AMERICANS AND THE ARTS

"I think our greatest failure," Barbara Nicholson declared at the American Canvas forum in Columbus, "has been that we have allowed the arts to be put into a little black box. The reality is that there is not a person..., whether they recognize it or not, that did not make some artistic decisions from the time they opened their eyes as they moved through the day."

Nicholson, director of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Performing and Cultural Arts Complex in Columbus, raised a theme that resonated throughout the six American Canvas forums. In enshrining art within the temples of culture—the museum, the concert hall, the proscenium stage—we may have lost touch with the *spirit* of art: its direct relevance to our lives. In building an intricate network of public and private support, the thousands of institutions over the past four decades, we may have stressed the specialized, professional aspects of the arts at the expense of their more pervasive, participatory nature. In the process, art became something that we watch other people do, usually highly skilled professionals, rather than something we do ourselves. "We may have nipped off the very grass roots of support that we need now," conceded Henry Moran, executive director of the Mid-America Arts Alliance at the San Antonio forum, "and that may have come about from our fascination with the role of institutions within the cultural ecology."

Institutions, after all, raise the money, sell the tickets, send out the press packets, present the art and generally squeak the loudest when the wheels of culture need lubrication. And they're the source of civic pride—the buildings that adorn the covers of chamber of commerce pamphlets, the festivals that are touted in tourist brochures. They're where we take the in-laws when they come to town for a visit. We're proud of these arts institutions, and for good reason.

But those same institutions may be obscuring our vision of the essence of art, too, the one-to-one relationship with the creative process that all Americans, whether they realize it or not, have every day of their lives. "I've never been in a home that didn't have art in it...," observed Steven Lavine, president of the California Institute of the Arts, at the Los Angeles forum. "...[But] a lot of people...have the experience of having been told by the appearance of what we used to call the 'elite organizations,' that what they are engaged in isn't the arts."

This process begins when we are very young, according to William Wilson, a folklorist at Brigham Young University and a participant in the Salt Lake City forum. Recalling his own personal background—coming from a family of railroaders, with childhood memories full of story telling, singing, and holiday feasts—Wilson noted that for all of their creative aspects, these activities never earned the mantle of art. "Through all of the years of my public education," Wilson recounted, "no teacher ever suggested to me that what I had experienced in my family…was of any artistic worth. Art was something we read about in books, not a crucial part of our own lives."

A half-continent away, and rooted in traditions even further afield, Gerald Yoshitomi faced very much the same homogenizing influence as a youngster. "I remember as a child growing up," the director of the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center recalled at the Los Angeles forum, "...there [were] a lot of Japanese-American arts around me day to day, and in my home was Japanese art...But as I went to school and I was educated, I was told that wasn't art. Art was something done by someone else. By another culture basically...."

That failure to help our children make the connection between the expressive activities in the home, and the admittedly more formal, professional cultural traditions that may (or may not) have been included in the curriculum, is one that costs us dearly. The childhood experiences of Wilson and Yoshitomi, by no means rare, are symptomatic of the "black-box" compartmentalization of American culture. In treating art as essentially special and separate, we've failed to develop a vital link between the classroom and the home, one that could only enhance the educational process. So, too, have we failed to make a connection between participation

and appreciation, between active involvement in our culture and the more passive spectatorship, prevalent in children's media especially, that threatens to undermine that culture.

"AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE LIVES OF MOST FAMILIES"

Curiously, we tend to draw no such distinctions in the world of athletics, in which a direct connection is made between shooting baskets in the driveway and the professional exploits of a Michael Jordan, between jogging through the park and the world-class competition of the Olympic Games. Participation in such endeavors obviously means something to Americans, who spend over \$50 billion annually on sporting goods. More than 110 million Americans attend professional baseball, basketball, and football every year (with an additional 72 million attending college football and basketball), and the connection between amateur activities and professional athletics is a real, mutually reinforcing, one. The 37 percent of Americans who attend spectator sports are more than matched by the 39 percent who play sports themselves.¹

Shift from athletics to aesthetics, though, and the lines between participant and spectator are attenuated, if not severed altogether. Actually, many more Americans attend arts activities than professional sporting events every year, and considerable numbers participate even more directly—playing classical music (4 percent of the adult population in 1992), painting (10 percent), taking photographs (12 percent), or participating in modern dance (8 percent), creative writing (7 percent), or needlework (25 percent). Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed that the arts are in any meaningful sense integrated into our daily lives in quite the same way that sports are (which is why no less than 12 of the 25 highest rated television shows of all time were sporting events). And therein lies a lost opportunity, as a number of American Canvas participants pointed out, to enrich the lives of millions of Americans.

But first those walls that separate Americans from the arts will have to come down. "...If we really hope to strengthen families through the arts," William Wilson observed in Salt Lake City,

¹ National Endowment for the Arts, Public Participation in the Arts, 1982-1992 (Washington, DC)

we must move away from the notion that art can only be found on the museum wall, at the concert hall, or on the performing stage. We must understand that art includes the expressive behaviors of ordinary people, like my railroader relatives, as they respond creatively to the circumstances of everyday life. If we will look, we will find art all around us—in the things that we make with our words (songs, stories, rhymes, proverbs), with our hands (quilts, knitting, raw-hide braiding, pie-crust designs, dinner-table arrangements, garden layouts) and with our actions (birth-day and holiday celebrations, worship practice, playtime activities, work practices)...

Viewed in this light, Wilson continued, art "...is not something that exists 'out there' in a world alien to many families but is rather an essential part of the lives of most families. The problem is that they just don't know it."

Convincing Americans of the importance of the arts to their lives emerged as a new emphasis of arts advocacy at the American Canvas forums, joining more traditional emphases—in the legislative and civic arenas—as a basic message that the arts community must deliver. "Somehow," as Barbara Nicholson observed at the Columbus forum, "we have got to get back to the real definitions of what the arts truly are, so that we are not always in a position of having to justify or defend, but that everybody recognizes how important they are to their life."

For Wilson, that process must begin in the home: "If we want to help families through the arts, we must help them recognize, nourish, and value the art they already possess. As they begin to recognize the artistic merit of their own creative efforts, they may discover also the creative power of those art worlds that once seemed so foreign."

When Americans finally acknowledge the art that affects their own lives, the art in which they take an active part—in fashion and foodways, in song and celebration and stories—they'll be better prepared to commit to a public culture—the art and artists and arts organizations that labor in the nonprofit sector—with that same spirit of shared investment. Americans, to be sure, will continue to spend billions of dollars as more-or-less passive spectators of the entertainment industry (\$5.5 billion on movies, \$12.3 billion on recordings, and \$19.5 billion on videos in 1995, for example). But they'll also be more sensitive, as "creators" themselves, to the needs of the aesthetic environment, and of the artists and arts organizations,

Americans and the Arts



Traditional craft artists like potter Lanier Meadow are part of a

National Endowment for the Arts Research study, *The Changing Faces of Tradition*,
which reviews the state of the folk arts field.

far from the commercial marketplace, that contribute so significantly to that environment.

Wilson was not alone in this call to adjust our focus on the arts, to shift from the traditional spot-lit close-up of the exceptional and the virtuosic to a panoramic view of art's near-ubiquitous, more utilitarian presence in our lives. For the architect Ray Huff, speaking at the Rock Hill forum, the key element is design, "a working aspect of our everyday experience," he insisted. "Design in the most essential manner, from the most elemental to the more pervasive—the kitchen utensil, the door-knob, the pen, the highway overpass, the public park—is ever-present in our lives."

"... A COMMUNITY THAT IS DEFINED BY ITS PROBLEMS"

The change that Wilson, Huff, and many other American Canvas participants called for is more than shifting our attention from the extraordinary to the ubiquitous. We need a reexamination of the very function of the arts, how they help us

express our values and aspirations. The arts reflect our diversity, and yet also bring us together. They encompass family activities and values, even as they occasionally venture into more difficult terrain, helping us confront the troublesome issues of our time. For some Americans, finally, artistic expression provides something that is simply unavailable anywhere else: a sense of self-worth in a world that too often makes that kind of personal accounting impossible.

At the San Antonio forum, The Reverend Tony Campbell, rector of St. James Episcopal Church in Houston's tough Third Ward, talked about that accounting. "It's a community that is defined by its problems—poverty, despair, and hopelessness," Campbell explained. "And I think what we often forget in life is that individuals just don't spring up by themselves, that individuals come out of a culture. They receive their identity from that particular culture. So in my community...the business of the [church] is to provide hope and a way to live."

The arts play an important role in providing that hope, Campbell pointed out. "We have 200 kids who are fighting the image that the Third Ward tries to stamp on their heads—of people who are nobodies in our society. They are given a counter image: that you are somebody, you can produce, that you do have a life...So art is critical. It's crucial. It is the way we understand ourselves: It's not who we have been, but who we are, and where we are going."

One of the projects that Campbell's kids have worked on is a large mural, an enormous display that began as an act of vandalism—drug-related graffiti created by local gangs—but which evolved into something quite different. "We worked with the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston," Campbell explained, "and instead of just painting over the mural, we left half of the mural to stand, and we painted another half of the mural with the kids in the community. And so we left standing two dramatic images within that community: one of hopelessness and death and despair, but the other one of hope and life and joy."

Even for those who don't have to face the rigors of Houston's Third Ward, the arts can provide a powerful means of expressing one's values and aspirations. "The arts tell us who we are," declares sculptor Mary Ann Mears, a member of the Maryland State Arts Council and a participant at the American canvas forum in Charlotte. "You discover who you are through participating, whether you're making things or experiencing other people's work... When I've worked with kids with art, it's always amazing to me what it brings out of them."

And how important is that? "To me," Mears adds, exaggerating only slightly, "it's my religion, it's a matter as important as absolutely everything,

whether it's eating and sleeping and breathing, or loving and being loved. It's as important as all of those things."

"WE ARE ALL A PART OF SEVERAL DIFFERENT CULTURES..."

The arts also have the capacity, as a number of American Canvas participants pointed out, both to express our diversity, accenting what is unique in the many strands that make up the American cultural fabric, as well as to bring us together, offering a common ground on which individuals who would not otherwise interact can get to know one another. The rifts in American society may be as broad as the chasm that often seems to separate blacks from whites, or as fine as the ethnic and racial gradations that make up our cities—the 90 languages that are spoken in Los Angeles public schools, for example, or the 87 linguistic groups from which Filipino-Americans spring.

One way or another, these cultural differences affect all of us. "We are all a part of several different cultures and sub-cultures at once," observed Adora Dupree, a storyteller from Nashville who participated in the Columbus forum. "Our culture may be ethnic, religious, familial, related to the university we attended, based in our neighborhood, or based in a shared political or sociological belief system. The arts are what essentially give us access to or define what our cultural heritage is."

Unfortunately, the differences that Dupree describes are often the source of friction in American society. But the arts, as Ohio State Representative E. J. Thomas pointed out at the Columbus forum, can counter these abrasive, divisive, ultimately destructive tendencies. "I sincerely believe that the arts are like a magnet in our communities," Thomas declared, "pulling us as diverse groups and cultures together when otherwise we would be content with the comfort of our own familiar cultural territory. Art provides us a positive tool with which to overcome the dynamics in human nature that tend to keep us separated."

Or, as Roderick Sykes, director of St. Elmo's Village in Los Angeles, expressed it at the American Canvas forum in his city, art provides a common language in a polyglot world: "When you don't know the language, creativity cuts across all those barriers. It tears down walls, it includes everyone." Choreographer Lula Washington, another American Canvas panelist in Los Angeles, shared that view, marveling at art's abilities to "develop avenues of respect for who we are and what we do," its value in "bringing together people that would not ordinarily come together."

AMERICAN CANVAS

Washington, who grew up in Watts, was late in settling upon dance as her career choice. She was 22, in college and with a husband and daughter, when a dance teacher introduced her to the work of Alvin Ailey. "Before that," Washington told Jennifer Dunning of the *New York Times*, "I had no idea dancing was something that would be possible for me as a black person. I had never seen live dance. My family didn't have money." Her exposure to Ailey's company changed all that. "This is it," Washington thought at the time. "This is something possible for me."²

After earning a master's degree in dance at UCLA, followed by commercial work in film, television, and stage shows, Washington founded the Los Angeles Contemporary Dance Theatre in 1980. Seventeen years later, that company, now known as the Lula Washington Dance Theatre, divides its time between national tours and community outreach, between creating ambitious new works that reflect the black experience in America and teaching children the basics of movement. Washington sees no conflict between the two activities. "When I was growing up," she explained to the *Los Angeles Times*, "I never had the opportunity to study dance. So, as I started to grow and develop, [working with children] became part of what I wanted to do with my dancing." Thus the company's activities include an afterschool dance, drumming, and gymnastics program for teen-agers called "I Do Dance, Not Drugs." Although the demands of community service can be physically and emotionally draining, particularly in gang-ravaged central-city Los Angeles, Washington has no regrets.

"I've never been in a home that didn't have art in it, but a lot of people have the experience of having been told...that what they are engaged in isn't the arts."

STEVEN LAVINE, CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF THE ARTS

² Jennifer Dunning, "Remembering Watts And, in the Process, Reaching to the Sky," *New York Times* 31 Aug. 1996.

³ Jan Breslauer, "Dancing on Eggshells," Los Angeles Times 22 Oct. 1995.

She draws inspiration from the circumstances of her community for such works as "This Little Light," based on the life and struggles of Harriet Tubman; "Check This Out," a response to the 1992 LA riots; and "What About Watts?" a meditation on the gang violence that claimed the life of her own nephew in 1993 at the age of 13. Less than a year later, tragedy struck again, this time in the form of an earthquake that did some \$800,000 worth of damage in her studio, housed in a 69-year-old former Masonic Temple. But for all of that, Washington's spirit remains indomitable. "My work is never dark," she explains. "It's always uplifting."

"...ARTISTS PLAYING THEIR TRADITIONAL ROLE OF TELLING THE TRUTH"

Washington's vision, and her use of dance to address social problems, are inspirational, and yet it's equally clear that art itself can occasionally be a problem. Or at least art, as the subject of contention and controversy, raises problems for some Americans. From the coarse lyrics of a popular musical group that sells millions of recordings, to the work of an obscure performance artist whose audience may number in the hundreds, art often finds itself at the center of controversy. Ever since the furor that broke out over the photography of Andres Serrano and Robert Mapplethorpe in 1989, scarcely a month has gone by in which the art world was not visited by one storm or another. Some of these tempests were more of the teapot variety, certainly, having much more to do with the immediate demands of a re-election campaign, and with the shallow, often manipulative nature of the mass media, than with legitimate differences of aesthetic opinion. These were political squabbles, in other words, masquerading as cultural debates, and serving neither politics nor culture in the process. That these disputes exist at all says something about the power of art, about the role of the artist in our society, and about the perceptions of Americans of the artists in their midst.

Steven Lavine addressed the topic of controversy and the arts at the Los Angeles forum, suggesting that the real question is not why the 90s have been so full of artistic controversies, but rather how we largely escaped such conflicts in the 70s and 80s. "We've gone through a fundamental generational change in what's going on in the arts," the president of the California Institute for the Arts explained. "The authority of a lot of old traditions wore away in the course of the 50s and 60s. We have an emergence in American culture where actually the most important voices are coming from places and cultures we didn't hear before. And,

in fact, it does directly assault...what lots of the country would like to tell itself about the country. I don't know how we escaped the problem, because, in fact, it's the artists playing their traditional role of telling the truth. And people not wanting to hear it."

Artists, to be sure, will continue to raise issues and address topics that many of us, in a more perfect world, might not want to hear. The point is neither to dismiss such artists as malcontents, nor to punish them for making us feel uncomfortable, but rather to judge their work on its merits (or lack thereof) within a setting as free as possible from the vagaries of politics, and as full as practicable with the historical, social, and cultural context from which such art emanates. That's the approach taken by the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art (SECCA) of Winston-Salem, NC, whose director, Susan Lubowsky Talbott, attended the American Canvas forum in Rock Hill, South Carolina.⁴

"Controversies surrounding the presentation of challenging art cannot be avoided," Talbott declared, "but it's possible to work with the community to resolve these issues." Among the solutions that SECCA has found is a program entitled "Artist and the Community," a series of three-week to three-month residencies that focus on issues critical to the Winston-Salem area, and which result in the creation and exhibition of new work. Working with other community-based institutions, moreover, the program is designed to forge a link between artists and a diverse range of community members. "As a participant in the 'culture wars," a museum statement reads.

SECCA was also concerned with creating programs aimed at re-establishing bonds between artist, community, and cultural institution. If SECCA was to survive as a viable and valuable art and community center, it needed to mediate these conflicts on a local level. Winston-Salem could be a testing ground for a new kind of public art—one that could promote productive social change while introducing challenging new art forms to the community. Emphasis would be on collaboration and understanding rather than on the 'in-your-face' stance that previously characterized much public and political art.

⁴ SECCA was awarded a grant over a number of years to support its Awards in the Visual Arts Series. It was this exhibition of a number of emerging photographers, including Andres Serrano, that touched off the political controversy of 1989.

During the course of developing this program in 1992 and 1993, museum staff researched issues that were of importance to the local community, identified artists with a strong record of community involvement, and located community groups representing culture, education, social service, and industry to serve as potential project partners. The museum initiated discussions with a number of community organizations, many of which had no history of collaborating with SECCA, and met as well with the local arts council and the mayor's office.

The result of this extensive planning has been a series of residencies and exhibitions that have earned both critical and popular acclaim. In 1994, installation artist Donald Lipski fabricated his work, "Oral Histories," largely out of tobacco products, in deference to the staple crop of the region, while Tim Rollins and K.O.S. (Kids of Survival) mounted "The Red Badge of Courage—Winston-Salem, North Carolina," involving 15 students from the Drop Out Prevention Program at Petree Middle School and Independence High School. The third project that year, Fred Wilson's "Insight: In Site: Incite: Memory," investigated the history of slavery in the Moravian community that founded Winston-Salem. Wilson's work, a multimedia installation in a historic house and a nineteenth-century black church (unused since 1950), proved so popular that it attracted national funding for a reinstallation in 1995. Subsequent Artist and the Community projects involved artists working with local students, teachers, and a wide range of community members whose previous experience with formal arts institutions had been limited, and the project continues this year and next with Maya Lin working with area youth on an outdoor garden piece for Winston Lake Park, in a predominantly African-American neighborhood, and Iñigo Manglano-Ovalle's project that will address the concerns of Latino migrant farmworkers in the Winston-Salem area.

All of these projects reflect a museum that has managed to transform itself over the past several years, from "an institution under a great deal of attack because of Serrano," explains Talbott," to an institution that has been getting a great deal of support." It's not that the museum has steered clear of controversial works (which probably cannot be avoided in any case), but whenever the potential for controversy comes up, Talbott and her staff have sought input from the community itself in order to defuse the more explosive issues. She cites the "Civil Right Now" exhibition, which the museum presented two years ago, as a turning point for SECCA in its relations with the community.

"On the face of it, you wouldn't think this would be a terribly controversial exhibition," Talbott concedes, "but the curator of the exhibition felt that it was



The town of Rock Hill, South Carolina is graced by this statue of Civitas, which has become a civic emblem for this community which played host to an American Canvas Forum.

critical to include gay civil rights as well as racial civil rights, and some of the work in the show, for a small southern community like Winston-Salem, was a little bit 'edgy,' and we felt could be potentially controversial. Rather than censor the work out of the show, we took another tactic." That tactic included a special showing for a range of community leaders, black and white, conservative and liberal, whom Talbott had personally invited. "I called 40 of them, and I invited them to a special preview of the exhibition for a select group of community leaders, the point of which was to introduce them to the exhibition and to get their feedback on how they felt we should present the exhibition—so that it would be a working session, not just a tour, ...their reason for being there was to talk to us about their feelings about the exhibition, and help us strategize how to present this to the community. Suddenly, these people were all partners rather than adversaries." The result was a frank discussion of a number of works, including Serrano's photographs of the Ku

Klux Klan, and a debate over the inclusion of gay activists with civil rights leaders of the past. "At a fair amount of expense," Talbott notes, "...we re-did all of our explanatory panels...to say why this show was inclusive of so many ideas. The fact that we acted on their suggestions made a huge difference to the community."

Deborah Smith, director of the newly restored Opera House in Newberry, SC, and a participant in the Rock Hill forum, agreed that the context in which art is presented is extremely important, both for challenging work of the sort that SECCA presents, as well as for any newer material with which a local audience might not be familiar. Armed with the proper background information with which to approach such work, she believed, an audience stands a better chance of viewing art on its own terms, meeting the artist half way, as it were. Such "educative interchange" informed by both the artist's and the community's perspective, Chairman Jane Alexander added at the Rock Hill forum, "can be handled in a manner that does not vitiate the integrity of the artist or the institution involved."

"...OUR COMMUNITY IS ENGAGED IN A COLLABORATIVE IMPROVISATION"

Perhaps the final word on what the arts mean to Americans should go to Phillip Kent Bimstein, a participant in the American Canvas forum in Salt Lake City. "Some activists choose to spread their message through arts or music, others delve into politics," writes Andrew Kiraly in the *Las Vegas New Times*. "Phillip Kent Bimstein does both." First as a composer, and then as an arts council volunteer, and most recently as the mayor of a small town, Springdale, Utah, Bimstein has had three vantage points from which to view the arts.

As a composer and performer, Bimstein's career has zig-zagged all the way from the Chicago Conservatory of Music, where he majored in theory and composition, to "Phil 'n' the Blanks," a new wave rock group that released several recordings and music videos in the early 1980s. Following graduate studies in music at UCLA, Bimstein eventually settled in rural Utah, which provided the inspiration for what has become his most famous work to date, and something of an underground hit (although this being experimental, electronic music, it was pretty far underground). "I awoke one morning to the sounds of cows mooing in the pasture next to my home," Bimstein recalls. "Music to my ears, the moos became the inspiration for a concerto... *Garland Hirschi's Cows*, which premiered at the Salt Lake Alternative Music Festival in October 1990. The piece, which uses an Akai sampler

to make music of the moos, also includes the voice of the cows' owner, Garland C. Hirschi of Rockville, Utah, as he tells the story of growing up with cows and what makes them moo."

Aside from the subject matter, however, this is not the kind of work one would suspect to emerge from bucolic, rural Utah, and as such probably owes as much to Bimstein's formal training in Chicago as it does to his new surroundings. But music has played an important role for Bimstein in Utah, too. "When I moved from Chicago to rural southern Utah eight years ago," Bimstein notes, "I didn't know a soul. Some of my old friends thought I would always be an outsider, but I was welcomed into the community. The vehicle that introduced me to my new neighbors, and which allowed me to get to know them, was my music." And the region continues to provide a rich vein of material for Bimstein's musical explorations.

Like a lot of modern composers, Bimstein works in a variety of styles, some more accessible than others, including works rooted in the history of his new surroundings in Utah. "I composed a work about the history of the area for the local church choir. At rehearsals I was warmly received, even though I am not a member of the church. At the 4th of July premier my wife sang in the choir, my parents drove in from California, and most of the town was there. I knew then that Springdale had truly become my home."

Bimstein's art eventually led him to the civic arena, initially as a member of the local arts council, and later in his effort to rally the community around the idea of presenting a contemporary music festival, the esteemed New Music Across America Festival, which included Springdale among 15 much larger cities in 1992. "For several years," Bimstein explains, "I served on the board of our local arts council. From that vantage point I saw our town transformed by the arts. Springdale had become fractured and polarized, divided by growth and development issues. People had lost respect and trust for each other, and were losing faith in our ability to get along. Town council meetings were hostile environments, and citizens hated to go. Our dialogue had broken down." With Vaclav Havel as his inspiration and using his position with the arts council as an entry point, Bimstein proposed a creative solution to the town's problems. "Our arts council presented a series of roundtable discussions, entitled 'Embracing Opposites, In Search of the Public Good,' which helped us to develop a language of cooperation. Poetry readings, creativity workshops, and concerts became our positive meeting places, where we strengthened our social bonds, sustained our spirit, and nurtured the health back into our

community. The arts provided the breeding ground for the cooperation and communication which brought us back together."

The arts also turned out to be the breeding ground for Bimstein's latest performance, as the mayor of Springdale. "That really surprised me," Bimstein admitted in an interview with the *Chicago Tribune*, speaking of his entry into local politics. "...[but] I realized that instead of regarding political office as a conflict with my life as a creative person, it could actually be a different manifestation of my creative side."

"The arts help me be a better mayor," Bimstein adds, "furnishing me with techniques which strengthen the bonds of our community. As a composer, I know that dissonant notes have value, and that even opposites can be orchestrated together. From a musical perspective, our community is engaged in a collaborative improvisation. If we play it well, a good work emerges, a constantly evolving composition."