ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:	"JAZZ IS BACK:"ALTERNATIVE JAZZ VENUES AND GENTRIFICATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
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Gentrification has dramatically changed the urban landscape of Washington, D.C. Non-profit alternative jazz venues have become important sites for negotiating this complex process that is re-shaping the city. Each such venue aligns itself with one of the two primary factions of gentrification: new urban migrants or long-term residents. Westminster Presbyterian Church's Jazz Night in Southwest fosters a community of repeat-attendees resisting social displacement. The Jazz and Cultural Society unabashedly foregrounds ties to long-term residents in highlighting a black identity and its local interconnectedness. CapitolBop's Jazz Loft demonstrates the difficulties that come with trying to cater to a young audience, and at the same time, resist gentrification. These venues present three perspectives on gentrification and together bring light to the overlapping complexity of gentrification.

“JAZZ IS BACK:” ALTERNATIVE JAZZ VENUES AND GENTRIFICATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

by

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

JACS – Jazz and Cultural Society.

PUD – Planned Urban Development.

Chapter 1: Introduction

As my eyes move from the poster of *A Great Day in Washington*, a play on the iconic *A Great Day in Harlem* photograph,[1] I look back to the small stage where DeAndrey Howard is waxing poetic in-between tunes on the history of the jazz scene in Washington, D.C. He remarks on how this new club we are sitting in, near the fringes of the Brookland neighborhood, was bringing the spirit of the 1960s and 1970s back to the music. The Jazz and Cultural Society hereafter referred to as JACS is a renovated law office that comfortably seats fifty people around its small stage in a mismatched patchwork of donated chairs. On this night in early August of 2015, there are thirty people in attendance, mostly older people of color. Howard would later explain that this demographic is the majority of their clientele. In between saying his catchphrase and personal brand, "jazz, jazz, jazz," and cracking jokes about being an "oldie but a goodie" himself, Howard looks to the crowd and exclaims, "Right here in D.C. y'all, jazz is back!" With this, Howard sits back down behind the drum set and kicks off "The Eternal Triangle." The infectious groove of Craig Briscoe at the Hammond organ and the percussive stabs of John Lee's guitar playing arrest the audience. The thirty seated patrons in attendance respond with spirited "yeahs," "woos," and applause.

When Howard exclaimed "jazz is back," he implicitly stated that jazz had left. With around twenty-five to thirty publicly promoted opportunities to see live jazz in the

[1] *A Great Day in Harlem* is a 1958 photograph by Art Kane of some of the most influential jazz musicians of the twentieth century gathered together in Harlem for a yearbook-style photograph. *A Great Day In Washington,* made in 2012 by Carlyle Smith re-creates Kane's iconic photograph *A Great Day In Harlem* with local jazz figures in lieu of the "great men and women" featured in *Harlem*.

city every week, it is hard to say that jazz has been absent from D.C. [2] Rather, I argue, as many have corroborated, that certain strains of the music, and social practices surrounding them, have effectively disappeared.

In D.C., the demographics of the city are rapidly changing; in 2011, D.C. lost its once-famed minority-majority status (Sturtevant 2013). Most new migrants are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, of which fifty-three percent are white, compared with the forty percent of residents leaving the city who are black (ibid). This shift is largely due to increased job opportunities in Washington for the young and college-educated. The influx of populations drawn by work has been augmented by a marked growth in the cultural capital of urban living. In Washington, the word that encapsulates these changes is "gentrification." Simply put, gentrification is a sustained re-investment in an urban center due to an economic and social re-valuing of a space that had previously experienced mass divestment (Glass 1964; Smith 1998). This process is accompanied by sweeping social and demographic trends due to changing neighborhoods. Gentrification is a process in which economics, urban planning, class, race, social practices, and material culture all converge. For this reason, a city as dynamic as Washington, D.C. is an essential case study for understanding gentrification.

Since its foundation, the District of Columbia has remained a microcosm of urban development and identity politics in the United States. Washington was one of the first major urban hubs for freed slaves, with emancipation coming eight months earlier than the remainder of states where slavery was legal in 1862. The community of freed slaves continued to expand with the foundation of Howard University in 1867, which at that time

[2] This is based on the listings provided by CapitolBop's "Calendar," a frequently updated schedule of jazz performances published on CapitolBop.com and districuted through their newsletter.

was the only federally chartered university for freed slaves (Green 1967; Hopkinson 2012). Until 1920, Washington had the largest urban African American population in the country. In the throws of segregation and Jim Crow there were frequent conflicts between black and white residents of The District. In the middle of the "Red Summer" of 1919 a mob of hundreds of white residents, motivated by a spurious allegation of the sexual assault of a local white woman by a black man, took to the streets beating and fighting groups of black residents (McWhirter 2011). At the same time, the U Street Corridor was becoming "Black Broadway." It was filled with young black cosmopolitan artists like Zora Neale Hurston and Langston Hughes. U Street was having a renaissance of its own, predating the one that would follow in Harlem (Ruble 2010). The riots of 1968 following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. destroyed a large section of U Street, violently re-shaping the city and reminding the population that The District was very much still contested space (ibid).

The recent spike in urban migration has put young urban migrants and the long-term residents of the city shoulder to shoulder. Once again, questions over whom Washington's infrastructure, amenities, and law enforcement serve have come to a head. There have been many recent examples of clashes over public space, brought about by new migrants interacting with long-term residents. A bike lane proposed for the U street corridor would prevent parishioners of a historic black church from parking in front of the church as they have for more than 15 years (Stein 2015).[3] New townhouse developments have clauses that prevent barbequing from taking place in front yards, a long-held social practice in the local black community. Georgetown, once a major hub

[3] Stein, Perry. 2015. "D.C. Church Says a Bike Lane Would Infringe upon its Constitutional 'Rights of Religious Freedom'." *Washington Post* October 14, 2015. Accessed November 29, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/local/wp/2015/10/14/d-c-church-says-a-bike-lane-would-infringe-upon-its-constitutional-rights-of-religious-freedom/

for black residents, now has a private messaging system developed by business owners alongside the D.C. police department, ostensibly to report on "suspicious individuals." In practice, ninety percent of these individuals have been African-Americans (McCoy 2015).[4] Gentrification has come to define the urban experience of D.C., and increasingly, for cities across the world, from Berlin to Rio de Janiero (Atkinson and Bridge 2005). Gentrification drastically changes the social landscape of cities, displacing populations, breaking up social networks, and pushing out institutions (Price 1998; Williams 2002; Slater 2005; Freeman 2006). Ethnographers are particularly suited to documenting, analyzing, and responding to the ways in which gentrification affects populations, and how populations react to, and at times resist it.

Gentrification is a process that is negotiated in all aspects of urban life: from urban planning and economic policy to barbequing and live music. In recent years, alternative, non-profit jazz venues have become increasingly important dimensions of the jazz scene for new and long-term residents alike. Alternative jazz venues are those that eschew the business model common to jazz clubs in D.C. and elsewhere. This standard model is where patrons buy tickets or pay a cover to see an artist perform a single set and often are required to purchase food or drink. The alternative venues considered in this work operate on an all-night admission fee, require no other purchases, and are all 501(c)(3) non-profits. These venues can be seen as catering to and representative of two sides of gentrification: new residents trying to stake a claim and long-term residents holding on to what is left. Westminster Presbyterian Church's Jazz Night in Southwest

[4] McCoy, Terrance. 2015. "The Secret Surveillance of 'Suspicious' Blacks in one of the Nation's Poshest Neighborhoods" *Washington Post* October 13, 2015. Acessed April 14, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/the-secret-surveillance-of-suspicious-blacks-in-one-of-the-nations-poshest-neighborhoods/2015/10/13/2e47236c-6c4d-11e5-b31c-d80d62b53e28_story.html

and JACS align themselves with long-term residents of D.C. The shows put on by CapitolBop are representative of the newly arrived cosmopolitan Washingtonians. I do not mean to oversimplify this incredibly complex process by reducing these venues to pro-gentrification and anti-gentrification. Even though the producers of CaptiolBop's Jazz Loft align themselves with the tastes of new migrants to the city, they are staunchly opposed to gentrification and consider themselves to be resisting its forces. In a similar manner, Jazz Night and JACS, through their openness and accessibility, create a space that is both valuable to long-term residents and potentially attractive to new residents looking for authentic urban culture. I hope my research can continue recent efforts to complicate the often dialectic narrative of gentrification by presenting the ways in which these scenes present and belie their stated and implicit interests.

There is much work that needs to be done on jazz scenes and the ways in which they fit into urban social life. I will begin by outlining the state of scholarship on music and jazz in Washington, D.C., and ways in which this thesis will contribute to that body of work. I will then consider jazz scholarship's treatment of the "scene" and the ways in which it considers aspects of performance other than the musicians onstage. Lastly, I will consider how scholars of gentrification have considered art and sound, and how ethnomusicologists have considered gentrification. This work will be an attempt to expand jazz scholarship and to make connections between diverse bodies of literature to better understand the complexities of gentrification.

Music in D.C., Locating the Jazz Scene

The jazz scene in Washington is unique and a valuable case study through which to understand this multifaceted process. Although jazz has remained a constant in the

city, and in some ways serves to synthesize The District's complex history, it has been under-represented in scholarship on the city. D.C. has long been a center for black culture, a designation memorialized by the funk band Parliament, who dubbed it "Chocolate City" on their eponymous 1975 album. Harry Belafonte, Diana Ross, and Duke Ellington all had their premiers on U Street. Even before Ellington was playing with his Washingtonians in the Caverns Club, Washington was home to one of the most significant progenitors of jazz, band-leader James Reese Europe, who spent his adolescence and early childhood living a few doors down from John Phillip Sousa (Maurice Jackson 2014). D.C. has remained a musical city, famed for its punk and hardcore scenes which many scholars have considered fruitful ground for considering identity (Middleton 2002; Loughran 2008; Maskell 2009). Go-go has been an equally city-defining subject to which music scholars have given some attention (Lornell 2009; Hopkinson 2013). In recent years, there have also been strides in comparative studies of the capital's music scenes and their relations to current issues in the city, such as racial equality (Jackson 2016). However, because Washington's jazz scene is seen as too straight-ahead, or due to the overarching transient nature of jazz musicians in the city, the D.C. jazz scene has often been overlooked in scholarship. [5]

In its current state, scholarship on jazz in Washington, D.C. primarily focuses on the history of the scene, not present-day conditions. Clearly, Washington has significant ties to early figures in jazz, most of all Ellington, the figure towering above D.C. jazz scene (both figuratively and literally in the "True Reformer" Mural). Many writings

[5] By "straight ahead" I mean that the scene is known for instrumental jazz musicians sticking primarily to the aesthetics of bebop and hardbop jazz, and that musicians are primarily performing a repetoire of "standards" as opposed to new compositions. Musical competency is primarily measured by elaboration and novel use of established tropes, and less through stylistic innovation.

discuss Ellington's origins in The District but also quickly leave D.C., considering it not of the same musical influence as Ellington's time in Harlem (Dance 1970; Nicholson 1999; Teachout 2013). [6] Washington is often portrayed as the city Ellington had to leave to become a universally acclaimed jazz artist. Even without Ellington, jazz continued to be a force in shaping the city. Recent work by Maurice Jackson has focused on understanding the role that jazz played in early pushes for de-segregation in Washington D.C. Jackson outlines how jazz concerts for integrated audiences put on by Ahmet Ertegun (who would go on to found Atlantic Records) and the jam session at the All Souls Church organized by local DJ Willis Conover were significant moves towards desegregation in the 1940s (Jackson 2016: 52-57). Along with Jackson's work, there here has recently been more scholarly attention given to the history of jazz in Washington D.C. The Spring 2014 issue of *Washington History* considers many facets of the jazz scene (audiences, radio stations, journalism) but is limited in its timeframe, from the 1920s to the 1960s. Scholarship on the current jazz scene in D.C. and its recent history is limited, and more importantly, ethnographic research on the scene is absent. [7] This study of alternative jazz scenes will hopefully be a first step in attempts to recognize and understand the current lively jazz scene and its effects on the lives of Washingtonians.

Jazz "Scenes"

Scholarship on jazz has primarily focused on the individual performer and their music as the primary object of study. From the onset of scholarship on jazz, whether from

[6] The notable exception is Mark Tucker's 1991 book on Ellington's upbringing and musical development, *Ellington: The Early Years* (Tucker 1991). The book explores Ellington's time in Washington in great detail, giving attention to his childhood neighborhood, employment in The District, and early local performances.

[7] Which is not to say that ethnographic research on music scenes in Washington, D.C. is absent entirely (Middleton 2002; Loughran 2008; Maskell 2009).

a comparative perspective such as Richard Alan Waterman's, or an analytical one, as in the work of Gunther Schuller, the music and recordings have remained central and audiences, producers, and patrons were often not considered (Waterman 1948; Schuller 1986). In sociological studies such as Robert Stebbins "A Theory of the Jazz Community," the "jazz community" only includes the musicians onstage. The early landmarks of ethnomusicological writing on jazz, Paul Berliner's *Thinking in Jazz* and Ingrid Monson's *Saying Something,* although not exclusively considering musical analysis, do focus primarily on understanding the jazz musician, and how meaning is constructed between musicians (Berliner 1994; Monson 1996). Some scholars have presented jazz in a larger social context, considering local political environments, performance venues, and global flows (Berger 1999; Atkins 2001, 2003; Suhor 2001; Nicholson 2014). Even with an expanding array of approaches, most of these jazz studies still give a central place to the performer while audiences, venues, and parts of the larger "scene" are considered peripheral. I will first present some of the ways in which scholars have approached the study of jazz beyond a focus on musicians. I will then consider the use of the term "scene" ranging from an emic use, to the broader meaning proposed by communications and popular music scholar, Will Straw, later brought into jazz studies by Travis Jackson.

Due to this focus on musicians, jazz audiences are often depicted with an explicit lack of agency. I believe that Samuel Floyd was right in asserting the value of the jazz audience:

> The key to effective criticism lies in understanding the tropings and Signifyin(g)s of black music-making [Here referring to the stomping, clapping, and interjections of an audience], for such practices are criticism – perceptive and evaluative acts and expressions of approval and disapproval, validation and

> invalidation through the respectful, ironic, satirizing imitation, manipulation, extension, and elaboration of previously created and presented tropes and new ideas. (Floyd 2002: 59)

Floyd makes a powerful assertion of the necessity for considering and understanding audiences if one hopes to understand jazz performance.

What little writing there is on jazz audiences is often quantitative and focused on general observations as opposed to the detail that can be achieved through ethnographic research. There have been a number of studies, conducted by sociologists, which have identified trends in jazz listenership through questionnaires and data-analysis (DeVeaux 1995; Graham 2011). One example is noted historian Eric Hobsbawm's 1959 profile of the "jazz public," *The Jazz Scene.* The book at times tends to be more of a literary pastiche of generalization on what a "jazz fan" is, drawn from interviews and surveys (Hobsbawm 1959). His opening passage of the chapter entitled "The Public" presents such an image: "[e]very jazz-lover has two or three clear, old-fashioned, rose-tinted pictures in the family album of his hobby. One is of the Classic New Orleans street parade: the musicians on their cart, cornet blazing … 'going to town' as the Basin Street whores leave their cribs to listen" (Hobsbawm 1959: 194). In his *Knowing Jazz*, Ken Prouty takes a much more evidence-based approach to understanding how jazz fosters community by discussing the ways in which jazz fans engage actively through attending performance and passively engage through listening to recordings (Prouty 2012). However, the community here is still largely seen as an "imagined" one (in Anderson's terms) because both kinds of engagement identified are largely transient and do not consist of direct social interaction (Prouty 2012: 27).[8]

[8] Here, I am referring to political scientist Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" which are communities made up of people who believe themselves to be connected to large groups of people

The word "scene" has been used in varying ways by those engaged in jazz studies. Many scholars writing on jazz have purported to describe the broad jazz scene through titles such as *Jazz People, Making the Scene*, and *The Jazz Scene*, but these all tend to use "scene" in a manner more emic to musicians, where the scene and the "jazz people" are the musicians only (Hobsbawm 1959; Wilmer 1970; Stokes 1991; Friedlander 1992; Stewart 2007). I call attention to these writings because their use of "scene" and "people" can serve to exclude producers, audience members, and venues from being valid considerations in analyzing jazz performance. While I understand the value of a close reading of the music and artists, I believe that what is often considered the background should be given its due as well.

In contrast with the above use of "scene," I will be using "scene" in the manner proposed by Will Straw, which now circulates widely in popular music studies, and as of recently, jazz studies. Straw defines "scene" as a socially constructed space that is not discretely bound, made up of a variety of on-going musical interactions by a diverse array of agents, including producers, audience members and musicians (Straw 1991: 373). Conceptualizing a scene in this way has been hugely influential in sociology and popular music studies, bringing about a renewed focus on audiences, the construction of space, geographical bounding of musical communities, webs of musical relationships, and a re-evaluation of who are the actors in a musical event (Erlmann 1996; Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998; Connel and Gibson 2003). This use of scene, while differing from the way musicians might use it, incorporates the broader totality of parties involved in jazz performance.

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through shared belief or affinity, despite the fact that most of these people will never actually meet (Anderson 1983).

My focus on the larger jazz scene, and the use of Straw's conception of "scene" to understand jazz performance is heavily indebted to Travis Jackson's 2012 monograph of the New York jazz scene, *Blowin' the Blues Away*. In it, he addresses some of the previously mentioned lacunae of jazz scholarship:

> Many of the writers whose histories, essays, and analyses I have read have either been interested primarily in musical analysis focused on "great men" in jazz history (Schuller 1968, 1989), have concerned themselves with exploring connections between music and cultural history (Tirro 1977; Collier 1978; Kenney 1993; Stowe 1994), or— in extreme cases— have subjected musicians to psychoanalytic scrutiny (Collier 1987; Carner 1991). In other words, these writers have taken as their object a static conception of "the music" and/or the individual and have relied upon the standard tools and methodologies of musicological and historical investigation. (Jackson 2012: 7)

Throughout the work, Jackson makes use of a variety of analytical tools that jazz scholarship has used in the past while expanding his subject to include the role of spatiality, venues, radio stations, producers, and audiences. I argue that drawing the focus backward, and unpacking the total *mise-en-scène* of jazz performance, is the next step in understanding this music.

Ethnomusicology and Studies of Gentrification

Gentrification is continually and increasingly affecting cities in which ethnomusicologists conduct research, and it has become unavoidable for the field to consider. However, ethnographic work on gentrification and the consideration of gentrification's effects on social practices, continues to be a rarity. Sociologist Lance Freeman in his landmark work, *There Goes the 'Hood* undertook the first ethnography of a gentrifying neighborhood in 2006. Since then, scholarly approaches to the study of gentrification have diversified with research increasingly centering on interviews (Maurrasse 2006; Zukin 2010). The interviews conducted by Freeman and others have

given a unique insight into both the negative and positive effects of gentrification for long-term residents. Without sustained interaction with populations, it is impossible to get a complete picture of how gentrification affects a diverse array of residents. Freeman's book remains the singular ethnographic monograph of the gentrification of a neighborhood. If there is to be informed policy-making by cities affected by gentrification, more ethnographic work must be conducted to fill in the outlines provided by more quantitative studies.

Beyond providing ethnographic perspectives, ethnomusicology can greatly contribute to the gentrification discourse because music has largely been overlooked in academic writing on the topic. In 2013, *Musical Performance and the Changing City* was released, a book which notably addressed gentrification directly for one of the first times in academic writing on music. The editors, Fabian Holt and Carsten Wergin, clearly stated how urban studies as a field has ignored music as a force in changing the urban landscape. As Holt and Wergin write, "[a]n overview of urban culture in this field [urban studies] is unthinkable without museums, but not without music" (Holt and Wergin 2013: 10-11). Urban studies have been more transfixed with the interplay between visual art and gentrification. This is often because visual esthetics are more easily linked to preferences for architecture or historical preservation, both of which have more tangible connections to gentrification (Zukin 1982; Bridge 2001; Krase 2005; Slater 2005; Lloyd 2006). Scholarship that considers music's role in this process of gentrification has been limited. Sharon Zukin's foundational exploration of "first-wave" gentrifiers in New York City, *Loft Living*, addresses jazz musicians as being participants in the loft scene (Zukin 1982:118-120). In Richard Lloyd's *Neo-Bohemia*, he considers briefly how some local

musicians mirror and profit off the social capital invested in "urban grit" (Lloyd 2006: 90-93).[9] In urban studies literature, music has yet to be used as a primary lens through which to understand gentrification.

Since Bruno Nettl's call-to-arms in *Eight Urban Musical Cultures*, ethnomusicologists have increasingly studied music in urban settings (Nettl 1978). However, even though gentrification has been debated in scholarship since the 1960s, it is only within the last three years that ethnomusicologists have begun to address this process using the term "gentrification." There are parallel processes concerning the changing use of urban space which ethnomusicologists have addressed. Steve Loza's *Barrio Rhythm* considers the changing social positions of Chicano musicians as a result of population shifts in East L.A. (Loza 1993). Kay Kaufman Shelemay's *Let Jasmine Rain Down* considered the role of preservation within Syrian Sephardic Jewish communities in Brooklyn, which at the time was experiencing the beginnings of the sweeping gentrification that has come to define the borough. However, in my research, I have not come across many scholars of urban music directly considering these changes in terms of "gentrification." I believe that by not using "gentrification" in considering music in changing cities, there are missed opportunities to connect the work of ethnomusicologists to the larger gentrification discourse.

While there has not been a large body of work on the subject, some scholars researching music have positioned their work within the gentrification discourse, but in a limited fashion. Much of this literature has come from scholars who take music as their subject material, but are not ethnomusicologists themselves, furthering the opportunity

[9] "Urban grit" is a concept developed by Richard Lloyd to describe the appeal of the unpolished and the dangerous in urban space (Lloyd 2002: 520—8).

for ethnomusicologists to contribute to this field of research. I will briefly present some recent notable examples of scholars exploring the links between music and gentrification.

In 2012, journalist Natalie Hopkinson published *Go-Go Live,* an ethnography and history of D.C.'s go-go scene. In it, Hopkinson partially linked go-go's move from the city center to the Maryland suburbs as a product of gentrification (Hopkinson 2012). The work makes a great contribution in understanding how go-go functioned as a symbol of black cultural dominance in the city for so long, and how its departure carries symbolic weight for the city's residents. However, the work focused on go-go as a victim of gentrification and considered gentrification in a fairly binary manner.[10] *Go-Go Live* considers gentrification to be an outside force that primarily serves to push out long-term residents and musicians of lower socioeconomic status. Hopkinson's work leaves room to explore ways in which populations engender, resist, and at times benefit from gentrification.[11]

Communications scholar Fabian Holt's recent chapter on gentrification in Berlin in *Musical Performance and the Changing City* is a strong move in considering music venues as agents of gentrification. Holt does great work in linking real estate and aesthetic choices to the construction of musical narrative and capitalist strivings in Berlin, Copenhagen, and New York City (Holt 2013). Anthropologist Sara Cohen's chapter in

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[10] Go-go has recently become a selling-point for the gentrification of previously black neighborhoods in the city. This can be seen in a video advertisement for the revitalization of the Anacostia neighborhood, a neighborhood that has been described to me as one of the city's most dangerous, but also a hub for black culture. The video shows young couples strolling down clean avenues of boutique stores and coffee-shops, all while "Wind Me up Chuck," a famous opener for the recently deceased Chuck Brown, "The Godfather of Go-Go" plays in the background.

[11] Some benefits that were brought up to me by interlocutors were increased interaction with populations of differing ethnic and socio-economic identities, a well as a few older residents who had purchased property and later sold it for profit. In one case, a patron of Jazz Night in Southwest informed me she had purchased a home in South East D.C. in the 1980s for fifty dollars and had sold it in 2015 for nine-hundred thousand.

the same collection also addresses gentrification and considers music as a force in the re-branding and redevelopment of Liverpool (Cohen 2013). The necessity to address and understand gentrification is highlighted in both of these chapters. At the same time, reactions and responses to this process remain prominent lacunae.

There is a great need to continue the work begun by these scholars, particularly in the realm of resistance to gentrification, both explicit and implicit. Ethnomusicologist Maureen Lohgran's 2008 dissertation, "Community Powered Resistance: Radio, Music Scenes and Musical Activism in Washington, D.C.," addresses some of the ways, especially through punk, people have organized and spoken out about the displacement and change that gentrification brings. Considering alternative jazz venues expands this important work by considering spaces centered around long-term and new residents, through a music that connects to and renegotiates the city's long-established African American identity. I believe that considering the city's alternative venues not only presents an ethnographic perspective on the forces of gentrification, but also shows ways in which populations are responding to and resisting it.

Outline of Methods and Chapters

Methods

My research was conducted over the course of one year attending shows, conducting interviews, and being involved with these three communities in differing ways. In this thesis, I describe the three recurring jazz concert series. Two of them take place weekly in the same location, and one of them is a travelling concert series that has a semi-regular home-base. I frame these three concert series as venues, using "venues" in a broad sense. In this work, I use venue in the conventional sense, as a physical location, as

well as a place that is socially constructed on a recurring basis within the structure of a formal institution. The three venues my research centers on are: Westminster Presbyterian Church's Jazz Night in Southwest, The Jazz and Cultural Society, and the CapitolBop Jazz Loft. Jazz Night in Southwest is a venue in the sense of an institution tied to a physical location. It is a weekly concert series taking place inside the Westminster Presbyterian Church that has been ongoing since 1999. JACS is a venue in the conventional sense, it is a newly-opened small jazz club in Brookland in North East Washington, D.C. JACS hosts bi-weekly shows and is a business based on revenue from those shows. The CapitolBop Jazz Loft series is a travelling concert series that takes place monthly. The Jazz Loft is a venue in a broader sense. It is a business that puts on regular shows where the structure remains largely the same, but the physical location changes. Shows generally take place at the Union Arts building in Ivy City, North East D.C., but occasionally shows are put on in other often-impromptu spaces throughout the city. Throughout, I use "venue" to describe these three case studies due to their regular structure and to take a comparative perspective on how these venues relate to narratives of gentrification.

Prior to beginning work on this project, I had been active in the Washington, D.C. jazz scene as a performer and audience member for three years. I was originally drawn to this topic by the stories fellow jazz musicians told about the lively, almost-religious crowd at Westminster's Jazz Night. I began attending Jazz Night weekly in February of 2015. I was primarily interested in the audience and their participatory musical practices. To this end, in my fieldwork I presented myself as a jazz fan and ethnomusicologist, not focusing on my own musicianship. I strove to become seen as a regular attendee by staff

and fellow audience members, and I felt that foregrounding my being a musician would have at best seemed braggadocios, and at worst seemed like I was trying to get a gig. As I attended Jazz Night every week, it quickly became apparent through discussion with audience members and the words of staff and musicians onstage that gentrification was the narrative underlying the participatory practices I had come to there to research.

I then expanded the scope of my project to include the concerts put on by CapitolBop as part of their JazzLoft series. I had never attended any of these shows before beginning this project, but I had heard from fellow jazz musicians that the Jazz Loft was home to what was new in jazz and where young musicians hoped to play. The discourse of CapitolBop's Jazz Loft being youthful or "hip" drew me to this venue as a contrast to Jazz Night which has an older audience and books more conservative acts. As with Jazz Night, in the interest of understanding the audience I introduced myself to attendees and staff as a fan and ethnomusicologist, and would generally only bring up my musicianship if asked.

Jazz and Cultural Society was the final case study I included in my research. The youngest of the three concert series considered here, JACs opened in April of 2015. I first heard of the club when its grand-opening was announced on a set-break at Jazz Night. I began attending JACS after continued prompting from an audience member at Jazz Night who became a primary interlocutor of mine, Margaret Westley.

Although I did not present myself as a musician in any of my research sites, the connections I had previously made working in the jazz scene in D.C. were valuable in gaining the perspectives of local jazz musicians. Having performed in the city for three years prior to beginning this project, I had made connections with a number of musicians

who have been working in the city, and helping to shape the scene over the past decades. These musicians, with whom I had developed a rapport as a fellow performer, helped vouch for me to interlocutors, and guide me in my research. Having the perspectives of musicians, although not my intended focus, has been invaluable in developing a balanced understanding of the complex social interactions that make up the D.C. jazz scene.

In all cases my research was based around attending shows and having conversations with members of the audience and staff on set breaks and before and after performances. I frequently took pictures, video, and made audio recordings of those on stage for my own research. All of these shows were public performances where audience members frequently would make audio and video recordings. In some cases, the shows were frequented by amateur photographers who would make their rounds weaving through the audience and even taking the stage. Because of this behavior from the audience, my photography or recording of musicians on stage for the purpose of transcription and analysis did not stand out from the actions of others.

My analysis of these venues will consider audience, spatiality, musical repertoire, and other factors as a lens through which to understand how Jazz Night and JACS represent the social practices of the cities long-term residents, and CapitolBop's shows can do the same for new migrants to the city. Throughout and particularly in considering CapitolBop's Jazz Loft, there will be considerations of contradictions of these positions, and ways in which those involved in gentrification are often not easily reduced to protagonists or antagonists.

Outline

In the first chapter, I will focus on Westminster Presbyterian's Jazz Night in Southwest, its focus on the construction of community, and the ways in which this can be seen as implicit resistance to gentrification. Often times, gentrification's displacement of networks of affiliation among populations is rarely visible on the surface, but is seen as aggressive symbolic violence by long-term residents. Thus, in the construction of a base of repeat-attendees, Jazz Night creates an implicit resistance to the de-coupling effects of gentrification. I will consider how communities are established through Jazz Night's financial accessibility, its participatory musical practices, and the use of Christian imagery.

In the second chapter, I will present the Jazz and Cultural Society, or JACS, as another venue implicitly resisting the often-homogenizing waves of urban change through emphasizing local ties and pronounced outward assertions of blackness. JACS shares a base of repeat attendees, and I will consider the shared aspects of JACS and Jazz Night. I will then unpack JACS's spatiality and its relationship to the history of the Brookland neighborhood in which it is located. JACS emphasizes connections to the local community, and I will present how this is accomplished through its art, furniture, and staff. Lastly, I will analyze how blackness is constructed through the decoration of the venue, musical repertoire, and identities of musicians. Gentrification is not a process solely brought about by young white populations moving into a black neighborhood. However, considering D.C.'s strong self-identification as a black city, this assertion of blackness is a powerful sign of opposition to gentrification.

Finally, in chapter three I will contrast the two above scenes with CapitolBop's Jazz Loft shows. I will first present ways in which the Jazz Loft can be understood as a non-commercial space, a position that producers of the show argue is central to their not becoming a part of gentrification. I will then consider the duality of the concert series relationship to gentrification through the spatial connections of venues to ongoing gentrification projects and how "urban grit" manifests itself in Jazz Loft venues (Lloyd 2002). I will close this chapter with the imminent shuttering of the Jazz Loft's home-base, Union Arts, and the public zoning hearings where members of the Union Arts community gathered to fight back against their eviction and displacement.

In this thesis I will present ways in which ethnomusicology can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of gentrification. For ethnomusicologists who conduct work in urban areas, gentrification is becoming something that must be addressed and is an area of scholarship where the unique tools and techniques of the field can contribute greatly. For a city that is changing so rapidly, many residents in Washington feel like they have to fight to hold on to any semblance of the city they knew. "Chocolate city" may be gone, but there is a lot of space still up for grabs.

Chapter 2: "God loves Jazz!" Jazz and Community in Southwest

> This neighborhood, where you're sittin' right here, you know there used to be 36,000 people who lived in here?... And then Urban renewal came along and they said, 'We're gonna' fix this up for you, *but everybody can come back'*… and now there are 12,000 of us who live in this neighborhood." (Rev. Brian Hamilton, p.c. 2016)

Jazz scholarship is centered on the performer, a focus that obscures the broader whole of the music scene.[12] The established jazz canon prizes the contributions of artists like Thelonious Monk and Charlie Parker; both of whom have been the subject of an expansive body of biography and analysis (Martin 1996; Van der Bliek 2001; Larson 2002; Kelley 2009;). Pannonica de Koenigswarter is a name much less likely to be recognized as part of the jazz community. De Koenigswater was a patron of the bebop scene, housing Monk and Parker at different times, helping musicians make connections, and most importantly attending shows and being a part of the musicking.[13] It is impossible to measure the impact she had on the scene, but she is more widely known in jazz scenes as the subject of the standards "Nica's Dream" and "Pannonica" rather than the major figure she was (Kastin 2006: 230). Yet still, the people listening to jazz are often the last to be considered in music scholarship.

[12] This, as previously described, is with a few notable and more recent exceptions (Jackson 2012; Feld 2012; Prouty 2012; Hobsbawm 1993; DeVeaux 1997).

[13] I am using "musicking" here in the manner proposed by Christopher Small, that music making is a complex process for musicians and listeners that helps constitute social ties (Small 1998).

Figure 1. The Author Holding The Benny Golson Jazz Master Award.

It is odd then that Dick Smith, the emcee of Jazz Night in Southwest, upon receiving the Benny Golson Jazz Master Award on Behalf of Westminster Presbyterian Church's Jazz Night, proceeded to hand the award directly to the audience member seated nearest to the on-stage podium. As the award snaked its way through the 40 rows of plastic chairs that were seating the near-full house of about 250, Mr. Smith addressed the audience: "This is our community…. They made me the custodian, but actually it

belongs to the audience. This is *your* thing." The award worked its way through the "pews" of the church throughout the night's performance. It was passed from hand to hand, moving amongst young and old, over plates of catfish, and under the felt pennants that adorn the walls with words of inspiration "hope, peace, justice, joy, jazz." This moment stands out to me as symbolic of the intention behind Jazz Night. This pronounced focus on those in attendance goes against the commonly established subject of jazz scholarship and deserves further attention.

In the rapidly re-developing Waterfront neighborhood, Westminster Presbyterian church stands out, as something from another era. The church sits on the corner of I and 4th street and is easily recognizable by its expansive green lawn. The building, according to architecture blog Mid-Century Mundane, is of modernist architectural design: white concrete, rectangular, floor-to-ceiling windows (Mid-Century Mundane 2012). The building is draped outside with large banners advertising Jazz Night, Blue Monday Blues (their weekly blues concerts), the START program (a narcotic support program), and Westminster's slogan: "Not Just a Church." The walk up the block from the metro station to the church is hedged by newly constructed, towering high-rise office space and apartment buildings. In their ground floors there are new amenities for the residents of the neighborhood: a Starbucks, a Safeway, an Indian fusion restaurant. Directly beside Westminster was, for the majority of my fieldwork, a gaping excavation fenced off with signage for Davis Development Corporation. As of February of 2016, the first five floors have been constructed, and the soon-to-be thirteen-story high-rise apartment complex is well on its way to further redefining the block. The church has been in The District[14]

[14] "The District" is an emic term used to refer to Washington, D.C., which is why I have chosen to capitalize it.

since 1853, and on the same corner since 1965. Westminster has become a clearly visible last bastion against the sweeping urban renewal changing the face of Southwest, and has increasingly defined itself in relationship to these changes. As stated in Westminster's "History and Future" page on their website, "urban renewal sent many members into the suburbs and Westminster entered a real time of trial and change, with some calling for its closure" (Westminster, n.d.). Westminster and Southwest have become inextricably tied to gentrification, making Jazz Night in Southwest all the more important to participants, and as an object of study.

The urban renewal of the Waterfront neighborhood of Southwest Washington, D.C. that Westminster's website refers to was one of the earliest urban redevelopment projects in American history. African-Americans in alley dwellings heavily populated the Southwest neighborhood through the late 19th century (Ammon 2004:10-11). At the turn of the century, Southwest saw a surge of European immigrants as well as urban development, population growth, and a wealth of local business that lasted through the 1930s (ibid). Following the "white flight," or mass migration of white residents to the suburbs, by the 1940s the neighborhood population demographic was sixty-nine percent black, and was seen as ripe for redevelopment (Ammon 2004:11). For the next thirty years the local government funded a redevelopment project that re-located a significant number of the area's poor black residents, re-structuring it as a middle-class neighborhood. The project experienced heavy delays and major problems with re-location, and has been cited by city planners Percy Johnson-Marshall and Robert Howes as a major failure (Ammon 2004: 134). Through the present there have increasingly been new development projects to attempt to correct the failings of the urban renewal of

decades past. Looking at the new amenities and increased production of luxury housing, it is clear that urban renewal continues to shape the neighborhood, giving a potent backdrop to the social practices at Westminster's Jazz Night.

Within the confines of Westminster Presbyterian church, the audience and venue of Jazz Night in Southwest function to create a more interactive and cohesive community than is now typically associated with jazz venues. The audience itself has developed a reputation amongst the jazz musicians of D.C. as being lively, receptive, and knowledgeable. The weekly concert series at Westminster contrasts with the more transient environment of the concert halls and clubs in which jazz most often makes its home in The District. Westminster's Jazz Night in Southwest has facilitated the development of a core, repeat audience through its physical and financial accessibility. Jazz Night is a non-profit, and at $5 for three hours of music, with no required minimum, it stands out in the city. Audience members take on a more participatory role in the performances through verbal interjection, clapping, and dance. There is a significant referential nature to the performances through frequent memorials to musicians and audience members who have recently passed away. Most significantly, the imagery of the church, and the parallels that musicians and staff of Jazz night make between the performance and a Sunday service, can serve to create powerful ties to communitarian ideals. Through these characteristics, Westminster Presbyterian's Jazz night has become an event that recreates community institutions lost through gentrification, and provides a jazz venue constructed primarily for older residents on a fixed income, the demographic most effected by gentrification.

Jazz Night has, through the previously-stated strategies, aligned itself with older long-term residents of the city. In this chapter, I will first consider the broader relationship between community institutions and gentrification. Next, I will focus on how the venue is made accessible, and how Jazz Night's core base of repeat-attendees has developed. Audience members' and performers' perspectives and the intentions of Jazz Night's producers will be central to this discussion. Then, I will analyze musical participation from audiences; manifesting itself through clapping, vocal interjection, and singing. I will then consider the overarching Christian imagery that surrounds Jazz Night and how it serves to make Jazz Night a parallel to a religious organization. Lastly, I will give a detailed description of the annual Jazz Night anniversary and memorial service as a case study in all of the previously described aspects of social participation in Jazz Night concerts. This chapter will serve to outline how gentrification displaces communities, and how in turn, by foregrounding communitarian aspects, making appeals to Christian themes, and commemorating members of the scene who have passed on, Jazz Night is aligning itself with the long-term residents of Washington, D.C.

Gentrification, Urban Communities and Southwest D.C.

Gentrification scholarship, the bulk of which has originated in sociology and urban planning, has been focused on the displacement of informal communities from its infancy. In sociologist Herbert Gans' influential book *The Urban Villagers,* he described the network of informal connections between family members, friends, and business owners alike that made the Italian immigrant community in New York City an "urban village." This "village" was in turn displaced by redevelopment, and the social ties were broken by physical separation (Gans 1962). This kind of displacement has remained a

topic of interest to the present day. Michael Chernoff examined how "social displacement" manifests itself from the directly observable decrease in participation in local politics, to the harder to perceive threats to long-term residents' lifestyles. Chernoff describes facets of this process: "social displacement might be marked by a gradual withdrawal from neighborhood activities by the displaced. They drop out of local organizations or remove themselves from political activities. Thus, they complete their own displacement by relinquishing attachments to the associations which were formerly the bases of their power" (Chernoff 1980: 204). Although I do not agree with the amount of complacency Chernoff leverages on long-term residents, his attention to the social dimension of displacement is a testament to the subject's validity. This focus on social displacement was also central to Lance Freeman's 2006 *There Goes the 'Hood*. Many of the Harlem and Clinton Hill residents interviewed in his book describe how the new "gentry" moving in would tend to not interact with long-term residents, and argue that social practices of new residents served to assert new ownership of shared space (Freeman 2006). An example of this is new Clinton Hill residents using the Fort Greene Park as a dog park, which was seen by long-term residents as preventing them from barbequing, a previously central social practice (Freeman 2006: 137).[15] In these examples, and others, one can see the major effects gentrification has on social practices and communities (Perez 2004; Jackson 2008). There is significant room to follow suit in documenting and responding to social dislocation as this increasingly becomes a major result of gentrification in Washington.

[15] This brings up a motif that has come up many times in my fieldwork: dogs as aggressive symbols of gentrification. In my research in Southwest, Dick Smith explained that dogs had made his neighborhood unwalkable due to new residents with dogs dominating the sidewalk. DeAndrey Howard of the Jazz and Cultural Society told me that dogs were a physical threat to his safety, and that upon seeing people out walking dogs in the city, he feels the need to protect himself in any way necessary.

As described in the introduction, Washington, D.C. has been shaped through movements of people and capital throughout its history. With these shifts, social institutions have changed along with them, and these have often been a topic of literature in sociology on Washington, D.C., and on the gentrification of cities. First considering literature on D.C., Brett Williams, in an article describing the redevelopment of the Anacostia neighborhood, described the effect of Hope VI restructuring, which "aimed to break down wider-ranging class-based social networks, colonizing educational, cooperative, and leisure activities" (Williams 2002: 106). Williams goes on to describe how the demographic changes brought about by breaking up housing projects and re-investment in Anacostia have threatened both the gay club scene and the go-go scene.

Social displacement in The District was also explored in Natalie Hopkinson's *Go-Go Live*. The latter half of this work on the go-go scene's development and status in the mid 2000s centers on how, as members of the scene were continually displaced from D.C., the scene was moved into the suburbs of Prince George's and Montgomery counties. The physical isolation that comes along with suburban living has dealt a substantial blow to the go-go scene, diminishing its presence in social life (Hopkinson 2012: 150-151). Throughout the literature on gentrification and on Washington D.C., social displacement is a central theme. In contrast, the establishment and maintenance of social networks of long-term residents, such as at Jazz Night in Southwest, powerfully resist this displacement.

Repeat-Attendees at Jazz Night

Westminster is a site of repeated attendance and audience engagement. Jazz Night in Southwest happens every Friday night, from 6:00 p.m. until 9:00 p.m. in the main

worship hall of Westminster Presbyterian Church. Although Jazz Night takes place in a church, church members make up a small minority of those in attendance. The hall is usually filled with two-to-three-hundred attendees, and regulars all have their usual places. Audience members come from all over the D.C. metro area, although many of those talked to were proud native Washingtonians. There are fifteen rows of plastic chairs, about twenty seats across. They face the two-foot-tall wooden stage in neat rows with wide aisles, except for the three rows of chairs on the stage itself. One attendee, Lonna (name changed to protect her anonymity), even brings laminated placards to save her four or five seats every week, depending on who she is bringing with her. A performance will typically be presented in three sets, all of which audience members are encouraged to attend. The sets are punctuated by lengthy set breaks of about twenty-five minutes, and announcements and crowd-work from the emcee and producer of the event, Dick Smith, or by the pastor of Westminster, Reverend Brian Hamilton. Despite the fluctuating nature of the performances, Jazz Night fosters community through the constants of each performance. I will focus on how this audience of repeat-attendees is constructed through the event's production and cost.

Throughout my fieldwork, a regular opening exchange with audience members began with "how long have you been going to Jazz Night?," or as some longtime attendees referred to the event "Friday." Often times, the responses from audience members would be marked in years. I have talked to audience members who have been attending from the beginning, seventeen years ago, some who started attending more recently, five to seven years ago, and every week there are small groups of newcomers. The prevalence of weekly regulars contrasts strongly with the business models of major

jazz clubs which producers and musicians have, in interviews with me, labeled as "transient." The producers at Jazz Night are conscious of this tendency and actively resisted this in the development of Jazz Night. Rev. Brian Hamilton, one of the co-pastors of Westminster, a founder of Jazz Night, and a regular figure on Fridays, explained this plan to me:

> Most importantly for us is that we really wanted to create a place for people, and we wanted to make it affordable so that people would have an opportunity to participate, and to come on a regular basis. Kind of make it their home, make it their thing. And in that sense, really create that network. And that web of affiliation that could sustain people culturally, relationally. And that's what happened, that's what happened here and the old timers, the old guys when we first started used to come and say "I gotta thank you. This is just like coming home, this is just like it used to be in the old days." (Rev. Brian Hamilton, p.c. 2016)

Rev. Hamilton clearly states the desire here to create a group of repeat-attendees, and to provide a space where "webs of affiliation" could develop.

Set Breaks

Maintenance of Jazz Night as a social space is a major aspect of the event. Regular members often greet one another as they enter, and take time to catch up on set breaks. Members often sit among their respective cohorts, be it old friends, fellow parishioners, or spouses. Set breaks are crucial times for socialization and food. As Rev. Hamilton put it to me,

> We try to be very protective about the breaks, and we have to fight back against the musicians about that too because they'd like to play all night long. They'd like to be front and center with no interruptions but we try to tell them, "hey look, its more than about you, go talk to somebody." They need to do that, and people need to talk to each other. (Rev. Brian Hamilton, p.c. 2016)

Here Rev. Hamilton affirms the importance of social interaction to Jazz Night, and indeed, set breaks are when I developed the majority of my connections with audience

members. Often, as soon as there is a stop to the music, people turn to each other and begin talking about the music that night, or local and personal news.

Set breaks often are at least twenty-five minutes long to give the audience ample time to go downstairs and purchase food. Downstairs, there are ten sets of tables and chairs as well as soul food sold by the church's in-house catering company.[16] Musicians and audience members alike head down there to eat together and talk. There is a live-feed of the music on-stage projected on the wall of the dining area. During the performance, some will eat downstairs while watching the performance, and on a few occasions this afforded me a good chance to talk with audience members while a performance was ongoing. Others will take plates of food with them upstairs to eat during the performance. This all together produces a very casual environment for the performances, which can contribute to the feeling of Jazz Night being a "home" of sorts. Stability and inter-connectedness are what define the audience at Jazz Night, both within the community, and to the broader Washington jazz scene.

Looking From the Stage Out: Musicians' Perspectives on Jazz Night

One of the first things that led me to look into the idea of a "jazz community" at Jazz Night in Southwest is the way that fellow jazz musicians in D.C. talk about the

[16] Soul food is featured prominently on the menu at Jazz Night. Always on the menu is fried fish (whiting and catfish) along with staples such as greens, mac and cheese, and sweet-potato pie. The food figures heavily in the imagery of Jazz Night. Rev. Hamilton explained how the food was a part of the social practice they strived to recreate with Jazz Night, "They did this they fried up some fish, they pulled out some instruments, they played music, they sustained themselves" (Hamilton, Washington D.C., 2016). There is a historical connection between soul food, Black music, and the Black power movement. Soul food cafés were an integral part of the Chitlin' Circuit in the 1960s, serving artists and patrons alike (Opie 2008). In Washington D.C., Cecilia's Restaurant was the café that catered to the scene around the Howard Theatre, an institution for Black music in the city (Opie 2008: 123). Also, some Black D.C. residents saw the emergence of "soul food" as a genre and term as an integral part of the Black Power movement. At Jazz Night, beyond serving dishes considered to be soul food, the food is featured prominently in the song sung by all attendees as part of the anniversary ceremony. The last line of the song is, "Fried fish on Friday, fish and Friday jazz." Here, fried fish is presented as a central aspect of what Jazz Night is. Thus there is a clear linkage between Jazz Night and Black identity.

environment there. I first heard about this from two jazz pianists who are friends of mine, Andrew Flores and Clifton McCall. They feverishly related to me stories about "this church with great soul-food that does jazz and has an audience that *gets* the music." Andrew Flores put it to me this way: "You feel like you're at church, but there's not all the stigmas of church, it's just like, a lively experience. People are there to listen, to have a good time, to vibe out, to react… It's just straight community; that's what keeps that going" (Andrew Flores, p.c. 2015). As mainstream jazz is increasingly viewed as art rather than entertainment, the interactions audiences have with the music become more reserved and more "proper" (Lopes 2002). In describing how audience members are there to "vibe out" and "to react," Flores foregrounds audience participation in performance as a central attraction of performing at Jazz Night. The allure surrounding the audience at Westminster is a widely-circulating idea in the scene. This kind of audience engagement and interaction is seen as almost mythic, and sometimes runs the risk of overstatement, but still speaks to the appeal musicians find in performing at Jazz Night.

Other musicians I interviewed discussed the significance of Jazz Night's audience as a sustained group of listeners who have been there for years. For artists that regularly perform at Jazz Night, this creates the opportunity to develop long-term relationships with a fan base. As trombonist Reginald Cyntje explained to me,

> Westminster represents me growing up in D.C., me growing musically in D.C. A lot of those folks I've seen for the last 17, 18, 19 years, and they've come out to many different performances, supported me. So then, every time I release an album I wanted to do a CD release party at Westminster; because some of the audience members can't necessarily make it down the steps at Bohemian Caverns, or up the steps at Twins. I always make sure to do a CD release party there…its just a family atmosphere. (Reginald Cyntje, p.c. 2016)

Cyntje's emphasis on the longevity and continuity of the audience speaks to musicians' perceptions of the audience as a stable whole. In addressing physical accessibility he also speaks to the perception of the audience at Jazz Night being primarily older people, an assertion that aligned with my experience there.[17] Cyntje confirmed to me that the audience of regular repeat-attendees remains a defining characteristic of Jazz Night.

Jazz Night's core audience is seen as an educated body of listeners.[18] Sarah Hughes, a noted Jazz pianist in D.C., addressed the crowd towards the end of a set she was playing at Jazz Night with the Bullettes Big Band, saying that we were the "best crowd in town, everybody knows you guys are all hip." Hipness here refers to the assumed education of the audience members listening. This was echoed in an interview I conducted with the founder and leader of The Bullettes Big Band, Shannon Gunn. The Bullettes had a hugely successful performance at Jazz Night for Washington's Women in Jazz Month. Gunn described what went in to the programming of her setlist for the event: "Well, Westminster is a unique opportunity because you *know* you're going to have 400 people there and you *know* you're going to have an audience that *know*s jazz" (Gunn, p.c. 2015). [19] She then expanded on that, discussing her freedom to pick things that she thought would appeal to the crowd (straight ahead, swing, and blues,) and also how she could challenge them a bit as well (in this case with an abstract original composition

[17] Physical accessibility was described to me as a primary determinate in which shows older partons choose to attend. This aspect will be described in greater detail in later chapters.
[18] I am using "educated" here to speak to a perceived knowledge of repertoire, artists, and recordings, seen as what separates amateur jazz fans from aficionados.
[19] The idea of an educated audience is also something that I observed and can reasonably confirm. Examples would be how audiences would often recognize and have a body of knowledge on the repetoire. When Bowie State's Jazz Ensemble performed at Jazz Night, there was a lot of engagement with audience knowledge, for example, Director Clarnece Knight had only to say, "I Got It Bad," to which the audience replied, "And That Ain't Good." Another Friday, local vocalist Connie Simmons sat in with the Michael Thomas quintet on, "All of Me" and looking around I could see a good number (at least five-to-ten audience members) mouthing all of the lyrics along with her as she sang, indicating some knowledge beyond casual familiarity with jazz.

featuring *didgeridoo* and an arrangement of Radiohead's "Knives Out"). [20] In her explanation, Gunn speaks to the audience as a steady group, which can be conceived as a whole to such a degree that it even has observable taste and knowledge. The fact that a fluctuating group of people at any concert can develop a group identity in the eyes of the musicians speaks to the public perception, at least from musician's perspective, of Jazz Night as a community. This is community shaped by changing audiences and repeated structures: constants and variables. The constants, or even just the issues that are repeatedly brought up within Jazz Night, help give it a distinctive character and voice.

"You Can't Beat It!" Considering Cost

One important dynamic of Jazz Night that allowed for this base of repeat-attendees is the cost of admission. It is a constant that literally greets you as you walk into the gathering hall. No one directly asks you for money, there is no sign displaying admission fees, nor is that advertised on their website or scheduling, but there is someone waiting at the door to take your $5, which gets you in for about two-and-a-half hours of live music. The $5 admission was reiterated to me time and again by audience members: "you can't beat it," "it's the best deal," "you could pay $200 dollars for this group." As a brief comparison, a Friday night at D.C. club Twin's Jazz is $15 for one set, along with a $12 minimum per person, so, for two sets, creating a comparable amount of time to the

[20] Musical programming at Jazz Night is greatly varied, but often times features artists performing straight-ahead jazz: standards presented in the typical head-solos-head-out format. Dick Smith explained to me that there is also a priority placed on booking older musicians that he sees as having a harder time finding regular work in the city. There is a strong presence of older musicians such as frequent featured bassist Steve Novosel, who has been a major figure in D.C. jazz since the mid-1960s and often accompanies straight-ahead acts. There are also younger musicians performing their original compositions that fall outside of the straight-ahead designation. Forty-year-old Reginald Cyntje's music often mixes modern jazz vocabulary with elements of Caribbean popular music from his origins in Charlotte Amalie, Virgin Islands.

typical performance length at Westminster, it would cost $42 (Twins Jazz 2015).[21] Compared to other clubs, this is relatively inexpensive for a Friday night. For bigger-name clubs such as Blues Alley, the cost could easily reach $50 per set (Blues Alley 2015).[22] As emcee Dick Smith explains, "We're trying to preserve that and give them somewhere to go, because without this, they wouldn't have nothing, because most of them are on a fixed income. They're not going to go down to the Kennedy Center: because its $85*, then you've got to park*" (Dick Smith, p.c. 2015). This quote speaks volumes about the mission of Westminster and its dedication to the community, and the elderly in particular.[23] As one self-identifying elderly patron told me, "people our age still want to go out!" The $5 admission fee helps make jazz night something that people can see as a big night out, such as the more cost-prohibitive jazz clubs are, or a regular part of their week, which is something that they can come to again and again. Through the stability of Jazz Night's weekly schedule, its emphasis on social networks, and the accessibility of cost, Jazz Night maintains a robust audience of regular attendees.

Prioritizing Participation

The lively audience at Westminster is, as previously described, a major aspect of the event to musicians and producers (although in my experience audience members were less likely to view this as an important dimension of the performance).[24] Rev. Hamilton

[21] Twins Jazz. 2015. "Mars 4tet 9PM & 11PM." Accessed May 14, 2015. http://www.twinsjazz.com/?event=mars-4tet-w-max-murray-donato-soveiro-frank-russo-jeff-antoniuk-4-2

[22] Blues Alley. N.d. "On Stage at Blues Alley." Accessed May 14, 2015. http://www.bluesalley.com/events.cfm

[23] This is referring to the elderly in particular because "fixed incomes" is often used to refer to those whose incomes are social security or savings for retirement.

[24] In discussing interaction with musicians with audience, they were often surprised that I would be interested in them as opposed to focusing on musicians. So, when asked about considering audience

has attributed this to the "critical mass" achieved by having much larger audiences than a typical jazz club. Hamilton describes the participatory environment:

> Most places, jazz is delivered to a market place through clubs and bars and real small venues, but what we have done here, this is more of a concert venue. We have a bigger capacity and what comes along with that is you're able to create a different experience where the audience becomes a critical part of it. Because what it is, its critical mass– you've got enough people in the room to create a particular kind of vibe … People are paying attention and there are enough people paying attention so that it creates this atmosphere of high energy… There's a few extroverts who get up and dance you know, dance in the aisles, and would dance on stage if they could get up the steps but they [musicians] really appreciate the fact that people seem to care about them and that's what the music generates, that kind of passionate connection. (Rev. Brian Hamilton, p.c. 2016)

Here Hamilton presents Jazz Night's social practices in contrast with jazz clubs, and what differentiates Westminster is the participatory environment. Thomas Turino, in his comparative study of participation in music making, *Music as Social Life,* highlighted the potentials of participatory music: "for social bonding, for the integration of individual selves, for imagining the possible, experiencing the actual, and for flow" (Turino, 2008: 227). The ability of participatory music to foster social ties is in line with the previously described networks of the core audience. This participation manifests itself through clapping, vocal interjection, and singing. I will first consider Dick Smith: one of the most prominent figures at Jazz Night, the emcee of the event since its beginning, and a major catalyst for audience participation.

Dick Smith, Emcee and Model Audience Member

A central presence at Jazz Night since its inception, Dick Smith is the man in charge of booking the musicians at Jazz Night, is emcee and the public face of Jazz Night, and is recognized by many as a friend and a focal point of the show. He was the

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members as part of the performance, it was often brushed off as something not significant. I get the impression that for many audience members, what is most important is the musicians on-stage.

first person that interlocutors I spoke with at Jazz Night told me I must meet. Audience members have described him to me as a hoot when he is hamming it up on stage telling jokes, and also as the charismatic face of Jazz Night, a much-needed central figure.

A musician and former player for the Washington professional football team, Smith came to D.C. by way of Cincinnati after a fruitful but short-lived music career. A vocalist himself, Smith has recorded with major soul acts of the 1970s. Smith is still active singing in his church (not Westminster) and has been known to get on stage at Jazz Night and sing a standard, provided there is enough goading from the audience (generally, there is). He was instrumental in getting Jazz Night off the ground, and every week is at the helm, introducing the musicians from the stage and providing anecdotes in between sets. What sets Smith apart from most emcees is that he does not leave the stage after announcing the acts. Either toward the rear behind the drum-set, or on the far right, he posts himself, either standing with his cane, or sitting on a stool. From the stage, Smith provides a visual example in his mannerisms for how people can acceptably engage with the music. I argue that given how prominent Smith's onstage action is, it cannot be overlooked as a potential influence to performance.

In the chapter "That Text, That Timbre: Introducing Gospel Announcer Edna Tatum" of the 2007 book *Black Women in Music,* Deborah Smith Pollard provides a much needed insight into the expressive dimensions of Gospel announcers at concerts and festivals, and their central role in making the event. In focusing on Announcer Edna Tatum, Pollard unpacks all aspects of Tatum's performance, from metaphorical speech and use of hands to "sermonophones," or vocal signifiers of the Black Church in the form of "grunts, groans and hums" (Pollard 2007: 98). While the other aspects Pollard

describes are present in Smith's emceeing, it is the "sermonophones" dimension on which I would like to now focus, because it is the action most easily and most often repeated back by audience members.

As previously mentioned, Smith is almost always visible on-stage throughout the performance. While by no means does he make himself the center of attention, he does frequently engage vocally with the musicians. To give an example, on April 4, 2015, a septet from Howard University was onstage playing the standard "Speak Low." The septet's performance was business-as-usual for an ensemble of its type: head, solos, head-out. The septet was joined for this song by jazz legends Cyrus Chestnut on piano, and Andre Hayward on trombone, who were in town to perform at Howard later that weekend. As the tune got into the solos, the medium swing was grabbing hold of the musicians, and Smith. Jarvis Hooper, the trombonist with the group, was into the second chorus of his solo when he hit two ascending triplets into a scoop to the upper range of the instrument, prompting a yelled "YEAH!" from Smith, followed by subsequent punches into the air, mimicking gripping a trombone slide. This moment obviously affected Smith and others in the crowd who responded with similar vocal outbursts during Hooper's solo. As Smith got on stage to announce the end of the set he put it to the intended "guest star" Andre Hayward: "get ready to lose your gig, bruh!"

This is one specific example, but there are countless instances of Smith providing a "yeah" or "uh-huh" or even and "mm-hmm," all of these falling under the umbrella of Pollard's "sermonophones." The significance here is two-fold. First, as will be unpacked in more detail later, Smith's conscious or unconscious allusion to a Gospel style of presentation creates auditory ties to a church experience, one that is centered around

community (Spencer 1990; Ramsey, 2003). Secondly, Smith is on-stage while doing these vocal interjections. Even though he is not amplified, his voice can clearly be heard in the first five to six rows of the two dozen that fill the church hall, and even in the very back, his voice often carries. When he is not announcing, Smith becomes the most prominent audience member, and in a way, serves as an example for what is acceptable and encouraged behavior at the performance. If Smith were to remain stone-faced and motionless with his hands folded in his lap, I have no doubt that the audience would take notice of his seriousness and would begin to mimic it. Instead, Smith is lively, making gestures with his hand, beating out two and four on his walking cane, and letting out a vocal affirmation where he sees fit. I contend that this very public display of a different kind of interaction than what would normally be expected at a jazz venue (quiet intense listening, respectful reserved applause at precise moments) serves to encourage a different kind of audience interaction with the music, ultimately contributing to the overall sense of community associated with Jazz Night.

Musical participation in Jazz Night comes about both organically (unprompted) and with encouragement from artists on stage. As has been demonstrated, this participatory environment looms large in public conceptions of Jazz Night, and I will now consider the major aspects of audience participation. First, the most prevalent kind of participatory interaction is clapping along with the music. Secondly, soloist's statements are often punctuated by yelled, "yeah's" or "uh-huh's." Lastly, on occasion, generally through artist's encouragement, the audience will sing along with performers on-stage. Through these interactions, the audience is foregrounded as a major component of Jazz Night. Turning the focus on the audience and creating a participatory

environment, Jazz Night emphasizes its communitarian ideal creating the kind of community gentrification threatens.

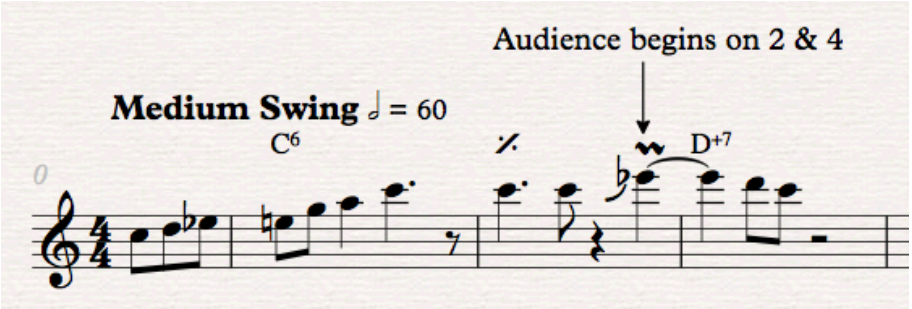
Clapping

At Jazz Night, musical participation in the form of clapping on two and four often begins spontaneously, with no clear leader. Slowly the action works its way through the aisles, until there is a significant group making their rhythmic contribution to the music. I observed two main trends in musical actions that would prompt clapping from the audience. The first is after musicians perform a particularly impressive technical feat or lay into blues vocabulary. The second, which was much more frequent, was that clapping would spontaneously begin on songs with a medium swing or a shuffle feel, at tempos ranging from 120 to 150 beats per minute. In my fieldwork, these were not sure-fire formulas to induce a clapping response from the audience, but rather were recurring trends that were frequent enough to warrant analysis. My focus on clapping and potential musical cues to prompt this interaction draws on Byron Dueck's work on meter in Manitoban Aboriginal music. Dueck suggests that meter is a "social phenomena" and that "metricalised music recruits co-performers and listeners to roles as interlocutors, who perceiving cues in the music they hear, mobilize appropriate structures of attentiveness and expectation in response" (Dueck 2013: 138). It is beyond the scope of my study to suggest underlying mental structures in audience members, but rather I suggest that this "metricalised" response to the music onstage is an especially potent means of musical engagement.

In considering clapping in response to a soloist, I will present a brief excerpt from a clarinet solo performed by Kenny Nunn over "Take the 'A' Train," which inspired the

audience to clap along. Clarinetist Kenny Nunn is a senior at Howard University and was one of the featured soloists of their performance at Jazz Night. I have chosen a very small fragment of his solo on "Take the 'A' Train" because, right at the moment in which Kenny laid into the blues and employed extended techniques, the audience began, without any prompting, clapping on two and four, accompanying Nunn's solo.

Figure 2. Kenny Nunn on "Take the 'A' Train."



The transcription above starts with pick-ups into the first three bars of the last 'A' section of Nunn's first chorus. Up until this point, Nunn was playing mostly bebop vocabulary in a swinging style, as would be expected on this tune and in this tempo in a straight-ahead context. Coming into measure three, Nunn takes a long scoop, or imprecise upward slur, into the flat, or 'blue' third of the key (Eb over C major) while growling on the note for its duration. With Nunn playing this note, the audience began clapping on two and four, which would continue on to the end of Nunn's solo. This exemplifies one potential prompt for audience engagement.

The second musical trope that repeatedly prompted a clapping response was the musicians on stage playing in a medium swing or shuffle feel.

Table 1. Audience Clapping and Tempo

Composition	**Rhythmic Feel**	**Tempo**
Route 66	Shuffle	138 bpm
Blues For Al	Swing	130 bpm
The Preacher	Shuffle	124 bpm

Moanin’	Shuffle	120 bpm
Blues in F	Shuffle	146 bpm

The above table shows several notable instances of self-initiated clapping from the audience. The examples for the table were chosen because these instances had particularly high amounts of audience participation, thirty or more people. In each of these examples we see a general clustering of tempos between 120-150 beats per minute. Throughout, there is also a prevalence of swing and shuffle feels. In my fieldwork there was never an instance where audiences clapped along to something that was not heavy-swinging. There is a palpable change in the audience when a shuffle groove begins: people start to move and clapping almost feels inevitable. Oftentimes the clapping starts from the audience members closest to the stage and moves backward. The clapping is passed aurally due to the seats facing forward and people’s focus on the performing musicians. Clapping as shared musical participation is significant in its embodiment in audience members. This “social phenomena” of metricalised response is common way in which audiences at Jazz Night foster a participatory environment.

Vocal Interjection

Vocal interjection is the most common means of musical participation from audience members at Jazz Night. Oftentimes it manifests itself in a manner akin to what was previously described in Dick Smith’s presence on stage. A particularly well-received moment in a solo may be met with multiple “yeahs!” A vocalist making a powerful statement such as the opening phrase of “At Last” may earn a “sing it!” from an audience member. Scholars such as Samuel Floyd, Jr. have highlighted this kind of interaction as central to the “black-music experience.” Floyd writes on the subject, “comments such as

'Oh yeah,' 'Say it,' 'He's Cookin,' and 'That's bad' (in response to Signifying(g) musical events) show approval of those events and, as Murray would say, their extensions, elaborations and refinements" (Floyd, 1991: 275). [25] Throughout, Floyd calls for jazz scholarship to consider these moments of Signifyin(g) more seriously in analysis of musical performance. I do not bring in Floyd to suggest that these are solely black ways of musical participation. I believe that vocal interjection in this manner does index the black musical tradition, although indirectly, because it is impossible to determine motivations for these interjections. Vocal interjection in this manner could be a learned behavior from earlier in one's life, one inferred from the actions of other audience members or Dick Smith onstage, or caused by any other number of reasons. The critical issue here is that, as Floyd has outlined, musical interaction through vocal interjection is a participatory practice that furthers communitarianism in music-making.

Laurie Williams on "Straight, No Chaser" April 10, 2015

To consider how audience members interact through singing, I will present Laurie Williams's improvised singing on the out-chorus of a blues sung as the opening number of her performance at Jazz Night as a case-study. Williams is a vocalist, so as opposed to the previous examples, where audience interaction was spontaneous and unprompted, she verbally engaged with and encouraged the audience. Both of these variables led to meaningful artist-audience interaction.

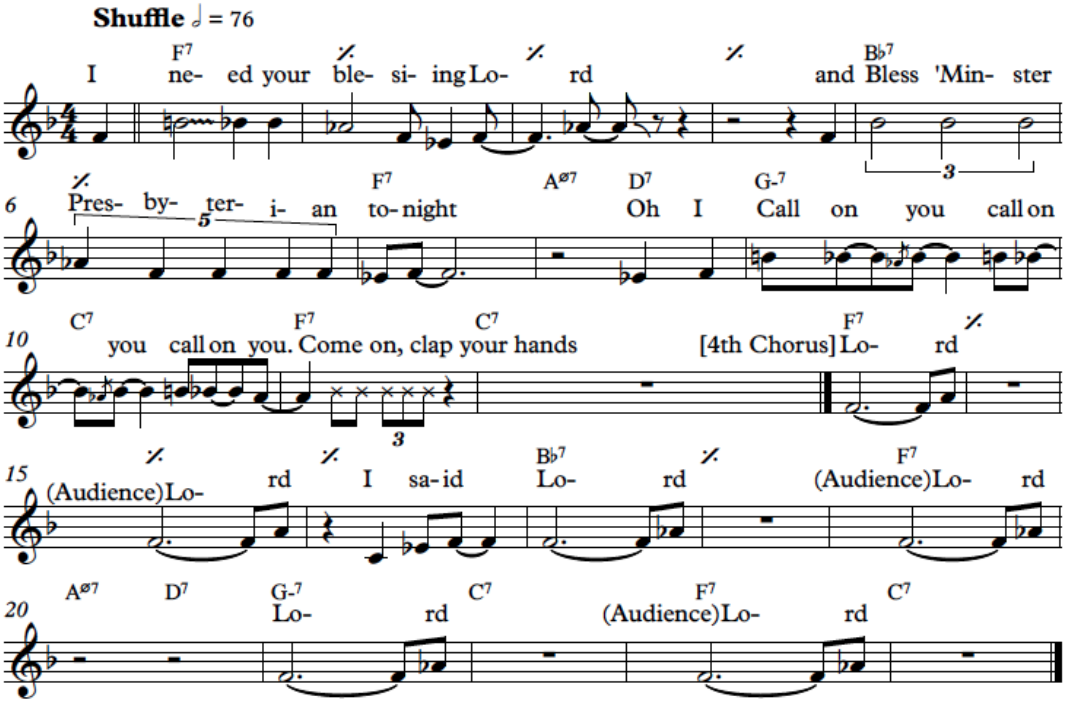
In the church, the new spring warmth and humidity poured through the open doors and people were fanning themselves. Patrons were in a wide variety of dress; some in their Sunday best complete with boisterous hats others dressed more casually, with one

[25] Floyd is referring here to Albert Murray, music critic and writer of *Stomping the Blues* among other works.

patron proudly wearing a t-shirt from President Obama's second inauguration. After the slow boil of four solos dripping in the blues, Laurie got up and improvised a chorus. In her first improvised chorus, she sang a verse making reference to her deity and the church itself, which got a number of vocal responses of agreement from the audience, and with her encouragement the audience began a clapping accompaniment on two and four. She then continued vocally improvising until the fourth chorus, when it became a full-on call-response with the audience on the word "Lo-ord." This swept the audience into a frenzy; the audience was rocking back in forth, and people were whipping their hair, clapping, stomping, yelling, and raising their hands, either with a single raised fist or what I term the "go-on-ahead" hand.[26] After this reached a long and resounding ending on a stretched chord, people were on their feet.

Figure 3. Laurie Williams on "Straight, No Chaser."

[26] The "go-on-ahead" hand gesture is one hand raised over head with an open palm that mimics the action of throwing a ball, sometimes the phrase "go on ahead" accompanies this motion, which is the namesake.



The sung text of this example elicited a number of vocal responses, especially at naming Westminster in her improvisation. I could not help but add a "yeah!" to the musical exchange as it was happening. Her direct address to the audience, both in naming the church and in invoking presumably the Christian God, was powerful for the construction of a communal feeling. In naming the church, she displayed that she was invested in this specific moment, in this place. It was not canned banter, or a song she performed frequently substituting lyrics to match a different location. This improvisatory nature can be seen in the song's melodic simplicity and rhythmic unpredictability. In calling out to the "Lord," Williams invokes powerful religious imagery, and as will be expanded upon later, this tie to religion is a powerful one. Whether or not someone directly identifies with Christianity as their personal creed, its images and philosophy

have defined the American mainstream to a degree that it is hard to deny their significance when they are directly brought up in performance.

From the audience's clapping, yells in response to William's calling out of the church, and the audience members latching on to the blue third of "Lord" here, the audience is a part of the music making. Some are clapping or stomping, some are choosing to sing along, while others are yelling affirmations or raising their hands in the air. This all culminates in the direct back and forth on "Lord" that brings the song to its end. It is not within the scope of this project to say whether or not audience members *feel* like they are a part of the musical performance, but the sheer number of participants, almost all clapping, about half singing, speaks to how the audience is directly involved in the music-making in a way one would not normally expect for a jazz club, and certainly not in the isolation of listening alone. This direct engagement with a larger whole creates community as the audience/performer line is blurred.

"God Loves Jazz": Religious Imagery at Jazz Night

Not to be overlooked In William's singing is the potent religious imagery and symbolism. Although it would be a dangerous generalization to assert that everyone involved in the event would assign significance to the performance taking place in a church and Williams invoking the Christian God, it is still a powerful tool that ties Jazz Night more directly to something engaged with community, religion. The religious similarities extend beyond musicians making reference to God, or the fact that they are in a church. There is also a catechismal aspect to each show; that is to say, Mr. Smith acts as the cantor, and we are all the congregation. Lastly, Pastor Brian of Westminster Presbyterian often uses his announcements to deliver something of a sermon in miniature,

again steeped in religious imagery, contributing to an increased sense of communal feeling. The clear ties to Christianity in Jazz Night and the centrality of community to Christian churches serves to further establish Jazz Night's audience as an interconnected social group.

Musicians' Acknowledgement of the Church

Musicians onstage often engage with the religious environment of the church, usually calling out aspects of the physical space in a range of tones from sincere to sardonic. A vocalist, Juanita Williams, in the opening moments before she began to sing, started by outlining her troubles getting to where she was, and how that all got turned around by a pious patron speaking to her, "She said God said I have a *gift."* This was immediately greeted by a resounding "AMEN!" from an audience member. Others musicians engage with the church more passively. One vocalist, in a spoken introduction to "I Got it Bad and That Ain't Good," stood under the cross as she said "We all sin some." Here, she made reference to the lustful longing in the song's lyrics. When Howard University's Jazz Ensemble's Director, Fred Irby, thanked pianist Cyrus Chestnut for sitting in with the band, he said, "I'm glad the first time you played with us was in church…we got a spiritual connection, maybe I can stop drinkin'. Y'all pray for me please." In all of these examples, the musicians are somewhat self-conscious of the fact that they are in a church, that there is a cross on stage. The musicians engage with it differently, some adding a dimension of sincerity to the performance, others using it to add levity. Through the musicians' words, it is hard to forget that one is in a church at Jazz Night, and hard to deny the religious imagery that pervades the event.

Knowing the Words

Extending from direct references, there are structural signifiers of Christianity as well. Much as in a Catholic mass, long-time attendees of Jazz Night know the calls and responses. The most frequently repeated and clearest example is Smith's phrase that ends announcements and starts the next set: "shut up and get out the way, and let 'em play." "let 'em play" is always said by the audience, and Smith will frequently play into this, as he did on one such Friday: Smith: "Somebody said get out the way!" Audience: "And let 'em play." Smith: "And what?" Audience: "Let 'em play!" In this back and forth we see Smith operating off of the assumption that the audience knows what to say, which in turn creates a sense amongst audience members that they should know what is going on as well. For me, it felt like my first few years of fumbling through a Catholic mass in my first couple of nights attending one. This structured nature and back-and-forth adds more weight to the religious symbolism and furthers the ties between what could otherwise be a one-off jazz performance and the community of Jazz Night.

Rev. Hamilton

A last aspect tying Jazz Night to some Christian devices is Rev. Hamilton's handling of announcements. Usually, these announcements are about other musical productions the church puts on, such as the "Thinkin' About Jazz" lecture series or Blue Monday Blues, the blues counterpart to Jazz Night in Southwest. Within this frame, Rev. Hamilton often takes the opportunity to speak his mind briefly about the community or the music that is happening that night. One evening, Rev. Hamilton was announcing a film screening about the Southwest neighborhood that the church was hosting. He gave

the date and time, but in the middle, he spoke his mind, garnering an audience response. He said,

> This neighborhood, where you're sittin' right here, you know there used to be 36,000 people who lived in here? And the urban renewal came along and they said, we're gonna fix this up for you, but *everybody can come back*. And now there are 12,000 of us who live in this neighborhood. (Rev. Brian Hamilton, 2015)

In this example, one can draw connections to the structure of a Christian sermon. Rev. Hamilton extrapolates from the bare facts of the film screening to give the audience a moral lesson that they might learn. It also worth noting the explicitly anti-gentrification message in what Rev. Hamilton is saying. All the while, he encourages a back and forth with the audience in the way that he leaves space in his speech pattern for the audience to reply.

Rev. Hamilton often occupies a liminal space in his addresses to the audience, where he and the audience both recognize his occupation but he stops short of actually making direct reference to Christianity. Although, in times of great emotion, this is a barrier that is broken through. During the announcements following Williams's impassioned blues choruses described earlier, Rev. Hamilton was visibly elated, caught in the emotion that had swept through the venue. He spoke to this: "When we first started this we had to explain how this would work having jazz in a church, but now everyone understands that. Everyone understands that God loves jazz! Can I get an Amen?" Rev. Hamilton's emotion and direct engagement with the audience on Christian terms speaks to how entrenched performances at Westminster can become both in symbolic and direct connections to the church. Through musicians' references to the church, verbal ritual, and Rev. Hamilton's presence and words, it is hard to escape the Christian symbolism built

into Jazz Night. Through these pronounced parallels to a religious community, Jazz Night further establishes its audience as a distinct cohort.

In Memoriam: Remembrances at Jazz Night

Memorialization is a central feature to performances at Jazz Night; by performing compositions of the deceased and telling stories, Jazz Night lifts up local heros of the scene and bonds the audience through shared loss. Most months there will be a concert dedicated to the memory of a local jazz musician; these concerts are always be billed as "A Tribute to" the artist being remembered. The concerts are usually helmed by musicians with a personal connection to the artist who has passed on. In the "Tribute to Noble Jolley, Sr.," the band featured his brother, Willie, and sons Noble Jr. and Nathan. In the "Tribute to Arnold Sterling," a former student of Sterling, Sam King led the group. In these memorial concerts, there is a focus on performing the compositions of those being remembered, and songs tied to memories of those lost. When Sam King was introducing the song "Strike up the Band," he reflected on its significance: "[It's a song] young cats don't like to call, but when we went over to Arnold's House, we'd do it as a warm up, and I'd get sent home packing to go practice." This was met with laughter and applause. Interstitial remembrances of the musicians by those who knew them are just as important as playing the compositions of those being memorialized.

The artists who are the subject of tribute concerts are most often not internationally known jazz artists, but have been significant figures on the jazz scene. An email advertising a Buck Hill tribute concert valorized his local career: "he gave up the opportunity to establish his name with all the jazz greats in favor of staying at home, raising his family and staying connected to his local community." In this, Hill's value as

an artist is that he stayed in D.C. and was committed to fostering the local community. Calvin Jones, another subject of a tribute concert was likewise dedicated to developing the jazz scene as a whole. He was remembered as the Director of Jazz Studies at the University of the District of Columbia, and was valued for his role as a mentor as much as for being a musician. In Jazz Night's commemoration of local figures, there is a clear establishment of a distinct local community, separate from the greater national jazz narratives. Further, it establishes Jazz Night as a place where locality is given primacy, in comparison with clubs like Blues Alley, who primarily book out-of-town acts. Most importantly, in the act of remembering figures who have passed on, there is a degree of sincerity and reverence to these programs, furthering the sense of community.

Beyond the valorization of jazz artists, Jazz Night also regularly memorializes members of the listening audience. For example, during the announcements following Howard University Jazz Band's first set, Rev. Hamilton solemnly announced the passing of a long-time Jazz Night attendee: "We lost an important member of our community, Yummy Tyler… God bless you all, God bless Yummy, and God bless Fred Irby." Here, the very sincere intimate knowledge of someone's passing is announced to the entire audience, which reflects both an assumption of people knowing Yummy and her importance to the community.[27] This raising of an audience member to the level of an artist through memorialization is something unique to Jazz Night, especially in terms of Washington D.C.'s normally transient jazz audience. Jazz Night places an emphasis on shared memory through its frequent use of memorialization. In the choice to honor local

[27] There is also a clear link between remembering the dead and Jazz Night's audience being primarily older people. As Rev. Hamilton Described it, "We do these affirmations, affirming the memory and legacy of those who have been here before, because the older you get the more people you have seen pass on" (Brian Hamilton, Washington D.C. 2016).

figures, musicians and listeners alike, Jazz Night fosters community, remembering the past as it moves forward.

The 17th Annual Jazz Night Ceremony

I would like to now consider the anniversary ceremony as an event that was emblematic of the communitarian focus of Jazz Night in Southwest. Through the course of the fifteen-minute ceremony, there was pronounced audience participation, religious imagery, memorialization, and singing and dancing. This brief moment sums up the profound social function that Jazz Night holds in a city where institutions like this are quickly disappearing.

On the set break of the night, people were milling about the main hall of Westminster, I was sitting in my chair talking to two patrons, both lifelong Washingtonians, but relative newcomers to Jazz Night. Church staff worked their way up the aisle with large trays of brightly colored plastic shot-glasses filled with sparkling grape juice, making sure everyone had one in-hand. As drinks were being passed out, Rev. Hamilton and Co-Pastor Rev. Ruth Hamilton took the stage. The stage had been cleared, at its center was a table covered in white linen cloth, with a silver Communion pitcher and chalice, to the left of the table were three candlesticks in tall ornate silver candlestick holders. To begin, the audience quieted down, Rev. Brian addressed us all as brothers and sisters (as a pastor might), and regaled us with the story of how Jazz Night came to be:

> Its 17 years all of a sudden how did 17 years get behind us so quickly? …Westminster, at that time was trying to figure out how to expand its profile in the community, be a little more authentic in how we reach out to the community and bring all people together. So we figured, you know, there's nothing that does that quite like jazz. The holidays were coming, and we decided we didn't want to do anything before Christmas cause that's difficult and so we decided to pick the

> 22nd of January 1999 which just happened to be that year, the Friday after the Monday which was Dr. King's birthday. On Dr. King's birthday back then, a group called Let 'em Play, anybody know about Let 'em Play? Dick and Mr. Banks were very active in, they always used to present an all day jam session up at Howard University. Anybody been to the all-day-jam Dr King tribute? (Rev. Brian Hamilton, p.c. 2016)

Following each of the questions directed at the audience, there were resounding "yeah's" and "mmhmm's." Here we see that even in telling a story, the audience and audience's memories are given importance. Rev. Hamilton went on, "We figured we outta make it so that anybody could afford to come so we decided to charge $5, did you hear what I said? … There is no inflation in here!" Rev. Hamilton makes the financially accessibility a central part of the narrative of Jazz Night. In saying that there is "No inflation in here," Rev. Hamilton speaks to the stability of the price, which in turn has allowed, in this narrative, for the stability of the audience.

After this, the Communion chalice was filled while one of the members of the kitchen staff, Lenora Baker, lit the first candle on stage, in memory of Arnold Sterling. Dick Smith then said a few words in memory of Sterling,

> Arnold Sterling was an integral part of our history, he helped us to get to the point where we are, with out his professionalism, his warmth, his soul, his music, which you heard tonight, you heard nuances of Arnold's music and I saw you moving, because his *music* touched your spirit, Arnold was a great spirit, let us celebrate, to Arnold. (Dick Smith, p.c. 2016)

The audience then repeated, "to Arnold, to Arnold, to Arnold." This moment, and the two candle lightings that followed it, were dense with Christian signifiers. The pouring of the grape juice in pitcher and chalice makes a clear allusion to Holy Communion. The lighting of candles for the dead is a tradition in wide circulation in many faiths, but in Christianity especially. The reference to Arnold's spirit having a presence in the music-

making that night furthers these Christian connections. Also, there is again pronounced audience participation through all of those in attendance repeating the refrain together.

Figure 4. Jazz Night Anniversary Ceremony.

Tangela Brooks, an audience member, came up to light the second candle and to read a quote from Oscar Peterson:

> The words of Oscar Peterson continue to ring oh so true today: "Jazz has suffered," he said. "Been betrayed, assimilated in its current status may not seem very healthy. But Oh," he said, "I do not believe you can wholly diminish a creative culture. You may subdue it, you may fragment it, but if time has proved it valid and durable it will continue to rise again, and again." And I know Westminster says, and yet again. (Tangela Brooks, p.c.2016)

This quote was met with audience responses of "alright" "and yet again" and a resounding "amen" from Smith. Presenting this quote as "the words of Oscar Peterson,"

especially within the context of a ceremony already using a Communion pitcher, is strongly reminiscent of the Liturgy of the Word in a mass.

The theme of rising again was taken up as Rev. Ruth expanded on the quote, "Likewise, the parts of us that are really valid and durable, they never die. The spirit of those who have played jazz and have loved jazz lives on, so shout out the names of some of those that have passed on that are in your hearts." At this point, Smith, the Hamiltons, and audience members yelled out the names of Jazz musicians and members who had died in recent years. The strongest interjections were for the names audience members, like Maurice Llyles, or Connie Simmons. These names would be repeated on-mic by Smith, which would then be met by knowing responses from the audience. The speaking of names could have easily gone on, but Tangela moved us forward, leading us all to repeat, "to those who have passed on." This served as a powerful memorial, commemorating all those who are a part of the Jazz Night community.

The last candle was lit for all of those present. Rev. Hamilton told the audience that the music was still alive, and that it was up to all of us to continue to "journey forward". He rallied the crowd at the end of his speech saying, "God loves jazz, say it with me if you believe!" With this, the audience all repeated this aloud, twice. This moment served to once again highlight the centrality of the audience to Jazz Night, along with the obvious Christian message. With this, the audience raised their glasses following Rev. Hamilton and said together, "To all of us here, to Arnold Sterling, to those who have passed on, to all of us here, we drink the cup."

As soon as all of us had finished our small glasses, the band immediately took the stage, with the Hamilton's and Smith still on it, who then told the audience to stand up

and sing together. We sang “The Friday Jazz Song,” which is a set of lyrics composed by Smith to the tune of Horace Silver’s “The Preacher.”

We love our Friday Jazz, love our Friday Jazz

We love our Friday Jazz, love our Friday Jazz

We love our Friday Jazz, love our Friday Jazz

Fried fish on Friday, Fish and Friday Jazz

As we all sang this twice, people stood up, danced, and clapped their hands. The singing of “The Friday Jazz Song” encapsulates so much. Its lyrics are simple so that people can learn and join in on a first hearing. It uses the melody of “The Preacher,” making another subtle reference to Christian themes. Lastly, featuring fried fish in the lyrics speaks to the communal eating so important to jazz night, and the social significance of soul food.

Friday nights at Westminster are a unique event. As someone who was had seen and performed primarily jazz in concert halls or clubs, this kind of connectivity between audience members was truly captivating. Social scenes such as Jazz Night are seen as disappearing by long-term residents of the city. As time moves forward, and areas of the city continue to be developed, social displacement becomes widespread. For this reason, a jazz venue that prioritizes the community of audience members and their social interaction with the music, and with each other, is a bold and novel institution. There is no way to tell what the future holds for Jazz Night. It does not advertize outside its mailing list, so it only grows by word of mouth, which keeps Jazz Night a somewhat insular community. Long term residents and their priorities may not seem to be valued by the city government; but as long as it has audience members to support, I believe Jazz Night will continue to be an important institution for those who are so often overlooked.

Chapter 3: Reconstructing Brookland Jazz

"I would always say, 'jazz, jazz, jazz, not no smooth jazz.' I play smooth jazz and all that stuff, but like I said last night: Not here, not tonight. On Wednesdays and Sundays, we gotta keep that for jazz" (DeAndrey Howard, p.c. 2016). DeAndrey Howard told this to me as we sat in the Jazz and Cultural Society on a Thursday afternoon in February, 2016. We sat across from each other at one of the dozen mismatching wooden tables that line the club. It was freezing inside and we were both bundled up, myself in a down coat and thick jeans, Howard, a tall African-American man in his 60s, in an all-black wool shirt and corduroys. While we talked in the empty club, I very much was shaken by nerves and the cold. Howard was so outspoken and gregarious in personal conversation that one would think inside the club it was standing room only. He has a habit of spinning yarns on anything from his ability to convert racists, to the supremacy of cats in the cats/dogs debate. He tells me that what sets him apart from other producers and booking agents in D.C. is that he leads a "jazz lifestyle." He said,

> A jazz person, not just a musician but a person, you can tell their lifestyle, because they're going to be real open, they're going to be easy to talk to and they're going to be themselves, like you can tell, I'm cursing. Because I just feel like cursing, it's there, I'm in my castle. (DeAndrey Howard, p.c. 2016)

JACS very much is "his castle." While the club may not be his, he is the producer and booking agent for Jazz and Cultural Society; as well as its renovator, interior decorator, HVAC repairman, emcee, and frequently featured guest trumpeter and drummer. In exchange for this work, he has an apartment above the club. He is the public face of the law-firm-turned-jazz-club, and is inseparable from it.

JACS is a non-profit jazz club located at 2813, 12th street, in the Brookland neighborhood, opened April of 2015. The deep purples and yellows of the mural of international and local jazz luminaries adorning JACS's façade make the building stand out amongst the row houses of the 12th-street corridor. Inside, Margaret Westley stands by the door taking admission fees as people walk in off the street. It is a fairly small space, seating thirty-five people in rows of chairs and another thirty at a dozen tables all situated around its small stage. The stage comfortably fits a quartet but more than that is a stretch due to the real estate taken up by the baby grand piano and Hammond B-3 organ. Its walls are covered in photographs of local jazz musicians, portraits of black intellectuals and musicians, and a host of Africana. Always seated to the left of the stage is Dr. Alice Jamison, known colloquially as simply 'Dr. Alice.' Dr. Alice owns JACS, which was once her late-husband's law firm.

JACs is a club that fills a need in the Washington D.C. jazz scene. As Howard had exclaimed to the audience my first time at JACS, "Right here in D.C. y'all, jazz is back!" Howard explained me that JACS makes "real jazz" easy to find, and accessible. He told me, "right now, its hard to find jazz, you have to look under a rock and all this stuff to find straight-ahead jazz" (DeAndrey Howard, p.c. 2016). JACS is the result of Howard and Dr.Alice's shared dream of opening up a non-alcoholic community-centered jazz club. In terms of solely presenting straight-ahead jazz, JACS is an outlier in the D.C. jazz scene. The traditional clubs in The District all tend to book a variety of jazz acts, with some drawing off of a wider range of genres than others. Blues Alley is the most liberal in its booking, having hosted artists like smooth jazz saxophonist Kim Waters, or blues legend Taj Mahal. Twins and Bohemian Caverns stick more firmly to groups that are

considered jazz, although they often push boundaries. They book groups such as the R&B-heavy Robert Glasper Experiment, or the prog-fusion of the Radiohead Jazz Project.

Aside from the stated goals of presenting straight-ahead jazz in an accessible manner, JACS also creates a space that, like Jazz Night, implicitly resists gentrification by presenting jazz in a way that resonates with long-term residents of the city. JACS was created with the already-established community of Jazz Night in mind, and in turn shares some key aspects in terms of its communitarian approach. In this chapter, I will focus on the ways in which JACS resists gentrification differently: through ties to the Brookland neighborhood and local scene, and through prominent emphasis on blackness. I will first take a cue from Travis Jackson's work on spatiality in jazz scenes and consider the importance of the location of JACS in relation to jazz narratives (Jackson 2012: 51-69). I will then focus on the ways in which JACS's localness is foregrounded in its decoration, music and musicians. Turning the focus towards racial identity, I will briefly consider literature on gentrification and race, and relate it to the specifics of Washington, D.C. Lastly, I will consider JACS's performance of a black identity through its choice of music, structuring of performance, and interior design. JACS presents an invaluable counterpoint to Jazz Night. Developed in its wake by a regular attendee and a veteran of the scene, it is useful to consider the differing ways in which JACS aligns itself with long-term residents of the city.

JACS and Jazz Night: Two Wings of the Same Bird

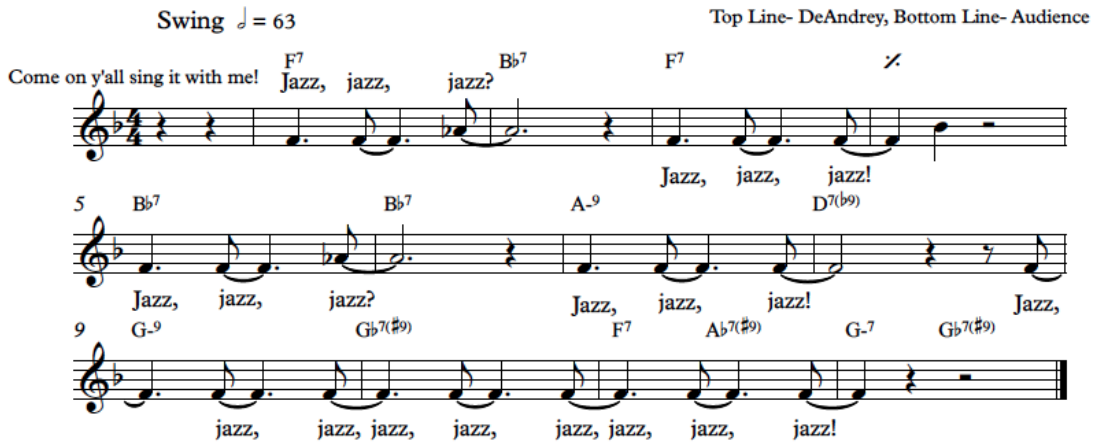
There is a great deal in common between Westminster's Jazz Night in Southwest and JACS, from their production, to audiences, to musical participation. I first heard

about JACS in an announcement made by Howard to the Jazz Night audience on a set break, inviting them all to attend the club's grand opening. Howard would later explain to me that in planning JACS, neither he nor Dr. Alice wanted to create a situation in which they were competing with Jazz Night for claim over an audience. Howard is a long-time regular performer at Jazz Night, and Dr. Alice a long-time attendee. For this reason, JACS holds its weekly shows on Wednesday and Sunday. In turn, there is some crossover in audience members; a handful of JACS regulars are also long-term audience members at Jazz Night. The demographics are similar in audiences between the two venues as well. In my time at the club, the majority of patrons were older African-Americans, which DeAndrey explained was the central base of the club's audience. Like Jazz Night, JACS also benefits from the regularity of its concerts in much the same way. The fact that it is always on Wednesday and Sunday nights, always from six to nine p.m., and always $5 makes it easy to become a routine for audiences.[28]

JACS also has a pronounced amount of audience participation in performance, including yells, clapping, and singing. To Howard, this was part of the design, in that a responsive audience inspires musicians and creates a feedback loop, magnifying the musical event for all. One example that stands out is when, on the inaugural 'Organ Trio Sunday Night,' Howard took the stage and improvised a blues that we all sang together, in much the same way Laurie Williams had done, as described in Chapter Two. Howard improvised lyrics based on his self-made catchphrase and personal brand, "jazz, jazz, jazz." This amounted to a two-bar call and response on those lyrics between Howard and the audience.

[28] Another aspect shared between the two institutions is that as of February of 2016, JACS has started selling a full dinner in the small club. Currently, they are only serving fried fish. This is yet another tie to both Jazz Night, and the web of signifiers that soul food brings.

Figure 5. DeAndrey Howard on 'F' Blues.



Similarities abound between the above example and with the Laurie Williams excerpt in the previous chapter. Both are a blues in F, at similar tempos, and follow a similar melodic structure using the rising minor third as a call to initiate audience participation. JACS has adopted Jazz Night's tactics of using participatory music-making to develop an audience. However, it is more fruitful to consider what sets JACS apart: accentuating connections to the local scene and to aspects of blackness.

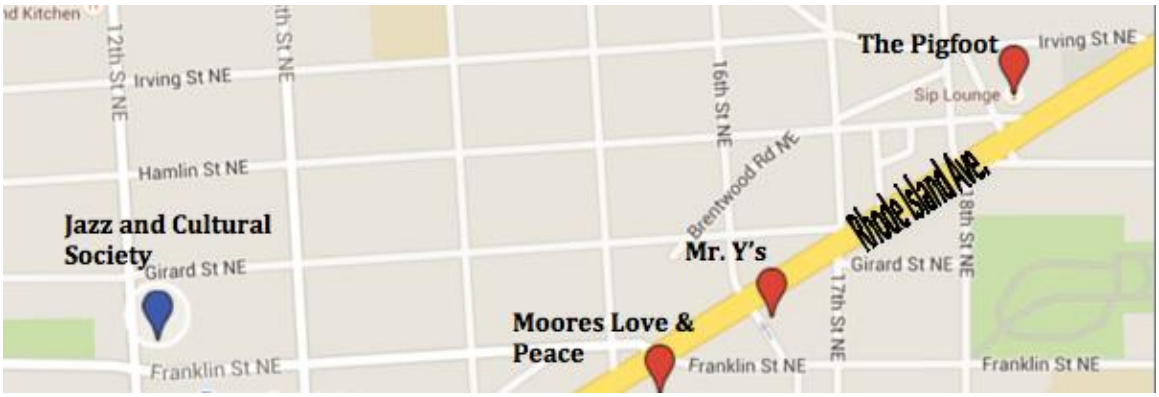
The Spatiality of JACS

"Jazz is back!" is a dense phrase. It can refer to the return of a certain stylistic strains, the resurgence of prized social practices, the return of jazz to a physical location. Later that night, Howard would say that, through JACS, they were bringing back "the spirit of the 60s and 70s." Spirit, feeling, vibe, all of these are inseparable from memory and webs of signification. The location of JACS is central to understanding its ties to the past and considering its present significance. I contend that JACS's proximity to a number of jazz clubs significant to the black community in the 70s and 80s serves to emphasize connections to the history of the space, and to its racialized identity.

Travis Jackson, in *Blowin' the Blues Away*, argued for the consideration of space and its historical construction as being central to understanding a jazz scene (Jackson 2012). He presents spatial analysis as "[a]nother way of examining jazz's development, one that devotes greater attention to the roles of *space* and *spatiality* over time and addresses the ways in which jazz musicians and other interested parties have sought to negotiate them" (Jackson 2012: 53; emphasis in original). Jackson uses "spatiality" in the manner of Marxist geographer Edward Soja, in that it is a social construct comprised of both physical actuality and mental processing (ibid). Further, Jackson contends, "the complex of factors that has allowed jazz to flourish in particular spaces at different times, therefore, argues for a history that takes account of the built environment and human uses and representations of it more than silent partners to presumably more vocal historical processes" (Jackson 2012: 54). Jackson's call should spur those engaged in the study of jazz to consider the scenery of jazz, and to foreground what has been for so long the background.

Re-focusing in this manner highlights the significance of JACS's address. 2813 12th street draws a connection to what was once a hub of black music in Washington D.C., the Rhode Island Avenue Corridor in Brookland, Northeast D.C. It is an area that survived the destruction of the riots, and flourished due to its fringe location. Audience members at JACS brought my attention to these clubs when we discussed gentrification's effects on the jazz scene. The Pigfoot, Moores Love & Peace, and Mr. Y's were all significant clubs that helped to construct the Rhode Island Avenue Corridor in the 60s, 70s, and 80s.

Figure 6. Jazz Clubs in Brookland



As shown above, the clubs that were previously in the neighborhood established a space as being the jazz scene, and the current location of JACS is four blocks away from this corridor. Rusty Hassan explained to me his opinion of these clubs' significance: "Both JACS and Westminster church on Friday night is drawing that older African American crowd that had gone out to The Pigfoot, Moores Love & Peace, and Mr. Y's back in the 70s and 80s, it's an older crowd" (Rusty Hassan, p.c. 2016). JACS is a continuation of this spatiality, building off of the institutions that came before it. In this way, JACS uses the collective memory of these clubs to re-establish Brookland as a jazz hub.

These three clubs had established local significance. Moores Love & Peace and Mr. Y's were both known as clubs that focused on local musicians. Rusty Hassan, an audience member at JACS and influential jazz DJ since the 1960's discussed how these clubs fostered the D.C. scene,

> At Moores Love & Peace, it was Davey Yarborough and Esther Williams performing there a lot. Davey's the director of the music program at Duke Ellington High School, and Esther's an incredible vocalist. So, they're active in community stuff…. Moores didn't bring in national acts, and at Mr. Y's it was an occasional thing, not frequently, but it was more emphasis on area musicians. (Rusty Hassan, p.c. 2016)

In his description there is an emphasis on the regularity of not just local acts, but local acts that were engaged with the community. Moores Love & Peace is also notable for being one of the few clubs that had a Hammond B3 permanently in house, a fact which I will return to in discussing musical performances at JACS.

Turning to The Pigfoot, it was a club that more frequently brought in national acts, but was helmed by a prominent local musician, Dr. Bill Harris, a blues guitarist.[29] In 1978, The Pigfoot and Harris held such a place in the local community that November 4th was officially proclaimed by the mayor and city council as "Bill Harris-Pigfoot Day."[30] Descriptions of the club often frame the space as creating a feeling of bygone times. As Dorothy Gilliam wrote of one patron's first experience at The Pigfoot,

> Catherine Saunders strolled into The Pigfoot, a narrow slice of nightlife just off Rhode Island Avenue, NE, leaving behind the Northwest Washington discos and their smoky, jangled discord. She walked down the narrow aisle past the small wooden tables, and it was as if she had stepped back a few hundred years.[31]

This re-creation of a lost jazz space is ironic, considering that The Pigfoot and clubs like it now constitute the imagined spatial basis that JACS is seen as re-creating.

It is also worth noting how The Pigfoot had established a racialized identity. The name itself, The Pigfoot, draws a strong connection to black identity, with pig's feet being an archetypal food of working-class African Americans since the 19th century (Opie 2008). Writers often highlighted soul food served at the club; the cornbread, fried chicken, ribs, chitterlings, and sweet potato pie were all favorites. Most prominent of all

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[29] The Pigfoot was much more frequently written up in local newspapers such as the Washington Post, through concert reviews, food reviews, and performance listings. Moores Love & Peace and Mr. Y's were only written up in one-sentence listings of upcoming weekly entertainment. Most articles on the three clubs featured local performers such as Esther Williams or Buck Hill.

[30] Conn, Carol. 1978. "Saturdays the Day, Pigfoot's the Place." *The Washington Post* Nov 3: WE10.

[31] Gilliam, Dorothy. 1981. "It may be High Time for Rebirth of the Blues." *The Washington Post* May, 04: R3.

dishes was the "Bessie Smith Special" which was, for a tawdry $3.25, a pig-foot and a bottle of beer. Presenting these two items as representative of Bessie Smith serves to both further racialize the food being served, and to ascribe a degree of authenticity to the dish that is the club's namesake. The moves of all of these clubs spatially created this section of Brookland as a local hub for jazz, laden with connections to the community and notions of black culture.

Moores Love & Peace, Mr. Y's, and The Pigfoot all closed in the 1980s, which can be ascribed to a general decline in jazz listenership at that time. The previous locations of the clubs are now a union office, a microbrewery, and a liquor store, respectively. [32] JACS being a few blocks to the west is a part of the spatial construction of the jazz scene in re-asserting this geographical location as a center for jazz. However, the social construction of JACS' spatiality is one of many links to local significance.

Linking JACS to the Local Scene

The name Jazz and Cultural Society, as Howard explained, was chosen so the club would not just be a jazz club, but also a space for the community. He and Dr. Alice have plans for it to be somewhere where people can gather, learn art, and listen to music. As one of JACS's volunteers and most vocal supporters, Margaret Westley, told me,

> The beautiful thing about JACS is it's really simple. DeAndrey specifically wanted to create a space that was for the people. It was in the community, it was cheap enough that people could afford, was non-profit, that was community-fueled, people-fueled, kind of grass-roots. (Margaret Westley, p.c. 2016)

Westley's emphasis on "community" and being "people-fueled" are credos of JACS and what informs its emphasis on fostering a network of listeners, like that of Jazz Night.

[32] The microbrewery can be seen as an especially strong sign of gentrification. Much of the artisanal resurgence in goods and services caters to a young, educated and white audience, who in Washington, D.C. are primary agents of gentrification (Zukin 2010: 53).

JACS emphasizes ties to the local scene in performance, which in turn aligns the club with the long-term residents being effected by gentrification. The decoration of the club, both inside and out, features local musicians prominently. The furniture and instruments within the club have largely been donated to JACS by audience members, and serve to further the narrative of being "community-fueled." The musicians that are booked are not only locals, but often are older musicians who do not have as much of a presence on the scene anymore. Lastly, the owner, Dr. Alice, and producer, Howard Howard, are a constant presence at every show, making themselves a part of the scene. In these ways, JACS continues to build on the institutions that came before it, re-creating the crucial social space of the local jazz club.

Decoration and Furniture

From the building's exterior to the inside walls of the club, JACS is a tribute to the local heroes of the jazz scene. The mural painted over the bay windows of JACS is the face of the club to the neighborhood. It features profiles of figures of the jazz canon: Duke Ellington, Dizzy Gillespie, Ella Fitzgerald, and Billie Holliday, alongside musicians who remain mythic to Washingtonians but never gained national fame: saxophonist Buck Hill, vocalist Ronnie Wells, and the aforementioned Bill Harris. Their images are interwoven with the club's acronym, J-A-C-S. Having these musicians as the public representation of the club is a two-fold significance. First, it elevates the place of these local jazz artists to the level of the 'jazz greats.' The images of Buck Hill and Ronnie Wells are the largest in the mural, and form the outline of the entire mural. Second, the mural presents JACS as somewhere that is in-the-know about D.C. jazz history, and as an institution committed to the local scene.

Figure 7. Buck Hill Portrait Being Painted on the JACS Mural.

Likewise, it would appear that the local scene is committed to the future of JACS. Much of the interior of the club is the result of the generosity of patrons to the club, and Dr. Alice and Howard's webs of affiliation to the community at large. A patron donated the tables and chairs that make up a bulk of the club's furniture. Much of the artwork adorning the interior walls has been donated to the club. The organ and the piano that are used every week were both acquired as a result of direct ties to figures in the local scene.[33] Howard explained to me how the organ ended up at JACS,

> The Hammond B3, Dr. Bill Clark, he passed away, one of my older brothers played drums with him for years. Then, I played drums and trumpet with his group for years different times. So, when he died his wife said, "I know Bill

[33] The piano was a donation out-right whereas the organ was paid for, although it was a small, mostly symbolic amount.

> would want this organ to go somewhere where its going to be used"…And, they gave it to us for practically nothing. (DeAndrey Howard, p.c., 2016)

The story behind the organ was used to promote the inaugural Hammond B-3 Organ Sunday on Facebook.[34] Performances would not be able to happen at JACS without these instruments and furniture, and in this way the connecting ties between JACS and local patrons are reciprocal.

Booking Local

JACS also aligns itself with the local scene through booking primarily local acts, and especially local artists whose presence on the scene has dropped off in recent years. As Margaret Westley told me,

> The people that he brings to JACS, a lot of them are people that the public hasn't seen for a while because as the music scene in D.C. has changed, a lot of people have fallen through the cracks. So DeAndrey's thing is, "I want to give thanks to the people of this city who've been in the scene for decades and have really made it into what it is today." (Margaret Westley, p.c. 2015)

The idea that there are artists in the scene that have "fallen through the cracks" is something that has been corroborated to me by local jazz musicians. As trombonist Reginald Cyntje told me,

> You have folks moving into town and they're trying to re-write history. They're not giving any respect for what took place before. And then you have, you know,

[34] Although JACS operates regular bi-weekly shows, it still uses Facebook event-posts as a marketing tool. Margaret Westley wrote this post about the recent acquisition of the organ as part of advertising the upcoming event: "The Hammond B3 organ has found a new home at the Jazz & Cultural Society. The organ, once belonging to, Dr. Bill Clark, a close friend to DeAndrey Howard, was purchased from Dr. Clark's widow who felt the instrument would be in amazing hands at JACS. Dr. Clark was an accomplised piano player who worked together with DeAndrey and, even though Mr. Clark has passed away physically, he can be assured the organ will be utilized and well taken care of in its new home" (Margaret Westley, p.c. 2015) Here again there is a presentation of JACS as carrying the torch for the local scene, and asserting itself as the new home of local jazz.

> you of course have you have economics involved, you have folks trying to take advantage of it. So you know you have musicians working, and don't mind that someone is re-writing history so they can work. It's a lot of these different things going on, and because of that, it creates an interesting situation for the elders. You know elders that I remember, that you know they were first-call. Where you know that their group booked, you know clubs would be like, man we need to get them in here, because they're going to pack the house. So once the city changed, and the audience changed… the audience now is not necessarily demanding for the best representation of the music all the time. (Reginald Cyntje, p.c. 2016)

Here, Cyntje considers age, refinement of craft, and having paid dues on the scene as primary determinants of a musician's value. He also presents, in his eyes, a clear connection between the gentrification of D.C. and the lack of opportunity for older musicians. Musicians like Steve Novosel (age seventy-six), Howard (producer, but also frequent performer, age sixty-two), and Fred Foss (age mid-seventies) are all mainstays of the venue.[35] JACS's frequent booking of these jazz artists, who are not only a significant part of the city's jazz history but also a part of the demographic most-affected by gentrification, powerfully asserts the club's connection to the local community.

DeAndrey Howard and Dr. Alice

The constant presence of owner Dr. Alice Jamison and producer Howard is a dynamic appeal to localness that sets JACS apart from other jazz clubs in Washington. As earlier described, Howard books the shows and acts as emcee for all performances, but he does not disappear in-between sets. He is also a major presence before sets and on set breaks; always making his rounds, greeting patrons by name, and catching up with them. Likewise, Dr. Alice makes a trip around the club greeting every person there, new and old, with a handshake and a "how are you doing?" or a "good to see you." I was not used to this kind of candor when I first began attending shows, and was genuinely

[35] My lack of specificity on his age is because I am relying on music critics writings on Foss, who only give his age in a five-year range.

surprised to see the owner of the building taking the time to have an individual interaction with every patron there. Having the owner and producer as members of the listening audience and regularly socially engaging patrons creates a feeling that this is not a club out to make money, but a social space embedded in the neighborhood.

JACS presents itself as a venue dedicated to the local community and long-term residents of the city. Through the donation-sourced materials JACS highlights the support from and exchange it has with local audiences. JACS dedicates itself to those being forced out of the city by featuring musicians who have "fallen through the cracks" and in commemorating musicians of the scene who have passed on. In these ways, JACS represents a continuation of the established spatiality of the neighborhood, and in turn aligns itself with those at risk of being lost to gentrification.

The Racial Dimension of Washington, D.C.'s Gentrification

Race is something that is unavoidable when studying gentrification in the United States. Cities have always been sites of sustained interaction between people of vastly diverse identities. Literature on gentrification has taken many different identity categories as foci: sexuality (Hartman and Carnochan 2002; Sibalis 2004), class (Castells 1972; Freeman 2006; Holt 2013), and gender (Rose 1984; Bondi 1991). Amongst these, race stands out as one category that is frequently a visual cue to long-term residents of an area that gentrification is occurring.[36] Atkinson and Bridge consider the racial dimension of gentrification in imperialistic terms:

> Contemporary gentrification has elements of colonialism as a cultural force in its privileging of whiteness, as well as the more class-based identities and preferences in urban living. In fact not only are the new middle-class gentrifiers predominantly white but the aesthetic and cultural aspects of the process assert a

[36] Lance Freeman's work in New York City features many instances of long term residents noticing new white residents as one of the most prominent signals of gentrification (Freeman 2006: 80-87).

> white Anglo appropriation of urban space and urban history. (Atkinson and Bridge 2001: 2)

Freeman, in *There Goes the 'Hood,* countered this narrative, which had become dominant in gentrification literature. In his work, Freeman helped to re-shape understandings of gentrification, bringing attention to instances of African-American gentrifiers, a trend in scholarship that is beginning to gain traction (Maurrasse 2006).

In the case of Washington D.C., I contend that the influx of new, white residents should still be considered as a significant marker of gentrification due to the city's historically contested racial identity and long-time pronounced black identity. Washington has long had a pronounced African-American identity from its early emancipation, to Black Broadway, to the recent past. In *The Secret City,* Green contends that the history of racially-contested space is the history of The District (Green 1967). Research on gentrification in D.C. has often been structured in a dialectic manner around the migrations of black and white residents and their effects on the city's identity (Lee, Spain, and Umberson 1985; Price 1998; Williams 2002). Local musicians have presented the gentrification of the city as a racially-based process. Oddissee, a major rapper from D.C., in his aptly-titled song "Gentrification," presents white migration as a major signal of gentrification. He raps, " [t]hey house taxes raised up/ gentrification on the rise, they like 'pay up!'/ it's no surprise when white folks keep moving in" (Oddisee 2006). This shows how the narrative of white migrants causing gentrification is very much a part of the local discourse. In *Go-Go Live* Hopkinson lamented the death of "Chocolate City" brought about by recent white migrants (Hopkinson 2013: 160-161). Today, the relationship between the black and white populations of Washington, D.C. defines

gentrification in the city. For this reason, I contend that JACS's emphasis on a black identity in the club and in performance represents another form of resistance to gentrification.

The "Color Code": JACS and the Performance of Blackness

Howard told me that people are "scared" of prominently displaying a black identity. He said, "Everybody is scared, everybody got something to lose, but I ain't scared. Like I say to the young'ins, 'scared say you're scared', but I'm proud to be a black man" (Howard, p.c. 2016). JACS is not a venue that is scared to present a black identity. Through its use of Africana in interior decoration, JACS visually signals blackness. Establishing a Hammond B-3 Organ Night is a significant revival of a musical style, heavily associated with black audiences, that has disappeared from the city. Lastly, in the structuring of musical events and the enforcement of a "color code" in booking JACS, shows an unabashed emphasis on blackness. In the context of D.C.'s racial history, JACS's performances of blackness are a significant posture against the gentrification of Washington.

Art

Real estate on the interior walls of JACS is incredibly hard to come by. From floor to ceiling the walls are crowded with art, all helping to present a black identity. The interior decorations fall into two broad categories: portraits of musicians and Africana. As previously described, local musicians feature prominently on these walls alongside photographs of major stars. Of the 48 photographs hanging, white musicians only appear in three, while the rest feature solely African-American artists. The three largest pieces of

art which frame the background of the stage are representative of the artwork at JACS: a scene from a jazz club in the dynamic cubist style of Jacob Lawrence and portraits of Ray Charles and Billie Holiday.

Augmenting the paintings' and photography's strong association, the gray wall-space is filled in with Sub-Saharan instruments, masks, and artwork. There is a musical bow, a *hosho,* a miniature *djembe,* and a number of masks all hanging above the left side of the stage; behind the audience hangs a large print of a Nigerian cave painting Dr. Alice photographed on a trip there. Taking Nettl's interpretation of busts at a concert hall as establishing a canon, then the busts of Ramses II and Fredrick Douglas onstage at JACS are powerful symbols of pan-Africanism (Nettl 1995). On the subject of the club's interior design, Howard told me it was about "being black, but letting it be known. But, my white folks who come in don't get offended. The white ones who come in and get offended, there's something wrong with them" (Howard, p.c. 2016). Here Howard asserts the risk involved with having such a strongly black identity in the venue, but moreso emphasizes its value. The major clubs like Bohemian Caverns and Blues Alley have much more subdued interior designs that are harder to tie to one racial identity: Bohemian Caverns' walls are molded and painted to imitate a cave, while Blues Alley's brick walls are adorned with rusted-out brass instruments. JACS sets itself apart in consciously asserting a black identity through interior design.

Figure 8. Musical Bow and Bust of Frederick Douglas on Stage at JACS.

Organ Trio

The music within JACS is equally associated with a performance of blackness. Specifically, the weekly Sunday-night concerts featuring organ trio, a genre which has been linked repeatedly in scholarship to black audiences. The organ trio is a jazz group format centered around an organist, playing a Hammond B-3, drums, and guitar, occasionally augmented by a horn player. The most prominent artists that helped to define this format were organists Jimmy Smith and Jack McDuff along with guitarists Kenny Burrell and Wes Montgomery. Musicologist Kenny Matheison described the organ trio as "the archetypal soul jazz unit" (Mathieson 2002: 56). Soul jazz is significant in its perception by listeners and critics as a primarily black sub-genre of jazz (Matheison

2002; Rosenthal 1992). Some writings on the subject such as David Rosenthal's *Hard Bop* emphasize the racialization of the genre to the level of near-racist generalization (Rosenthal 1992). For example these essentializing observations about the appeal of the Hammond organ to black audiences: "it produced a huge sound that could compete with the ghetto's most boisterous audiences," and "there was something raucous, something down and dirty, in its array of electronic growls, wails, moans, and shrill ostinato tidal waves that immediately appealed to black ears" (Rosenthal 1992: 111). Although these associations are laced with problematic language, they do speak to a popular understanding of the organ trio being tied to a black audience.

During my fieldwork at JACS this sentiment, although in very different terms, was confirmed to me by audience members. Having an organ-night at JACS has been seen by some as a return of this music to its listening audience, which is primarily older and African American. One older African American audience member told me how organ trio was "the music [he] grew up listening to" (anonymous, p.c. 2015). The organ trio has largely disappeared from the Washington jazz scene, due to a decline in audience and the increasing rarity of venues that own and keep a Hammond B-3. At the height of soul jazz, it would have been a reasonable expectation for a club booking soul jazz acts frequently to have a house-Hammond. Through the 1970s it was a regular part of the Brookland scene specifically, Moores Love & Peace was one of the only clubs in the city that had a Hammond B-3. After Moores' closing, in the 1980s the only opportunities to see organ trio in the city were national acts that came to town bringing their Hammond along with them. In reviving organ trio in D.C. through weekly concerts, JACS strongly positions itself as a preservationist of this racially coded genre.

Structuring Performance

The most overt way in which a black identity is asserted at JACS is through the billing and booking of shows. Twice now JACS has hosted a musical collaboration led by Howard and bassist Pepe Gonsalez titled "African-American Jazz Meets Afro-Cuban Jazz"; the phrase that stands out here is "African-American Jazz." Often times "jazz" is presented as a hyphenate-genre preceded by a regional descriptor, but I have never seen jazz marketed as "African American Jazz." It is widely taken for granted that jazz is indeed African-American music, so the perceived need to re-assert these musical roots speaks to a conscious emphasis of blackness.

The importance of a black identity in the production of shows also extends to JACS's booking. It had not occurred to me that there was race was a major factor in what artists performed at JACS until I sat down with Howard. He told me,

> Everybody knows, I'm a black man. And I tell all them artists, all the white artists, they know me. I said, "Every group that comes in here, you know I'm going to enforce a color-code where it's got to be mixed. You got to have one black guy, you can't have an all-white band in here because I'm a black man. I preach black awareness without prejudice." (DeAndrey Howard, p.c. 2016)

In my experience at JACS, this "color-code" has been enforced without fail. The fact that it is considered a requirement to have a black musician on-stage at all times speaks volumes about the narratives being constructed, and the supreme importance of presenting jazz as a black art form. In the club's decoration, music, and booking policies, race is a crucial component of the identity presented by JACS.

Considering how race is mapped onto the narrative of gentrification in Washington D.C., the pronounced racial identity of JACS is of great significance. JACS is an outlier amongst D.C. clubs in its pronounced displays of a black identity. As

Howard told me, “when all the white folks move into the neighborhood, I don’t think they should change the history so much that they erase the history, that’s part of why I came on board and got this going” (DeAndrey Howard, p.c. 2016). Howard highlights how gentrification has made the neighborhood surrounding JACS into a racially contested space, and there is now a great need perceived to preserve a black identity. Through interior design, the revival of organ-trio music, and presenting racially-structured performances, JACS clearly aligns itself with black populations, and, in turn, can be seen as positioning itself against gentrification.

Gentrification and The Future of JACS

JACS has been constructed in a way that aligns with long-term residents of Washington, D.C. JACS builds on the spatiality of Brookland, foregrounds strong connections to the local community, and presents a black identity, in a city where pronounced displays of blackness are diminishing. As I have presented, JACS can and should be seen as implicitly resisting gentrifications through these tactics. I would like to conclude by briefly considering the ways that JACS is already dealing with the changing neighborhoods, and to provide some thoughts on the potential future of the venue as gentrification continues to reshape the city.

New developments in the neighborhood signal a wave of change to come. A block away from JACS, the Brooks Row development of newly constructed townhouses is being finished. As of this writing, seventy-five percent of the homes have been sold, with prices starting at $559,000. Developers are clearly investing in the neighborhood, and see it as a “space” that can be created. The new development, due to its limited economic accessibility, will be bringing a new cohort of gentrifiers to Brookland.

So far, Howard told me that he has had mixed interactions with new residents. On the one hand, he has developed relationships with some:

> I work with my neighbors. Black, white,… When I first got here people see me coming out the place looking like that, they thought I was squatting or something. Then they see me come out with a horn case or drums and I'm suited down and they do a double take, first time they come down they say "how you doing, neighbor?" (DeAndrey Howard, p.c. 2016)

On the other, he has had some young white patrons begin to patronize the club and to order Howard around like a busboy, which ended up with one of them having a chair thrust into their chest.

I believe that the number of young gentrifiers in the audience will only increase over time. JACS is incredibly accessible in terms of price and having a welcoming attitude. The club has also been the recent subject of a glowing write-up by CaptiolBop, touting it as the "most authentic" jazz club in the city, labeling it "the realest," and saying that it "feels like it's been here for 50 years" (Johnson 2015). The article focused on JACS's organ nights, and its ties to the local black history. The aspects that make JACS a valuable stance against gentrification are the same which construct the authenticity that makes the club desirable to new migrants. JACS is not in immediate danger of displacement due to the fact that those who operate the space own the property, and they both seem dead-set on keeping JACS alive for the foreseeable future. However, its social displacement is just as powerful as displacement driven by capital, and there is no way to determine the future development of the neighborhood. What can be said with certainty is that with new development in the area, there will be more sustained interaction between long-term residents and new migrants. In which case, JACS's importance as a space for connecting to history and holding onto the old D.C. will only increase.

Chapter 4: Negotiating Urban Authenticity

> More and more, I'm seeing the days of this stuff being over with. Especially in D.C. and New York because the stock, the housing stock and like, just the amount of spaces available are diminishing and being priced out. We're really at a time where we have to re-think what might be feasible for that. Especially for me, because I do not intend to do this ever again. I don't ever intend to be in this process ever again. Why not? Because of conversations like this. I don't want to be lumped in with this overarching narrative of being a part of artist-driven gentrification, that's why I reject that so passionately. Cause that's not me, and I don't want to be included in that conversation at all. (Luke Stewart, p.c. 2016)

Luke Stewart finishes his cigarette as he tells me this. He sits across from me on the couch while I'm seated on a drum stool in his small room in the Union Arts building, a former typography office in Ivy City, D.C., converted into artist's studios. Luke is a tall black man in his twenties; he's dressed in a brown plaid button-down, black shinos, and sneakers. My leg is getting uncomfortably warm next to the portable heater, but space is hard to come by. Along the back wall of the room: an analog tape reel, a mixing board, amps, a small bookshelf; behind me is a drum-set. On the walls are posters from concerts of improvised music around the city, public lectures by the likes of Amiri Baraka, and most prominently an American flag pinned to the wall upside down.

I was especially nervous asking about artists' place in the gentrification narrative, considering that Union Arts has recently become a victim of displacement due to gentrification. The building we were sitting in, that had been the home-base for CapitolBop's Jazz Loft series, will be torn down in September of 2016 to make way for a luxury arts-themed hotel that developers say is inspired by the artists' community currently at the Union Arts building. There are no plans to have any space that could accommodate musicians who also make frequent use of the union arts building to

practice and perform. The developers of the building have planned to have limited space for artists in the new hotel and to have the artists be an attraction for guests. Of the three field sites in my research, the shows at CapitolBop have been the most challenging to consider. They are clearly the group most directly affected by gentrification, in that these artists and musicians are being physically displaced. At the same time, the shows put on by CapitolBop more often align themselves with younger urban residents, and, intentionally or not, an audience of potential gentrifiers.

CapitolBop is a non-profit that encompasses both a local jazz news website, CapitolBop.com, and a monthly concert series, CapitolBop's Jazz Loft; the latter will be the focus of this chapter. The Jazz Loft is a traveling concert series, with Union Arts as its home base. The performance space in Union Arts is an open loft with a bar and patio. There is no elevated stage, rather lines of foldable chairs face one corner of the room where the piano and drums are usually set up. During shows, a single, hanging light bulb illuminates this nook where the musicians perform. This, along with graffiti on the walls and missing floor tiles, give the space a very gritty feel, a theme that I will return to in this chapter. CapitolBop has also put on shows throughout the city. This is due in part to a city arts-grant CapitolBop won that mandated that shows be produced in all four wards as part of the grant. This manifested in shows at The Paperhaus, a Brightwood row-house living room turned performance venue, Hecht Warehouse, a former retail storage space in Ivy City for the Hecht's Department Store and The Logan Fringe Arts space, a newly enacted performance space in a converted auto-repair shop, in addition to the Union Arts venue listed above. The shows' admissions range from $15 to $25, although some shows do not label this as an admission fee, but rather a recommended donation. At the shows,

there is a wide variety of music presented. As Stewart told me, the goal is "presenting the entire tradition at its highest level, presenting it together, to show it is one tradition, that it should all be celebrated and all has a place" (Luke Stewart, p.c. 2016). In practice, this means traditional jazz outfits (piano trio, quartet) playing standards and new originals in a straight-ahead manner; frequent duo performances, from the more conservative (bass and trombone, tenor and drums) to the more experimental (drum set duo); and artists pushing the boundaries of jazz, who may even reject the term (electronic fusion artists, avant-garde music). The audience is varied at concerts, but tends to be people in their twenties and thirties. Stewart explained to me,

> Well I guess the target audience is a younger audience, but it really ranges from, we'll say, like 18 to 68, really, that's how broad the jazz audience is…I think with our presentations, and the context with which we've been doing this, that I think it skews younger, hopefully. (Luke Stewart, p.c. 2016)

This younger audience is what led me to examining CapitolBop's Jazz Loft as an alternative jazz venue that contrasts with the older audiences at Jazz Night and JACS. These venues represent the growth in social spaces that cater to both ends of D.C.'s demographic spectrum; the poles that would seem to be diametrically opposed in the gentrification narrative.

Engagement with gentrification is never clear-cut. Agents in urban centers occupy a liminal space where, in some cases, acts of resistance can be precisely the thing that developers capitalize on. In this chapter I will consider the ways in which The Jazz Loft shows position themselves counter to gentrification through an emphasis on non-commerciality, and the ways in which these performances and performance spaces construct a new urban authenticity, making the space valuable to both new young migrants to the city and urban developers. First, I will examine the ways in which

CapitolBop presents itself as "non-commercial," a dynamic that was presented to me as the primary means of resisting gentrification by producer Stewart (Luke Stewart, p.c. 2016). I contrast this with how CapitolBop's Jazz Loft shows are aligned with the tastes of young gentrifiers in music and environment, with special attention paid to the value of urban grit. Lastly I will consider the displacement of musicians and artists from Union Arts and the challenges of being an artist in a rapidly gentrifying city. CapitolBop's Jazz Loft is a sharp contrast to Jazz Night and JACS in style and intended audience. However, they are not the aggressors of gentrification. Rather, CapitolBop strives to negotiate a space for new residents in D.C., and has fallen prey to the difficulties that come with such a task.

The Jazz Loft as a Non-Commercial Space

Gentrification literature has accepted the notion that artists have a role in furthering gentrification, but, in my experience, artists themselves were strongly opposed to this notion. In Sharon Zukin's highly influential 1982 *Loft Living* she critically examined artists' role in creating a "loft lifestyle" that engendered the later mass urban-redevelopment of Manhattan (Zukin, 1982: 58-81). Richard Lloyd took up this mantle in his book *Neo-Bohemia,* which analyzed how artists' presence in a neighborhood raises its social capital for new, wealthier migrants (Lloyd 2002: 99-122). Aware of this discourse, Stewart vehemently opposed any linkage between The Jazz Loft and gentrification; his defense centered around the music being non-commercial. He said, "Firstly, I completely and totally reject the narrative that artists drive gentrification. I completely reject that, but I add, unless you're that kind of artist, you know, unless you're that kind of commercial, commercially-driven artist" (Luke Stewart, p.c. 2016). Regardless of whether or not

artists further gentrification, I think it is important to understand how "non-commerciality" manifests itself at CapitolBop's Jazz Loft, since it has been singled out as a tactic of resistance.

There are a number of dynamics to CapitolBop performances which could be identified as "non-commercial." In using the word "loft," CapitolBop's Jazz Loft connects itself to the loft-jazz scene of the 1960s and 70s, a scene born out of lack of commercial appeal. CapitolBop embraces a DIY aesthetic and mentality, linking itself to another music scene that defined itself against popular music. Most significantly, CapitolBop's Jazz Loft shows are structured around artistic freedom, and value "challenging music" and the supremacy of the artist's vision over the audience's desires. In these ways CapitolBop's Jazz Loft presents itself as being a non-commercial venue, and in doing-so attempts to resist the commodification of urban developers.

The Jazz "Loft"

"Loft" in the context of jazz and gentrification is a loaded term, and CapitolBop's choice to label their shows "Jazz Lofts" is a potent signifier. As described above, "loft living" can be seen as a pejorative term for the artifice of young hipsters living out a bohemian fantasy. At the same time, it furthers CapitolBop's presentation of their music as non-commercial. The jazz loft scene in New York came out of necessity. Jazz artists who were making new music that was eschewing more traditional sounds could not find work at clubs (Zukin 1982; Lewis 2008). Informal performance spaces such as the converted artists' lofts of SoHo became the bedrock of the scene. The Union Arts space re-creates the open interior design that is the hallmark of loft-spaces. The floor layout has no walls or raised platforms to demarcate the difference between the stage, seating area,

or the bar. In name and in venue, CapitolBop frames their shows as a part of this legacy of not compromising one's art for commercial gain.

DIY Aesthetic

The term "loft" also carries a connotation of being self-reliant; indeed the loft scene in many ways set the stage for the rise of a DIY aesthetic in arts and music production. DIY, or do-it-yourself, is an ethic built on anti-consumerism and avoiding reliance on capitalist structures. The venues used as a part of the Jazz Loft are fueled by DIY action. The spiritual predecessor of Union Arts was a famed DIY artists' and musicians' collective, Gold Leaf (Little 2012).[37] Likewise, the Union Arts building was rented starting in 2012 by a collective of artists and musicians who converted the spaces into usable studios. At shows, there is not a clear delineation between staff and audience, and Stewart is often setting up sound, chairs, and collecting covers. Another Jazz Loft performance space, The Paperhaus, is the ground floor and kitchen of a town house, cleared out for nights when there are concerts. In each of these venues, there is distanciation from more commercial ways of producing shows.

"The Whims of the Audience"

CapitolBop's stated aim is a focus on musical integrity over what is marketable, or what an audience wants to hear. Non-commerciality is constructed by deliberate programming of music that does not currently have wide appeal, and in turn is not easily commodified. I will provide two brief examples of this goal in practice. One Sunday in

[37] Little, Ryan. 2012. "The Gold Leaf Variations: A Longtime DIY Venue Nears its Swan Song." *Washington City Paper* Accessed April 10, 2016. http://www.washingtoncitypaper.com/blogs/artsdesk/music/2012/01/11/the-gold-leaf-variations-a-longtime-diy-venue-nears-its-swan-song/

January of this year, at Union Arts, it was approaching midnight and there were eleven audience members left after nearly eight hours of music, all awaiting the final act of the night, a trio known for their avant-garde music. As Luke introduced the band, he addressed us all saying that this performance was "not placating for commercialism or pandering to the whims of the audience, but for fostering innovation at a musical, political, and spiritual level" (Luke Stewart, p.c. 2016). The "whims of the audience" here are seen as a hindrance, if not an annoyance, and what is "non-commercial" if not music where having an audience enjoy it is not required?

The shows are very much structured around the artists and the artists alone. As one audience member and musician, Andrew Velez, told me, "I think the best part about CapitalBop shows are that they are geared to support the artists performing" (Andrew Velez, p.c. 2016). This sentiment of the artists being valued above the audience often manifests itself in artists not giving much recognition or attention to audiences in performance. I will present a brief scene from a show at The Paperhaus to illustrate this.

I am sitting on the hardwood floor of the kitchen in the townhouse-turned-performance space, The Paperhaus. It is about 8:45 pm on a Sunday night, and D.C. drummers Ian McColm and Nate Scheible are twenty minutes into their untitled thirty-minute improvisation. There are people sitting on the kitchen counter nursing craft beers, and someone next to me is nearing the end of a fifth of Maker's Mark. The majority of the small audience, as well as the performers are white, and most appear to be in their twenties. I take note of the ratio of people stroking their chins to total population of the space: six to forty, or fifteen percent. Ian pushes the steel lid of a cooking pot across the head of a snare while Nate drags a cello bow across the edge of a crash cymbal, both of

them producing competing spectral noise. The drummers slowly begin to make use of their whole kits until the crashing ametric percussion reaches a fever pitch around minute twenty-eight. They reach a climactic finish, stand up turn to the audience, say “thank you,” and walk off the “stage” into the kitchen. Not addressing an audience and expecting them to dutifully sit through an uninterrupted 30-minute percussion improvisation can be seen as a disregard for the audience’s acceptance of what is being performed.

Figure 9. Ian McColm and Nate Schieble Performing at Paperhaus

CapitolBop’s Jazz Loft, in connecting itself to the loft scene, a DIY ethic, and by not pandering to audiences fosters a spirit of non-commerciality in its performances. However, even though their non-commerciality was emphasized, CapitolBop and Union Arts were still seen by developers as creators that added to the social capital of the space.

The fact that not only were the tenants of Union Arts displaced, but that they were also expected to contribute to the new arts-themed hotel being built on the site, speaks to the fact that try as one might, there is no way to control how people view and later use material culture. Using the Jazz-Loft as a non-commercial space is an understandable strategy, but in practice, developers still hold the power to override it, and use the music and art produced to further their goals.

The Jazz Loft and Appeals to Youth

Although it is not an explicit goal, the Jazz Loft also caters to young new migrants to the city in many ways. I must be clear in stating that the audience at the Jazz loft is not a homogenous group. It is quite diverse, in race, gender, and age, although it does tend to have more members in their twenties than any other age group. Rather, I am contending that there are aspects of The Jazz Loft that resonate more with a younger audience. I will start by briefly presenting the ways some references musicians make are targeted at a young listenership. Next I will consider how Jazz Loft venues limit possible audiences through physical accessibility. I will then examine the links between venue locations and ongoing urban development in the city. Lastly I will use Richard Lloyd's concept of "urban grit" to unpack the appeal and perceived authenticity of Jazz Loft venues. Although there is a strong opposition to facilitating gentrification, in aiming to attract a young audience in an urban center, aligning oneself with gentrifiers is unavoidable.

References in Performance

Artists that perform at CapitolBop, when they do make direct addresses to the audience, often make references aimed at a young listenership. I will present a few

examples of the differing ways in which artists make cognizant gestures to the young audience. Thundercat, a jazz fusion bassist and vocalist known for being a major producer on Kendrick Lamar's influential *To Pimp a Butterfly,* performed at a Jazz Loft show held at the Hecht Warehouse. It was one of the biggest events CapitolBop has hosted with about three hundred fifty attendees in the converted industrial space. One moment of the show stands out for its amount of direct audience interaction. "Oh Sheit its X" is a comical song of Thundercat's about going to a club and taking too much ecstasy. As he arrived at the climax of the song, the band dropped out and the audience, many of them with micro-brew in hand and snap-back on head, screamed out the most prominent line in the song. Thundercat knowingly prompted the audience, "I think you all know this part, I'm sure you all have been here before," to which the audience replied, "Oh shit, I'm fucked up!" Thundercat's music that night spanned topics such as DMT, clubbing, the #blacklivesmatter versus #alllivesmatter debate, and psilocybin: subjects more resonant with a younger audience.

There is also a targeting of younger audiences in what songs artists cover at Jazz Loft shows. The performances are generally comprised of newly composed material by the artists on-stage, so the decision to play a cover stands out more than it may at Jazz Night or JACS, where artists are drawing off of a shared repertoire of jazz standards and their performance of another artist's material would not be considered a "cover" at all. Vocalists at Jazz Night, when not singing standards frequently cover hits from the fifties and sixties, such as "At Last" (which never fails to elicit a huge audience response). Jazz Loft artists stick to covers from the last fifteen years, such as Jill Scott's 2000 "Gettin' in the Way," Usher's 2001 "U Remind Me," or D'Angelo's 2015 "The Door." Returning to

Thundercat, his choice of cover was probably the most heavily tied to an age group. As an introduction to his song "Lotus and the Jondy," he played a jazz re-harmonization of Ashley Erikkson's "Island Song." The song is best known as the end theme to the cartoon "Adventure Time," which is known for being beloved by millennials as well as children. Three people adjacent to myself at the Thundercat show immediately yelled out as he began playing the theme. The Jazz Loft artists that try to engage directly with audiences are playing for a younger crowd.

Accessibility

Stewart told me that accessibility was a crucial factor in determining where to book shows, but accessibility always carries along with it the qualifier of "accessible to whom?" I would like to now return to the previously mentioned Jazz Loft show at The Paperhaus that featured Ian McColm and Nate Scheible, and consider the venue's accessibility. Paperhaus is a row-house in the middle of its block on 3rd Street in Brightwood. It is unmarked from the street, and the only thing that indicated it as a performance space was a bubble-mailer taped to the door that read: "Please Go Around the Back! XOXO, Paperhaus." At this point, I had to walk around the block, turn, and then turn again into a dark alley, lit only by a few back porch-lights. From there, I walked, counting houses until Stewart saw me looking confused and walking back and forth in an alley by myself and invited me in.

Figure 10. Alleyway leading to Paperhaus

In considering the location of the performance space, it was significantly less physically accessible than JACS or Westminster.[38] At JACS, street parking on the same block as the club is usually available, and at Jazz Night there is a parking lot behind the church, and the Waterfront metro is one block away. At Paperhaus, street parking was available, but required no small amount of searching, and I ended up having to park a couple of blocks away, even twenty minutes before the show began. Walking to the venue was not an issue for me, but as an older male patron at JACS explained to me, a club's physical location was a key factor in what shows he could go to. As an "old man" he couldn't be out walking around by himself at night, because felt that he would be a

[38] The Jazz Loft's home of Union Arts can also be considered physically inaccessible to some. As Reginald Cyntje reiterated to me, part of the reason he booked regular shows at Jazz Night was that some of his older fans could not make it down the flight of stairs to Bohemian Caverns, and Westminster is wheelchair accessible from the street. Getting to the loft space requires taking the stairs to the third floor, which although it did not deter some older audience members from attending, could be seen as a barrier to some.

target (anonymous, p.c. 2016). In the accessibility of spaces there is an implicit determination of who the audience will be.

Spatiality

There is also a second layer of the space's association with gentrification. As demonstrated with JACS's role in Brookland, Jazz Loft venues likewise build off of the institutions that surround them. Paperhaus is a business, albeit an unlicensed and un-zoned one, in a neighborhood that has recently seen what the *Washington Post* calls a "boomlet" in housing prices and amenities (Reinik 2014). [39,40] The city government has been reinvesting in the neighborhood funding everything from a new playground to a $62,000 grant for a charcuterie, Three Little Pigs (now named Straw, Stick and Brick). Lunch there ranges from $15 to $22, and is indicative of the anticipated income of those who would be frequenting the establishment. The city government's decision to give such a substantial grant to the business marks a choice in which cultural formation to allocate resources to in order to attract customers. Here we see CapitolBop's decision to put on the show at Paperhaus as part of a larger project of gentrification, and of the city investing more in a different set of aesthetics.

Union Arts and the Hecht warehouse, both located a mile away from each other in the heart of Ivy City, are entangled in the ongoing development of the neighborhood. Ivy

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[39] Paperhaus was unofficially shut down in October of 2015 when police, after years of looking the other way, were forced to respond to a noise complaint and bring the concerts to an end, according to a 2015 Washington City post article by Maeve McDermott entitled "Paperhaus – the Venue- Will No Longer Host Concerts."

[40] Reinink, Amy. 2014. "Neighborhood Profile, Brightwood Park, Balancing History with a Boomlet." *Washington Post* February 7, 2014. Acessed December 9th, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/realestate/neighborhood-profile-brightwood-park-balancing-history-with-a-boomlet/2014/02/06/8f481fb8-883d-11e3-a5bd-844629433ba3_story.html

City was for much of its history a more sparsely populated, rural area of the city (Price 2014). The 1930s and 1940s brought waves of African-American migrants from across the country seeking a better standard of living (Price 2014: 71-73). After World War II, manufacturers purchased land in Ivy City was and a number of factories and warehouses were built in the neighborhood. Through the 1980s and 1990s residents of Ivy City held steadfast to their community as some of the drug and crime problems affecting the rest of Washington made their way to Ivy City (Price 2014: 75). Along with these issues, there have been a number of attempts by the D.C. government to entirely re-locate the residents of Ivy City; once for the construction of a highway, and more recently to address the blight that some argue characterizes the current Ivy City landscape (Price 2014: 75- 78). Currently Ivy City is a mixture of some residential homes, constructed in the 1930s and 1940s, along side long stretches of undeveloped lots, punctuated by large warehouses, some in use, others lying dormant.

Union Arts is across the street from Union Market, an enclosed open-air market built in 2012, home to forty small food stalls and shops, and separated from its more economically depressed neighbors (wholesale food sales, a homeless shelter, former warehouses) by barbed-wire fence. It is worth noting that projects further developing this surrounding area were proposed to receive ninety million dollars in the 2015 D.C. budget (Rivers 2015).[41] Hecht Warehouse has had its bottom floor turned into a Nike Factory Store, a Mom's Organic Market, and a Bikram hot yoga studio, with cosmetics and coffee shops opening soon. Its upper floors are now being sold by the building's owners, Douglas Development Corporation, as "true loft apartments." Online marketing features

[41] Rivers, Wes. 2015. "Council's Budget Proposal Includes both New Investments and Reductions in Affoordable Housing and Human Services. *The District's Dime* Accessed Febraury 24th, 2016. http://www.dcfpi.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/5.27.15-Budget-Goods-version-2.pdf

the slogan along with images of repurposed industrial space and a young white hipster.[42,43] Considering the narratives that are constructed though urban space and institutions, it would seem that CapitolBop is complicit in this process. However, CapitolBop has also been beholden to having to put on shows in each of the wards because of its grant award, and being a non-profit, it is limited in terms of what spaces can be rented out. I will return later to this to address reasons why artists and urban developers are interested in the same space.

Urban Grit

The authenticity of the venues CapitolBop uses has been reiterated to me by artists and audience members. One performer, Shannon Gunn, told me, "CapitolBop hosts shows in places like warehouses, parking garages, and long-forgotten back rooms. The vibe of the room is very important and it's important to stay underground yet accessible" (Shannon Gunn, p.c. 2016). Gunn here highlights the ways in which CapitolBop re-purposes urban industrial space for performance, which in turn makes it "underground" and at the same time "authentic." There is a discourse surrounding the Jazz Loft that the rough-edges of its performance spaces are markers of authenticity. As Andrew Flores described a performance at Union Arts to me, "One of the most heavy, most spiritual performances I've ever seen, and in a, you know, run-down building; a warehouse in North East" (Andrew Flores, p.c. 2016).

This attraction to the dilapidated, to the decaying, and the unsafe all falls under what sociologist Richard Lloyd has termed "urban grit" (Lloyd 2002). Lloyd coined the

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[42] Douglas Development Corporation. n.d. "The Hecht Warehouse at Ivy City." Acessed April 10, 2016. http://www.hechtwarehouse.com/

[43] Douglas is the largest development firm in Washington, D.C. and have been responsible for projects such as redeveloping Chinatown and Adam's Morgan.

term in *Neo Bohemia* to describe the social capital gentrifiers invested in unpolished urban space. He describes it as a "Neo-Bohemian authenticity in the neighborhood," where perceived danger and rough edges are a selling point (Lloyd 2002: 520). He goes on, "even gang activity and homelessness are valued as markers of urban authenticity" (ibid.). Returning to the Paperhaus show, the front door was blocked off, so one had to walk down a dimly lit alley half a block and then walk to the back door of the unmarked townhouse. Here the inaccessibility can also be seen as room for imagined danger heightening the appeal of the experience. In coming to Hecht Warehouse I first passed by Okie Street, which is sometimes lined with the homeless, given that the Catholic Charities shelter is on the other end of the block. Once parked, I entered through a loading bay, and entered into an expansive abandoned stockroom floor, with the ceiling's exposed pipes lit by hanging work lights and the walls sparsely decorated with the paintings of local artists, creating the feel of a rugged, unfinished space. The Jazz Loft's home base, Union Arts, is also entered through a loading dock, as well as up three flights of stairs with naught but paper signs guiding the way. Inside the walls are covered by grafitti-styled art, floor tiles are missing in a few corners, and the stage is lit by a hanging exposed bulb. These aesthetics are all manifestations of urban grit which ends up vouching for the authenticity of the space and the music within it. Which, in turn, makes the Jazz Loft shows increasingly valuable to young urbanites.

Figure 11. Entrance to Union Arts.

Figure 12. Savannah Grace Harris Trio at Union Arts

There are a variety of ways in which The Jazz Loft shows cater to a young audience, and can be seen as attracting an audience of gentrifiers. Musicians make references targeted at a listenership in their twenties. The spaces can be less straightforward to get to, which feeds into the adventure of being an "urban pioneer."[44] Moreover, the venues' spatiality is the story of its surrounding urban development, and heavily funded gentrification. In some ways, CapitolBop has no control over this. They are a non-profit with limited funds, beholden to what spaces can meet their needs but are also affordable. Coincidentally, the fact that arts groups are forced to use these spaces, paired with their affordability, makes them ripe for urban redevelopment and displacement.

The Demolition of Union Arts

I would like to close by considering the last fight for the Union Arts Space which played out over hearings before the D.C. zoning commission, focusing on the first hearing. Getting off at the Judiciary Square Metro on February 1st, 2016, I walked over to One Judiciary Square, the high-rise that holds many of the D.C. municipal government agencies, about fifty people are milling about in front of the building, talking and smoking, and there is a journalist collecting sound-bites. A DJ is spinning electronic music and setting up a light show that writes in a thin red laser "gentrification" on the wall of the building. In time, prominent figures from Union Arts, including Stewart, take turns rallying the audience, and encouraging them to "make noise if we have to." Last to address the crowd is the lawyer for Union Arts, who tells the crowd to not come in until

[44] Urban pioneer is a term that geographer Neil Smith coined to describe "first-wave" gentrifiers, the first to move back to a previously divested urban space and live through the crime and rough edges of a neighborhood that has yet to be redevelped (Smith, 1996).

7:00 p.m., which strikes me as odd considering that the public hearing is set to start at 6:30 p.m. The leaders of the organization all head inside while we bide our time talking, and posing with large posters displaying the message: “A GENTRIFIED D.C. #IWILLNOTBEMOVEDDC.” It is interesting that even in protest, at a point where these artists are at risk of losing the space they hold so dear, their organized resistance is as artistically thought-out as every other performance. A revolution without DJs, laser-light-shows, and hashtags is hardly a revolution worth having.

Figure 13. Protest Outside One Judiciary Square

When it hit seven o’clock, we all formed a seething mass trying to get into the building and through the arduous process of getting signed in. When I finally got a seat in the zoning chambers, it was nearly full, and soon people were taking up all available

floor space, a tremendous number of artists and patrons had turned out. The zoning hearing was a Planned Unit Development (PUD) hearing to determine whether or not the new owners of the building would have their new hotel remain at six stories, or be granted the ability to build to eleven stories. The reason why this process involves public hearings is because to be granted extra allowances via a PUD, the developers must present a benefits and amenities package to the currents residents. In this case, Union Arts was being demolished and a new arts-themed hotel was being built on the location, and the hearing was to evaluate the sufficiency of the amenities package.

The developers of the hotel had proposed that they would have just 1500 square feet of studio space to replace the 35,000 square feet of studio space at Union Arts. Further, they had wanted working artists as a selling point of the hotel, as amenities that hotel guests could watch, and thought that the artists at Union Arts would be the perfect fit. As one of the development company's team said, "we just needed that special sauce to get that authenticity." The "special sauce" in this case was the artists being displaced. No part of the amenities package included musical space, and at the hearing, developers were unaware of Union Arts being used as a performance space. By referring to these people as "special sauce" one can see the degree to which artists and musicians can be commodified by others when they are seen as "authentic." The heart of the matter is that the tactics that are seen as making the space and the music non-commercial also happen to be the developers' evaluative criteria for authenticity.

All parties ended up being at fault in the hearing. The lawyer on behalf of Union Arts spent his cross-examination making straw-man arguments and trying to discredit the

developers' authority by calling out word-slippages. Unfortunately, this seems to be the way a lot of these hearings go. As zoning and development lawyer Leila Batties told me,

> For people on the opposite end of development, that's not uncommon. In reality, it takes a lot of money. So, almost all of the lawyers that are experts in zoning, represent developers. And if that's the case, like for us, as a policy now, since we represent developers, we don't oppose development. So, there are a handful of lawyers who specialize in opposing zoning applications, there aren't many, but unless you have money to pay those fees, its expensive and not everybody can pay that, and not everybody can defend a zoning case because its such a niche practice. (Leila Batties, p.c. 2016)

It becomes a situation of who can afford a legal battle to try and defer their displacement. Considering the financial standing of those often the most affected by gentrification, this is a miniscule population.

In September, all of the artists and musicians will leave Union Arts for good, and CapitolBop will start to go about finding a new home for the loft. Try as they might, CapitolBop and Union Arts have both fallen victim to the corporations they so strongly opposed. In the same manner, the venue that was the most likely of the three discussed in this thesis to attract an audience of gentrifiers ended up being the one displaced by gentrification. So does that then mean that the most "non-commercial" jazz that can be presented is straight-ahead? There is no clear path in the current urban landscape for musicians making the kind of music championed by the Jazz Loft. Without the means to own the property used for performance, this cycle can just continue over and over until this music is chased out of cities altogether. However, this may also just be the beginning of the music heading even further underground.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In March of this year, the D.C. jazz scene was dealt a devastating blow. Bohemian Caverns, the historic club that has been the bedrock of the D.C. jazz scene, unexpectedly announced that it would close for good at the end of the month. The club had been bleeding money the last two years, but no one outside of those closest to managing partner and co-owner Omaro Brown knew the struggles the club was going through. Not only was the Caverns a venue legendary for its history and curation, but it was also one of the few jazz clubs that seemed to please artists and audiences. Ever since I moved to the area six years ago, Bohemian Caverns was the place to go see live jazz. It had great bookings, the cavernous interior design lent the performances an air of the fantastic, and most importantly of all, it never charged a minimum, which, as an unemployed teenager, largely determined which shows I attended. Likewise, musicians loved playing there, it had an intimate closeness to it, they were always well taken care of, and it was very much a familial environment. The first time elders of the scene invited me to sit in was on that stage. While not entirely attributable to gentrification, the loss of Bohemian Caverns is the death-knell for jazz on U Street, and has raised concerns amongst many about what the future of jazz in Washington, D.C. will be, or if there is one at all.

The Non-Profit Model

Alternative jazz venues present an attractive model for the future of jazz performance spaces in the city. But this is not a perfect solution; non-profits are often not great for musicians trying to make a living. Jazz Night pays $125 per band member, JACS $100, and CapitolBop often less, depending on attendance. This is contrasted with

the $250 that a musician could expect to take home from a quartet date at a commercial venue like Bohemian Caverns. As Reginald Cyntje explained to me, when audiences that had been paying $25 or $30 to come see an hour-and-a half-show, and are suddenly able to go see twice as much music for $5, it can devalue his music. He said that now some audiences are less likely to pay the higher cover, if they can see him play somewhere else for less. For all of the benefits that come with presenting jazz in alternative venues (participation, financial accessibility, freedom in programming), the potential financial burden it places on musicians should be weighed. There is no way to anticipate the far-reaching effects of gentrification in shaping the music scene, or the ways in which reality can belie the best intentions.

The Juggernaut of Gentrification

Geographer Neil Smith, in his foundational "Toward a Theory of Gentrification," considered gentrification to be a natural outgrowth of a productive capitalist society (Smith 1979: 541). In his development of production-side theory, he posited that as areas of a city become blighted, it is in the best interest of property owners and governments to have their land attracting as much capital as possible. In gentrification, this means rebuilding so as to grow revenues of land, or to address what Smith termed the "rent gap:" the disparity between actual revenues from land and potential revenues from "rehabilitating" the land through development (Smith 1979: 545-46). Smith interpreted this process as solely motivated by economic factors, not factors linked to social practices. Even though this is an oversimplification, Smith still makes a very useful contribution in positing that gentrification is a natural part of an unregulated capitalist economy. In this way, gentrification becomes a "juggernaut" akin to sociologist Anthony

Giddens' conception of the juggernaut of modernization: unstoppable and impossible to avoid becoming complicit in (Giddens 1990: 151-54).

Being complicit in this process is something that has caused me no small amount of worry. I am young, white, college-educated, and single. I have aesthetic preferences more akin to CapitolBop than to JACS, and in some ways I cannot help but to be a gentrifier. It is people like myself that D.C. government is continually looking to court through investing hundreds of thousands of dollars in charcuteries and artisan markets. The question then becomes, do I remove myself entirely from engaging in these spaces that are not necessarily constructed for me? How does one consider their positionality in relation to participating in social scenes?

Strategies for the Future

One potential answer that my research has shown is we need to take the time to get to know neighbors and members of these scenes. At Jazz Night, JACS, and CapitolBop's Jazz Loft, producers, musicians, and audience members stressed developing relationships with members of the community and getting to know the history of the space that one occupies. Cyntje probably would not have had the cops called on him by a new young migrant to the neighborhood for warming up on a Saturday night outside a club in Adam's Morgan, had they taken the time to connect with the people and institutions they now live around. Small social changes like noise complaints in an area known for live music, suddenly enforcing loitering laws, or beginning to ticket cars playing loud music, are all elements in a "war of position" against long-term residents of

the city. [45] However, this social displacement is not as easy to observe and address because it requires direct interaction with others. It is not an evil thing to move to a city, or to want to be a part of the cohorts that have been a part of the city. That kind of diversity is a prime reason young adults who grew up in suburban areas, like myself, are so attracted to the idea of urban living.

I believe that alternative jazz venues present a way to start to be in the community that is less daunting than walking up and introducing oneself. Participatory music offers the opportunity to indirectly be involved in a social practice. Clapping or singing along with a large group, where everyone is just looking at the stage and not each other, is a low-stakes way for people to engage one another. Shared, amateur music-making is a rarity in American society today, but is rife with potential to form new cultural cohorts (Turino 2008: 227). Small-scale networks of affiliation are the strongest tool for negotiating gentrification in an ethical manner. When there are more opportunities to see one another and to listen there is more of compassionate drive to support each other.

Jazz Night and JACS both carefully create a space that encourages social bonding and a shared sense of community by building off of a shared, or imagined history. They champion the audience member and dedicate themselves to the city's older residents of color. Jazz performances at these venues fill a need that institutional support from government programs overlook. Likewise, they reassert the value of musicians and social practices that have become overlooked. As DeAndrey Howard put it, "I want to show the city what it's forgotten" (Howard, quoted in West 2015). [46] Jazz clubs, singing, clapping,

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[45] I am using Antonio Gramsci's "war of position" in the manner of cultural theorist Stuart Hall. Which is to say, gentrification acts as a totalizing hegemonic force of the dominant cultural formantion (Hall 1986).

[46] West, Michael J. 2015. "The Jazz and Cultural Society Will Open in Brookland Tommorow." *Washington City Paper* April 28, 2015. Accessed April 9, 2016.

and dancing can all seem trivial when the narrative of gentrification considers physical displacement to be the supreme casualty of gentrification. However, there is a great need to continue to be with people, and to conduct fieldwork, in order to better understand and know how to support those affected by gentrification.

CaptiolBop is also serving the needs of a community. There is no doubt that the shows are intended to be welcoming, open spaces. It is just that the target demographic is different, and in turn the shows are welcoming to some, more than others. CapitolBop's Jazz Loft and the current state of Union Arts show just how challenging it is to create a something to serve the desires of any one community. Indeed, once something is out into the world, there is no controlling what people will do with it. In this case, developers have capitalized on what had been constructed at Union Arts.

The future is uncertain for the D.C. jazz scene. Bohemian caverns is closed, Union Arts is closing, and there is no way to tell how the jazz scene will change in the next five or ten years. JACS and Jazz Night could suddenly become attractive to a young audience of gentrifiers, attracted by the ways in which they are being marketed as authentic. This could serve to change the usefulness of the venues to older residents, or create opportunities for new migrants to connect with long-term residents. Although, considering that a *Washingtonian* article from this month: "Where to See Live Jazz in D.C. After Bohemian Caverns" made no mention of any of the three venues considered in this thesis, it is unlikely (Essner 2016). [47] There is a great opportunity to reconsider what a jazz concert can be, and to reconsider the importance of the jazz audience. The jazz

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http://www.washingtoncitypaper.com/blogs/artsdesk/music/2015/04/28/the-jazz-and-cultural-society-will-open-in-brookland-tomorrow/

[47] Essner, Dean. 2016. "Where to See Live Jazz in D.C. after Bohemian Caverns." *Washingtonian.* April 6, 2016. Web. Accessed April 10, 2016. http://www.washingtonian.com/2016/04/06/where-to-see-live-jazz-in-dc/

scene of Washington is at a pivotal moment, where musicians, audiences, and producers will be forced to consider what is most important about the scene and why it is that they are performing for one another.

Appendices

Interviews Conducted

Batties, Leila. 2016. Interview by author. Washington, D.C. March 22.

Cyntje, Reginald. 2016. Interview by author. Silver Spring, MD. March 17.

Flores, Andrew. 2016. Interview by author. Washington, D.C. January 21.

Gunn, Shannon. 2015. Interview by author. Fairfax, VA. April 12.

Hamilton, Brian. 2016. Interview by author. Washington, D.C. March 28.

Hassan, Rusty. 2016. Interview by author. Washington, D.C. March 9.

Howard, DeAndrey. 2016. Interview by author. Washington, D.C. February 11.

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