17. Judith H. Balfe, "The Baby-boom Generation: Lost Patrons, Lost Audience?" in The Cost of Culture: Patterns and Prospects of Private Art Patronage, Margaret Jane Wyszomirski and Pat Clubb, eds. (New York: American Council for the Arts, 1989): 9-26. Note the continued efforts of Republican presidents and conservatives in Congress to abolish the National Endowment for the Arts, from 1980 onward. See Joseph Wesley Zeigler, Arts In Crisis: The National Endowment for the Arts versus America (New York: a cappella books, 1994).

18. Judith Huggins Balfe, 1989. See also Margaret J. Wyszomirski: "Philanthropy, the Arts, and Public Policy", The Journal of Arts Management and Law 16:1 (Winter 1987): 5-30.

19. Harry Hillman Chartrand, "The American Arts Industry: Size and Significance" (Washington DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 1992); Bruce A. Seaman, "The Economic Contributions of the Arts" (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 1992).

20. Judith Huggins Balfe, "Sociology of the Arts in Comparative Perspective", Newsletter of the Sociology of Culture Section (Washington, DC: American Sociological Association, 1994): 1-5.

21. Rolf Meyersohn, "Culture in the Bronx: Minority Participation in the Arts", in The Future of the Arts: Public Policy and Arts Research, David B. Pankratz and Valerie Morris, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1990): 141-149.

22. Tourism and the Arts in the New York-New Jersey Region, (New York: Port Authority of New York, Alliance for the Arts, NYC Partnership, Partnership for NJ, Part I: 1993; Part II:1994).

Table 2A Arts Participation by Age Cohort and Survey Year

Age Cohort	SPPA	TOTAL N=	Classical	Jazz	Opera	Musicals	Ballet	Theatre	Museum
			Percent Participating in Core Activity						
Before 1916	'82	21,772,920	9.7%	1.8%	2.8%	11.5%	2.4%	7.8%	11.7%
	'92	9,817,724	6.8%	1.6%	1.8%	7.9%	2.1%	5.2%	8.3%
1916-20	'82	9,625,404	11.4%	3.5%	2.8%	16.5%	3.3%	10.6%	16.0%
	'92	8,694,448	14.9%	3.7%	4.2%	13.4%	3.5%	10.6%	17.8%
1921-25	'82	12,403,668	13.3%	4.9%	4.2%	20.0%	4.1%	11.3%	19.9%
	'92	10,357,480	13.9%	5.2%	3.2%	17.7%	4.8%	14.9%	20.4%
1926-30	'82	12,393,816	13.7%	5.3%	3.7%	19.6%	4.0%	13.9%	20.3%
	'92	11,305,700	13.4%	8.4%	4.1%	20.1%	4.1%	15.0%	22.8%
1931-35	'82	12,216,480	15.5%	7.8%	4.2%	22.6%	3.9%	14.6%	21.4%
	'92	11,845,456	14.9%	7.5%	4.4%	18.5%	5.7%	15.6%	25.7%
1936-40	'82	12,433,224	16.5%	7.7%	4.6%	20.9%	5.0%	12.7%	25.5%
	'92	12,283,096	15.4%	8.2%	4.3%	22.1%	5.2%	14.3%	26.7%
1941-45	'82	14,600,664	17.4%	7.6%	3.2%	24.4%	6.2%	15.8%	26.9%
	'92	14,529,648	18.4%	10.6%	4.5%	22.2%	4.6%	18.0%	28.1%
1946-50	'82	18,580,872	14.8%	10.3%	3.0%	21.6%	6.0%	15.1%	28.4%
	'92	16,965,844	15.6%	11.7%	4.2%	22.1%	5.3%	16.1%	31.3%
1951-55	'82	19,112,880	12.7%	13.7%	2.8%	19.6%	4.8%	10.9%	25.5%
	'92	20,700,372	12.5%	13.1%	3.0%	18.0%	5.1%	14.3%	31.0%
1955-59	'82	21,171,948	11.9%	17.2%	2.4%	17.9%	4.5%	11.5%	25.1%
	'92	150,932	10.9%	13.1%	3.6%	18.9%	6.1%	12.7%	28.8%
1961-65	'82	15,536,604	11.1%	18.0%	1.8%	15.7%	3.7%	10.9%	21.6%
	'92	19,956,384	9.9%	12.9%	2.5%	14.5%	4.8%	12.4%	29.2%
1966-70	'92	15,740,452	10.7%	15.1%	2.8%	16.5%	4.4%	12.5%	30.0%
After 1970	'92	11,028,528	8.6%	9.5%	2.4%	15.1%	5.3%	12.3%	26.5%

Appendix Table 3A Arts Participation by Age Cohort and Educational Level

Age Cohort	Educational Level	Classical	Jazz	Opera	Musicals	Ballet	Theatre	Museum
		Percent Visiting or Attending						
1915 or earlier	H.S./less	5.3%	1.1%	1.6%	6.9%	1.6%	4.2%	6.3%
	College/more	23.0%	4.2%	6.1%	24.0%	4.9%	18.0%	28.0%
1916-20	H.S./less	6.7%	1.5%	1.8%	10.0%	1.2%	6.3%	9.6%
	College/more	33.0%	10.0%	8.7%	31.0%	11.0%	24.0%	40.0%
1921-25	H.S./less	7.0%	3.1%	1.9%	13.0%	2.7%	8.3%	12.0%
	College/more	30.0%	10.0%	8.6%	33.0%	8.7%	25.0%	41.0%
1926-30	H.S./less	7.4%	4.0%	1.8%	13.0%	2.1%	8.6%	13.0%
	College/more	28.0%	13.0%	8.8%	34.0%	8.4%	28.0%	40.0%
1931-35	H.S./less	6.5%	4.1%	1.5%	12.0%	1.9%	7.4%	12.0%
	College/more	31.0%	14.0%	9.4%	36.0%	9.8%	29.0%	43.0%
1936-40	H.S./less	6.0%	3.8%	1.6%	11.0%	2.3%	5.4%	14.0%
	College/more	32.0%	15.0%	9.0%	38.0%	9.7%	26.0%	45.0%
1941-45	H.S./less	6.6%	3.3%	1.5%	12.0%	1.5%	7.6%	12.0%
	College/more	31.0%	16.0%	6.7%	37.0%	10.0%	28.0%	46.0%
1946-50	H.S./less	6.0%	4.8%	1.2%	10.0%	2.2%	6.6%	13.0%
	College/more	24.0%	17.0%	5.7%	32.0%	8.9%	24.0%	45.0%
1951-55	H.S./less	4.7%	6.2%	0.8%	8.6%	2.2%	4.1%	13.0%
	College/more	20.0%	20.0%	4.8%	28.0%	7.5%	20.0%	42.0%
1956-60	H.S./less	4.3%	8.0%	0.9%	8.6%	1.9%	4.2%	13.0%
	College/more	18.0%	22.0%	5.1%	28.0%	8.7%	20.0%	41.0%
1961-65	H.S./less	4.5%	8.7%	1.0%	7.4%	1.3%	4.8%	13.0%
	College/more	18.0%	23.0%	3.5%	24.0%	7.9%	20.0%	41.0%
1966-70	H.S./less	2.2%	6.1%	1.0%	8.1%	1.8%	3.7%	13.0%
	College/more	18.0%	23.0%	4.3%	24.0%	6.6%	20.0%	44.0%
1971 or later	H.S./less	3.4%	6.2%	2.1%	10.0%	2.3%	6.2%	18.0%
	College/more	16.0%	14.0%	2.8%	22.0%	9.4%	21.0%	38.0%

Appendix Table 4B Arts Participation by Age Cohort and Annual Family Income

		Classical	Jazz	Opera	Musicals	Ballet	Theatre	Museum
		Percent Participating in Core Activity						
Before 1916	Under $30,000	6.0%	1.0%	1.0%	6.6%	1.8%	3.5%	5.6%
	$30,000+	8.7%	5.4%	6.5%	15.2%	3.3%	13.0%	21.7%
1916-20	Under $30,000	11.3%	2.4%	3.5%	11.8%	2.1%	8.3%	12.5%
	$30,000+	28.7%	7.4%	7.4%	18.9%	9.0%	19.7%	36.1%
1921-25	Under $30,000	10.1%	5.1%	2.1%	14.0%	4.3%	13.1%	14.8%
	$30,000+	25.7%	6.6%	5.9%	27.6%	7.2%	19.1%	37.5%
1926-30	Under $30,000	8.4%	5.3%	1.9%	14.0%	1.6%	10.2%	14.9%
	$30,000+	19.6%	13.6%	7.5%	29.1%	6.8%	20.8%	36.2%
1931-35	Under $30,000	7.8%	4.5%	2.8%	11.2%	2.5%	8.7%	16.8%
	$30,000+	22.5%	11.5%	7.0%	27.3%	9.4%	22.7%	34.2%
1936-40	Under $30,000	5.6%	2.6%	0.7%	10.8%	1.6%	5.9%	12.8%
	$30,000+	23.1%	11.9%	6.6%	30.3%	7.3%	19.1%	36.7%
1941-45	Under $30,000	8.0%	6.0%	0.9%	9.2%	0.9%	6.9%	14.6%
	$30,000+	24.1%	13.0%	7.1%	29.7%	6.9%	24.5%	34.2%
1946-50	Under $30,000	9.9%	6.7%	2.4%	11.2%	3.5%	8.5%	19.5%
	$30,000+	19.0%	14.4%	4.9%	27.7%	6.1%	20.0%	38.1%
1951-55	Under $30,000	10.2%	9.6%	2.0%	10.0%	2.7%	9.0%	19.0%
	$30,000+	14.3%	15.5%	3.7%	22.9%	6.9%	17.9%	39.0%
1955-59	Under $30,000	6.0%	11.0%	1.0%	11.7%	4.0%	7.8%	21.0%
	$30,000+	15.2%	14.7%	5.6%	24.9%	8.1%	16.3%	35.5%
1961-65	Under $30,000	6.5%	9.9%	1.5%	8.9%	3.0%	9.6%	21.2%
	$30,000+	13.5%	16.0%	3.2%	20.8%	6.8%	15.3%	37.8%
1966-70	Under $30,000	10.1%	12.7%	3.0%	13.6%	3.0%	12.0%	25.8%
	$30,000+	12.5%	20.3%	2.5%	21.2%	6.4%	13.6%	39.0%
After 1970	Under $30,000	6.7%	7.8%	1.9%	12.8%	4.3%	11.6%	25.2%
	$30,000+	12.1%	12.8%	3.9%	18.7%	7.0%	15.2%	28.8%

Appendix Table 5B Arts Participation by Age Cohort and Number of Children

Age Cohort	Number of Children	Classical	Jazz	Opera	Musicals	Ballet	Theatre	Museum
		Percent Visiting or Attending						
1915 or earlier	None	8.9%	1.7%	2.4%	10.0%	2.2%	6.8%	11.0%
	One							
	Two							
1916-20	None	13.0%	3.6%	3.3%	15.0%	3.4%	11.0%	16.0%
	One				33.0%			33.0%
	Two	33.0%						
1921-25	None	14.0%	4.9%	3.8%	19.0%	4.3%	13.0%	20.0%
	One	9.0%	7.3%	3.6%	15.0%	5.4%	5.4%	24.0%
	Two					17.0%	17.0%	
1926-30	None	13.0%	6.6%	3.8%	20.0%	4.0%	14.0%	21.0%
	One	7.5%	7.5%	1.7%	12.0%	1.7%	6.7%	22.0%
	Two				6.5%			6.5%
1931-35	None	15.0%	7.8%	4.0%	21.0%	4.9%	15.0%	23.0%
	One	15.0%	4.9%	6.3%	16.0%	1.4%	15.0%	18.0%
	Two	6.2%	6.2%		4.1%	4.1%	4.1%	12.0%
1936-40	None	16.0%	8.1%	4.6%	21.0%	4.7%	13.0%	25.0%
	One	14.0%	7.3%	2.9%	22.0%	4.6%	12.0%	28.0%
	Two	12.0%	3.7%	2.8%	12.0%	7.5%	12.0%	20.0%
1941-45	None	18.0%	11.0%	4.1%	22.0%	4.6%	17.0%	27.0%
	One	18.0%	6.1%	3.2%	25.0%	7.9%	18.0%	26.0%
	Two	17.0%	6.1%	3.5%	24.0%	5.7%	16.0%	26.0%
1946-50	None	16.0%	13.0%	4.0%	23.0%	6.1%	18.0%	31.0%
	One	11.0%	7.9%	2.7%	19.0%	4.2%	12.0%	26.0%
	Two	16.0%	8.7%	2.9%	21.0%	6.3%	14.0%	29.0%
1951-55	None	16.0%	18.0%	3.8%	22.0%	5.4%	15.0%	33.0%
	One	11.0%	11.0%	2.1%	16.0%	4.5%	11.0%	26.0%
	Two	9.2%	7.8%	2.2%	15.0%	4.1%	9.8%	21.0%
1955-59	None	14.0%	21.0%	3.9%	22.0%	6.4%	16.0%	32.0%
	One	8.4%	8.5%	1.6%	12.0%	2.7%	6.0%	21.0%
	Two	7.7%	9.2%	2.2%	17.0%	4.9%	9.6%	21.0%
1961-65	None	13.0%	19.0%	2.7%	18.0%	4.9%	14.0%	29.0%
	One	6.3%	8.9%	2.0%	10.0%	3.3%	8.1%	20.0%
	Two	4.2%	6.7%	0.7%	6.7%	2.6%	7.1%	20.0%
1966-70	None	14.0%	19.0%	3.2%	20.0%	5.0%	15.0%	36.0%
	One	2.5%	8.7%	1.2%	12.0%	2.5%	5.6%	20.0%
	Two	2.6%	5.2%		5.8%		3.9%	9.7%
1971 or later	None	9.7%	11.0%	2.2%	16.0%	5.6%	14.0%	28.0%
	One			1.7%	6.7%	1.7%	5.0%	12.0%
	Two		4.8%					9.5%

Appendix Table 6B1 Arts Participation by Extent of Television Viewing

Age Cohort	Television viewing	Classical	Jazz	Opera	Musicals	Ballet	Theatre	Museum
				Percent Attending or Visiting				
1915 or earlier	2 hrs/less	8.1%	3.6%	2.7%	10.0%	1.6%	7.1%	13.0%
	3 hrs/more	6.4%	1.4%	2.2%	11.0%	2.6%	6.5%	10.0%
1916-20	2 hrs/less	15.0%	8.5%	4.1%	18.0%	4.9%	10.0%	19.0%
	3 hrs/more	11.0%	3.7%	2.3%	15.0%	2.6%	12.0%	16.0%
1921-25	2 hrs/less	19.0%	8.3%	5.5%	21.0%	6.0%	18.0%	32.0%
	3 hrs/more	11.0%	4.9%	2.9%	20.0%	2.1%	14.0%	21.0%
1926-30	2 hrs/less	19.0%	10.0%	7.4%	27.0%	7.2%	18.0%	29.0%
	3 hrs/more	10.0%	7.9%	3.2%	17.0%	3.2%	12.0%	18.0%
1931-35	2 hrs/less	24.0%	12.0%	5.8%	26.0%	11.0%	19.0%	29.0%
	3 hrs/more	10.0%	6.9%	3.4%	15.0%	3.8%	12.0%	22.0%
1936-40	2 hrs/less	21.0%	11.0%	4.8%	24.0%	6.7%	16.0%	31.0%
	3 hrs/more	9.9%	6.3%	3.1%	17.0%	3.2%	6.9%	19.0%
1941-45	2 hrs/less	21.0%	13.0%	4.4%	27.0%	6.7%	20.0%	35.0%
	3 hrs/more	12.0%	7.7%	2.4%	19.0%	3.0%	11.0%	19.0%
1946-50	2 hrs/less	18.0%	15.0%	4.2%	27.0%	5.4%	19.0%	38.0%
	3 hrs/more	8.6%	9.0%	0.4%	16.0%	3.9%	11.0%	21.0%
1951-55	2 hrs/less	14.0%	15.0%	4.1%	25.0%	6.8%	16.0%	36.0%
	3 hrs/more	6.6%	13.0%	1.0%	12.0%	2.8%	9.1%	22.0%
1955-59	2 hrs/less	14.0%	16.0%	3.8%	22.0%	6.8%	16.0%	34.0%
	3 hrs/more	5.9%	14.0%	1.0%	15.0%	3.1%	6.7%	22.0%
1961-65	2 hrs/less	12.0%	16.0%	2.5%	17.0%	5.7%	14.0%	31.0%
	3 hrs/more	5.8%	11.0%	0.9%	9.7%	2.8%	8.0%	19.0%
1966-70	2 hrs/less	17.0%	15.0%	3.3%	24.0%	7.4%	12.0%	40.0%
	3 hrs/more	5.8%	8.0%	0.9%	14.0%	1.3%	12.0%	18.0%
1971 or later	2 hrs/less	15.0%	8.6%	2.5%	23.0%	6.1%	14.0%	36.0%
	3 hrs/more	4.8%	8.3%	4.8%	11.0%	4.8%	11.0%	21.0%

Age Cohort	Extent of Arts Participation	Daily Television Viewing 2hrs or less	3hrs or more	Percent Viewing 3hrs or more hrs
1915 or earlier	None	1,137,864	2,479,960	68.5%
	1 or 2	204,232	364,700	64.1%
	3 or more	72,940	87,528	54.5%
	% participating in 3/more	5.2%	3.0%	
1916-20	None	627,284	1,852,676	74.7%
	1 or 2	218,820	729,400	76.9%
	3 or more	145,880	218,820	60.0%
	% participating in 3/more	14.7%	7.8%	
1921-25	None	860,692	2,027,732	70.2%
	1 or 2	495,992	846,104	63.0%
	3 or more	277,172	320,936	53.7%
	% participating in 3/more	17.0%	10.0%	
1926-30	None	1,006,572	1,998,556	66.5%
	1 or 2	423,052	846,104	66.7%
	3 or more	481,404	350,112	42.1%
	% participating in 3/more	25.2%	11.0%	
1931-35	None	1,254,568	1,663,032	57.0%
	1 or 2	743,988	700,224	48.5%
	3 or more	481,404	320,936	40.0%
	% participating in 3/more	19.4%	12.0%	
1936-40	None	1,458,800	1,692,208	53.7%
	1 or 2	685,636	729,400	51.5%
	3 or more	612,696	204,232	25.0%
	% participating in 3/more	22.2%	7.8%	
1941-45	None	1,663,032	1,765,148	51.5%
	1 or 2	1,079,512	612,696	36.2%
	3 or more	919,044	393,876	30.0%
	% participating in 3/more	25.1%	14.2%	
1946-50	None	1,735,972	2,042,320	54.1%
	1 or 2	1,750,560	846,104	32.6%
	3 or more	860,692	335,524	28.0%
	% participating in 3/more	19.8%	10.4%	
1951-55	None	2,567,488	2,567,488	50.0%
	1 or 2	1,808,912	1,006,572	35.8%
	3 or more	1,021,160	452,228	30.7%
	% participating in 3/more	18.9%	11.2%	
1955-59	None	3,092,656	2,684,192	46.5%
	1 or 2	1,969,380	1,327,508	40.3%
	3 or more	1,079,512	393,876	26.7%
	% participating in 3/more	17.6%	8.9%	
1961-65	None	2,552,900	2,684,192	51.3%
	1 or 2	1,619,268	1,312,920	44.8%
	3 or more	671,048	247,996	27.0%
	% participating in 3/more	13.9%	5.8%	
1966-70	None	1,677,620	2,173,612	56.4%
	1 or 2	1,239,980	816,928	39.7%
	3 or more	277,172	612,696	68.9%
	% participating in 3/more	8.7%	17.0%	
1971 or later	None	1,677,620	1,225,392	42.2%
	1 or 2	583,520	743,988	56.0%
	3 or more	189,644	423,052	69.0%
	% participating in 3/more	7.7%	17.7%	

Appendix Table 7A/B Music and Art Lessons by Education and Age Cohort

Age Cohort	Educational Level	Have you ever taken Music Lessons? No	Yes	Percent Yes	Have you ever taken Art Lessons? No	Yes	Percent Yes
1915 or earlier	High school/less	2,830,072	641,872	18.5%	3,326,064	145,880	4.2%
	College/more	379,288	466,816	55.2%	700,224	145,880	17.2%
1916-20	High school/less	2,173,612	627,284	22.4%	2,611,252	204,232	7.3%
	College/more	539,756	452,228	45.6%	860,692	116,704	11.9%
1921-25	High school/less	2,684,192	758,576	22.0%	3,238,536	204,232	5.9%
	College/more	627,284	729,400	53.8%	1,108,688	247,996	18.3%
1926-30	High school/less	2,538,312	729,400	22.3%	3,048,892	218,820	6.7%
	College/more	831,516	948,220	53.3%	1,429,624	350,112	19.7%
1931-35	High school/less	2,159,024	787,752	26.7%	2,742,544	204,232	6.9%
	College/more	889,868	1,254,568	58.5%	1,648,444	495,992	23.1%
1936-40	High school/less	2,363,256	1,035,748	30.5%	3,107,244	291,760	8.6%
	College/more	846,104	1,108,688	56.7%	1,502,564	452,228	23.1%
1941-45	High school/less	2,523,724	948,220	27.3%	3,223,948	247,996	7.1%
	College/more	1,269,156	1,706,796	57.4%	2,144,436	831,516	27.9%
1946-50	High school/less	2,465,372	787,752	24.2%	3,034,304	218,820	6.7%
	College/more	1,779,736	2,465,372	58.1%	3,180,184	1,064,924	25.1%
1951-55	High school/less	3,267,712	1,225,392	27.3%	4,113,816	364,700	8.1%
	College/more	2,304,904	2,596,664	53.0%	3,384,416	1,531,740	31.2%
1955-59	High school/less	3,267,712	1,415,036	30.2%	4,128,404	525,168	11.3%
	College/more	2,567,488	3,238,536	55.8%	3,894,996	1,911,028	32.9%
1961-65	High school/less	3,253,124	1,327,508	29.0%	4,040,876	525,168	11.5%
	College/more	2,027,732	2,450,784	54.7%	3,151,008	1,327,508	29.6%
1966-70	High school/less	2,071,496	889,868	30.0%	2,582,076	379,288	12.8%
	College/more	1,415,036	2,363,256	62.5%	2,523,724	1,254,568	33.2%
1971 or later	High school/less	1,911,028	875,280	31.4%	2,217,376	554,344	20.0%
	College/more	860,692	1,196,216	58.2%	1,458,800	598,108	29.1%

Appendix Table 7C Classical Music Attendance by Music Lessons and Age Cohort

Age Cohort	Music Lessons	Attended Concert in Past Year No	Yes	Percent yes
1915 or earlier	No lessons	3,092,656	131,292	4.1%
	music lessons	1,021,160	102,116	9.1%
1916-20	No lessons	2,509,136	758,576	23.2%
	music lessons	758,576	320,936	29.7%
1921-25	No lessons	3,019,716	306,348	9.2%
	music lessons	1,210,804	291,760	19.4%
1926-30	No lessons	3,121,832	277,172	8.2%
	music lessons	1,254,568	423,052	25.2%
1931-35	No lessons	2,727,956	335,524	11.0%
	music lessons	1,473,388	583,520	28.4%
1936-40	No lessons	2,917,600	291,760	9.1%
	music lessons	1,590,092	598,108	27.3%
1941-45	No lessons	3,384,416	423,052	11.1%
	music lessons	1,911,028	743,988	28.0%
1946-50	No lessons	3,909,584	364,700	8.5%
	music lessons	2,523,724	743,988	22.8%
1951-55	No lessons	5280856	320936	5.7%
	music lessons	3,092,656	743,988	19.4%
1956-60	No lessons	5,572,616	262,584	4.5%
	music lessons	3,792,880	904,456	19.3%
1961-65	No lessons	5,003,684	306,348	5.8%
	music lessons	3,253,124	525,168	13.9%
1966-70	No lessons	3,355,240	160,468	4.6%
	music lessons	2,615,840	627,284	19.3%
1971	No lessons	2,698,780	116,704	4.1%
	music lessons	1,721,384	364,700	17.5%

Appendix Table 7D Museum Visits by Art Lessons and Age Cohort

Age Cohort	Art Lessons	Visited Museum in Past Year No	Yes	Percent yes
1915 or earlier	No lessons	3,749,116	306,348	7.6%
	art lessons	233,408	58,352	20.0%
1916-20	No lessons	2,946,776	525,168	15.1%
	art lessons	189,644	131,292	40.9%
1921-25	No lessons	3,428,180	948,220	21.7%
	art lessons	306,348	145,880	32.3%
1926-30	No lessons	3,501,120	1,006,572	22.3%
	art lessons	247,996	320,936	56.4%
1931-35	No lessons	3,369,828	1,050,336	23.8%
	art lessons	277,172	423,052	60.4%
1936-40	No lessons	3,661,588	977,396	21.1%
	art lessons	277,172	481,404	63.5%
1941-45	No lessons	4,142,992	1,239,980	23.0%
	art lessons	364,700	714 812	66.2%
1946-50	No lessons	4,566,044	1,677,620	26.9%
	art lessons	495,992	802,340	61.8%
1951-55	No lessons	5,689,320	1,852,676	24.6%
	art lessons	787,752	1,108,688	58.5%
1956-60	No lessons	6,185,312	1,881,852	23.3%
	art lessons	1,239,980	1,196,216	49.1%
1961-65	No lessons	5,616,380	1,590,092	22.1%
	art lessons	962,808	904,456	48.4%
1966-70	No lessons	4,011,700	1,123,276	21.9%
	art lessons	743,988	889,368	54.5%
1971	No lessons	2,990,540	743,988	19.9%
	art lessons	495,992	656,460	57.0%

Appendix Table 8A Extent of Arts Participation by Age Cohort

Age Cohort	Extent of Arts Participation			Percent
	None	1 or 2	3 or more	3 or more
1915 or earlier	8,081,752	1,298,332	452,228	4.6%
1916-20	5,937,316	1,867,264	904,456	10.4%
1921-25	6,462,484	2,655,016	1,239,980	12.0%
1926-30	6,973,064	2,815,484	1,560,916	13.8%
1931-35	6,987,652	3,311,476	1,560,916	13.2%
1936-40	7,162,708	3,282,300	1,838,088	15.0%
1941-45	7,950,460	3,982,524	2,596,664	17.9%
1946-50	8,796,564	5,368,384	2,800,896	16.5%
1951-55	11,451,580	6,156,136	3,092,656	14.9%
1955-59	12,531,092	6,870,948	3,048,892	13.6%
1961-65	11,218,172	6,520,836	2,217,376	11.1%
1966-70	8,913,268	4,784,864	2,042,320	13.0%
1971 or later	6,652,128	3,194,772	1,210,804	10.9%

Appendix Table 8B Arts Participation by Extent of Arts Participation

Age Cohort	Extent of Participation	Classical	Jazz	Opera	Musicals	Ballet	Theatre	Museum
		Percent Visiting or Attending						
1915 or earlier	1 or 2	27.0%	6.0%	4.2%	37.0%	5.9%	17.0%	36.0%
	3 or more	74.0%	13.0%	30.0%	75.0%	23.0%	71.0%	82.0%
1916-20	1 or 2	26.0%	6.2%	4.1%	35.0%	4.5%	20.0%	41.0%
	3 or more	77.0%	23.0%	26.0%	78.0%	25.0%	64.0%	81.0%
1921-25	1 or 2	20.0%	7.6%	2.5%	39.0%	5.3%	19.0%	41.0%
	3 or more	73.0%	27.0%	27.0%	78.0%	26.0%	71.0%	85.0%
1926-30	1 or 2	17.0%	9.2%	3.0%	38.0%	3.7%	20.0%	43.0%
	3 or more	73.0%	35.0%	25.0%	81.0%	25.0%	73.0%	84.0%
1931-35	1 or 2	19.0%	9.7%	2.3%	38.0%	4.0%	20.0%	44.0%
	3 or more	74.0%	37.0%	27.0%	76.0%	27.0%	72.0%	85.0%
1936-40	1 or 2	20.0%	11.0%	3.4%	35.0%	3.8%	17.0%	50.0%
	3 or more	73.0%	35.0%	24.0%	83.0%	28.0%	61.0%	86.0%
1941-45	1 or 2	21.0%	9.5%	1.5%	37.0%	4.2%	19.0%	44.0%
	3 or more	70.0%	38.0%	20.0%	76.0%	25.0%	67.0%	89.0%
1946-50	1 or 2	15.0%	14.0%	2.1%	31.0%	4.0%	16.0%	52.0%
	3 or more	67.0%	41.0%	18.0%	77.0%	28.0%	66.0%	87.0%
1951-55	1 or 2	14.0%	20.0%	1.2%	27.0%	4.4%	14.0%	54.0%
	3 or more	61.0%	53.0%	19.0%	75.0%	27.0%	62.0%	86.0%
1955-59	1 or 2	11.0%	23.0%	2.0%	29.0%	4.5%	14.0%	52.0%
	3 or more	61.0%	61.0%	19.0%	72.0%	30.0%	61.0%	85.0%
1961-65	1 or 2	12.0%	26.0%	1.5%	22.0%	3.7%	16.0%	51.0%
	3 or more	61.0%	61.0%	16.0%	73.0%	29.0%	62.0%	86.0%
1966-70	1 or 2	10.0%	23.0%	0.3%	25.0%	3.4%	16.0%	60.0%
	3 or more	58.0%	63.0%	21.0%	68.0%	26.0%	59.0%	90.0%
1971 or later	1 or 2	10.0%	16.0%	3.7%	24.0%	8.2%	19.0%	60.0%
	3 or more	53.0%	46.0%	12.0%	77.0%	27.0%	64.0%	85.0%

Appendix Table 9A Musical Likes by Age Cohort

Like to Listen?	Age Cohort												
	1915 or earlier	1916-20	1921-15	1926-30	1931-35	1936-40	1941-45	1946-50	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971 or later
Country/West	**40.0%**	**54.8%**	**52.6%**	**54.4%**	**60.7%**	**63.1%**	**61.7%**	**54.7%**	**54.0%**	**51.5%**	**50.0%**	**46.1%**	**36.6%**
Don't listen	2,582,076	1,706,796	2,290,316	2,319,492	2,013,144	1,998,556	2,465,372	3,413,592	4,347,224	5,091,212	4,536,868	3,647,000	3,107,244
Like to listen	1,721,384	2,071,496	2,538,312	2,771,720	3,107,244	3,413,592	3,967,936	4,128,404	5,105,800	5,412,148	4,536,868	3,121,832	1,794,324
Easy Listng?	**32.9%**	**48.3%**	**56.8%**	**59.0%**	**54.7%**	**52.0%**	**55.3%**	**55.5%**	**52.2%**	**50.6%**	**48.2%**	**43.8%**	**34.5%**
Don't listen	2,888,424	1,954,792	2,086,084	2,086,084	2,319,492	2,596,664	2,873,836	3,355,240	4,522,280	5,193,328	4,697,336	3,807,468	3,209,360
Like to listen	1,415,036	1,823,500	2,742,544	3,005,128	2,800,896	2,815,484	3,559,472	4,186,756	4,930,744	5,310,032	4,376,400	2,961,364	1,692,208
Gospel	**51.5%**	**47.9%**	**55.9%**	**50.1%**	**52.7%**	**47.4%**	**45.4%**	**39.5%**	**37.3%**	**34.0%**	**31.2%**	**25.4%**	**21.4%**
Don't listen	2,086,084	1,969,380	2,129,848	2,538,312	2,421,608	2,844,660	3,515,708	4,566,044	5,922,728	6,929,300	6,243,664	5,047,448	3,851,232
Like to listen	2,217,376	1,808,912	2,698,780	2,552,900	2,698,780	2,567,488	2,917,600	2,975,952	3,530,296	3,574,060	2,830,072	1,721,384	1,050,336
Big Band?	**40.3%**	**52.9%**	**62.5%**	**63.3%**	**53.3%**	**45.3%**	**43.3%**	**38.5%**	**29.5%**	**28.6%**	**21.9%**	**17.2%**	**9.8%**
Don't listen	2,567,488	1,779,736	1,808,912	1,867,264	2,392,432	2,961,364	3,647,000	4,638,984	6,666,716	7,498,232	7,089,768	5,601,792	4,420,164
Like to listen	1,735,972	1,998,556	3,019,716	3,223,948	2,727,956	2,450,784	2,786,308	2,903,012	2,786,308	3,005,128	1,983,968	1,167,040	481,404
Blues?	**16.9%**	**29.7%**	**34.7%**	**39.8%**	**33.9%**	**34.0%**	**41.7%**	**41.8%**	**44.1%**	**48.9%**	**43.7%**	**42.0%**	**37.8%**
Don't listen	3,574,060	2,655,016	3,151,008	3,063,480	3,384,416	3,574,060	3,749,116	4,390,988	5,280,856	5,368,384	5,105,800	3,924,172	3,048,892
Like to listen	729,400	1,123,276	1,677,620	2,027,732	1,735,972	1,838,088	2,684,192	3,151,008	4,172,168	5,134,976	3,967,936	2,844,660	1,852,676
Rock?	**5.1%**	**5.4%**	**8.5%**	**14.6%**	**14.5%**	**22.9%**	**38.1%**	**54.5%**	**56.5%**	**57.1%**	**60.8%**	**67.0%**	**69.3%**
Don't listen	4,084,640	3,574,060	4,420,164	4,347,224	4,376,400	4,172,168	3,982,524	3,428,180	4,113,816	4,507,692	3,559,472	2,231,964	1,502,564
Like to listen	218,820	204,232	408,464	743,988	743,988	1,239,980	2,450,784	4,113,816	5,339,208	5,995,668	5,514,264	4,536,868	3,399,004
Classical?	**23.7%**	**39.0%**	**42.6%**	**43.8%**	**45.9%**	**35.6%**	**38.1%**	**39.3%**	**35.5%**	**33.5%**	**24.4%**	**26.3%**	**22.3%**
Don't listen	3,282,300	2,304,904	2,771,720	2,859,248	2,771,720	3,486,532	3,982,524	4,580,632	6,097,784	6,987,652	6,856,360	4,989,096	3,807,468
Like to listen	1,021,160	1,473,388	2,056,908	2,231,964	2,348,668	1,925,616	2,450,784	2,961,364	3,355,240	3,515,708	2,217,376	1,779,738	1,094,100
Musicals?	**24.7%**	**35.9%**	**42.0%**	**43.0%**	**37.9%**	**36.9%**	**37.6%**	**31.3%**	**26.1%**	**23.3%**	**19.5%**	**19.0%**	**12.5%**
Don't listen	3,238,536	2,421,608	2,800,896	2,903,012	3,180,184	3,413,592	4,011,700	5,178,740	6,987,652	8,052,576	7,308,588	5,485,088	4,288,872
Like to listen	1,064,924	1,356,684	2,027,732	2,188,200	1,940,204	1,998,556	2,421,608	2,363,256	2,465,372	2,450,784	1,765,148	1,283,744	612,696
Blue Grass?	**18.3%**	**28.6%**	**37.5%**	**34.7%**	**35.9%**	**36.7%**	**36.1%**	**35.8%**	**35.2%**	**34.9%**	**23.2%**	17.2%	13.1%
Don't listen	3,515,708	2,698,780	3,019,716	3,326,064	3,282,300	3,428,180	4,113,816	4,843,216	6,126,960	6,841,772	6,973,064	5,601,792	4,259,696
Like to listen	787,752	1,079,512	1,808,912	1,765,148	1,838,088	1,983,968	2,319,492	2,698,780	3,326,064	3,661,588	2,100,672	1,167,040	641,872
Folk music?	**12.9%**	**19.3%**	**27.5%**	**29.5%**	**28.2%**	**25.9%**	**33.8%**	**31.1%**	**26.5%**	**26.3%**	**16.9%**	**12.9%**	**7.4%**
Don't listen	3,749,116	3,048,892	3,501,120	3,588,648	3,676,176	4,011,700	4,259,696	5,193,328	6,943,888	7,746,228	7,541,996	5,893,552	4,536,868
Like to listen	554,344	729,400	1,327,508	1,502,564	1,444,212	1,400,448	2,173,612	2,348,668	2,509,136	2,757,132	1,531,740	875,280	364,700

Appendix Table 9A Musical Likes by Age Cohort

	1915 or earlier	1916-20	1921-15	1926-30	1931-35	1936-40	1941-45	1946-50	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971 or later
Jazz	**17.3%**	**22.8%**	**23.6%**	**33.5%**	**29.3%**	**29.6%**	**32.9%**	**36.8%**	**38.1%**	**41.7%**	**38.6%**	**32.1%**	**29.8%**
Don't listen	3,559,472	2,917,600	3,690,764	3,384,416	3,617,824	3,807,468	4,318,048	4,770,276	5,849,788	6,126,960	5,572,616	4,595,220	3,442,768
Like to listen	743,988	860,692	1,137,864	1,706,796	1,502,564	1,604,680	2,115,260	2,771,720	3,603,236	4,376,400	3,501,120	2,173,612	1,458,800
Soul?	**1.7%**	**6.9%**	**10.6%**	**12.0%**	**14.2%**	**18.9%**	**24.9%**	**27.7%**	**29.0%**	**32.5%**	**29.4%**	**30.8%**	**31.8%**
Don't listen	4,230,520	3,515,708	4,318,048	4,478,516	4,390,988	4,390,988	4,828,628	5,455,912	6,710,480	7,089,768	6,404,132	4,682,748	3,340,652
Like to listen	72,940	262,584	510,580	612,696	729,400	1,021,160	1,604,680	2,086,084	2,742,544	3,413,592	2,669,604	2,086,084	1,560,916
Ethnic	**14.9%**	**23.9%**	**26.0%**	**26.4%**	**26.2%**	**24.8%**	**24.0%**	**25.1%**	**19.6%**	**23.3%**	**16.2%**	**18.1%**	**15.2%**
Don't listen	3,661,588	2,873,836	3,574,060	3,749,116	3,778,292	4,070,052	4,886,980	5,645,556	7,600,348	8,052,576	7,600,348	5,543,440	4,157,580
Like to listen	641,872	904,456	1,254,568	1,342,096	1,342,096	1,342,096	1,546,528	1,896,440	1,852,676	2,450,784	1,473,388	1,225,392	743,988
Latin/Salsa?	**13.9%**	**15.1%**	**21.8%**	**23.5%**	**22.5%**	**18.3%**	**22.7%**	**20.3%**	**19.3%**	**22.2%**	**19.8%**	**14.9%**	**13.1%**
Don't listen	3,705,352	3,209,360	3,778,292	3,894,996	3,967,936	4,420,164	4,974,508	6,010,256	7,629,524	8,169,280	7,279,412	5,762,260	4,259,696
Like to listen	598,108	568,932	1,050,336	1,196,216	1,152,452	991,984	1,458,800	1,531,740	1,823,500	2,334,080	1,794,324	1,006,572	641,872
Marching Band	**21.4%**	**34.7%**	**38.7%**	**36.1%**	**31.9%**	**28.8%**	**22.4%**	**17.6%**	**15.0%**	**11.1%**	**7.9%**	**8.0%**	**7.7%**
Don't listen	3,384,416	2,465,372	2,961,364	3,253,124	3,486,532	3,851,232	4,989,096	6,214,488	8,037,988	9,336,320	8,358,924	6,229,076	4,522,280
Like to listen	919,044	1,312,920	1,867,264	1,838,088	1,633,856	1,560,916	1,444,212	1,327,508	1,415,036	1,167,040	714,812	539,756	379,288
Choral/Glee?	**13.2%**	**23.9%**	**31.1%**	**29.8%**	**27.4%**	**20.8%**	**18.1%**	**16.2%**	**9.6%**	**10.3%**	**5.9%**	**5.8%**	**4.5%**
Don't listen	3,734,528	2,873,836	3,326,064	3,574,060	3,719,940	4,288,872	5,266,268	6,316,604	8,548,568	9,423,848	8,533,980	6,374,956	4,682,748
Like to listen	568,932	904,456	1,502,564	1,517,152	1,400,448	1,123,276	1,167,040	1,225,392	904,456	1,079,512	539,756	393,876	218,820
Reggae?	**1.7%**	**3.9%**	**6.3%**	**7.2%**	**10.3%**	**9.4%**	**17.7%**	**19.7%**	**22.4%**	**25.1%**	**24.4%**	**27.2%**	**36.0%**
Don't listen	4,230,520	3,632,412	4,522,280	4,726,512	4,595,220	4,901,568	5,295,444	6,054,020	7,337,764	7,862,932	6,856,360	4,930,744	3,136,420
Like to listen	72,940	145,880	306,348	364,700	525,168	510,580	1,137,864	1,487,976	2,115,260	2,640,428	2,217,376	1,838,088	1,765,148
Opera?	**14.9%**	**18.1%**	**19.6%**	**24.4%**	**20.2%**	**17.3%**	**17.0%**	**12.6%**	**9.3%**	**9.0%**	**6.4%**	**5.0%**	**4.5%**
Don't listen	3,661,588	3,092,656	3,880,408	3,851,232	4,084,640	4,478,516	5,339,200	6,593,776	8,577,744	9,555,140	8,490,216	6,433,308	4,682,748
Like to listen	641,872	685,636	948,220	1,239,980	1,035,748	933,632	1,094,100	948,220	875,280	948,220	583,520	335,524	218,820
New Age?	**1.7%**	**2.3%**	**4.2%**	**7.7%**	**9.1%**	**8.6%**	**15.8%**	**16.2%**	**18.5%**	**19.2%**	**19.6%**	**25.2%**	**23.5%**
Don't listen	4,230,520	3,690,764	4,624,396	4,697,336	4,653,572	4,945,332	5,426,736	6,316,604	7,702,464	8,490,216	7,294,000	5,062,036	3,749,116
Like to listen	72,940	87,528	204,232	393,876	466,816	466,816	1,006,572	1,225,392	1,750,560	2,013,144	1,779,736	1,706,796	1,152,452
Rap?	**0.7%**	**1.5%**	**1.5%**	**5.2%**	**4.6%**	**4.6%**	**5.7%**	**9.9%**	**8.3%**	**11.3%**	**14.9%**	**22.8%**	**39.9%**
Don't listen	4,274,284	3,719,940	4,755,688	4,828,628	4,886,980	5,164,152	6,068,608	6,798,008	8,665,272	9,321,732	7,629,524	5,222,504	2,946,776
Like to listen	29,176	58,352	72,940	262,584	233,408	247,996	364,700	743,988	787,752	1,181,628	1,444,212	1,546,328	1,954,792