RECORD PRODUCTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF AUTHENTICITY IN THE BEACH BOYS AND LATE-SIXTIES AMERICAN ROCK

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Abstract

This thesis explores the paradox that occurred at the time that rock emerged as a new genre in America in the mid-1960s. Recordings were becoming increasingly manipulated in the studio, but at the same time there emerged a growing ideology of authenticity that developed as the decade progressed, first focussing on records, but ending by privileging live performance. The study falls into three parts. The first traces the development of authenticity in relation to music through history and explores its possible nature in order to illuminate the development of authenticity in relation to rock in the 1960s. The second section writes a history of the record industry in the 1960s, focussing on organisational practices, which I argue were strongly influenced by an ideology of authenticity related to beliefs about the conditions necessary to create art in a commercial framework. These organisational changes lead to the adoption by the industry of the figure of the entrepreneur producer. The final section looks at how the industry interacted with the conflicting ideologies of authenticity that were developed in the counterculture in relation to rock, employing rock cultural intermediaries both to bring rock bands into the industry, and to sell their music back to the counterculture from which they came. The more theoretical points of my discussion are exemplified through the use of a case study of the Beach Boys, whose career spans the decade, and who, despite early success as a rock band, experienced difficulty negotiating the changing ideologies of authenticity that emerged as the decade progressed.

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Introduction

This thesis sets out to explore the paradox that occurred at the time that rock emerged as a new genre in America in the mid-1960s, growing out of rock n' roll and then rock and roll.[1] Recordings were becoming increasingly manipulated in the studio, but at the same time there emerged a growing ideology of authenticity that developed as the decade progressed, first focussing on records, but ending by privileging live performance. This thesis sets out to explore and explain this paradox, assessing the impact of the record industry and the media on rock and its perception, and the way that these responded to the new ways of thinking about rock that emerged at this time, ways that ultimately still affect the way that we think about popular music today.

Assessing authenticity in relation to music in an academic context is a complex task particularly because not only is there little agreement on what authenticity in music might be, but different musics have different concepts of authenticity related to them. In the case of this thesis, the issue is further complicated by the fact that as the genre of rock as we now know it emerged in the late 1960s, the ideas of authenticity that became attached to it changed over time, sometimes leading to bands being imbued with one type of authenticity that acted to conceal others, sometimes making bands that had previously been seen as authentic be now seen as inauthentic, or sometimes coalescing together to make bands seem indisputably authentic in every way.

In starting to explore the development of authenticity in 1960s rock, it became clear that this would be further complicated due to a general lack of detailed studies of the institutions of rock music in the 1960s. Despite several books that study individual bands from the 1960s, and many books on various aspects of the Beatles, a close look at how rock functioned in relation both to the record industry and broader culture in the 1960s has not been carried out, this despite the fact that it was a time of great flux resulting in the development of record company organisational strategies that are still in use today.

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[1]A note on terminology: The term "rock n' roll" was the first term used to describe the new music emerging from around 1950, from which rock eventually developed. This music disappeared from the charts around 1958 and was replaced with white artists' following a rock n' roll derived style, usually referred to as "rock and roll". The term "rock" was generally in use to describe derivations of rock n' roll from 1964 onwards (although interchangeably with "rock and roll" and sometimes rock 'n' roll still). These general period boundaries are outlined by Charlie Gillett in *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll*, Souvenir Press, New York, 1970, p.1. A similar classification system is used in Carl Belz, *The Story of Rock*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1969, p.xii, who describes three stages of rock, 1954–1957, 1957–1963 and from 1964 onwards, respectively, although he does not use the terms "rock and roll" and "rock n' roll", describing all three types of music as rock.

This also means that, despite the fact that it is often argued that the problem of the status of the record is fundamental to rock, as it was the first genre to have the record as its primary object, the development of discourse surrounding the issues this raises, discourse which usually centres on ideas related to authenticity, has not been explored.[2]

The omission of detailed studies of the cultural context and development of rock in the 1960s seems to be common in accounts of various cultural aspects of the 1960s in general.[3] The development and cultural relevance of rock's precursor, rock and roll, has been studied in detail by academics and journalists alike, but music in the 1960s specifically has been treated to detailed study mainly by journalists, who usually focus on tales of excess, either in terms of money made or drugs taken, or both, and on the tragic early demise of many of the musicians of the era. The exception to this is Sheila Whiteley, a musicologist who sets out to explore the relationship between what she terms progressive rock and the counterculture in the late 1960s, assessing how the music may have expressed "things of cultural and political significance"[4], and largely focussing on the British counterculture.[5]

Whiteley's exploration of music's relevance to the counterculture largely consists of close musical analysis of a range of well-known progressive rock albums and singles, relating various musical features to the experience of taking psychedelic drugs. Whilst this was an important aspect of some of the music produced at this time, Whiteley makes little attempt to link these factors in the music to the wider cultural and social factors that affected its creation and reception. Whiteley allows that there must have been some

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[2] See for example Theodore Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise: An Aesthetics of Rock*, Duke University Press, London, 1996, Albin J. Zak III, *The Poetics of Rock: Cutting Tracks, Making Records*, University of California Press, London, 2001 and Robert B. Ray, 'Tracking' in Anthony DeCurtis (ed.), *Present Tense: Rock & Roll Culture*, Duke University Press, London, 1992 who all argue that records are fundamental to rock. This can cause problems in the assessment of rock as music for reasons that shall become clear.

[3] See Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, 'Historicising the American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s' in Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*, Routledge, London, 2002 for discussions of the difficulty of studying the 1960s, the problems of linear narratives when dealing with them, and the fact that they are rarely closely examined because it is assumed that we already know all about them. An example of this in music would be the general assumption that the live was privileged over recordings in discourse about rock and authenticity throughout the 60s, but this was not the case.

[4] Sheila Whiteley, *The Space Between The Notes: Rock and the Counter-culture*, Routledge Press, London, 1992, p.1.

[5] Moore also calls this music progressive rock. See Allan Moore, *Rock: The Primary Text*, (2nd ed.), Ashgate Press, Aldershot, 2001, but this term was not widely used in America in the 60s, so I shall use rock instead. This bias towards the British counterculture in rock studies is common, with many books focussing on the Beatles, for example, perhaps because of the early recognition of the Beatles as examples of popular music worthy of musicological study, or perhaps because of British cultural studies scholars' interest in youth culture.

alternative interpretations to progressive rock as the aural equivalent to drug-taking, as the reach of progressive rock stretched beyond the counter-culture to the wider public in terms of commercial reach. However, she does not explore in any detail how these ideas of a link between music and drugs (or other aspects of counterculture) are disseminated, nor how they affected the makers of the music or marketing practices in any detail. The links between the counterculture and music in America, and the effects that this had on the record industry, are discussed in detail in section three of this thesis.

Whiteley does, however, discuss the relationship of the counterculture to the record industry and mainstream media in terms of a framework of art against commerce, raising concerns about the commercialisation of music associated with the counter-culture and introducing issues of authenticity. According to Whiteley, there was strong negative reaction from the underground counterculture toward the popularising of psychedelic music, which occurred from 1967. The counterculture felt that there were "hip entrepreneurs"[6] who were able to deflect the radical implications of musical styles and successfully market psychedelic rock and pop to the general public. They threatened the authenticity of the music and the movement, as the thinking went, and their influence should be avoided. The only acceptable commercial success, by this line of thought, was that based on artistic integrity, achieved by Cream and Pink Floyd after 1967, which created a new market that "while carrying the stigma of being highly commercial, was nevertheless valued by the counter-culture as sufficiently differentiated"[7] to prevent dissemination by the aforementioned entrepreneurs. This valuing of commercial success based on artistic merit seems contradictory or at least, paradoxical, and highlights the difficulty of the exploration of the art-versus-commerce argument in a popular music context, an argument that is key to the concept of authenticity in relation to rock.

This dichotomy of art versus commerce and its relationship to rock is thoroughly explored by Theodore Gracyk, a philosopher.[8] Instead of looking for the relevance of the music in the notes, or in the space between them, Gracyk, is interested in exploring rock as an aesthetic and ideological category in an attempt to define it as a distinct genre. He argues that rock is often defined through an opposition between art and entertainment, or art and commerce, in which rock is understood as an art (either a modern manifestation of Romantic art, or as a modern folk art, or a combination of the two) and other popular

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[6] Whiteley, *Space Between the* Notes, p.80.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise.*

music genres are an "unauthentic exploitation of the masses"[9]. Gracyk outlines the way that rock is usually described in rock histories, extrapolating rock's basic mythology from an article by Camille Paglia as follows: Rock was pioneered by social misfits, who drew on "an authentic tradition"[10] of American folk and the blues in the 1960s, creating a golden age of rock made by "sensitive artists"[11] drawing inspiration from a range of literary, artistic and religious sources. "But rock soon fell victim to capitalism. Market forces corrupted it; co-optation eviscerated it."[12] Gracyk argues that the real concern behind such histories is not about commercial forces affecting musicians, pointing out that this can have beneficial effects and is necessary to allow musicians to sell their music "in any volume"[13]. Instead, such myths betray concern over whether the historian has been fooled by any controlled or manufactured images of stars, tricked into believing a musician to be authentic when s/he has in fact been corrupted by commerce, making her/him an inauthentic artist.

Gracyk points out the futility of distinctions between authentic and inauthentic music based on ideas about art versus commerce "in a system of music making and distribution that has been commercial since its inception."[14] Gracyk also argues that to add to the difficulty of distinguishing authentic art from commerce, the Romantic ideology of authenticity itself can become a selling point for an artist, either used in marketing by slick "hip entrepreneurs" as the counter-culture underground feared, according to Whiteley, or as a conscious decision by the artist him/herself. Once authenticity becomes part of a marketing strategy, "the line between real [authentic] and artificial [inauthentic] becomes hopelessly muddled."[15] And yet, "the distinction between more and less authentic rock has attained the status of commonsense truth for rock fans and musicians"[16] and indeed, until very recently, for many academics who argue that certain types of popular music are authentic and resistant, of whom more below. Gracyk goes on to argue that the many people who tell rock's story in this way have misunderstood rock's development, and that this is the source of their Romantic reading of a mythic golden age of rock in the 1960s. Having assessed and critiqued this story of rock, he replaces it with one of his own, free from ideas of authenticity or Romanticism, saying that instead of being modern Romantic artists, rock musicians are steeped in commercialism:

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[9] Ibid., pp.175–176.
[10] Ibid., p.175.
[11] Ibid., p.176.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., p.178.
[14] Ibid., p.179.
[15] Ibid., p.183.
[16] Ibid.

> [They] have always had crass commercial interests, playing dance music to mostly teen audiences. Their direct musical sources were usually commercial recordings by earlier musicians and their lyrics featured heavy doses of innuendo but little in the way of overt rebellion, and, prior to 1965, almost nothing in the way of personal expression.... [I]f we are considering the claim that rock is either a folk or fine art, the available facts count heavily against such status.[17]

However, Gracyk does not explain why it is Paglia's story of rock, and not his own, which is so widely understood by fans and critics to be the true story, and does not explore what the more wide ranging effects of this belief might be on rock's musicians, fans and institutions. This thesis explores the origins of this myth by looking at the formation of rock through the 1960s, a time when the genre was in flux and ways of interpreting it, and ideologies of authenticity were attached to this form of popular music for the first time.

Gracyk also raises another aspect of the art-versus-commerce dichotomy not discussed by Whiteley, explaining that it is rock's status as a record, its dependence on recording technology, that makes it inevitably a commercial product, and thus incapable of being an art, in the sense of a separate sphere of art that is opposed to commerce. Rock's relationship to live performance has also been complicated, as has been discussed by Auslander, Frith and Wicke.[18] The discussion of recording in relation to authenticity fluctuated in my period of study, with arguments about whether records or live performance were more authentic emerging as time went on. This leads us to the other aspect of the paradox outlined in the opening paragraph, that an ideology of authenticity should arise around rock at the same moment that it becomes based on highly manipulative recording practices that bear little or no relation to a 'real' performance and are impossible to replicate live. This aspect of rock authenticity will be discussed in more depth in chapter two.

This thesis is united by the example of the Beach Boys, whose early career spans the decade and who are therefore a good example to demonstrate how the changing ideologies of authenticity affected both how rock bands were treated within the record

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[17] Ibid., p.193.

[18] See Paul Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in Mediatized Culture*, Routledge, London, 1999, Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth Culture and the Politics of Rock*, 2nd ed., Constable Press, London, 1983 and Peter Wicke, *Rock music: Culture, Aesthetics, and Sociology*, (trans. Rachel Fogg), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.

industry and how they were perceived by their audience. Where relevant, I also include case studies of other artists that exemplify changes in or effects of ideologies of authenticity in relation to rock. Before the theoretical discussion proper, I shall briefly outline the changing ways in which authenticity has been discussed by theorists in relation to rock and the Beach Boys in the 1960s.

Typology of authenticity in rock 1960–1970

Rock n' roll was not discussed in terms of authenticity during the rock n' roll era; instead, it was seen as an opposition of the new youth against adult music and concerns.[19] Early rock music, sometimes referred to as rock and roll, which emerged in the early 60s, was seen as being authentic music, a music 'of the people, for the people' which had developed out of the folk revival and white musicians' interest in the blues.[20] According to Simon Frith, an ex-music journalist turned sociologist, who outlines the significance for rock of these two types of music, white musicians "found in the blues a more honest account of the world than in teenage pop"[21] and found in folk "the only form that could be made directly responsive to their political concerns, that could serve the same purpose as black music did for its listeners."[22] As folk existed largely outside the record industry, it also offered the possibility of addressing topics far wider than conventional love themes, and allowed musicians to approach their work as self-expression, rather than a means to make money.[23] Thus, through covers and stylistic homages, musicians could be authentic through "sincere appropriation of an authentic source."[24] A typical example of how this form of authenticity operated, and the complications that it can conceal, can be seen in the case of the Beach Boys, who were first signed to Capitol records in 1962. They were initially seen as authentic representatives of the Californian way of life.

The Beach Boys (brothers Brian, Dennis and Carl Wilson, cousin Mike Love and friend Al Jardine) emerged out of the surfing scene that was the teenage craze in Southern California at the start of the 1960s. From the surf scene's inception, there were close links between the fashion and activities of surfers and a distinct musical style, leading

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[19] Deena Weinstein, 'Art versus Commerce: Deconstructing a (useful) Romantic illusion' in Karen Kelly & Evelyn McDonnell, *Stars don't stand still in the sky: Music and Myth*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp.56–71, p.60.
[20] Weinstein, 'Art versus Commerce', p.58.
[21] Frith, Simon, *Sound Effects*, p.16.
[22] Ibid., p.29.
[23] Ibid., p.30.
[24] Ibid., p.59.

Carl Belz, one of the earliest academics to assess rock as music, to claim that this was the start of rock being almost as much a way of life as a musical style.[25] In 1962, the Beach Boys had the first surf related national hit with the song 'Surfin' Safari' which reached the Billboard Top 40.[26] The Beach Boys themselves, except Dennis, did not surf, but were well versed in the imagery and jargon of surfing both through friends at school and the series of popular beach movies produced by Hollywood, the first of which was *Gidget*, released in 1959.[27] The popularity of these beach movies also meant that youth across America had some familiarity with the surfing world without needing to surf themselves. With the release on 4th March, 1963 of The Beach Boys' single 'Surfin' USA' (which reached US number three by March 23rd), the lyrics of which listed all the surf spots in the US, the surf craze swept the nation.[28] From the success of the *Surfin' USA* album onwards (released 25th March and quickly reaching number two in the charts), The Beach Boys were understood as symbolising the Californian myth of "a promised fantasy of woodies and wetsuits, baggies and bikinis – of golden flesh and innocent sex."[29]

It was not widely known at this time that the Beach Boys were not strictly part of the surfing world that they portrayed, first to the rest of America, and then to the rest of the world, and they were considered to be an authentic band as they appeared to be creating music 'of the people for the people'. Although they did not sincerely appropriate external sources, as in Weinstein and Frith's definition of early authenticity, they were seen by some as a new form of white folk music, genuinely representing a way of life. This view can be seen in Belz's *Story of Rock*, where he states that, although the subject matter of The Beach Boys seems "anachronistic"[30] against the more political concerns of other 60s rock music, they were working in the same tradition, based in folk roots, as they were creating music that reached "a new level in folk sophistication."[31] More recently, Bruce Golden's book *The Beach Boys: Southern California Pastoral*, first published in 1976, describes the band as single-handedly creating an image of Southern California in the tradition of the pastoral for the rest of world, by making a uniquely Californian music that could speak to a large number of people about California both as a place and as a

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[25] Belz, *The Story of Rock*, p.95.
[26] The Beach Boys, 'Surfin' Safari'/'409', Capitol 4777.
[27] *Gidget* (Paul Wendkos, Columbia Pictures, 1959)
[28] The Beach Boys, 'Surfin' USA'/'Shut Down', Capitol 4932. For chart position details, see Keith Badman, *The Beach Boys: The Definitive Diary of America's Greatest band on stage and in the studio*, Backbeat Books, San Francisco, 2004, p.23.
[29] The Beach Boys, *Surfin' USA*, Capitol ST1890. For quote, see Barney Hoskyns, *Waiting for the sun: Strange Days, Weird Scenes and the Sound of Los Angeles*, Penguin, London, 2003, p.59.
[30] Belz, *The story of Rock*, p.99.
[31] Ibid.

lifestyle, and therefore functions as a form of American folk music.[32] The remaining Beach Boys themselves now describe themselves in these terms, showing the extent of the power of this ideology of authenticity in rock music. In a recent interview, having commented that he originally wanted the Beach Boys to be a traditional folk group, Al Jardine states that: "As it turns out, the group *has* turned out America's balladeers regarding music; the folk myths, the experience of this country."[33]

This view of The Beach Boys as authentically portraying the surf/Californian lifestyle to the world does not stand up to close examination as they were not themselves particularly involved in the scene. Instead, they described and embodied the scene in idealistic terms that enabled it to be sold across the world. Further to this, their songs were often not about surfing or hot rods at all, but were about more universal concerns such as finding girlfriends, heartache and loneliness. Their image, however, was firmly bound up with the surf scene, with their album covers often depicting them on beaches or the ocean, or with surf boards, and their distinctive band uniform in which they performed live and on TV appearances was also derived from early surf fashion (See Figs. 1 and 2). This idea of the Beach Boys as all-American surfers was extremely persistent, however, and worked against them as they attempted to make the leap to a new type of authenticity, that of the studio auteur, which emerged as a new mode of rock authenticity as the 1960s progressed as discussed below. We shall return to the Beach Boys in more detail in Chapter five.

By the mid-60s, according to Deena Weinstein, musicologist, the meaning of authenticity in rock had changed to mean "obedience to one's own muse, to oneself",[34] as rock music changed from being seen as based on external sources to being seen as "self-initiating"[35]. Weinstein and others describe this new meaning of authenticity as being Romantic in conception, with feeling, passion and imagination being championed against regulation, and individuality, eccentricity, excess and personal authenticity highly valued.[36] Various explanations for this change have been proposed, with Weinstein, for example, emphasising the simultaneous emergence of the counter-culture with a new generation of young musicians who wished to challenge the musical possibilities laid out by the record industry. In her words:

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[32] Bruce Golden *The Beach Boys: Southern California Pastoral* (rev. edn.), The Borgo Press, San Bernardino, 1991.
[33] Quoted in Charles L. Granata, *Wouldn't it be Nice: Brian Wilson and the Making of the Beach Boys' Pet Sounds*, A Capella Books, Chicago, 2003, p.43.
[34] Weinstein, 'Art versus commerce', p.58.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid. See also Frith, *Sound Effects* and Wicke, *Rock Music* for versions of this argument.

> On the political front, the moral, passionate, youthful change-agents ... pitted themselves against the immoral, unfeeling, and decadent establishment. On the cultural front, within rock music, the oppositional binary pitted romantic artists against the capitalist establishment...[37]

Allan Moore, musicologist, on the other hand, emphasises the role of the increasing freedom of bands over their own product within the confines of the record industry and the developments of studio technology, the combination of which gave rise to musical experimentation, whilst still accepting that the protest movement (or counter-culture) was a factor.[38] Studio developments and the rise of the counterculture both seem to be relevant, as will be seen in the body of my discussion, but the tendency towards studio innovation and the eliding of rock with the counterculture caused tensions in the developing ideology of authenticity, as will be seen. Both Moore and Weinstein also mention the role of the music press, which emerged at this time, in the development and perpetuation of this Romantic ideology of authenticity. Weinstein expresses the relationship between the two succinctly when she states that:

> The myth of the irreconcilable opposition between art-authenticity and commerce was established [in rock]: henceforth, musical discourse had a literary discourse [the music press] to police it, indeed to normalise it.[39]

These three factors, the rise of a Romantic mode of authenticity, increased freedom to use technology and the growth of the music press were all important elements in the shift of the Beach Boys from a form of folk authenticity into a more fully developed rock authenticity, and the effects of this Romantic form of authenticity, which argued for rock as an art form will be the focus of much of my thesis.

Moore's emphasis on changes within the record industry, and Weinstein's assertion that the birth of rock was synonymous with the "art-commerce binary"[40] raises the question of how music such as rock, created and disseminated from within the confines of the record industry, could possibly be authentic. According to Wicke, musicologist, rock musicians dealt with this by combining

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[37] Weinstein, 'Art versus commerce', p.59.
[38] Moore, *Rock: The Primary Text*, pp.64–65.
[39] Weinstein, 'Art versus Commerce' p.59.
[40] Ibid., p.58.

> ... an emphasis on skill and technique with the romantic concept of art as individual expression, original and sincere. They claimed to be non-commercial – the organising logic of their music was not to make money or meet market demand.[41]

The shift to a Romantic version of authenticity did not, however, entirely supersede the previous authenticity based on external sources, as pointed out by Gracyk, who states that rock is now thought of as "Romantic art [which] draws much of its power from its folk roots."[42]

Moore's emphasis on changes in studio technology and record industry practices raises a further question of authenticity which also arose in the 1960s, though it is now less often discussed, which was the fact that rock from at least the mid-1960s onwards was primarily a recorded music, created with the aid of studio technology and difficult, if not impossible, to reproduce accurately in a live performance.[43] This aspect of rock is rarely foregrounded in the finished product, something that is discussed by Paul Auslander, who works in Performance Studies, in his work on 'Liveness', where he states that records are an apparently transparent medium, "made to sound like performances that could have taken place, even if they didn't."[44] Auslander believes that rock is sold as a primarily live performing art, and that this "defines the experience of rock for its listeners."[45] He also makes an explicit link among live performance, recordings and authenticity, arguing that "the rock recording calls up the desire for a live performance that will serve to authenticate the recording... The concert answers the question raised implicitly by the recording."[46] He goes on to argue that if an audience does not believe that it is possible to reproduce a record on stage, "the music is condemned to inauthenticity."[47]

It is possible that Auslander's view of the authentication purpose of performance is correct for rock in the modern day; however, some writers argue that until 1965, rock, and pop music in general were primarily recorded musics, and were understood primarily

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[41] Wicke, Peter, *Rock music*, footnote 6, p.92.
[42] Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise*, p.175.
[43] For arguments regarding records being rock music's primary text, see Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise*, Zak III, *The Poetics of Rock* and Reebee Garofalo, 'Understanding Mega-Events' in Reebee Garofalo (ed.), *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements*, South End Press, Boston, 1992.
[44] Auslander, *Liveness*, p.64.
[45] Ibid., p.65.
[46] Ibid., p.82.
[47] Ibid.

in that way by their audiences. However, live performance was still considered important at this time, suggesting that it must have had a different purpose. Ellen Willis, professor of journalism, addresses this issue, asserting that from the start of rock n' roll, the primary crowd (one that is central to understanding the relationship of music and audience) is the mass-mediated crowd, which is "...brought together [initially] and held together by radio, records and the public image of pop performers introduced mainly through TV."[48] She argues that this was "the primary, underlying reality that gave live performance its context and meaning."[49] She then goes on to claim that, whilst individuals in this primary crowd undoubtedly had their own individual responses and understandings of music, the music was at the same time "shared ... across an enormously heterogeneous spectrum of the population. Rock was the lingua franca of a crowd that could connect without demanding the subordination of the self to the group..."[50] For this crowd, which functioned as a group of individuals connected through shared music, not as a mass in one physical space, the live performance "functioned largely as a confirmation of the existence of the community... these events and the symbols they produced then got recycled by the media back into the collective consciousness of the [mass-mediated] crowd as a whole."[51] In other words, contrary to the view of live performance's being necessary to authenticate the fact that a performer's work on record is her/his own, Willis suggests that in the rock era, it was the recording that established the authentic, shared understanding of a performer, and the live performance served to authenticate the view already established from the record, by acting as an arena for the experience of shared community, rather than acting as a proving ground in which performers demonstrated that it was really their playing on the record.

Willis, and also Belz, argue that it was the rise of the San Francisco rock scene from 1966 onwards that ushered in a new idea of how to be an authentic rock star, one that depended on live performance. Willis explains that the San Francisco bands invented a new function of live performance, insisting on "intense physical and sensory contact as the basis of community."[52] The rock scene of San Francisco between 1965 and 1968 is identified by Belz, writing in 1969, as being the place where rock was "first liberated from records and made a total way of life",[53] one that shifted the parameters of authenticity beyond a Romantic ideology of personal expression with folk roots to living

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[48] Ellen Willis, 'Crowds and Freedom' in Kelly & McDonnell, *Stars Don't Stand Still in the Sky*, p.154.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid., p.156.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Belz, *The Story of Rock*, p.199.

the life that the music represented, becoming a representative of the scene that the music arose from. Bands evolved through sponsorship by two large live venues in the Haight-Ashbury area, the Fillmore and the Avalon, where three bands would play extended sets every night, accompanied by a light show which included coloured projections, strobes, experimental films and slides of paintings cast on the walls. The record industry were not fully aware of the San Francisco rock bands until the International Monterey Pop festival in June 1967, which acted as a showcase for the bands, and the industry started emphasising live performance as a means of selling rock music soon afterwards.[54] Rock ideology also soon shifted to reflect the ideas of the San Francisco scene, especially as *Rolling Stone* magazine, which started in San Francisco in late 1967, quickly became the most influential dedicated music magazine of that time. It was *Rolling Stone* that was quick to distance the San Franciscans, with their emphasis on live performance, from the more studio based Los Angeles artists, emphasising the authenticity of the San Francisco scene in comparison.[55] It seems that it is from this San Francisco bias that the live-versus-recording dichotomy became established as part of rock's ideology of authenticity. These developments of authenticity and rock in California in the late 1960s, and in particular the shift from an Romantic ideology of authenticity to one based on a dichotomy between live and recorded music will be explored through the lens of the career of the Beach Boys in section three of my thesis.

Four different aspects of authenticity in rock have been raised by the writers discussed above, namely authenticity as sincere appropriation of authentic sources, authenticity as Romantic ideology, authenticity as artistic freedom and experimentation, and authenticity as live performance and way of life. This thesis explores how these types of authenticity became attached to rock in the 1960s, and the effects that the changing ideologies of authenticity had on the way that rock was created and defined as a genre. The discussion falls into three parts: Section one explores the nature of authenticity in relation to music, with chapter one looking at its history as a version of the art versus commerce argument, and discussing why it became important to rock in the 1960s in particular. Chapter two discusses what more recent theorists have said about authenticity and explores the ramifications of this for the understanding of recordings as sites of authenticity, which arose briefly in the 1960s. The other two sections consider the effects and development of ideologies of authenticity in the 1960s. Section two explores the effects it had on the production side of the record industry, focussing on broader organisational issues in

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[54] Willis, 'Freedom and Crowds', pp.156–157.
[55] For a detailed account of the relationship between the San Francisco and Los Angeles rock scenes, see Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, pp142–153.

chapter three, and discussing the role of the entrepreneur producer in chapter four. The ramifications of these developments are considered through the case study of the creation of the Beach Boys' *Pet Sounds* in chapter five. Section three considers the effects and development of ideologies of authenticity in and on the rock scene itself, and how this related to the marketing of rock music. In chapter six, I propose Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the new cultural intermediary as a useful model, and I explore how these operated in rock music in chapters seven (pre-Monterey) and eight (after Monterey), exploring their effects through discussion of the reception of the Beach Boys.

Section One: The Development and Nature of Authenticity

Chapter One: The development of authenticity in relation to music

At this stage of the discussion, we have now raised the word 'authenticity' several times and in relation to different aspects of rock, most usually related to concerns about commerce and art, or the role of technology. Even in the short discussion above, it is clear that authenticity is a slippery and complicated concept, a word that can connote many things but is usually related to some kind of honesty or truthfulness being ascribed to the artist or object to which it is applied. It also, of course, has a long history of usage in a variety of contexts, both before and after it came to be used in relation to rock, both by academics and in broader cultural contexts. This section considers the origins of the discussion of authenticity in relation to music, and surveys the different approaches that have been taken towards authenticity by theorists. The first chapter explores the history of the use of ideologies of authenticity to discuss and assess the value of music in order to show the possible origins of the various types of authenticity that emerged in discussion of rock music in the 1960s. The second chapter considers more recent discussions of authenticity and music, in particular exploring the complications that the recording of music can cause for assessments of authenticity of music, something that was also discussed regularly in relation to rock music as the sixties progressed.

Discussions of authenticity in music by academics have occurred across a range of different types of music, such as studies of folk, classical music, world music, rock, jazz, blues, dance and so on. However, until recently, not many authors have questioned what authenticity might be; they seemed to operate under the assumption that its meaning was clear and relatively concrete. So, for example, in writing in the classical music world on the authentic approach to the performance of early music (or HIP – historically informed performance – as it is now known), it was often assumed that it was naturally authentic to play older works using instruments and/or styles of playing from the period that the piece was written in. It was not until HIP practices became widespread and that authenticity started to be used as a selling point for recordings of such music that a debate started regarding the exact meaning of the word 'authentic' in this context.[1] Richard Taruskin, in particular, wrote a series of articles on this subject, questioning the validity of this

[1] Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-first Century*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, pp.10–11.

understanding of authenticity in relation to music and contrasting it with a different kind, that of authenticity to the self.[2]

Folk music, too, has a long history of being associated with authenticity of varying types, as outlined by Middleton, who describes folk's basic outline of authenticity as "the authentic expression of a way of life now past or about to disappear (or in some cases to be preserved or somehow revived)."[3] Within this are associations of authenticity with "continuity, tradition, oral transmission, anonymity and uncommercial origins."[4] Most important, perhaps, is the notion of folk music as 'real' music, not imposed on or sold to people but produced by them, an idea that is common to many conceptions of authenticity in popular musics in general, as we shall see. As with the HIP movement, in more recent years, folk music's authenticity has been argued to be more complex than it may appear, with David Harker, for example, arguing that folk's supposed authenticity was constructed and mediated from the very beginnings of the collection of folk song in the 18th century, partly because folk song collecting, at least initially, was largely motivated by providing commercial goods for the growing bourgeois reading public.[5] The belief in folk as a source of authentic music has been particularly significant in the development of rock's version of authenticity, as shall be seen below.

Jazz and the blues have also been discussed in terms of authenticity. Middleton, in a more recent work, assesses the discussion of authenticity in its relation to blues and jazz alike, in Blesh's *Shining Trumpets*, a history of jazz from 1946.[6] In this work, instead of arguing for jazz or blues as authentic musics as a whole, Blesh argues for certain styles of jazz or blues as authentic, splitting the history of both into an era of authentic folk origins, followed by a classic art (authentic) period, then declining into an inauthentic mass culture period when the genre was "swamped by commerce."[7] We are returning here to a form of authenticity related to the art-versus-commerce arguments that were outlined by Gracyk above as being crucial to rock, and expanding the idea of folk in relation to authenticity that Gracyk mentioned. As Middleton points out, the model of authenticity used here to assess which era of jazz was authentic, and which was art, is a model that has

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[2] See for example Richard Taruskin, 'The Limits of Authenticity: A Contribution' and 'Text and Act' in Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995.
[3] Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, Open University Press, London 1990, p.127.
[4] Ibid.
[5] David Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1985.
[6] Richard Middleton, *Voicing the Popular: on the Subjects of Popular Music*, Routledge, New York, 2006.
[7] Ibid., pp.219–222.

been used to write histories of music for as long as they have been written, with various genres being understood as moving from authentic folk, to authentic art, to inauthentic commodified product. Indeed, this model has been applied to various sub-genres of rock, as shall be demonstrated in this thesis.

My interest in these models of authenticity is the way that they demonstrate always the constructedness of different ideas of what is authentic in music, and how it changes over time, something that is increasingly discussed by recent musicologists, leading Georgina Born, musicologist, to state that the term has been "consigned to the intellectual dust-heap"[8] as it does not denote anything concrete. However, Frith, who has also assessed authenticity extensively in rock, argues that studies of global popular musics have simply replaced a simple concept of authenticity in world music in which music is considered more authentic the less it is tainted by the West and commerce, with a concept that sees hybridity as authentic musical practice.[9] In other words, the old view of authenticity as opposed to commerce has been replaced with a new view of authenticity as hybridity. This implies that although authenticity is no longer openly claimed for music studied by academics, it still operates as an ideology in the aesthetic judgement of music. This also once again demonstrates the flexibility and slipperiness of the term – as one form of authenticity becomes discredited or irrelevant, a new one will be developed to take its place, meaning that most music can be described as authentic one way or another. My argument in this thesis is that the development of the ideology of authenticity in rock in the 1960s was a turning point after which most popular music was assessed to some extent in terms of authenticity.

In order to return to the question of how an ideology of authenticity developed in rock music, I shall turn first to a historical view of the development of authenticity in relation to music, tracing it back to the early 19th century. This is necessary because many of the concerns relating to technology, art and the (im)possibility of creativity in a commercial framework that surrounded the music industry at the time of the rise of rock in the mid-1960s in America have clear precursors, and a continuing tradition going back to the early 1800s. Middleton has traced the idea of authenticity back beyond the 1800s to its etymological roots in order to explain the many associations that the word has accrued over time.[10] The root, the Greek *authentikos*, carries senses of authority and originality,

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[8] Born, Georgina, 'Musical Modernism, Postmodernism and Others' in Born, Georgina & Hesmondhalgh, David, (eds.) *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music*, University of California Press, 2000, pp.12–20, p.30.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, p.204.

which developed over time to have other links to "authoritative, legally valid, reliable, factual, original, genuine, real."[11] These meanings were then combined with the developing concept of the self from the 18th century onwards, adding the sense of the true product of its reputed source or author, what belongs to oneself, is proper, is self-originating. They were also combined, at this stage, with a fifteenth-century derivation of ideas of authenticity coming from the Latin root *auctor*, which is also the root of author and agent, giving a sense of authorship and authority of the individual.[12]

According to Middleton, these associations were expressed particularly strongly by Rousseau in his ideas on culture and nature encapsulated in his idea of 'the noble Savage'. As we shall see, these ideas were combined in the nineteenth century with ideas about the importance of creative imagination and art, the latter of which was considered to possess its own autonomous quality and associations of universality. Middleton argues that authenticity became key in the nineteenth century as a plural society emerged, and people questioned what a 'subject true to itself' might be, and crucially, what would it sound like in musical terms. He suggests that it is in developments of 19th century music culture such as the building of the musical canon, the idea of a truth-content of art, and the work-concept itself that ideas about 'the original', the self, authorship and works, all of which relate to authenticity, were first applied to music.[13]

In this section, I argue that the varying concepts of authenticity applied to rock in the 1960s are all ultimately expressions of concerns about the nature of art, and in particular the relation of art to commerce, that have existed since the early nineteenth century, but which coalesced around the emergent rock genre in the 1960s as a critical discourse arose. As Middleton suggests, there are several inter-related areas to which authenticity can be applied, and I shall trace them individually. They relate to the rise of the work concept and the increased separation between music as object and work as performance; the elevation and aspiration of musicians to the status of genius or at least great artists, separate from the rest of society; and the growth of a popular music industry as part of the industrial revolution.

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[11] Ibid., p.206.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., pp.213–219.

The rise of the Work-concept, and the idea of *Werktreue*

There is a consensus that the idea of music as an aesthetic object, or the application of a work-concept to music, first became widespread in the early nineteenth century.[14] Commentators on Beethoven claimed the "work-as-text"[15] for music for the first time, raising it to be equal, and eventually considered superior, to literature and the visual arts. Beethoven's works were considered to be texts, and for the first time, it was thought that these texts could be 'understood' and analysed to find an underlying idea beyond the surface aspects of listening to the music. This shift towards a work-concept changed the status of the composer, and the relationship of performer to composer. Works were now published in collections under the composer's name instead of organised by genre, another parallel with the treatment of literary or visual works.[16] As the century progressed, in order to realise the work in performance, the performer had to be true (or 'authentic') to the work; retaining some sense of authenticity to his or her own sense of self in the work's interpretation was also valued, but realisation of the text was the over-riding concern. To some extent, the performer's sense of self had to become subordinate to that of the composer, as expressed in the composer's work. This idea came to be known as *Werktreue*.

At the same time, works by other composers, such as Rossini or Paganini were assessed not as texts, but as "work-as-performance"[17]. In this tradition, which was essentially an extension of eighteenth century ideas about music, performances were a transient event, and the 'work' should be adapted according to changing conditions. There was no 'authentic', reified work as such that could be violated; "the purpose of the performance could be one of many – to demonstrate a technique; an instrument; a genre; ... a direct communicative act."[18] Audiences were encouraged to focus on the medium rather than the work itself, to appreciate the "sensuous or brilliant surface persuasively and directly communicated by the performer."[19] As the nineteenth century progressed, the split between 'work-as-performance' and 'work-as-text' intensified, with performers increasingly being seen as "an interpreter; subordinated to the work but at the same time

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[14] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992 is probably the most well-known study of this phenomenon.
[15] Jim Samson, 'The practice of Early-Nineteenth-Century Pianism' in Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2000, pp.110–127, p.112.
[16] Michael Talbot, 'The Work-concept and composer-centeredness' in Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work*, pp.166–186, pp.171–182.
[17] See Samson, 'Early Nineteenth Century Pianism', p.112.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.

marked off as special by the uniqueness of his/her performance."[20] By the end of the century, these roles were more clearly defined, with composers rising hierarchically above the performers, and with the showmanship and 'lightweight' compositions of the performers losing status, as the tyranny of the work concept increased through the century.[21] The duty of authenticity of the performer had shifted from that of a romantic ideal of being true to oneself, to one of *Werktreu*, performing an authentic version of the work.

Taruskin provides a "swift genealogy of musical morals"[22] that suggests why the work-concept understanding of music has prevailed. He explains that before the Romantics, music was something that one did, rather than something to be gazed at, or bought and sold. His outline of 'musical morals' takes the form of a description of four stages in the development toward the idea of music as an objectified art. Stage one was musical literacy, which allowed music to outlive those who created or remembered it. The silent transfer in the form of a score from composer to performer began to define their roles. Stage two was printing music, when reproducing music became easy and cheap, and books of music could be bought and sold (by "gazers and traders"[23]) and became reified, and the possibility of the written music's being more important than the music's creator emerged for the first time. Stage three was the emergence of the Romantic concept of "transcendent and autonomous art – art that was primarily for gazing, not for doing, and for the ages, not for you or me."[24] Artists became revered as creators, unlike the rest of society, and became immortal in their own right. It was at this stage that the work-concept starts to be applied to music, both in terms of work-as-text and work-as-performance. In both cases, the artists (either the composer or the performer) were revered as autonomous creators, with the work created being an expression of their unique personality. This combined reverence for works and the artists that created them resulted in the first attempts to build a musical canon stretching back from the nineteenth century into the past, to find the greatest of artists of various genres or eras. This resulted in Lydia Goehr's 'imaginary museum of musical works'.[25] This was also the era that gave birth to music criticism, a critical discourse to assess the art works that were being

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[20] Samson, 'Early Nineteenth Century Pianism', p.126. Samson outlines the shift in view of virtuoso pianists from composers to interpreters in detail in this article.
[21] For more detail on the rise and tyranny of the work-concept, see Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*.
[22] Taruskin, 'Text and Act', pp.353–354.
[23] Taruskin, 'Text and Act' p.353.
[24] Ibid., p.354.
[25] See Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* for detailed discussion of this aspect of stage three.

created, a key factor in the development of an ideology of authenticity in relation to music as will be seen below.[26] The final stage was recording – a whole new type of "music-thing"[27] that enabled a mass of "passive music-gazers"[28] to consume music "without any doer's skills altogether"[29]. According to Taruskin, the end result of the shift to recordings was that "[m]usic could now be commercialised to an extent previously unimaginable."[30]

The reason for including this outline here is that, as well as describing the rise of the work-concept, and the reification of music, it also describes the increasing commercialisation of music, and the changing idea of what it is to be a musical artist, culminating in stage three, when not only art, but also its creators, are raised to a transcendent, eternal and autonomous position, separated from, and crucially superior to, the general public that consumes it. It was at Taruskin's Stage Three that the idea of authenticity in relation to music first started to appear. It was also at Stage Three that critical distinctions started to be made between categories of music as folk, art and popular, distinctions that are still a strong part of discourse about authenticity today.

Music, Commerce and the rise/fall of the popular

The development of critical distinctions between art, folk and popular music can be seen as a symptom of the plural society that Middleton argues leads to questions about authenticity, and the beginnings of different senses of what it might mean in relation to culture.[31] Defining what popular music from any time might be is a difficult task, as outlined by Middleton, who argues that at the turn of the twentieth century, it had accrued several different and often contradictory meanings and connotations, both in terms of whether it denoted something negative or positive, and regarding the types of music that was included in the category.[32]

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[26] Taruskin dates the start of musical criticism, following in the tradition of literary criticism, as beginning "about 150 years ago", writing in 1985, so to around 1830. See Taruskin, 'The Limits of Authenticity', p.69.
[27] Taruskin, 'Text and Act', p.354.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, pp.214–217.
[32] Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, pp.3–7.

Reebee Garofalo, rock musicologist, argues that prior to the late nineteenth century, despite some cross-influence, music in European culture could be understood largely as separated into folk culture and high culture, and as high culture was the official culture of court and church, it was considered superior to folk culture. However, in the late nineteenth century, "[p]opular culture insinuated itself between folk culture and high culture as a third cultural category, a hybrid that was distinguishable from both but borrowed freely from each as needed."[33] He uses the example of Tin Pan Alley writers, who worked in the Broadway and 28th-Street section of New York from the late nineteenth century until well into the twentieth century as an example of popular music's borrowing from both folk and high culture. He argues that the Tin Pan Alley writers deliberately sought an alternative to the cultural dominance of European art music (high culture). To achieve this, they incorporated elements from a wide range of sources, including African American culture, whilst still taking elements of high culture, both in musical terms and in terms of the imagery and themes used, which reflected upper middle-class aspirations such as dining at the Ritz and performing in black tie outfits.

Garofalo is using the word 'popular' as a relatively value-neutral term here. Although he recognises that the popular category was considered to be hierarchically below high art, Garofalo believes that before the invention of new mass communications technologies in the twentieth century, popular culture could be considered in a positive light as a culture of the people historically continuous with folk culture, either gradually replacing folk culture after the industrial revolution, or coexisting with it, perhaps as an urban manifestation of folk. He states that it was not until the rise of mass communications that some commentators, such as Adorno, started to perceive popular culture in much more negative terms, primarily as being music produced *for* the masses instead of *by* them, and it thus came to be known as mass culture, instead of popular culture. However, a closer look at the rise of popular culture reveals a more ambivalent attitude towards it by critics, not the positive assessment that Garofalo implies.

According to Dahlhaus, wide dissemination of published popular music had "reached the proportions of an industry, triggering the mechanism of alternating increases in demand and production"[34] by the early nineteenth century. He argues that from this point, there was an increasing rift between 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' culture. Over the course of the

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[33] Garofalo, Reebee, *Rockin' Out: Popular Music in the USA* (3rd edn.), Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005, p.2.

[34] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, (trans. Robinson, J.Bradford), University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1989, p.319.

nineteenth century the terms used to describe music as high or low also changed somewhat, with the term 'popular' initially having popular implication, as Garofalo argues. Middleton, too, initially reads the term "popular" in the nineteenth century as having positive implications, with the term popular being attached to songs aimed at the bourgeois market, and implying "well liked by those whose opinion counted", as well as being associated with songs 'of the people', and 'peasant', 'national' and 'traditional' songs, music we would now categorise as folk. However, as the century progressed, the types of music denoted by the term 'popular' changed, becoming attached largely to commercially produced songs.[35] It seems that at this stage a new, negative concept of the category of popular music was formed. This negative use of the term 'popular' was adopted by rock critics in the late 1960s when arguments for rock as art became more developed, and the dichotomy of art versus commerce starts to be replaced with the terms rock versus pop.

The development of popular music as a negative category in the nineteenth century can be explained by a parallel development to the new concept of music as an enduring artwork, capable of being analysed and understood (the criteria for highbrow culture). This was an increased interest in folk music (previously thought of as low culture, as Garofalo notes, or as popular music, as Middleton argues) by the educated bourgeoisie. According to Dahlhaus, it was believed that some songs previously considered low art were 'genuine' folksongs expressing the 'purely human', and these genuine folksongs were usually separated from the general 'low art' category in terms of the longevity of the song's existence in the folk repertory. This could be seen as a version of the rise of the idea of art as transcendent and 'for the ages', a key feature of Taruskin's Stage three explained above. Music enthusiast Justus Thibaut, writing in a "universal compendium of the spirit of the times" in 1825, articulates this view:

> In contrast [to *Gassenhauer*, or street songs], pure and bright as the soul of a child are those songs, generally, which proceeded from the Folk itself or, having been adopted by the Folk, were conserved therein for long periods of time. These songs almost always correspond to our image of strong, vibrant human beings untainted by culture, and attain a value all their own by partaking of the great attributes of the nation.[36]

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[35] Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, pp.3–4.
[36] Justus Thibaut, *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst*, 1825, cited in Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, p.107.

This quotation also demonstrates the nineteenth-century concern about the effects of the industrial revolution, and their search, after Rousseau, for the noble savage. Folk music offered an alternative both to the emerging idea that music had to be analysed and understood rather than merely experienced, and, as shall be seen below, to the perceived vulgarity of much urban lowbrow music, which was increasingly available to the public because of advances in printing and the increased access to a variety of entertainments previously reserved for the privileged classes. This search for an alternative to industrialised culture in the form of folk music can also be seen in the 1960s, when a folk revival originating in the 1940s gained commercial popularity in America and it began to be argued that rock was a type of folk culture, in an attempt to distance it from the negative connotations of being created within the culture industry.

In the Romantic era, it was not important whether a folk song emanated from the folk or was simply adopted by them – both forms could be accepted as genuine instances of folk culture. There was also a strong link to the nationalism that was flourishing at the time, particularly in Germany where 'the Folk' were looked to as keepers of the true spirit of the nation. As the century progressed, the acceptance of widespread folk-like songs as genuine folk receded, and talk of authenticity began to enter the picture in phrases such as "actual folk-songs" originating in the populace (authentic folk songs), and "songs in a folk-like spirit", which were written for the populace and were only "folksongs in the most illegitimate sense"[37] (or inauthentic folksongs). This split reflects the entrenchment in the late nineteenth century of the belief about authentic artistic expression's being a reflection of the artist – by that logic, only an authentic member of 'the folk' should be able to produce an authentic folk song.

Folksong was also talked about in terms of authenticity according to its style or subject matter. For example, *Gassenhauer* (street songs) and *Pöbellieder* ("riffraff songs"[38]) were considered to be, in Dahlhaus's words, "spurious", or inauthentic, because they did not reflect the purely human. They were too morally objectionable and ephemeral for the simplicity, innocence and continuity required of the folk and remained in the category of 'low' culture. Conversely, a folk song could be inauthentic because it was too "artificial", bearing the "ineradicable signs of having originated in composed music."[39] This also reflected concerns over the inauthentic nature of urban living over the perceived

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[37] All quotes from Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, *Schicksals und Beschaffenheit des weltlichen Gesanges*, 1841, cited in Dahlhaus, *The Nineteenth Century*, p.109.
[38] See Ibid., p.107.
[39] Ibid., p.109.

authentic nature of rural life. The *Gassenhauer* were later rehabilitated into the realm of authentic folk music in the early twentieth century, when a new concept was conceived by Hans Naumann of folk as "deteriorated culture" instead of as 'purely human'. In 1925, Naumann advocated the inclusion of *Gassenhauer* in the folk category, arguing that to reject them on moral or ephemeral grounds "falsifies our scientific picture of folksong." He argued that the widespread dissemination seen in *Gassenhauer* was "essential to the definition of folk song."[40] Similar developments occurred in British folk song collection societies, as can be seen, for example, in Hubert Parry's address to the inaugural meeting of the Folk Song Society in 1899, which neatly contains concerns about the artifice and vulgarity of popular music, and the threat that this offers to the pure humanity of folk song:

> in true folk-songs there is no glam, no got-up glitter, and no vulgarity... [T]here is an enemy at the door of folk-music which is driving it out, namely the common popular songs of the day; and this enemy is one of the most repulsive and most insidious...It is for ... people who, for the most part, have the most false ideals, or none at all...and it is made with a commercial intention out of snippets of musical slang. But old folk-music is among the purest products of the human mind...[41]

Ideas of what constituted folk also changed in Britain over time, which highlights the constructed nature of folk as an aesthetic category of music. Harker's study of folksong in Britain emphasises the fact that the construction and sale of folksong as a category was carried out from within bourgeois culture, and thus the ideology of folk reflected bourgeois concerns, not those of the people who were making the music that was considered folk.[42]

In the nineteenth century, when folk songs were collected and written down in increasing numbers and widely disseminated (in other words, reified and held up for people's gaze), a previously oral tradition could be assessed in terms of authenticity for the first time. Like art-songs, folksongs were prized if they outlived their creators, or at least, were not seen as short-term fads, and were derided if they did seem transient, thus reflecting the new belief of universal value and transcendence in art. In this discussion of folk song, it

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[40] All quotes Hans Naumann, cited in Ibid., p.108.
[41] H. Parry, 'Inaugural address to the Folk Song Society', *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, Vol. 1, 1899, pp.2–3, cited in Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, p.131.
[42] Harker, *Fakesong*.

can be seen that here, too, the idea of music as an art object is coming into play, and again, the attendant idea of authenticity. The values that the Romantics sought in folk song were similar to those that they required of their artists – an authentic expression of the people, original in conception, unsullied by commerce and with possible transcendental and transformative properties, as in revealing the 'purely human'. In other words, by attributing these qualities to folk song, the Romantics were effectively separating 'the folk' out of the category of low art and elevating it into a new category, that of high art.

According to Garofalo, the category of the popular insinuated itself *between* those of high art and folk, but from my above analysis, it seems more likely that, in the nineteenth century, at least, the category of folk was elevated out of a general category of low music, and the category of the popular was everything that was left – it did not conform to either the form of authenticity related to high art, or to that of folk, and was thus in a separate, and often denigrated due to its perceived inauthenticity, category of its own. This corresponds to Middleton's view that what had previously been seen in a positive light as being popular in the early nineteenth century was re-categorised as folk-song, and the term "popular" started to be used, instead, to describe urban commercial music such as music hall.[43]

There was a further development to the category of the popular in music as the century progressed, as it became attached to music associated with industrialised culture. The results of this can be seen in Dahlhaus's discussion of 'trivial music', where he draws links between authenticity and concerns about industrialised culture, taking us through to the end of the nineteenth century.[44]

Dahlhaus defines 'trivial' music of the nineteenth century as encompassing the repertoire of "dance halls and promenade concerts, salons and *variétés,*"[45] ranging in style from "vulgar *Gassenhaur* to the affected salon piece, from the disciplined march to the

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[43] Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, p.4.

[44] A note on terminology here – Dahlhaus argues that the term trivial music is better than the term popular music, as music that would be categorised as 'high art' could be considered to have been popular, and many 'popular' works failed to find a large audience. Middleton also states explicitly that the nineteenth century equivalent of the category of popular music was 'trivial' or 'low' in Richard Middleton, 'Work-in-(g) Practice: Configuration of the Popular Music Intertext', in Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work*, 2000, pp59–87. I am using the term "popular" after Garofalo here, as it is more useful to my discussion, and both Dahlhaus and Garofalo describe these types of music as very similar in that they both define it as a music distinct from folk and high art, but borrowing from both. See Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, pp.311–312..

[45] Ibid., p.311.

anarchical cancan".[46] He also specifically describes trivial music as a form of lowbrow music that did not exist prior to the French revolution. This lends weight to the idea that a conception of the popular with negative connotations did not exist before that point, the point of the rise of the work concept and that of the idea of authenticity. Dahlhaus links the advent of trivial music to the industrialisation of culture that occurred as part of the industrial revolution, highlighting that key features of this type of music – relative simplicity and sentimentality – were related to the large demand for musical education and for private and public musical entertainment that the influx of people into urban centres created. The demand for this type of music also coincided with a time when the means were available to mass-produce music on a scale hitherto unknown.[47] Dahlhaus describes how the critical reception of 'trivial music' in the nineteenth century differed from earlier reception of popular music in that it was denigrated for being inauthentic due to its perceived lack of originality and transcendent universality required if a musical work was to be considered authentic in the eyes of the Romantics. Instead, trivial music pieces were thought to be produced "mechanically",[48] and indeed sometimes were, with musical recipes published of "tables indicating how to piece together polonaises and menuets from prefabricated motifs."[49] The music that opened itself to the greatest criticism was that which was perceived to be "deliberately tailored to the sentimentality of the public, rather than emerging from an inner emotional compulsion of the composer"[50], in other words, music that was felt to be "inauthentic" in terms of the Romantic idea of what it meant to be a composer, and for music to be a work of art. In this discussion of trivial music, it can be seen that concerns about authenticity in music had developed by the late nineteenth century to encompass the idea of the impossibility of authenticity in music in an era of mass production, when music and commerce are clearly linked. This idea has been prevalent throughout the twentieth century and is key to discussions of authenticity in rock music in the 1960s, as shall be demonstrated below.

By the end of the nineteenth century, then, the various concepts and changes discussed above had coalesced into fairly rigid ideas about what could constitute authentic music. Ideally, music should follow the principles of the work-concept, outliving its creator, and being transcendent in some way, either through encouraging self-absorption of the audience in the work which would lead them to 'understand' it, in the case of high art, or through being an expression of the purely human, and the nation, in the case of folk art.

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Dahlhaus, pp.312–314.
[48] Dahlhaus, *The Nineteenth Century*, p.317.
[49] Ibid., p.317.
[50] Ibid., p.319.

The creator of the art also had to conform to certain principles in order to be perceived as authentic. In the high art tradition, an artist must be original and true to him/herself, and express him/herself through his/her art, which would outlive him/her.[51] In folk music, similarly, the art must be an authentic expression of its creators, the folk community, and outlive them, being passed down in oral tradition. Both these types of art also, crucially, had to be free from the taint of association with commerce and industry – the folk in its role as the 'purely human', and the artist in their perceived elevation above the concerns of society, producing original art for art's sake. Middleton argues that authenticity since the nineteenth century has been negotiated in terms of folk, as well as art, as the "construction of canons has vied with the celebration of ways of life".[52] Middleton believes that the folk/art dichotomy has been a contradiction that has to be negotiated in discussions of authenticity since the Enlightenment, and it does not seem coincidental that claims for rock as an authentic art are made using similar terms.[53]

As mentioned above, it was not the originators of folk song, the lower classes, but rather the educated bourgeoisie who sought out folk song and "restored their unearthed material to a 'second life' in nineteenth-century music culture."[54] It was also these educated bourgeoisie who began to classify music into different categories as the nineteenth century progressed.[55] It was these educated bourgeoisie, then who were effectively the keepers of these rules of what constituted art, and the ones negotiating the contradictions of authenticity, and they relegated music that did not fit these criteria into the low category of the popular. In their roles as critical commentators on culture for the more general public, they could be described by Pierre Bourdieu's term, "cultural intermediaries"[56], who mediate between the producers and consumers of art, and help influence the taste of the public through cultural commentary. The exact nature of cultural intermediaries is contested and complicated, and will be dealt with in depth in section three. For now, it is only necessary to say that David Hesmondhalgh, communications scholar, highlights that cultural intermediaries also increase in number as cultural industries expand, and that the class of cultural intermediaries has its own

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[51] The idea of the Romantic artist was almost always a man at this stage, a fact that perhaps partly explains the highly male-dominated arena of rock (art) music in comparison to pop (commercial) music in the 1960s.
[52] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, p.222
[53] Ibid., pp.221–224.
[54] Dahlhaus, *The Nineteenth Century*, p.110.
[55] See Harker, *Fakesong*, Middleton, *Voicing the Popular* and Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*.
[56] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., 1984, p.359.

cultural practices, and thus provides a "major new audience for certain cultural texts"[57]. This ties into the increasing rift between high and low culture century to which Dahlhaus refers as the nineteenth century progressed – as more and more musical works were relegated from the category of high art – those works which were derivative, or designed for showmanship or entertainment, or were not 'genuine folk' — the audience for high-art works reduced, as the educated bourgeoisie increasingly focussed on attending high-art events, separating themselves out from the general public for popular art. Taruskin alludes to the dwindling of high-art audiences and relates it to a "contempt for the public as arbiter of taste".[58]

The function of cultural intermediaries can also be linked more closely to the emergence of discourse about authenticity in general. Lionel Trilling, whose set of lectures *Sincerity and Authenticity*, is briefly discussed by Taruskin, believes that the concept of authenticity is a manifestation of "anxiety over the credibility of existence and of individual existences."[59] This would seem to apply to the educated bourgeoisie, who sought transcendence in high art and yearning for the 'purely human' in the folk. Both would provide some escape from the realities of life after the industrial revolution. He goes on to argue that:

> The concerted effort of a culture or a segment of a culture to achieve authenticity generates its own conventions, its generalities, its commonplaces, its maxims, what Sartre, taking the word from Heidegger, calls the 'gabble'.[60]

In addition to these 'rules' that emerge as part of 'gabble', Taruskin lists other aspects of 'gabble' – a "star system, ... personality cults and fan magazines, ... hype machines and beautiful people."[61] Perhaps most important of all to my discussion is his mention of "self-congratulation and the heaping of scorn upon other artists [using a different version of authenticity]."[62] This aspect of gabble was rife once the rock press emerged in the late 1960s, with different groups having differing ideas about authenticity, vying for superiority as the true authentic proponents of rock. This 'gabble' had emerged to surround the ideas of authenticity and art by the end of the nineteenth century, with the educated bourgeoisie determining what was and was not authentic, or art, according to the

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[57] David Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, Sage, London, 2002, p.53.
[58] Taruskin, 'The Limits of Authenticity', p.73.
[59] Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., 1972.
[60] Ibid
[61] Taruskin, 'The Limits of Authenticity', p.77.
[62] Ibid.

criteria discussed above, a process that continued and arguably spread beyond the bourgeoisie into wider culture in the twentieth century.

By this stage, there was also a star system of sorts, with the creation of the 'imaginary museum of musical works', and the stars of each musical genre as mentioned above. There were personality cults in the form of near-worship of those considered to be great geniuses, such as Beethoven, and later, Wagner, and there were several journals dedicated to the discussion of music, such as Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. There was also a sense of "self-congratulation and the heaping of scorn" in the assessment of what was or was not true art. By the end of century, the popular category was denigrated for being immoral, for failing to meet the standards demanded by the work-concept, for entertaining, not edifying, and for being tainted by commerce and industry — it was *designed* for the purpose of education, or worse, to appeal to the sentimentality of the public, and could be written according to mechanical instructions. In other words, it was denigrated for not being Romantic art, and found to be inauthentic accordingly.

It seems that concerns about authenticity not only generate 'gabble', which in the nineteenth century took the form of widespread critical discourse about music, as Trilling argues, but, further, that this 'gabble' helps to promulgate and solidify the 'rules' of what constitutes authenticity. It also seems pertinent that this discourse emerged at a time of multiplication of aesthetic categories of music, when critics and commentators showed greater interest in and awareness of the low categories of music — folk and popular — rather than focussing exclusively on high culture, as they had in earlier times. This emergence of critical discourse, or gabble, can also be seen in the rise of rock in the late 1960s, when an ideology of authenticity was applied to a form of popular music to distinguish it from the other forms of popular music that existed at the time. This was also a moment of marked multiplicity in music, as popular music went, in critics' and marketing departments' eyes, from being an almost homogenous category to being one that included increasing numbers of sub-categories and genres, which could be disputed and argued. The ideas generated as part of nineteenth century musical 'gabble' about art, authenticity, commerce and the 'popular' continued into the twentieth century, where they were further complicated by the use of recording technology and its increasing role in the transmission and creation of music. It is to the further development of ideas about authenticity in relation to music in the twentieth century that we turn now.

Authenticity in the age of the mass culture industry

In the late nineteenth century, two technological advances arrived that, for the first time, enabled listeners to hear a performance of music at which they were not physically present. These inventions were Thomas Alva Edison's phonograph, made available to the public in 1877, and John McTammany's pianola, or player piano, first demonstrated to the public in 1876, and made available to purchase from 1888.[63] Both these inventions would be very popular with the public, but it was the portable recording that transformed the music business in the twentieth century, along with the later invention of the radio.

The development of the music industry in the twentieth century was marked by technological innovation, expansion of markets, and refinement of techniques of commercial exploitation. The invention of new media and a range of complementary reproduction technologies, such as audio tape and vinyl, revolutionised the ways in which music could reach the public, and were utilised, in their turn, to market that music to the public. As the century progressed, the control of the entertainment marketplace increasingly rested in a small body of conglomerates, even as the range of musical products available increased and diversified. As demand increased for music, growing numbers of people were able to make a living by being involved in the creation of records.[64] The resulting industry, which, according to David Sanjek, writing in 1996, was then one of America's major growth industries and the second principal export that America makes to the world, greatly expanded the visibility of the previously denigrated category of 'popular' music, as well as that of high art music, reaching mass audiences through the radio (first used to broadcast music in 1907), film, commercial recordings and eventually television.[65] It was at this point of the emergence of recordings that Garofalo states that 'popular culture' acquired negative connotations and started to be referred to as 'mass culture', as mentioned above, and although I have shown that popular culture was denigrated before this point, it seems that negative discourse, about both popular music and the mass media themselves, intensified as the conditions of cultural production changed, with effects that were so wide-ranging that cultural commentators were forced to confront them.

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[63] David Sanjek, 'Preface' in Russell Sanjek (updated by David Sanjek), *Pennies From Heaven: The American Popular Music Business in the Twentieth Century*, Da Capo Press, New York, 1996, pp.vi–xi.
[64] Ibid., p.iii.
[65] Ibid.

Cultural theorist Raymond Williams has described the twentieth century as the "corporate professional era"[66], in which the commissioning of art works became more professionalized, and increasing numbers of people became direct or indirect employees of cultural companies, through retainers or contracts. New media technologies emerged, most notably film, radio, and later, television, which affected older cultural products such as music performance and the acting of plays, sometimes including them relatively unchanged, sometimes altering them, and also producing new ones, such as the drama serial. Advertising became increasingly important as a means of making money for creative work.[67] Hesmondhalgh describes this as a boom era for cultural production, which became dominant from the 1950s onwards but prefers to call it the era of 'complex professional production', rather than Williams's 'corporate professional production', shifting the emphasis away from corporations to look at the whole range of conditions of cultural production, and retaining the centrality of artists, who he refers to as 'symbol creators', within the system.[68]

This complex professional era corresponds to Taruskin's fourth stage in his musical morals, in which the recording becomes a new type of "music-thing"[69] that enabled a mass of "passive music-gazers"[70] to consume music "without any doer's skills altogether"[71]. He also emphasises that this led to a state in which "[m]usic could now be commercialised to an extent previously unimaginable."[72] For Taruskin, this stage represents the total reification of music, its complete transformation from something one *does* to something that one *owns*. He also believes that the existence of "permanent musical records"[73] (or recordings) has made possible the idea of the "definitive performance, one that is fully tantamount to the work performed."[74] Recordings therefore complicate the work-concept, and they also affect ideas about authenticity. These two concerns can be seen in the work of Roman Ingarden, a philosopher, who proposes that a recording can imbue a particular performance of an intentional musical work with an aura of authority, rendering it a powerful tool against which to compare other performances. Ingarden, who believes that a musical work has many different possible realisations, is worried by this authorial aura of a recording, because it ultimately hides the intentional

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[66] Raymond Williams, cited in Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, p.50.
[67] Ibid., p.50.
[68] Ibid., p.51.
[69] Taruskin, 'Text and Act', p.354.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

nature of the work and reduces the possibility of an authentic rendering of it, in both the sense of allowing the performer to be 'true' to his/her own interpretation and in the sense of allowing multiple, equally valid interpretations to exist. It acts to hide the authentic musical work and replace it with an inauthentic version of it.[75]

Ingarden is concerned with the nature of the recorded work in classical music, which has a notated score. The impact of recordings on music without a score was arguably much greater; but there was great concern about the effects of recording and the mass production and dissemination of music that resulted, in general, from early in the 20th century. Middleton describes this as a moment of crisis for authenticity, which "demanded to be worked through, or at least on"[76] and led to critiques of authenticity and mass production from a variety of viewpoints as the century progressed. Most important for my discussion is the work of Theodor W. Adorno, who, along with Max Horkheimer, coined the phrase 'the culture industry' in their book, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*.[77] Hesmondhalgh explains the relevance of the term 'culture industry', which he believes was intended to shock. To Adorno and Horkheimer, culture in its ideal state would be art, which could act as a critique of society. Culture and industry were, to them, separate and opposing forces, but in modern capitalist society, the two had collapsed together, resulting in the 'culture industry', in which art had been commodified and therefore lost its power to critique.[78] Adorno's cultural critiques of music, mass production and authenticity are key here, because his views on authenticity and the relation of music to society were highly influential on the development of the idea of authenticity in pop music and became particularly well known in the 1960s, the time when authenticity first started to be applied to rock music, a genre which was dependent on recording technology for its existence.[79]

Adorno had two main concerns about the effect that recording and mass production had on music: first, that they led to the standardised production of music, produced by the cultural industry for the masses; and second, that the mass production of records encouraged the fetishization of listening, whereby the listener would focus only on repeatable fragments of melody, instead of appreciating a work as a whole. Dahlhaus suggested that similar concerns were discussed in relation to 'trivial music', implying that

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[75] For more detail, see Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of its Identity*, (trans. Adam Czernianski, ed. J.G. Hartwell), Macmillan Press, London, 1986, p.157.
[76] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, p. 218.
[77] Cited in Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, p.15.
[78] Ibid., pp.15–16.
[79] Ibid., pp.16–17.

people in the nineteenth century were already concerned about the mechanisation of music and its effect on listening, but that these concerns were intensified with the invention of recording.[80] For Adorno, writing about classical music, fetishized listening meant that the original meaning and truth-content of a pre-existent work was lost and was replaced by the dominant ideology of the culture industry, which functioned to create a state of false consciousness in the masses, leading them to believe falsely that they were free-thinking individuals, with control over their choices and actions. This allowed the state to control the masses and keep them docile. Adorno's theories can be seen again as an anxiety about authenticity in Middleton's sense of concern over "what a subject true to itself would be like" and how might this "be represented musically".[81] The authentic meanings of musical works, and their social function of promoting awareness and free thought, are in this argument distorted both by the nature of recordings – their reproducibility, their necessarily restricted time span (dictated by the limits of technology at that time), and their effective separation of the musical event from anything or anyone real – and through the fact of their mass production.

Adorno tried to define exactly what authenticity was in music and how it might operate. He related the idea of authenticity to his idea of the truth-content of a work, through which music can reflect and critique the reality of society, breaking the false consciousness induced by the ideology of most art and music. ("Ideology" is used by Adorno both in the Hegelian sense of illusion and in the Marxist sense of 'false consciousness', whereby cultural objects express the material relations of society, embodying the interests of the dominant class whilst simultaneously concealing them.)[82] Max Paddison, an Adorno expert, explores Adorno's ideas on authenticity, explaining that Adorno is taking authenticity's usual sense of "being-so-and-not-being-able-to-be-otherwise",[83] and authenticity's connection to truth and consistency, and combines them,

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[80] Or, this fact could be taken to imply that Dahlhaus has read Adorno and is reading Adorno's concerns about industrialisation of music back into history. The problem with trying to trace the idea of authenticity and the 'popular' back through time is that most of my sources are written in the near past, and are therefore already imbued with the ideologies of authenticity and ideas about mass culture and popular music that have arisen since the early nineteenth century. Both Dahlhaus and Taruskin echo Adorno's concerns, and they seem to agree with the Romantic conception of what constitutes art and authenticity, even whilst ostensibly critiquing it. However, the strength of these concerns in current critical commentators, and the inaccessibility of examples from the nineteenth century, lead me to believe that my dating of the emergence of authenticity to the nineteenth century and its link to the work-concept and ideas of the popular does carry some weight.

[81] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, p.217.

[82] Paddison Max, 'Authenticity and Failure in Adorno's Aesthetics of Music' in Huhn, Tom (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Adorno*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp.198–221, p.211.

[83] Ibid., p.199.

to create a situation in which a work can be internally consistent and true to itself, and therefore authentic in one sense. However the fact that this authenticity appears to 'be-so-and-not-be-able-to-be-otherwise' means that it acts as an ideology, concealing the true nature of the crisis of meaning in modern society, and is thus actually inauthentic. A truly authentic work, for Adorno, strives to reveal the inauthentic appearance of its own authenticity and thus can be an authentic expression of the true state of society by breaking false consciousness, instead of acting as an ideology that induces it.[84]

Adorno completely denies the possibility of authenticity to popular music because of its commercial nature, explicitly linking authenticity to the art/commerce dichotomy that was explored above, in his claims that "authentic music resists commodification while inauthentic music embraces it."[85] However, Paddison points out that Adorno's ideas have been very influential both on the conception of authenticity in rock itself and on the way that it is written about by popular musicologists, citing Moore's claims of consistency of style in rock music in *Rock: The Primary Text* (a crucial feature of Adorno's inauthentic version of authenticity). He also cites the critique regularly made in recent years of the idea of authenticity in rock by cultural studies scholars who argue that authenticity cannot exist in rock as it is a commercial form and therefore, following Adorno's arguments, must be inauthentic. Cultural-studies and popular-music academics now largely believe that the emphasis on authenticity in rock must therefore merely be a myth, or worse, a marketing technique, "one of rock's own ideological effects."[86] However, Adorno's ideas of authenticity, in the sense of resistance to the dominant ideology, are still sometimes used to argue that particular subgenres of popular music are truly authentic. One author who does this is Terry Bloomfield, a sociologist, who argues that post punk is authentic in the way that Adorno suggests. Bloomfield's ideas are relevant because he uses Adorno's concerns about the effects on listening of the popular music "hitsong"[87], which caused its audience to regress "to the point where only familiarity and instant intelligibility could serve in the (illusory) satisfaction of need."[88] Bloomfield attributes the power of the hit song to the fact that "the musical commodity of a recording turns it

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[84] Ibid., pp.198–221.
[85] Ibid., p.212.
[86] Simon Frith, 'Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music' in Richard Leppert & Susan McClary (eds.), *Music and Society: the Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, pp.133–150 as quoted in Paddison, 'Authenticity and Failure in Adorno', p.214.
[87] Adorno, 'On Popular Music' (1941), cited in Terry Bloomfield, 'Resisting Songs: negative dialectics in pop', *Popular Music*, Vol. 12/1, 1993, pp.13–31, p.13.
[88] Bloomfield, 'Resisting Songs', p.13.

into a potentially solitary experience",[89] which encourages the illusion that the listener has direct access to the performer. He related this illusion to the Romantic understanding of the song, which is that "its essence is (artistic) interiority made exterior" ,[90] in other words, that it is an authentic expression of the artist. The crucial difference between a nineteenth century Romantic *Lied* and a pop song, however, is that in a *Lied* it is understood that the composer is the artist being made exterior, and the singer is praised for her/his responsiveness to his expression. In a pop song recording, the "relations among people that have produced an object are mystified under capitalism to become a property that adheres in the object itself – its 'exchange value'."[91] Therefore, all the people involved in the production of the cultural product are forgotten when the song is listened to, because of the illusion of direct, authentic communication from the performer to the listener. Pop songs on record are not generally thought of by the public as works that are performed; the fact that they appear to be performances happening in real time gives them an immediacy which encourages the listener to think of the perceived performance as the work.[92] Popular music can be argued to be associated more with its performers than with its writers, and yet there is still a tendency to apply ideas that related to the high-art model of the work concept, such as the authenticity of what we perceive to be the artist's musical expression.

Bloomfield argues that the development of the ideology of authenticity in popular music from the 1960s onwards has furthered the illusion of artistic interiority made exterior in popular music, therefore moving popular music even further towards a state of total commodification, and he further argues that any idea of the late 1960s rock as embodying artistic freedom is "simply false".[93] This argument seems to accept the premise that to be 'authentically' artistic, the artist must be able to express himself or herself, free from the constraints of commerce and the effects of commodification, which is again based on the Romantic idea of what it is to be an artist. Bloomfield, whilst deriding the use of authenticity in 1960s rock, goes on to use the same ideas of Romantic artistic authenticity to argue for 'post rock' as an 'authentic' site of artistic freedom in the culture industry. Whilst trying to rehabilitate Adorno in assessing popular music, he fails to remove

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[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Bloomfield, after Marx, 'Resisting Songs', p.15.
[92] See for example Simon Frith, 'Art versus Technology: The Strange case of Popular Music', *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 8, 1986, pp.263–279, pp.269–271, for a discussion of the increased foregrounding of the singer in recordings and the attribution of star status to them instead of the composer, and Will Straw, 'Authorship' in Bruce Horner and Thomas Swiss (eds.), *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, 1999, pp.199–208, for a detailed account of the variety of understandings of authorship in pop music.
[93] Bloomfield, 'Resisting Songs', pp16–18.

himself from the idea that true art has to be authentic, however that may be defined, which demonstrates how pervasive the Romantic idea of authenticity as pre-requisite for artistic integrity and worth has become, since its inception in the early nineteenth century.

Hesmondhalgh also comments on the pervasive nature of these ideas, attributing them to the influence of Adorno and Horkheimer. He believes that they are an overly pessimistic assessment of the industrialisation of culture, as they assert that the battle between commerce and art is over, having been won by the forces of capitalism. He argues that Adorno's and Horkheimer's ideas became a major influence on intellectuals in the late 1960s, as culture, society and business became more closely intertwined. As the companies involved in producing culture grew ever larger and the cultural products assumed greater social and political significance, intellectuals struggling to understand these changes, turned to the idea of the 'culture industry' as an explanation. The term 'culture industry' became increasingly widely used in negative discourse about modern life.[94]

This was, of course, also the moment at which rock criticism first emerged, a point noted by Garofalo, who claims that the idea of popular culture as a positive culture of the people, and of mass culture as a new, negative form of culture retained its currency well into the 1960s, with people arguing forcefully against the idea that one was the natural continuation of the other. For example, Oscar Handlin, in 1959, argued against "the misconception that the 'mass culture' of the present is but an extension of the popular art of the past...",[95] and Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel in late 1965 argued that "the typical art of the mass media today is not a continuity from, but a *corruption* of, popular art."[96] Garofalo believes that this was motivation for the emergence of critical commentary about rock, arguing that "to avoid mass culture stigma, critics and historians in the 1960s who became invested in the cultural importance of rock as the mature form of rock 'n' roll tended to characterise the music as something other than what it was."[97] He believes that "these efforts to categorise rock represented genuine attempts to understand the place of popular music in the hierarchy of cultural practices"[98], echoing Hesmondhalgh's point that other commentators turned to Adorno's ideas of the culture industry in order to understand then-current cultural practices.

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[94] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, pp.16–17.
[95] Cited in Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.3.
[96] Ibid., p.3.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.

However, the arguments for rock being different from, and crucially, superior to, mass culture made by critics in the sixties were made not purely in terms of folk, or purely in terms of art, as Garofalo suggests. Rather, rock was aligned with these two categories through discourse about authenticity, with bands being elevated to folk or art status by 'proving' that they were authentically of the people (folk) and/or authentically artists who were true to themselves (artists in the Romantic sense), therefore mixing the two categories of folk and high art in a way reminiscent of the Romantic conception of what music must be in order to avoid being labelled 'popular'. These rock critics were assuming the role of cultural intermediaries at this stage, as the educated bourgeoisie had before them, but the cultural practices being policed and disseminated, by this point, were part of popular culture, not high art.

This brings us back to Trilling's concept of 'gabble'. The 'gabble' which emerged surrounding the counterculture movement and the rise of rock music used terms of authenticity that had not previously been applied to popular music. This could be interpreted as meaning that rock was somehow inherently superior to earlier forms of popular music and that this was recognised by discerning listeners who then started to write about it using high art terms. In other words, one could argue that Adorno and Bloomfield are mistaken, and that it is possible that 1960s rock was truly authentic, despite being part of the culture industry. However, the 'gabble' surrounding rock was quickly used to rehabilitate bands preceding the start of rock criticism. This happened for example to the Beach Boys (for a time at least), the Beatles, and several acts showcased at the Monterey Festival in 1967, such as Otis Redding, Jimi Hendrix, and the Who, again using ideas of authenticity to 'rescue' them from the label of being merely popular, or, by this stage, 'pop'. The rise of the discourse of authenticity could also be attributed to a cynical attempt by the record industry to sell more records by claiming to be producing a superior product for the discerning listener, but, as will be argued in sections two and three, evidence suggests that the 'gabble' of authenticity did not arise from cynical record executives within the culture industry, but from music fans, in Adorno's view supposedly passive consumers of the culture industry products. For the first time, some of these music fans started to become involved in the industry in a role I label rock cultural intermediaries. These rock cultural intermediaries functioned in a variety of roles, initially as band managers and Artist and Repertoire men, and later as producers, rock critics and independent film makers, a fact that the industry came to rely on to solve the problem of how to make and sell rock music. This infiltration of the industry by fans, and the industry's co-option of their cultural knowledge, also have connections to the ideology of authenticity and are explored in Section three.

In this chapter, then, I have outlined the rise of an ideology of authenticity in relation to music originating in the nineteenth century as part of the development of Romanticism. Music was authenticated as art for the Romantics in two ways, either through being folk music or by being perceived as being an original, transcendent work created by a unique individual. The category of the popular in relation to music also originated at this time, and as the nineteenth century progressed into the twentieth century, this became a category of denigration, particularly as the popular became associated with mass cultural products. In this way, discussions of authenticity in music often became a discussion of art versus commerce, as can be seen in Adorno's arguments. Crucially, I have suggested that the technique of elevating music from the commercial or popular by arguing that it is a Romantic art form used by music critics and cultural commentators in discussion of various forms of music since the nineteenth century, was adapted in the sixties to authenticate a form of popular music, the emergent genre of rock. Before exploring the effects that this had on the creation of rock in section two, we will turn in the next chapter to a consideration of more recent discussions of authenticity since the advent of rock.

Chapter Two: Multiple Authenticities Emerge

Having established that the art versus commerce model of authenticity as developed over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century is key to understandings of authenticity in rock, I shall now turn to consider more recent versions and views on authenticity and its relationship to music to determine whether it is possible to decide what authenticity might be. As will be seen, some of the views of the theorist discussed can be used to shed light on the development in the sixties of the live versus recording model of authenticity, which, as Gracyk argues, can be seen as an extension of the art versus commerce dichotomy, but which fluctuated in the late sixties from an emphasis on recordings to one on 'liveness' as the genre of rock developed.[1]

In the past two decades, there have been attempts to explore authenticity in popular music in ways less directly overshadowed by Adorno's ideas, by theorists such as Middleton, who again relates the concept to truth and reality. Middleton outlines how authenticity is used in popular music, typically to distinguish "the genuine from the counterfeit, the honest from the false, the original from the copy, roots from surface, feeling as against pretence, acoustic as against electric, subculture as against industry, and so on."[2] He goes on to say that in the postmodern era of the twenty-first century, the concepts of authenticity have suffered intellectual collapse in academia (consigned to the dust heap again), but ironically are still used within the music culture itself. He argues that authenticity is now in commodified form in music culture, and its effects are often questioned by commentators, exploring the question of whether authenticity is real or is it inauthentic ideology fed to us by the culture industry to sell more records.

Middleton also critiques the way that authenticity is thought about, suggesting that its formulation is "not particularly well-developed"[3], both in popular culture, where it is still used, and in academia, where people are claiming to turn away from it. He argues that most often authenticity is thought to be a property of music, a view that he considers to be too narrow. He discusses Allan Moore, who is the only theorist who argues that authenticity is ascribed to music by people and that it is they who are authenticated

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[1] Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise*. See Introduction p.7 for earlier discussion of this.
[2] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, p.200.
[3] Ibid., p.205.

through this act.[4] Middleton argues that it is in fact both the music and the people discussing it who are authenticated in discussions of authenticity, leading him to ask how authenticity is produced. Middleton and Moore seem to diverge quite considerably here, as Moore states that the influence of the musical text itself on many occasions could be said to be nil.[5] Moore is interested in why authenticity is ascribed to music, not seeking to uncover any real essence of authenticity, 'authentic authenticity', which might reside in the music itself.[6] Middleton, it seems, is looking for some kind of real authenticity, without defining what it may be; but he seems to believe in it as a real quality, stating that:

> Authenticity is a quality of selves and of cultures; and they construct each other: which is another way of saying that the question here is not so much what or where authenticity is, but how it is produced.[7]

To seek answers of how authenticity is produced, and indeed what it might be, Middleton explores its history, tracing it back to its earliest usage before turning to the question of what authenticity could be in a post-structuralist world, trying to tie authenticity to politics and the people.[8] He suggests that authenticity is used to cover the difference between what is and what can be conceived, a type of fantasy that allows the conception of an ordered whole social reality. For Middleton, however, the fantasy of authenticity is:

> 'the real thing' precisely to the extent that, in the particular case (of a particular song), a sound-signifying-formation is constructed with sufficient skill, integrity and engagement to constitute itself as a popular-object-cause of desire capable of supporting a convincing fiction, the result carrying its listeners along in a direction that is, in the broadest sense, politically productive.[9]

Whether this very nuanced view of authenticity reveals its true nature or not, it seems that in Middleton's discussion of the history of the term and the philosophical understanding of how it might operate in the modern world, he has only answered his own question of

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[4] Allan Moore, 'Authenticity as Authentication', *Popular Music*, Vol. 21/2, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.209–223.
[5] Ibid., p.209.
[6] Although Moore does argue for authenticity being suggested by some musical structures and instrumentation in his studies of U2 and Big Country in Moore, *Rock: the Primary Text*, pp.157–165.
[7] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, p206.
[8] Ibid., pp.200–205. See also discussion of Middleton's findings in chapter one, pp.5–6 .
[9] Ibid., p246.

how authenticity is produced in the sense of how it might be generated in the interaction between people and music, a question that is almost impossible to answer without extensive theoretical speculation, which Middleton certainly provides here. However, although Middleton does look at the treatment of authenticity in relation to jazz at a particular time, to help him analyse the way that it operates, he does not look at specifics very closely in his assessments of authenticity. It seems to me evident that Moore and Middleton are correct in that authenticity certainly is ascribed to music, and I, like Middleton, would go further than Moore by arguing that conventions of the ideology of authenticity can then dictate that it is ascribed more to certain genres and sounds, so you could argue that it can be perceived as inscribed in particular sounds at particular times. However, my interest is not in whether authenticity in music is 'the real thing' but rather in exploring the ideology of authenticity as a belief that is created by the circumstances surrounding the music's creation and reception, albeit a very powerful belief that can also have real effects on the production and reception of music, as shall be explored in Sections two and three. In other words, my interest in the concept is not so much in a philosophical or political sense, but in a performative sense, in exploring how and why the ideology of authenticity arose in a form of popular music previously considered, in its rock and roll days, to be merely entertainment. By exploring the birth of the genre of rock music, I can explore how the ideology of authenticity became so integral to our assessment of the music to the extent that it becomes a selling point for the music.[10] To provide a foundation for this exploration, a more detailed understanding of how authenticity has been discussed in relation to popular music will be developed here.

Performed Authenticity

The idea of authenticity being attributed to the performer rather than to the music itself has been explored by Moore, mentioned above, who has recently written an overview of authenticity in music and the various possible understandings of it. He argues, like Middleton, that it is premature to consign the notion of authenticity as meaningful in popular music discourse to the "intellectual dust-heap"[11] However, unlike Middleton, Moore does not use philosophical arguments in his case for authenticity. Instead he attempts to combine different authors' ideas to create a typology of authenticity based on

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[10] See Simon Frith, 'Art versus Technology', pp.263–279 and Jason Toynbee, *Making Popular Music: Musicians, Creativity and Institutions*, Arnold, London, 2000, for comments about the use of authenticity to sell rock, and other music.
[11] Moore, 'Authenticity as authentication', p.210.

a more empirical approach to be used to assess how different musics and musicians are constructing themselves, or being constructed by their audience, as authentic.

Moore understands authenticity as being a matter of interpretation by an audience, ascribed to a performance, not inherently existing in any "combination of musical sounds."[12] In this, he is echoing Johan Fornäs's formulation of authenticity whereby the claims for authenticity of a text are "constructed and evaluated in interpretive communities."[13] In other words, for Fornäs, authenticity does not relate necessarily to the author's intentions, but is constructed when "textual markers imply a close relation between the text and its author, that is, that the expression of a subject is honestly meant."[14]

Moore, in his formulation of authenticity as ascribed, seems to be following in this vein, but applying it directly to musicians and performance instead of musical texts themselves. He sees the ascribed authenticity as falling into three main types: cases where artists "speak the truth of their own situation", where they "speak the truth of (absent) others" and where they "speak the truth of their own culture, thereby representing (present) others."[15] Moore surveys various authors who have addressed authenticity and concludes that in all of their various explanations of it, one can see one or more of these three types of understanding of authenticity operating. By splitting authenticity into three main types in this way, Moore avoids the Romantic art-versus-commerce paradigm, instead separating out and assessing how these different understandings that he has outlined might work. In the course of his article, Moore reviews a wide range of writing on authenticity, in particular building upon the work of Timothy Taylor and Johan Fornäs, who have also attempted a more general typology of musical authenticity which Moore combines to illuminate his own.[16] It is worth discussing these typologies in some depth here, as these various types of authenticity will appear throughout the rest of my thesis.

Taylor, writing on the market for global pop music, also argues for three main types of authenticity. The first, 'authenticity of positionality', relates to the position of a band or musician towards the mainstream or the margins of their particular form of popular music. In essence, this type of authenticity relates to whether a band are considered to be

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[12] Ibid.
[13] Johan Fornäs, *Cultural Theory and Late Modernity*, Sage, London, 1995, p.274.
[14] Ibid., p.275.
[15] Moore, 'Authenticity as authentication', p.209.
[16] See Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World music, World Markets*, Routledge, New York, 1997 and Johan Fornäs, *Cultural Theory*.

a 'sell-out' or not, whether they are motivated by 'commercialism'. In this version of authenticity, if a band is perceived to be in thrall to commercial success, then they cannot be authentic. 'Authenticity of emotionality' relates to whether the band/musician are expressing their own emotions and experience, if they are playing "with feeling"[17]. Taylor attributes this to the emergence of the singer-songwriter in the 1960s, as discussed by Frith, whose ideas I shall explore further below.

The third type of authenticity for Taylor is 'authenticity as primality' in which music has a direct connection to its roots.[18] Taylor links this to historical, ancient, primal roots, an idea linking music to concepts of the Noble Savage such as the Romantics had for folk music, but Moore reinterprets it to mean an expression which can be traced to "an initiatory instance."[19] Moore uses this to explain the emphasis on unmediated expression in some understandings of authenticity, arguing that if expression is unmediated, "the distance between its (mental) origin and its (physical) manifestation is wilfully compressed to nil by those with a motive for so perceiving it."[20] This idea, which seems to me to be more closely related to that of Taylor's 'authenticity of emotionality', is part of Moore's first type of authenticity, 'first-person authenticity', or 'authenticity of expression' in which a performer/composer "succeeds in conveying the impression that his/her utterance is one of integrity, that it represents an attempt to communicate in an unmediated form with an audience."[21] This is the form of authenticity that the majority of the authors that Moore surveys are leaning towards, one that results in the audience's imbuing the performer with authenticity and believing that her/his utterances are unmediated. This is closest to the Romantic ideology of the artist view of authenticity, which emerged for pop music in the mid 1960s, where the song is understood as interiority *of the performer* made exterior.

The main problem with this form of authenticity for Moore is that it can be easily read as inherent in musical performance and thus can mask two other forms, which he considers equally important. Moore uses Fornäs's outline of three different types of authenticity to demonstrate the naivety of "taking on trust the unmediated utterance"[22], highlighting Fornäs's emphasis on the constructedness and potential artificiality of authenticity. Moore briefly summarises Fornäs's types of authenticity, which he in turn based on

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[17] Taylor, *Global Pop*, p.25.
[18] Ibid., pp.21–28.
[19] Moore, 'Authenticity as authentication', p.213.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., p.214.
[22] Ibid.

Grossberg's writing on authenticity, of which more later, which are 'social authenticity', 'subjective authenticity', and 'meta-authenticity', each with conservative and progressive elements.

'Social authenticity', which Fornäs states is the most common form of authenticity in rock, has grown out of "the romantic ideology of rock as a construction by and expression of a magically dense community."[23] This form uses criteria to judge authenticity based on norms that are "legitimate within a certain (real or imagined) social (interpretive) community."[24] 'Subjective authenticity' is related to the construction of a rhythmical and sexual body, and is generalised by Fornäs to be related to the individual's mind and body. The third form, 'cultural or meta-authenticity' occurs when a text or author makes the constructedness of authenticity clear to the audience, being honest about the inauthenticity of the authenticity of the text, thereby being authentically inauthentic in a way of which Adorno may well have approved. This last form of authenticity has been a more recent development in popular music and can be associated with construction of authenticity in postmodernism, as Moore points out.[25] Fornäs also states that this type of authenticity has become increasingly important in popular culture, not eroding the first two forms, which he characterises as "naïve and romantic"[26], but forcing them also to develop meta-authentic traits:

> Artists and audiences can continue to strive for experiences of spontaneous community or bodily presence, but it has become hard to repress the insight that this takes place through a complicated play of gestures, signs and strategies, so that social and subjective authenticity is also in fact filtered through cultural authenticity.[27]

It is this insight, perhaps, that has motivated me to undertake this exploration into how authenticity was constructed in the 1960s, before meta-authenticity became widespread.

Moore explores the constructedness of authenticity, highlighted by Fornäs, by relating it to the idea of using music of old origins, such as folk or the blues, even if one is not part of that tradition. Here, he makes the more obvious link with musical roots captured in Taylor's 'authenticity as primality', that is, the "tracing back to an original which

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[23] Fornäs, *Cultural Theory*, p.276.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Moore, 'Authenticity as authentication', p.215.
[26] Fornäs, *Cultural Theory*, p.277.
[27] Ibid., pp.276–277.

validates the contemporary."[28] Fornäs also cites this as a legitimate form of authenticity, explaining that people may achieve authentic expression through the appropriation and use of styles, languages or genres that are not inherited from their parent culture.[29] Moore explains that this type of authenticity can also be linked to his concept of first person authenticity, in that the performers need to combine the appropriated style with their own style in order to retain their own authenticity and relation to the audience.

Moore also relates this form of authenticity to the Romantic idea of the artist as hero, seeking out and returning with a new form of authentic expression, again linking it to Romantic conceptions of the artist bound up with the idea of authenticity as unmediated expression.[30] He calls this second type of authenticity 'third person authenticity', in which "a performer succeeds in conveying the impression of accurately representing the ideas of another, embedded within a tradition of performance."[31] This is close to Frith and Gracyk's view of authenticity in rock as a combination of ideas of Romantic ideology relating to art but with folk roots, allowing the artist to represent the people. Moore's final type of authenticity is 'second-person authenticity', or 'authenticity of experience', "which occurs when a performance succeeds in conveying the impression to a listener that that listener's experience of life is being validated."[32] This has similarities with Grossberg's conception of authenticity in the rock and roll era (an era not usually associated with authenticity of bands in the usual sense), in which the music offered fans "a place of belonging"[33], which is developed by Moore into the "offering of a cultural identity in the face of accelerating social change."[34] This last form of authenticity may also have links to Fornäs's concept of 'subjective authenticity' (where the individual's mind and body are authenticated), as Moore links it to self-authentication of a person, using the example of his daughter's imitating not just the singing but also the bodily movements associated with an S Club 7 song.

Moore's last form of authenticity seems to me particularly useful, as it offers a new perspective on the enunciation often used in descriptions of authenticity in rock, that the music can be authentic by being made by the people for the people, as a form of folk music. Perhaps the first type of authenticity that one might ascribe to this would be closer to Taylor's authenticity of primality, regarding the origins of the music played, but

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[28] Moore, 'Authenticity as authentication', p.215.
[29] Fornäs, *Cultural Theory*, p.275.
[30] Moore, 'Authenticity as authentication', pp.216–218.
[31] Ibid., p.218.
[32] Ibid., p.220.
[33] Ibid., p.219.
[34] Ibid.

Moore's second-person authenticity offers an explanation of how communities might form, relating to music to which they have no direct historical link. It also describes the idea of authenticity that emerged towards the end of the 1960s, as being part of a way of life, where the performer and his audience are part of the same scene.

Alternative authentic dichotomy – live vs. recorded

In his discussion of the perception of the authenticity of a performer, Moore does not mention the fact that the majority of people will not experience a song through live performance, but are more likely to do so through a recording. Middleton, on the other hand, argues that records complicate the idea of authenticity, because they can claim to be "repositories of fidelity to remembered performance and objects of faith (with originatory authority)"[35] thereby constituting authentic records of a past event, or acting as authentic, i.e. original or genuine, artworks in themselves.

Middleton suggests that people do not usually think about the nature of a recording when discussing authenticity in music, and addresses the record's effects on music in discussions of the effects of repetition (which was one of Adorno's concerns about the effects of recording) trying to answer the question of "who speaks?" when we listen to a record.[36] Here, however, Middleton also seems to be missing an aspect of authenticity related to recordings, that of the fact that it is not the record of a *real* performance at all, highlighted by Auslander.[37] Moore does touch on this issue, in his brief mention of Sarah Thornton's work on authenticity and records in dance culture, highlighting the artificiality of the medium of recordings.[38] He uses Fornäs's ideas on the possibility of authenticity through artificial texts and Thornton's arguments that records can be considered authentic in certain subcultures, to show that the artificiality of recordings is not necessarily problematic in the case of authenticity; but Moore does not explain how authenticity would work in this case, especially in light of the fact that he links authenticity so strongly to ideas about unmediated expression. It seems particularly counter-intuitive that obviously highly mediated recorded music could be considered to contain authentic

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[35] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, p.210.
[36] Ibid., pp.210–211.
[37] Discussed in my Introduction, pp.14–15.
[38] Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1995.

unmediated expression, and yet authenticity is often ascribed to such music, raising the question of how authenticity is understood in relation to recordings.[39]

This brings us to a second dichotomy of authenticity that is quite often expressed in particular in discussions of rock music, that of live versus recorded music. As discussed in the introduction, this dichotomy became particularly marked towards the end of the 1960s as part of the rivalry between San Franciscan and Los Angeles based bands over the meaning of authenticity in rock. Thornton, in her work on dance cultures, has explored the link between records, 'liveness' and authenticity. She states that in general, from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, live performance has dominated notions of authenticity. Thornton argues that the idea of 'liveness' did not develop until recordings had attained enough importance as musical objects to make it necessary to distinguish between a record and a live performance:

> the ascent of 'liveness' as a distinct musical value coincided with the decline of performance as both the dominant medium of music and the prototype for recording. Only when records began to be taken for music itself (rather than as 'records' in the strict sense of the word) did performed music really start to exploit the specificities of its 'liveness', emphasising presence, visibility and spontaneity.[40]

Thornton effectively highlights here the moment when liveness became attached to authenticity in relation to assessments of recordings. Thornton outlines how the very concept of liveness did not exist before records became seen as a viable source for music in themselves, tracing a 'liveness' campaign made by the UK musician's union carried out in the 1950s and 1960s. This campaign was in response to the increasing use of records on radio and as musical sources at dance establishments and, Thornton argues, helped to shape the broader negative understanding of technology's effect on music. The Live Music campaign emphasised connotations of "life-versus-death, creative-versus-imitative, human-versus-mechanical"[41], and records were talked about as a grave threat, potentially bringing about the extinction of the musician and of music itself. Thornton states that the American Federation of Musicians also had a live music campaign, but they were much more willing than the UK Union to try to embrace rock and roll, which was so closely associated with records, competing with records by playing the latest

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[39] Moore, 'Authenticity as authentication', pp.219–220.
[40] Ibid., pp.26–27.
[41] Ibid., p.42.

dance music live and even by introducing new entertainment places, such as live-o-theques in 1965. However, this dichotomy of live versus recorded did not seem to feed through into discourse surrounding the authenticity of rock music itself until the late 1960s. In the early 1960s, as the studio became more integral to the composition and recording of music and technology was used to create "ideal, not real"[42] musical events on records, new competing authenticities emerged attached to technology and liveness. Up to this point, for the fans at least, if not for the musicians, the record was the primary object, and live performance had no real attachment to rock authenticity until the end of the 1960s. Indeed, my research suggests that there was a time in the middle of the decade, where the opposite case was true and the recording studio had precedence as a site of authenticity – this can be seen in the rise of importance of the producer in the first half of the decade (discussed in Section two) and the move of the Beatles from stage to recording studio in 1967 with the release of their album, *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*.[43] In other words, contrary to Thornton's arguments, for a time between 1950 and 1980, the recording, not live performance, took precedence as a site of authenticity. How could these two conflicting understandings of authenticity in relation to recording have occurred in such quick succession?

Frith has written extensively on authenticity in rock music in particular, tracing two types, one based on Romantic ideas of unmediated expression through music, direct from performer to audience (which would be Moore's first person authenticity) and one that borrows a type of authenticity from the folk tradition, in which it is believed that the musician represents the group and articulates their experiences (Moore's third person authenticity).[44] As argued in chapter one, both these types of authenticity in fact originated as part of the rise of Romanticism in the nineteenth century. Frith links both of these to beliefs that music should be an honest expression, and argues that the belief that technology is inauthentic related to the idea that "technology changes [in music] increase the opportunities for fakery."[45] This can equally be applied both to the use of technology in making a recording and to the use of technology in live performance, so it seems peculiar that one should be invested with authenticity at the expense of the other, as took place in the late 1960s.

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[42] Frith, quoted in Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.27.
[43] The Beatles *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, (Stereo version) Parlophone, PCS7027.
[44] Simon Frith, 'Art versus Technology', p.267. See also Frith, *Sound Effects* and Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: Evaluating Popular Music*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988.
[45] Frith, 'Art versus Technology', p.267.

Frith explores three issues that recur in discussion of technology in music when methods of music-making change. First, technology is seen as opposed to nature. If technology is used to alter performance style, this is seen as technical dishonesty, which implies emotional dishonesty, arguments that Frith traces back to the introduction of the microphone techniques used in the development of crooning. Secondly, technology is seen as opposed to community, so that using electronic amplification on stage alienates audiences from the performer. Frith explains this in terms of amplification's symbolising the embrace of mass-cultural values, perhaps suggesting that instead of technology's being opposed to community, it instead should be seen as an indicator of commerce, and this is an aspect of the art-versus-commerce argument again. The extensive use by the San Franciscan rock bands of electric effects in performance, whilst using that performance as a marker of authenticity, suggests that this was not the case in the late 1960s. However, there were strong objections to the use of technology on record in particular (see Section three). Thirdly, perhaps following on from the above point, technology is seen as opposed to art in terms of the idea of self-expression – technology makes it difficult to assess who is the author of the record, which disrupts the view of music as self-expression.[46] When the sound is mediated and manipulated by multiple people, the question is raised of whose self is being expressed, or in Middleton's terms, "who speaks?"[47]

Frith asks this question slightly differently, exploring "the problem of aura in a complex process of artistic production: what or, rather, *who* is the source of a pop record's authority?"[48] This question relates to the issue of technology versus self-expression, which he traces through the history of the reception of changes in music making. The question seems to me to be particularly relevant to records and thus offers a complication that technology does not have in the case of amplified live performance; in the latter, leaving aside the issue of the fact that bands have multiple members, the question of who the self is that is being expressed during performance could be understood as being limited to those that one can see performing in front of one. Frith compares the difficulty of assigning authorship in rock to film, and asserts that rock has its own auteur theory. As Middleton points out in his discussion of the roots of the word 'authenticity', the issue of authorship is one closely related to authenticity, and so shall be expanded upon in a more abstract sense here.

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[46] Ibid., pp.264–265.
[47] Middleton, *Voicing the Popular*, p.210.
[48] Frith, 'Art versus Technology', p.267.

Auteur theory is closely related to a Romantic conception of art and "attributes meaning in a cultural text to the intentions of a creative individual source."[49] It is thus closely related to the art-versus-commerce dichotomy, with the result that auteurs can be interpreted as authentic artists, despite working in a commercial environment such as film or popular music, as they are using the medium to "express their own unique visions."[50] Toynbee describes the emergence of an auteur theory in rock in the late 1960s, arguing that a sense of authorship in the case of rock bands at this time encouraged them to enter into contracts with the record industry not because they were commercially motivated, but because their "creative expression called for, indeed demanded, public recognition."[51] They believed themselves to be artists and that they could use commercial means for their own artistic ends. Whether this was actually the case will be addressed later in the thesis. Toynbee argues that this sense of authorship was maintained in two ways through the record industry – firstly, the model of a band's career changed away from prolific output for a short period of time towards long periods of experimentation and recording in the studio, with albums released once a year, which would be supported by coordinated promotional tours. Secondly, the album was seen and treated as an artwork in itself, both in its own sleeve notes and artwork, and in the journalistic critical discourse which started to emerge to describe it. Again, as with other attributes discussed here, this view of authorship emerged out of a period of flux in the late 1960s, meaning that this model of making music in the record industry was arrived at slowly over time, and could co-exist with, overlap and contradict another form of authorship related to stardom.

Toynbee states that stars create themselves into commodities and are then used to sell other commodities, such as records. He describes two modes of doing this, the naturalistic mode, where stars establish their authorship through the disavowal of stardom and try to deny their commodity status, or alternatively, they can adopt a stance of authorship where they celebrate their construction as stars. The latter would be closer to the Förnas's concept of meta-authenticity discussed above. As already established, this second form of authorship did not exist in the 1960s, so it is the first that I shall focus on here. This form of stardom relates to ideas of aura, as Frith pointed out. It was Walter Benjamin, one of Adorno's contemporaries who first discussed the aura of artworks, arguing that the effect of mechanical reproduction was to remove the aura of an artwork. Benjamin specifically discussed the aura in relation to authenticity, suggesting that "the

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[49] Roy Schuker, *Popular Music: The Key Concepts* (2nd edn.), Routledge, London, 2005, p.14.
[50] Ibid., p.15.
[51] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.30.

presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity."[52] He explains that the original, if compared to its manual reproduction, which is usually branded a forgery, "preserved all its authority,"[53] or its aura, which is dependent on a work having a specific place in space and time, a unique existence. However, Benjamin explains that in the era of mechanical reproduction, this aura withers and is lost. The technique of reproduction "detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition... [and] substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence."[54] In other words, there is no possibility of authenticity in art works which do not have a defined time and space, which exist in multiple identical instances. Benjamin saw this loss of aura of the artwork as leading to the "liquidation of the traditional value of the cultural heritage."[55] He believed that the loss of aura of artworks constituted a loss to humanity, but that it also offered a democratisation of art, whereby the meaning of mechanically reproduced art was determined by both the artist and the viewer/listener. For him, it led towards individual freedom of interpretation, and towards the possibility for art to have a positive political function outside the weight of tradition. However, as Thornton points out, Benjamin recognised that the process of the "withering" of the aura that he predicted may be a difficult one and was suspicious that instead of dying, the aura would "retire into an ultimate retrenchment: the human countenance."[56] This is precisely what Andrew Goodwin argues has happened to aura, arguing that in a world where it is understood that records are in some way inauthentic, either because they cannot have aura as they have no 'original' as such, or because they are inauthentic in that they are a simulation of performance, or are too mediating to allow for unmediated expression, the "only truly original aura available"[57] is that of the physical presence of the star.[58] For Goodwin, this is the only possible explanation for the continuation of the importance of live performance – he believes that it functions to prove musical competence on the part of the band; they must be seen to do something, they must provide visual pleasure on the level of spectacle, but most crucially, live performances provide a chance to share the physical presence of the star, something that is irrefutably unique and original to her/him.[59] Thornton builds on this idea, arguing that after the Beatles, the status of both live and

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[52] Walter Benjamin, 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction' in Walter Benjamin. *Illuminations* (trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt), Fontana, London, 1973 (originally 1935), p.220
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., p.221.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.27.
[57] Andrew Goodwin, 'Sample and Hold: Pop music in the digital age of reproduction' in Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (eds.), *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*, Routledge, London, 1990, pp.258–273, p.269.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

recorded music changed, with live performance "accentuating its status as spectacle and happening and emphasising both the proximity and transcendence of the star."[60] meanwhile, "[r]ecords found artistic credibility by exploiting properties specific to them rather than qualities that imitated performance."[61] Although it is true that these two developments did occur in the late 1960s, it is not entirely clear that the increased emphasis on live performance was due to concerns over the lack of aura inherent in recorded music, as will be explored below.

Gracyk offers an explanation of how recordings can be considered authentic in terms of the ontological status of the recording in rock, one which overcomes the problem of the loss of aura.[62] For Gracyk, as for Thornton above, a rock recording is a total artwork in itself, rather than a record in the literal sense of a performance that actually happened. Gracyk argues that in the case of recordings in rock, the recording itself, its sounding surface, is considered to be the musical work, not the songs that are recorded. For Gracyk, recordings, not the songs on them, are "the primary link between the rock artist and the audience, and the primary object of critical attention. These musical works are played on appropriate machines, not performed"[63] in the more familiar way that a scored song would be realised in live performance. However, because rock does not reject the prevailing ideologies of artistic production (utilising ideas of authenticity and originality in assessment of the production of musical works, for example), it retains some allegiance to the "established dichotomies of song/performance and composer/performer."[64] This use of the model of composers and their works, and discussion of songs and performances when discussing recordings, encourages the assumption that rock recordings are "a reproduction of and mere commodification of performance"[65]. This suggests that the ideology of rock means that rock's own recordings will be thought of as inauthentic, both in the Adornian sense of being inevitably part of the culture industry and in the sense of reproducing a performance, rather than offering the aura of the real thing. This returns us to the question of how a record can then, in fact, come to represent authenticity, as Gracyk proposes, or be authenticated, as Moore raises. An answer is suggested by Thornton in her study of club cultures.[66]

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[60] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.85.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Although there are links between discussions of the nature of the musical work in recorded music and authenticity, there is not room in this thesis to expand upon them at great length, although they will be touched upon where relevant.
[63] Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise*, p.18.
[64] Ibid., p.43.
[65] Ibid..
[66] Thornton, *Club Cultures*.

Thornton argues that, in British dance culture since the mid-1980s, the record has become enculturated and authenticated as a 'real' source of music. She traces the history of this process back to rock and roll, the point at which records started to replace live performance. Although leading to quite different conclusions, aspects of her argument can be used for understanding how records could be understood as authentic in rock in the 1960s. Thornton does not suggest that records can carry authenticity in rock, arguing that rock ascribes authenticity to live performance instead. However, as mentioned above, 'liveness' has not always been seen as the site of authenticity in rock; indeed, some of the early attributions of authenticity to rock were attached to records and the conditions required to make them. I shall therefore investigate both sides of her argument here, in order to assess how records might have been able to act as authentic sites in 1960s rock, as well as for liveness. As Thornton's focus is on dance culture, she initially focuses on venues where people would have gone to dance to music, originally played by live bands, but increasingly, from the 1950s onwards, provided by records. She points out that these venues declared their difference from the mainstream live culture through their names, such as "record hops" or "discotheques". Thornton is mainly interested in UK disc cultures, whereas my focus is on the US; the main difference between the two countries is that a large proportion of British disc culture was based on imports, particularly since the initial stages of rock and roll and on until the British Invasion, whereas the records listened to in America were indigenous to the country.

It seems to me that the process of enculturation that Thornton describes, whereby records become an accepted source of music to dance to, which she declares to be complete in the 1980s, may have occurred faster in the US than in the UK, because of a variety of factors. Records are usually described as being at the heart of the existence of rock 'n' roll by scholars such as Gracyk. If this is true, it makes sense that records should be a more accepted part of rock 'n' roll than perhaps it was in Britain, as they were part and parcel of American rock 'n' roll culture. There are other ways in which records were accepted as a valid source of music prior to rock and roll, which may have made it easier for them to be accepted as a source of music for dancing (which is Thornton's main concern). The acceptance of records as the original source of music could be argued to be seen as a key part in the development of rock and roll, as Toynbee has suggested. Toynbee suggests that the use of records by musicians as a means to learn new forms of music can be traced back to the 1920s in America, especially in the dissemination of black music to white

musicians, calling this a new kind of "mediated orality"[67]. Thornton, too, mentions this, attributing Elvis Presley's sound to entirely recorded sources, and pointing out that his career was quite unlike that of most black rock and rollers, who were established as seasoned live performers on the chitlin' circuit before they made their records.

Elvis's career was instead infused from the start with recordings. He learned the songs that he wanted to record from records, he was 'discovered' whilst recording a record, the record's sound was heavily manipulated with experimental recording techniques, the record was released before he made any live appearances and his first appearance was made to promote his records, not the other way around.[68] Rock 'n' roll is a problematic example to use in the discussion of authenticity and records, to a large extent because it was not discussed in terms of authenticity at all at the time that it was popular, being treated by record companies and media as entertainment.[69] However, I would suggest that, because of the strong jukebox tradition in the US, which was not present in Britain, and because of the proliferation of radio stations that used recordings as the main source of programming since around 1950, records were widely accepted as a legitimate source of music.[70] This may explain why live bands in the US were happy to play rock and roll (using the records as a score), whereas UK musicians were not, although Thornton suggests that the reason for the UK live bands' failure to play rock n' roll was that the music was so closely tied to records that it was "unreasonable that musicians should be employed at so called rock 'n' roll dances."[71] This suggests another idea of records and authenticity in rock and roll, implying that the record was thought of as the *only* appropriate source for this type of music, which again detracts from Thornton's argument that authentication of the record did not occur until the 1980s.

Thornton suggests that as records became considered to be the original work, they "accrued their own authenticities"[72], especially in the case of new, exclusive or rare records, which began to acquire some of the aura usually attributed to art objects. Records became the first contact that people had with music, and performances started to be judged against memories of the record. One author who would agree with this is Albin Zak, who argues that recording has had "a profound influence on the way music is made,

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[67] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.74.
[68] Gracyk. pp.13–16, 192.
[69] Deena Weinstein, 'Art versus Commerce, p.60.
[70] This is discussed in more detail in section 2.
[71] Quote from Musicians' Union Conference report, 1961, included in Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.67.
[72] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.27.

heard and thought about"[73], as it has the ability to "transform the ephemeral act of musical performance into a work of art."[74] Zak means "a work of art" quite literally, here, comparing the ontology of a recording to an autographic artwork such as painting, in which the work carries within it physical traces of its making. It is, for him, a "fusion of idea and action"[75], with both registered in the medium (in this case the "sounding musical surface").[76]

Taking the idea of this fusion further, Zak takes Kahn's phrase describing recording as a "fusion of orality and literacy"[77], arguing that recording has had such an impact on music because these two modes are usually viewed as opposing dualisms, with distinctions made such as body/mind, improvisation/composition and performance/work; even if it is understood that these distinctions inevitably overlap and interact, they still "represent different kinds of attitudes."[78] However, Zak points out that most performance traditions saw recording not as a fusion of orality and literacy, but as a way of capturing and preserving performances of works that already existed. For a true fusion to take place, technology needs to be engaged actively in the music-making process, rather than used to capture what is being played as transparently as possible. Zak cites the first example of technological mediation's being absorbed into performance and recording practice as being the introduction of the style of crooning enabled by electric microphones in the 1920s, which affected jazz, blues, country and pop music; and the first musical genre to embrace technology and "[weave] its influence into the musical fabric"[79] was rock 'n' roll, which used many different technologies and techniques to create works that were a true fusion of orality and literacy, with technology a fundamental part of the final work. This understanding of a recording as both orality and literacy meant that until rock 'n' roll, recordings could focus on one of two things before it was realised that a recording could be both, simultaneously; and the records following in the oral tradition, capturing music that had no physical transcription, were offering literacy to these forms, such as jazz and blues for the first time. For music that was based on pre-existing scores, the record could offer a way to capture the oral element that was usually so ephemeral. Zak

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[73] Zak, *The Poetics of Rock*, p.2.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., p.22.
[76] Ibid., p.23. Zak is here building on Gracyk, who although he argues rock cannot be understood to be an art if art is understood as the opposite of commerce, argues that rock records are artworks with autographic ontology, and this may be why they are often treated as art by critics, despite the problem of their being created in a commercial framework. See Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise*, pp.1–67.
[77] Zak, *The Poetics of Rock*, p.4.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid, p.9.

also argues that a major difference between a record that is truly a fusion of orality and literacy and one that is an attempt at transparently recording a performance is that the most salient feature of a record is not the song that is represented, or the arrangement and performance, but rather the overall sound (which he calls the "track"), which contains the other two as subordinate elements but forms the autographic work of the record. This emphasis on sound, as opposed to 'music', also started to accrue aspects of authenticity, as records became the primary medium in the US, with different recording studios and producers developing signature sounds which were then discussed separately from the performance that the record contained.[80] Toynbee, for example, argues that rock 'n' roll marked "the emergence of a radically distinct recorded sonority"[81] and discusses Phil Spector's 'Wall of Sound' in relation to this, describing it as "a sound that would pour out of a transistor radio like cake batter".[82] This tendency for studios to develop signature sounds was particularly marked as the 1960s progressed, and will be discussed in more detail in Section Two.

Once the record had become the primary musical object, the focus in 1960s rock became the album, instead of the single, and, according to Thornton, the record began to take the place of the event of live music.[83] Thornton points out that the album was approximately the same length as a band's live set, and that it offered opportunity for the exploration of themes, both musical and lyrical, over a prolonged period of time, aligning it more closely with expectations of the attributes of art. Experimentation also took place in the studio, creating more complex recordings which were increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to replicate on stage, causing a problem for bands who would then be judged against their recorded performances, as we saw in the typology of authenticity in the Introduction. This problem could be met by two approaches, the first, followed by the Beatles, being to withdraw from live performance altogether. (The second, to take the latest technological developments into live performances, was adopted alter and will be discussed below.) Thornton suggests that the Beatles managed to retain their authenticity despite this withdrawal from live performance by claiming that touring was reducing their creativity, both in terms of the musical means available to them live and in terms of the time that it took out of their potential time in the studio. For Thornton, "faced with conflicting aesthetic demands, the Beatles decided to align themselves with the new aesthetic of recording."[84] This implies that in rock at this time, recording was perceived

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[80] Ibid., pp.40–44. This is also discussed by Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise* introduction.
[81] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.86.
[82] Ibid., pp.87–89.
[83] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.78.
[84] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.81.

as at least having the potential to be an authentic approach to music making, associated with authentic attributes of freedom from constraint, experimentation, and artistic autonomy, not liveness as Thornton had previously stated.

A similar point is made by Toynbee, who argues that the live/recorded binary that Thornton discusses "encompassed quality of sound as well as context for listening."[85] Toynbee argues that the emergence of distinct sounds through recording outlined above "reinforced the difference between the social institutions of live and recorded reception."[86] This meant that, for the first time, live performances were trying to emulate records rather than the reverse, which caused problems for bands, as this often meant that they were trying to reproduce a performance that was not physically possible without the mediation of technology. Toynbee argues that in the 1950s, the record had become "normalised"[87] as the primary musical source. This recording aesthetic was very strong through the 1960s, and was the first attribute of rock to be linked to authenticity in the shape of the auteur producer, such as Phil Spector in the early 1960s, as will be discussed in Section two. It is arguable that by this stage, records had indeed been authenticated as a musical source. Records were the dominant source of music on the radio, records provided entertainment at record hops and discotheques and between sets of live bands. Records were also becoming increasingly sophisticated in terms of the techniques used to record them, and the resultant sounds and the approach of the producers that oversaw them were being discussed in the media for the first time in terms usually preserved for artists. Thus the Beatles, and indeed Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys, as we shall see in chapter five, could legitimately withdraw from live performance to focus on working in the studio; indeed, this was discussed as an important move in the development of their artistry – it increased their authenticity, instead of threatening it. This particular association of authenticity with technology is little discussed, possibly because it did not remain the dominant form of authenticity in rock for long, and more recent discussions of authenticity focus on ideologies of authenticity established slightly later.

These later ideologies were influenced by other bands who did not respond to the difficulty of live performance by retreating into the studio, such as the Grateful Dead, who started out as a live band in 1965, and took the latest technology into the live arena to create elaborate stage shows, with multi-media experiences and engulfing sound systems. Crucially, they did this using their own equipment, without the financial

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[85] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.86.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid., p.87.

backing of people related to the record industry. Thus they could claim to have found a viable alternative to the studio that did not involve the record industry, and for the first time to start a debate about the relationship of the art of rock to commerce. As will be seen in section three, these arguments began to emerge in the music press around this time in the US, and a shift then can be seen from a record's being authentic to the live performance's being authentic, from making appearances to support records to making appearances prior to making any.

In this section, the development of the ideology of authenticity, and various approaches to exploring how it operates in relation to music have been explored. In the second chapter, one particular aspect of the art versus commerce argument as it appears in rock authenticity was explored, that of the live versus recorded dichotomy which emerged in the sixties. Theorists have usually argues that liveness has dominated views of authenticity in rock music, but as the rest of my thesis will demonstrate, for a time in the sixties it was in fact the innovative use of technology in pursuit of unique sounds and effects on record that was discussed as authentic, before a competing form of authenticity focussed on live performance emerged towards the end of the decade. This chapter has explored how this attachment of authenticity to the use of technology might have worked in a more philosophical sense. The following two sections consider the development of ideologies of authenticity in relation to rock in the 1960s in a more concrete sense, exploring how these ideologies became attached to rock at this time, and the effects that this had on both the creation and the reception of rock music.

Section Two: Records and Record Production

Chapter Three: Authenticity and the Organisation of the Record Industry

Having discussed the origins of the ideology of authenticity in rock in section one, we now turn to consideration of the effects of this ideology in practice. This section will explore the changes in structure of the record industry over the course of the 1960s, with particular attention paid to the period 1965–1970, when the newly-emergent genre of rock became established as the dominant genre of popular music, at least in terms of record sales. Histories of rock usually start by tracing it back to rock n' roll, with the mid 1950s often cited as the birth of rock (or the moment that the seed was planted from which rock would eventually emerge).[1] Reasons given for this emergence of rock are wide-ranging and complex, with cultural, social, technological and economical factors all playing a part. One important factor of these histories is the competition in this period between independent and major record labels for dominance of the market, which is often discussed in terms of authenticity.

In this reading of rock history, the independents are the champions of artistic freedom and the majors are motivated solely by profit. My goal in this chapter is not to outline the history of rock, as several others have done; instead, I will re-fashion the relevant parts of these histories, having re-evaluated some of the evidence cited, critique our usual understanding of the independent/major authentic dichotomy and instead to shift focus towards *the reason that authenticity became so central a part of rock's classification and marketing practices*, as it became a more coherent genre. To do this, I shall first briefly explore some of the factors supposedly giving rise to rock and roll, as they have direct bearing on technological and economical organisational changes which followed within the record industry itself; I will then go on to discuss structural changes in the industry during the course of the 60s as the independents and majors battled for control in order to consider their relationship and how it related to the ideology of authenticity growing around rock during this period. In chapter four, we will consider how technology and beliefs about authenticity combined in both independents and majors to allow the creation of rock music as a genre.

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[1] See Belz, *The Story of Rock*, who states that the first rock record released was 'Sh-boom' by the Chords on Atlantic's Cat label in 1954 (p.25); and Garofalo in *Rockin' Out*, who relates it to various cultural, social and technological changes happening in the early 1950s (pp.4–6); and Richard A. Peterson, 'Why 1955? Explaining the Advent of rock Music', *Popular Music*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Jan 1990), pp.97–116.

There have been surprisingly few detailed studies of the record industry covering this period. The few detailed economic analyses that exist were carried out in the early to mid-1970s, and they focus mainly on the major record labels' internal operations. It would seem that it was not entirely clear by that point how important the music industry would become for the economy,[2] so most studies did not investigate factors that made records labels profitable; instead, they took an organisational-analysis approach that focussed on the record industry as an example of how industry organisation related to the production and diversity of cultural products. This focus on the effects of industry on its cultural products possibly reflects Adornian concerns about the negative effects of "the culture industry" which became widespread at the end of the 1960s, as explained by Hesmondhalgh and discussed in chapter one.[3] Most of these studies focus in detail on the organisational structure of the major record companies from 1948 onwards (the importance of which date will be discussed below) and outline some of the strategies used to try to retain/regain a majority share of the market. However, detailed accounts of the workings of the industry from 1965 to 1972 are few, as most studies, whilst admitting that there were structural changes during this time, demonstrate this through comparison of record companies before the 1960s and those afterwards, resulting in a relative dearth of economic detail on the period examined here. Economic accounts of the workings of independent labels from this period do not seem to have been carried out at all, probably because by the time that economic studies of the industry as a whole began, most of the independent labels had been subsumed into major labels or had grown so large that they operated along similar lines, as we shall see below.

However, some histories of independent labels have been written in more recent times. These histories are usually interview-based and heavily imbued with the notions of 'authenticity' usually attributed to independent labels and their authors, and for the most part, they do not attempt a detailed, critical analysis of the inner workings of the companies. These ideas of authenticity in relation to independents usually follow the typical manner of rock mythology pitting the majors and indies against each other alluded to above, succinctly outlined by Garofalo as follows: "the independent labels heroically pushed against the limits of public taste out of a love for the music from the grassroots"[4] whilst the majors were "narrow, rigid companies that tried to insulate the mainstream from the complexities of difference".[5] It may also be this belief that the primary

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[2] Sanjek argues in *Pennies from Heaven* that it is America's second biggest export in the 1990s, as discussed in Chapter one, p.24.
[3] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, pp.16–17.
[4] Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.129.
[5] Ibid.

motivation of the independents was love of the music instead of profit that has resulted in the relative lack of economic analysis of independents until more recent times.[6] Garofalo suggests that the reason that the independents may have had a progressive effect on music, as is usually argued, was not solely artistic motivation, but rather because the independents were "smart enough and flexible enough to respond to an unsated consumer demand"[7]. He demonstrates that a more nuanced view of the differences and similarities between majors and independents can explain the frequently self-contradictory ways that both behave, an understanding that is necessary to assess the status of the practice of covering, for example.[8] The present chapter will provide such a nuanced view of the record industry as a whole, looking at the independent and major record labels in tandem and assessing the relationships between them, their different operating systems, and the ways in which they influenced each other through the course of the 1960s. To achieve this, I shall synthesise the different sources available with critical analysis of my own, to provide a fuller picture of the working of the record industry as a whole, its inter-relationships and the relationships of these to authenticity and rock music.

The Independents And The Majors Battle For Market Share

Economists studying the cultural industries in general have found that they are unusually high risk, meaning that it is very difficult to predict what will be a successful product in the market. There are several theories to explain this; Garnham, for example, believes that it is because audiences use cultural products in highly unpredictable ways. Hesmondhalgh adds to this that the creative workers involved in making cultural products are given an unusually high level of freedom; and Toynbee argues further that, particularly in the case of popular music, there is a constant demand for novelty, meaning that the record industry has constantly to create new, untested product, in an attempt to meet audience demand.[9] My argument over the course of this chapter is that the different ways of handling this high risk market environment used by the majors and the independents eventually resulted in the ideology of authenticity becoming key, in various

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[6] There have now been a few studies of recent independents – see for example Herman Gray, *Producing Jazz: The Experience of an Independent Record Company*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1990 and Stephen Lee, 'Re- Examining the Concept of the 'Independent' Record company: The Case of Wax Trax! Records', *Popular Music*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan 1995), pp.13–31. The WaxTrax! article will be discussed in more detail below.

[7] Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.129.

[8] Ibid., pp.129–130.

[9] See Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, pp.18–19 for a discussion of Garnham's ideas, and Hesmondhalgh's own approach. See Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.16 for his discussion of the political economy approach to uncertainty in markets.

forms, to both the creation and the reception of rock music. As my argument largely revolves around distinctions and relations between major and independent record labels (or recording companies – the terms were originally synonymous), I shall first outline their background.

In essence, until the mid to late-1960s, a major recording company was a large corporation, usually recording a range of musical genres, and having its own distribution systems and record presses, which enabled it to produce large numbers of records and ship them to retailers in every regional market. An independent record (or "indie") company, by contrast, was much smaller, was usually specialist in one particular genre and either carried out its own, largely local, small-scale distribution, or relied upon a loose network of independent regional distributors and record manufacturers, persuading each in turn to distribute its products.[10]

Proportions of market share held by independents and majors varied over time from the earliest days of the record industry until around 1955, with the majors consistently dominating the complete market for records, but independents occasionally dominating the specialist record markets, especially those for 'race' records and 'hillbilly' music.[11] This period of the major labels' domination of the market is described by Richard Peterson and David Berger, the earliest economists to investigate the record industry, as one of oligopolistic control.[12] This control was shared and internally fought over by the so-called 'Big Four' record firms — RCA Victor, Columbia, Capitol and Decca — who each competed for the largest share of the market place using a variety of methods. The most prevalent were horizontal integration, whereby the majors would use their various affiliated media companies — network radio or film studios — to gain exposure for their records; vertical integration, whereby they bought companies that would manufacture and distribute their records, ensuring they controlled the whole of the process of making a record; and finally, through covering each other's songs and those of any independents that were successful in the charts.[13] This last strategy could be described as a 'slice' approach, whereby each company competes for the biggest 'slice' of the same

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[10] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.386.
[11] Charlie Gillett, *The Sound of the City*, pp.7–15.
[12] See Richard A. Peterson & David G. Berger, 'Cycles in Symbol Production: The Case of Popular Music', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Apr 1975), pp.158–173.
[13] Ibid., pp.158–173. This covering strategy was common before the rock era, based on the Tin-Pan-Alley tradition of songs' being released by multiple singers. This was done because prior to 1950, the published song (rather than the recording) was the primary sold commodity. See Reebee Garofalo, 'From Music Publishing to MP3: Music and Industry in the Twentieth Century', *American Music*, Vol.17, No.3 (Autumn, 1999), pp.318–354, p.336.

homogeneous mass market 'pie' by producing similar versions of songs in a style proven to be successful.[14] To do this, each company strives for "that product which pleases the most without offending any major group of consumers"[15]. With these three methods in place, although the market share fluctuated among these four record companies, the total proportion of the market over which they shared control was consistently over 70%, very high compared with the proportions in other manufacturing industries.[16]

However, from the end of the Second World War, the independents began to threaten the majors' hold on the market for the first time, as people increasingly turned to their specialist music instead of the majors' mass-market-oriented popular songs. The generally agreed reasons for this shift in the control of the market were numerous and will be outlined briefly here. Richard Peterson's analysis of the emergence of rock ("rock" being used here to encompass all music from rock n' roll onwards) is useful, as it provides a theoretical framework that can be followed, as well as an overview of the various contributory elements.[17] Peterson argues that the advent of rock is usually attributed to three influences: the emergence of certain creative individuals, such as Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry and Little Richard; the rise of a new audience that was provided by the large numbers of young people born after the Second World War (the baby boomers); and the increased prevalence and influence of new media, such as television and radio, and associated technologies.[18] He strongly argues that, although creative individuals were involved in the advent of rock, and audience preferences also played a part, it was crucially a systematic change in "the structure of arrangements, habits and assumptions of the commercial culture industry"[19] that created the conditions that allowed rock to emerge. It is these changes in the structure and beliefs of the commercial culture industry and their outcomes that are the concern of this and the following chapter.

According to the "production of culture"[20] perspective, there are six crucial factors that shape the symbols that emerge from the cultural industries: law, technology, industry structure, organisational structure, occupational careers and market, all of which can constrain, but also stimulate, changes in cultural products. According to Peterson, there

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[14] This 'slice' strategy description is based on Peterson's description of the behaviour of radio oligopolists in Peterson, 'Why 1955?, p.112.
[15]Peterson & Berger, 'Cycles in Symbol Production', p.159.
[16] Ibid., p.161.
[17] Peterson, 'Why 1955?'.
[18] Ibid., p.97.
[19] Ibid., p.98.
[20] Ibid.

were changes in all six of these from the Second World War onwards which combined to create the conditions for rock to emerge in 1955.

Peterson argues that it is legal changes which have the most effect, and other changes emerge from these. The pertinent legal changes related to the rivalry between two royalty collection agencies for the performance of copyrighted music, ASCAP and BMI. By 1930, ASCAP controlled which music most of the public could hear, by mandating that only ASCAP-licensed music could be played in musicals, on the radio and in movies. ASCAP "systematically excluded" the work of black musicians working in black genres, such as blues and jazz, and also Latin and country music traditions, focussing instead on music written with an European aesthetic, such as Tin Pan Alley songs. In 1939, in protest against the high fees that ASCAP was charging, BMI was formed by the radio networks as a rival agency. Having tried and failed to persuade ASCAP affiliates to defect to BMI, BMI instead signed publishers and writers specialising in the music excluded by ASCAP, such as blues, jazz, country and Latin music, music which mainly appeared on independent labels. From 1940 until 1942, ASCAP music was excluded from radio airplay, as the networks played exclusively BMI music. When the radio networks came to terms with ASCAP in 1942, they continued also to play BMI songs, allowing the public to continue to hear a wider range of genres of music than before, which eventually had a marked effect on public preferences, as will be seen below.

There were two other pertinent legal changes related to radio. First, the regulations relating to the number of radio stations allowed to operate in any given local area changed. In the 1930s, only between three and five radio stations were allowed to operate in each market. Three of these would usually represent the national networks (NBC, CBS and Mutual), while any other would be an independent. Many applications to the FCC for independent stations were submitted, but these were denied or deferred, initially under pressure from the networks, and then because of the Second World War. In 1947, most of the backlogged applications were approved, and by 1951, the number of authorised radio stations had doubled in most areas. Most of these new radio stations were independents, who relied heavily on programming records rather than live performance, as had previously been common. This was because records were much cheaper than paying performing musicians. This development was very advantageous to rock as it developed.[21] The second change in radio regulation came in 1965, when radio stations were ordered to end the practice of simultaneous broadcasting on AM and FM

[21] Garofalo, in *Rockin' Out*, gives a concise history of radio, pp.72–74. I shall return to radio and its importance in the development of the record industry in the next chapter.

wavelengths, and instead had to provide different programming on each format for at least half of the time. The most profitable AM stations ran their FM counterparts as not-for-profit outfits, giving the listeners what they seemed to want. This led to the rise of FM radio as a place for rock, now established as a profitable musical genre, to flourish and had ramifications for its 'authentic' status.[22]

Technological developments also played an important part in the development of rock. In 1948, Columbia revealed their 12-inch, 33 1/3 rpm vinyl LP, and RCA their 7-inch 45 rpm vinyl record, both offered as replacements for the much more fragile shellac 10-inch 78 rpm, which was not capable of very high fidelity musical reproduction and had shorter playing time. After government intervention, by 1952, it was established that the 45 was the format for single records of popular music for radio play, jukeboxes and retail sales, and the LP was the format for classical music. The key advantage of vinyl records for the independent record companies was that they were much easier to ship across the country than shellac, enabling an independent network of national distributors to emerge for the first time, which allowed the independents to compete with the majors at a national level.[23]

Other technological developments of significance after World War Two were the advent of tape, the widespread uptake of television by the American public from 1949 and the youth market's enthusiasm for transistor radios. Tape had a direct impact on recording, both in the sense that recording onto tape was much cheaper than recording direct to disc, making it feasible for small entrepreneurs to set up their own recording studios, and in the sense that it allowed performances to be manipulated and edited after they had occurred for the first time, in a similar way to film.[24] Multi-track recording, which allowed musicians to layer performances that were recorded separately and at different times over each other, was invented in 1949 by Les Paul in Chicago, although the first two-track tape recorder designed for studio use was not available until 1954. Les Paul also invented tape delay in 1950, which allowed the adding of echo effects to a recording and was the precursor of effects units and other electronic manipulations of sound which were to

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[22] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, pp.518–520.
[23] Peterson, 'Why 1955?' p.101. See Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, pp.231–245 for a detailed account of the format wars over the new vinyl records.
[24] Sanjek, in *Pennies from Heaven*, p.386 attributes the rise of the independent studio and producer to the advent of tape. See also Edward R. Kealy, 'From Craft to Art: The case of sound mixers and popular music' in Simon Frith & Andrew Goodwin (eds.), *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*, Routledge, London 1990, pp.207–220 for a discussion of the impact of tape both on entrepreneurs and on changes in the approach to using a studio.

become key to rock in later years.[25] These two recording possibilities, coupled with the ability to splice tape and vary its speed, further affecting the sound, were crucial in the shift from a recording aesthetic that aimed to simulate live performance to one that saw the recording process as having an aesthetic of its own, an important change that as discussed in section one, many argue is one of the key features that distinguishes rock from its predecessors.[26]

Television, too, had an impact on the development of rock music, although initially its influence was indirect. It began to be popular in the US from 1949, and by 1955, 65% of all US households had a TV set. The network programmes that had been a staple of network radio were transferred to TV, and many experts thought that radio would be replaced altogether as a result of the advent of television, so that the networks sold off many of their affiliates.[27] Some commentators believe that it was television that attracted the core 'mass' audience that used to be catered for by the radio, forcing radio "to relinquish the majority audience and alter program content to attract minority subcultures previously neglected for economic reasons."[28] This apparently led to radio's being forced to focus more on teenage or intellectual tastes, as the mass audience that moved towards television was mainly an adult audience. The exodus of the networks towards television created a situation in which there were a glut of radio stations on the market at the time that the relaxed licensing situation mentioned above occurred, allowing specialist independent stations to set up and broadcast a wider range of music than the networks had done.[29] This made rock and its precursors more widely available to the listening public, increasing its potential market considerably.

Transistor radios further changed the relationship of families to the radio, formerly a large, stationary object in the home, listened to by the family. The introduction of television altered this, with the television now becoming the focus for family-based home entertainment. The transistor radio, however, allowed the radio to remain popular in a new way. Invented in 1948 by Bell Laboratories, the transistor radio was to be introduced gradually by American suppliers to American homes, but instead was shipped

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[25] Mark Cunningham, *Good Vibrations: A History of Record Production*, Sanctuary Publishing Ltd., London, 1998, pp26–29.
[26] See for example Frith, *Sound Effects*, p.6, Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise*, pp.37–53, Zak III, *Poetics of Rock*, pp.10–17, Garofalo, 'Understanding Mega-Events', p.24.
[27] Peterson, 'Why 1955?', p.102.
[28] See for example Paul M. Hirsch, 'Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organisation-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry systems', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 77, No.4 (Jan 1972) pp.639–659, p.641.
[29] Peterson, 'Why 1955?', p.102.

to the US from Japan in large numbers in a cheap, lightweight, compact, battery-powered form, which quickly became very popular with young Americans.[30] This development, coupled with the multiplying number of independent radio stations, meant that the young audience could develop their own musical taste, separate from that of their parents, by tuning into independent stations. Transistor radios also helped support local radio after the advent of television, keeping demand for music stations alive.[31] As the local radio stations that the youth audience tuned into were, by this stage, largely programming records made by independent labels, that audience was exposed to music that was the precursor to rock, and became part of the growing market for this more specialist music.

These legal and technological changes that occurred around the end of the second world war are usually mentioned in histories of rock and roll as providing the ideal conditions for rock to emerge; and they led to far-reaching changes throughout the other four categories usually assessed under the production of culture approach, namely industry structure, organisational structure, occupational careers and the market. These other elements, and the ways in which they interacted with technological changes and with each other, will be assessed in detail during the rest of this thesis, with industry structures forming a large proportion of the focus of the rest of this chapter.

Independents rise to Prominence

By the end of the Second World War, at least partly because of the various factors outlined above, the size of the audience for specialist music had become so large that it had, in effect, become a viable part of the popular music market; and for the first time, the record sales of independents were taking a large proportion of market share. In order to win back popular-music listeners, the majors in the previously oligopolistic market had usually deployed one of three tactics: they either heavily promoted their own covers or pastiches of the most popular current specialist style, as they did with Country and Western in the late 1940s[32]; or they bought up the more successful independent companies, to make them subsidiary labels, as they had done in the 1930s, when the Depression had forced most of the independents out of business[33]; or they ignored the latest specialist trend, in the belief that it was a passing fad not worth investing in.

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[30] Peterson, 'Why 1955?', p.102.
[31] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.416.
[32] Gillett, *The Sound of the City*, pp.9–11.
[33] Ibid., pp.7–8.

This last was the initial approach of majors towards rock n' roll, although some majors did have one or two rock n' roll performers on their books, such as Decca with Bill Haley and the Comets, and RCA, who bought Elvis Presley for an enormous sum from the independent label Sun records in 1955.[34] This latter deal was highly publicised and marked a turning point in the majors' attitude to rock n' roll; and soon, largely in response to Presley's astonishing success, other majors started adding some rock n' roll artists to their rosters. However, RCA soon started to attempt to broaden Elvis's appeal beyond the teenage market, especially after his stint in the army, and none of the other acts on major labels achieved Presley's level of success before rock n' roll seemed to begin to die out as a fad, at the end of the 1950s.[35]

Meanwhile, taking advantage of the majors' approach of ignoring specialist markets, independent labels proliferated through the 1950s — between 1948 and 1954, around 1000 new record labels were formed.[36] Many of these labels failed by 1955, but of the companies that did survive, almost all made an attempt to meet the taste for rock n' roll.[37] Several important labels emerged, solidifying their hold on the popular-music market share, establishing their own sales and promotion departments, and using the increasing number of independent distributors and record manufacturers to release their own packaged EPs and LPs, without having to use the majors' equipment.[38] The most important independents at this time included Aladdin, Imperial and Specialty based in Los Angeles, Ace in New Orleans, Atlantic and Jubilee in New York, King in Cincinatti, Chess and Veejay in Chicago, and Sun in Memphis.[39] The independents soon proved a growing threat to the majors. In 1948 and 1949, The Big Four (RCA, Columbia, Decca and Capitol) had released more than 80% of all the weekly Top Ten Hits; but by the late 1950s, only 24% of the Top Ten weekly records were released by them. What is more, by this time, the number of indies had stabilised somewhat to be close to 600, and record sales had expanded massively, meaning many more titles were released each week. [40] Of course, many of these independents' big hits were released by only a few of the 600

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[34] Ibid., pp.51–52.
[35] For an outline of Presley's role and the rise and fall of rock n' roll on the major labels, see John Covach, *What's That Sound? An Introduction to Rock and its History*, W.W.Norton and Co., New York, 2006, pp.78–90.
[36] R. Kennedy & R. McNutt, *Little Labels-Big Sound: Small Record Companies and the Rise of American Music*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1999, p.xvi.
[37] Gillett, *Sound of the City*, pp.80–81.
[38] See Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.340 for an account of the indies' reorganisation to solve their earlier distribution problems.
[39] See Garofalo, *Rockin 'Out*, pp.65–68 for an account of the important indies, and Gillett, *The Sound of the City* pp.80–117 for a detailed account of the various labels' specialities and artists.
[40] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.356.

independent labels, with Atlantic, Dot, Roulette, Cadence, Sun, Chess and Liberty emerging as the most successful by the end of the decade.

The majors responded to this threat of the independents partly by following their old method, aggressively covering and pastiching the rock n' roll style in a new sound, mainly performed by white artists, usually called "rock and roll". They also moved to an approach of overproduction of records, a method well suited to large companies with large resources available, and which the independents could not achieve. This approach meant making increasing numbers of records in the hope that one would be a hit. This method can be effective because, although the cost of making each record is high, reproduction costs are low, meaning that if a record is a success, it can compensate for a large number of failures; once the initial cost of making the recording is met, marginal profits from each extra sale are huge.[41] They also moved against the independents by supporting a series of hearings concerning the practice of "payola," which they claimed was the reason for the independents' success. Payola, as found by the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) hearings, was a system of paying disc jockeys to favour certain recordings and play them as often as six to ten times a day, thus suppressing competition and diverting trade from competition through "deceptive advertising".[42] The payola hearings continued from 1959 to 1963 and unearthed little evidence of payola beyond that which had always existed in the industry. However, they did lead to stricter competition laws' being applied to the record industry, which resulted in a more open market in which the independents could compete more easily with the majors. By the early sixties, the majors' oligopolistic hold on the industry seemed to be broken irrevocably. Their previous methods of dealing with competition from the independents and their attempt to attack the independents through the payola trails had largely failed, meaning that the majors were forced to develop new strategies towards rock as the sixties continued.

1960s — Majors versus independents once more

The sixties were a time of further expansive growth for the record industry. The industry grew at a rate of 6–8% annually from 1960–65; then, as the economy accelerated, there was an increase of 17–18% a year.[43] The range of popular music produced continued to

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[41] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.16.
[42] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.374.
[43] Ibid., p.561.

expand with several different genres emerging, such as bubblegum pop, folk-rock, psychedelic rock, and soul. In this increasingly profitable market, the struggle for market share continued, with innovative approaches by both the majors and the independents being used to adapt to the constantly changing conditions. As the sixties progressed, the balance of power between independents and majors continued to shift, as the majors started to embrace the rock market by signing new white rock acts. The success of this strategy can be seen from the following table of top ten hits and market share through the decade.

Table 1

Table showing the proportions of Top Ten records by major and independent record companies, 1962–1969.[44]

Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Number of Top Ten records by majors	41	51	46	54	57	67	70	66
Number of Top Ten records by indies	57	63	54	42	67	45	39	41
% market share majors: indies	42:58	45:55	46:54	56:44	46:54	60:40	64:36	62:38

As can be seen from the above figures, the independent companies initially managed to retain control of the market, although not by as large a margin as in the late 1950s (when they had 76% of the top ten hits); but by the end of the decade, the majors had once more achieved the majority share of the market, retaining 62% — although again, this was hardly the return to the era of oligopolistic control seen in the early 1950s, when they had retained closer to 80%. The struggle for market share demonstrated in table one is key to

[44] Table adapted from statistics included in Gillett, *Sound of the City*, p.341.

understanding the changes in the organisation of record companies, both independent and major which contributed to the development of rock.

In the early 1960s, the shift toward a more equal share of the market for the majors was due to their success in moving into the rock-and-roll market, a move eagerly made in particular by Capitol and Columbia, with the Beach Boys and Bob Dylan, respectively. By 1963, this strategy was showing success: although the indies had more top ten hits that year overall, three of the old Big Four majors "held the first three positions in the number of top ten singles chart", with Decca trailing behind.[45] The majors consolidated their position in 1965, as they reacted to the so-called British Invasion bands such as the Beatles and Rolling Stones; they managed to acquire distribution for almost all the British invasion bands. This was enabled by a shift in the record industry from a local simple distribution system, sending records from manufacturer to retailer to consumer, segmented and isolated by geography, to a "vast interconnected international complex."[46] The early sixties were a time of international mergers and acquisitions, and many major American record companies were bought, for the first time, to form part of other international companies. The earliest of the international acquisition deals was actually the acquisition by EMI, a major British company, of Capitol records in 1955. Initially, it seemed that these international deals were mainly beneficial to the American labels, whose market reach was expanded across Europe. But from 1962, there was a distinct change, and British records started to appear for the first time on best-selling lists in a variety of countries.

The case of the Beatles illustrates the change in attitude of American labels towards British music, which led to the British invasion. Capitol initially had no interest in the Beatles' masters, which were selling well in Britain in 1963, when they were offered to them by EMI. As a result of this, the masters were leased to Veejay records, one of the most successful independent labels started in the 1950s, who released two singles and an album, to little notice. However, the Beatles' record sales were growing across Europe, and at the end of 1963, Capitol agreed to release their next single, which sold 3.4 million copies, an unheard of quantity at the time.[47] This pattern, in which the majors who now had international ties (Decca, Capitol, MGM and Columbia) refused options offered to them for the masters of British bands, and the British record companies instead leased the

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[45] Peterson & Berger, 'Cycles in Symbol Production', pp.166–167.
[46] For a full account of international deals and takeovers from the 1950s to the mid-1960s, see Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, pp.376–384.
[47] See Ibid., pp.381–384, for a detailed account of this.

masters to independents, had occurred throughout 1963 and 1964. According to Charlie Gillett, this is how the independents managed to retain their market share at this time.[48] However, after the example of the Beatles, the majors claimed back their right to the options, and the vast majority of records made by British bands were released by the majors in the US from 1965 onwards, a fact that massively boosted their share of the market and further increased the majors' hold on rock.[49]

There were several factors involved in the independents' brief return to the majority of market share in 1966, one of the most important being a fragmentation of the popular-music market now dominated by rock — that term being used now used to describe a wide range of music emerging out of rock and roll from 1964 onwards, which, for all its anti-establishment posturing (of which more in section three), was now released mainly on the major labels, an irony highlighted by Gillett.[50] Several new independents had emerged in the early 1960s and, in the tradition of earlier independent labels, began to claim previously non-existent markets. The most important of these new labels were Motown and A&M. Motown, the first black-owned label, was particularly successful in the early sixties, especially with its girl groups, but it maintained its record of Top Ten hits fairly consistently through the decade, catering mainly to the pop end of the market, and ended the decade operating as if it were a major label itself.[51]

A&M records also did not cater to the rock audience, reaching out to a previously untapped audience for easy-listening, beat-backed instrumental pieces, mainly recorded by Herb Alpert (the A of A&M) and his group, Tijuana Brass; in 1966, Tijuana Brass were the second best-selling artists after the Beatles.[52] The indies also moved into other market areas through a series of distribution deals. For example, both Stax-Volt and Atlantic artists benefited from a distribution deal that Stax had with Atlantic records, and the resultant 'Memphis sound' became very popular from 1965 onwards. Atlantic also developed another new sound, 'sweet soul', which proved very popular. This development of distinct sounds associated with record labels became an important part of marketing rock, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Another market opening up because of the civil rights movement was folk-rock, whose explosive growth began in 1965 after Bob Dylan 'went electric' at the Newport folk

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[48] Gillett, *Sounds of the City*, pp.340–341.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., p.340.
[51] See Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, pp.158–162, for a detailed account of Motown records in the 1960s.
[52] See Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.385, for details of A&M records.

festival, with independent labels previously specialising in folk, such as Elektra and Vanguard, benefiting.[53] The independents also took market share through the development of bubblegum pop, a new genre which consisted of "instant groups conceived to fit an image of success", [54] aimed firmly at the pre-teen female market that had brought Elvis and the Beatles to such prominence in earlier years.[55] Several successful bubblegum pop bands were released on the independent labels Buddah and Roulette, both based in New York City. In this taking of market share through the development or exploitation of new minority genres, the independents were acting as they had always done, although in this case, because they were specialising in so many areas of the market, and because of the increasing fragmentation of that market, their combined efforts had to be much more diversified in order simply to retain majority market share.

However, there was a new development in the relation of indies to the majors, illustrated by the most famous examples of the bubblegum pop genre at this time, the Monkees and the Archies, both of whom were created for and promulgated through television series – they were released on "semi-independent subsidiary labels"[56] of majors. The term "semi-independent" is indicative of the increased difficulty towards the end of the 1960s of using the terms 'major' and 'independent' in a meaningful way, particularly in the sense of their having any kind of oppositional stance toward one another. Especially after the so-called 'second generation' of psychedelic rock was discovered in 1967, the picture of market share held by independents or majors was complicated further by the fact that there was an increasing tendency towards amalgamation and consolidation, whereby independents were bought by majors to act as subsidiary labels. This also highlights a problem with the data provided by Gillett and included in the table above, as it is not clear which category he considers his 'semi-independents' to be in, that of the majors or that of the independents. However, other sources also describe 1967 as being a time when the majors permanently regained an over 60% share of the market; so it does seem that they were dominant once more.[57]

These majors at the end of the 1960s were different from the Big Four that had dominated the record industry at the start of the 1960s, with the most successful majors now being

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[53] See Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, pp.162–166 and pp.174–177 for details of the spread of the folk movement.
[54] Gillett, *Sounds of the City*, p.339.
[55] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.390.
[56] Gillett, *Sounds of the City*, p.340.
[57] Sanjek in *Pennies from Heaven* states that five majors held over 50% of the market from 1967, p.508, and that Columbia alone held over 60% of the market share by 1969, p.516.

Columbia, Warner Seven-Arts, RCA Victor, Capitol-EMI and MGM.[58] All of these had partly consolidated their position by a series of mergers and acquisitions of successful independents, and by spinning off new independent labels started by their most successful artists, which were allowed to operate relatively freely but used their parent companies for promotion and distribution. The majors had largely neutralised the independents as a threat by "in effect, becoming financing and distribution companies for a series of divisions that were allowed to operate as small independent firms."[59] This is described by Lopes as a shift by the majors towards an "open" system.[60]

Of course, this was not necessarily only a shift in approach by the majors: it could be said that the independent record companies had also neutralised the threat of the majors by taking the place of their in-house production capabilities, a point I shall return to below. The majors had also realised, through observing the success of the independents in the first half of the 1960s, that the popular music market could be differentiated and targeted "according to age brackets and tastes"[61], a distinctive shift from their earlier position of seeing the popular music audience as a homogeneous mass with minority audiences catered for elsewhere. Records now ranged from hit-making artists aimed at youth (such as the Beatles, Rolling Stones, Beach Boys, Bob Dylan, and Righteous Brothers) to middle-of-the-road, 'safe' music (such as Motown, The Tijuana Brass, The Four Seasons and Peter, Paul and Mary), to adult-slanted artists, often carried over from the 1950s (such as Frank Sinatra, Nancy Wilson, Barbra Streisand, Nat 'King' Cole and Andy Williams).[62] It is noticeable that the majority of music falling into the two categories of middle-of-the-road and adult-slanted artists was produced on either fully or semi-independent labels, leaving the majors to focus on the youth market and rock.

The mutual benefits of merging the independents and majors

A good example of the development of the shift to an open system and the adoption of a differentiated market approach by the majors is the case of Warner Bros. records, formed in 1958 "as a source of added exposure for the artists under contract to [Warner's] movie

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[58] Ibid., p.508, names these as the Big Five at the end of the 1960s.
[59] Peterson, 'Why 1955?', p.108.
[60] Paul D. Lopes, 'Innovation and Diversity in the Popular Music industry, 1969 to 1990', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Feb 1992), pp.56–71, p.57.
[61] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.386.
[62] Ibid.

company."[63] Although it was probably defined as a major because of its movie industry origins and attendant horizontal integration, its status in terms of the major/independent dichotomy is more ambiguous, because of its primary reliance on five independent distributors, as well as on some of its pre-existing film distribution system. Warner Bros. are a key example of how the record labels adopted an approach to rock that encompassed the various ideologies of authenticity that arose in relation to it as the 1960s progressed, and will be discussed further in chapter seven.

In 1963, a struggling Warner Bros. Records merged with Frank Sinatra's Reprise label, an independent that the singing star had formed after his dissatisfaction with his Capitol contract. Sinatra's adult-oriented artist friends had also joined Reprise as soon as their pre-existing contracts came to an end, creating an independent record company that, unusually for the time, firmly eschewed rock n' roll in favour of adult-oriented, middle-of-the-road music; this represents another example of the shift during the sixties from independents' releasing rock and roll and the majors' releasing more traditional forms of popular music towards the majors' releasing rock, and more traditional forms of popular music finding a home with the independents. Warner Bros. was interested in the merger mainly as part of a deal for four feature movies starring Sinatra, in exchange for which Sinatra received a one-third share of the new company, Warner-Reprise.[64]

Warner-Reprise's records started to perform better on the charts from 1963, partly on the back of some of Reprise's adult-oriented artists, and partly through the signing of Peter, Paul and Mary, one of the early and consistent entries into the Top Ten charts from the burgeoning folk scene.[65] Covach argues that the audience for folk stemmed from the college-age market, who had grown beyond rock n' roll but were unwilling to take up their parent's musical culture, which was perceived to be too conservative and mainstream. Instead, they looked for something "that seemed more 'real'"[66] (or authentic), and folk became the most popular style of alternative music. Through the acquisition of Peter, Paul and Mary, then, Warner Bros. had now tapped into a large proportion of the market, with only the youth segment not covered.

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[63] Ibid., pp.348–349.
[64] Sanjek, *Pennies From Heaven*, p.389.
[65] See Ibid., pp.387–389, for an account of the formation of both Reprise and Warner-Reprise. The genre of Peter, Paul and Mary is also slightly complicated, with Sanjek denoting them as folk-rock, see *Pennies from Heaven* p.389, and Garofalo in *Rockin' Out*, p.163 referring to them as liberal activists who achieved commercial success with folk.
[66] Covach, *What's that Sound?*, p.113.

In 1966, the Warner Bros. company was acquired by Seven Arts Corporation, an independent film production and distribution company, which retained the Warner Bros. and Reprise labels as independent divisions, retaining their own distribution, artists and international licenses.[67] The following year, Warner-Seven Arts, newly named, also acquired Atlantic records, which was one of the longest established and, at that time, the most successful of the independent labels, carrying artists such as Aretha Franklin, Wilson Pickett and Buffalo Springfield.[68] Here, then, Warner had managed to acquire leading soul artists, tapping into the black market as well as the youth market, also acquiring the distinctive and popular Atlantic sound and one of the early leading Los Angeles based rock bands in Buffalo Springfield. Atlantic also was allowed to continue to operate as an independent division under its new ownership.

In 1969, Warner Seven-Arts and its associated labels were bought by the Kinney Corporation and renamed Warner Communications. The independent label Elektra was also purchased and added to the portfolio, still acting, as the other labels did, as an independent division, forming a music division called WEA (Warner-Elektra-Atlantic). Warner Communications continued to go from strength to strength, becoming increasingly profitable as the 1970s progressed, acquiring yet more subsidiary labels. By 1972 Warner Communications released one quarter of the records in the US best-seller charts, and it remains one of the most powerful media conglomerates in the world to this day (now as AOL/Time Warner).[69]

The end result of the complex manoeuvres that created WEA was a record company that tapped into almost every aspect of the popular music market as it existed at the end of the sixties, as explained by Jac Holzman, head of Elektra records, in his account of deciding to merge Elektra with Warner Bros.:

> Atlantic's music was blues, R&B, Muscle Shoals, the Memphis Sound, jazz, and a different approach to pop than mine, all the way to Sonny and Cher. Warner and Reprise were conventional pop, the Everly Brothers, Trini Lopez, Sammy Davis, Dean Martin, Frank Sinatra, and also ... the Kinks, the Small Faces, and Jimi Hendrix. Arlo Guthrie and Joni Mitchell were as folksy as [Reprise] got...[70]

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[67] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.510.
[68] Ibid., pp.509-510.
[69] Ibid., pp.510-511.
[70] See Jac Holzman interview in Jac Holzman & Gavan Daws, *Follow the Music: the Life and High Times of Elektra Records in the Great Years of American Pop Culture*, First Media Books, Santa Monica CA, 2000, p.309.

Added to this mix were Elektra's stable of artists, many of whom were folk oriented but who also were increasingly part of the latest wave of psychedelic rock, the highlight of the company being the Doors. Psychedelic rock had also been one of Warner's interests since their signing in 1967 of the Grateful Dead.[71] The joining of Elektra to the pre-existing labels at Warner Seven-Arts created a "differentiated but coherent catalog",[72] which was a key factor in the final deal made to sell Elektra to the company: when the agreement was finalised, the Executive VP of Kinney Corporation explained that the main motivation for bringing Elektra into the Warner group was that "your repertoire meshes nicely with Warner and Atlantic."[73]

This emphasis on a varied repertoire marked a change in the major record labels' attitude toward popular music; instead of seeing the mainstream popular-music audience as a homogeneous mass, the labels now accepted that a variety of types of popular music would appeal to different sections of this audience, and therefore that providing a range of acts would maximise profits. It is not clear whether this acceptance of the idea of a variegated audience was the cause or result of the fact that for a brief moment at the end of the sixties, it was understood that the umbrella term of 'progressive rock', the biggest selling segment of the record industry's portfolio, could incorporate acts as diverse as "the Beatles, Stevie Wonder, Janis Joplin, Aretha Franklin, Jimi Hendrix, Pink Floyd, Simon and Garfunkel and the Grateful Dead."[74] By absorbing independent labels to create a 'differentiated but coherent' catalogue, the majors were not only potentially appealing to a wider audience, but were also increasing their chances that any one particular act would be a big hit across a large sector of their audience by covering all the sub-genres that had come to be accepted as rock, thereby increasing their chance of their records' reaching the top ten and therefore reaping huge profits.[75] And profits by the late 1960s were potentially very large indeed, with the turnover of records increasing dramatically from 1964–1969; record sales doubled, reaching $1.6 billion dollars, and for the first time the gross revenues of record sales surpassed those for all other forms of entertainment.[76]

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[71] See Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.201.
[72] Holzman in Holzman & Daws, *Follow the Music*, p.313.
[73] Ibid., p.314.
[74] Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.200.
[75] The various genres represented by these artists would now be considered to be examples of soul, pop, psychedelic rock, heavy rock, folk rock etc. However, in the 1960, they had yet to be established or marketed as such and instead would all have been classed as rock.
[76] Peterson & Berger, 'Cycles in Symbol Production', p.167.

Interested in a cut of the increasingly large profits available, other major labels followed the example of Warner Bros. as the 1960s moved into the 1970s, with a series of mergers and acquisitions of smaller labels, such as Paramount's acquiring of Dot and Stax, and United Artists' acquiring of Liberty and Imperial. This catalogue approach is regarded by current economists as a key weapon of the cultural industries in dealing with the high risk market in which they operate.[77] It effectively manages risk by producing a wide range of titles, which operates in a similar way to overproduction, in that a success in one genre can offset a failure in another. At this particular time in the late 1960s, there was the further advantage to the majors that this approach allowed them to share the increasingly high cost of making a record, especially the elaborate and time-consuming use of the studio, with the affiliated independent, and also share the risks involved in the freedom allowed workers in the creative process.[78]

The independents also benefited from the majors' interest in developing their catalogues through expansion and amalgamation with a variety of smaller labels. As the turnover of records increased, the networks of independent distributors could not respond quickly or reliably enough to the sheer number of new releases each week. Increasingly, the independents required a stable distribution system in order to get their records out to the public as quickly as possible. The only way that they could achieve this (unless they were successful enough to adopt a vertical integration strategy, as Motown did) was to join forces under the umbrella of a major parent company and use their combined resources to finance their own distribution system, as did WEA, or simply to use that of the major that had bought them.[79] By the end of the 1960s, there were very few true independents left retaining market share, and most of those were not targeting the rock audience, such as Motown and A&M.[80]

In effect, this change in approach to rock and the popular music market heralded the emergence of a new era of oligopolistic control by the majors, such as had not been seen since the initial explosion of rock n' roll in the 1950s. However, this time, the majors were restructured and integrated with a new, larger infrastructure that had grown up surrounding the record industry, that of live performance, festivals, FM radio and the rock press, all of which will be addressed in section three of the thesis.[81] They were also now

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[77] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.16.
[78] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, p.152.
[79] See Holzman, *Follow the Music*, pp.305–315, for an account of the importance of distribution to the independents.
[80] See Gillett, *Sounds of the City*, pp.340–341.
[81] Garofalo discusses this expansion of infrastructure in *Rockin' Out*, p.203.

intrinsically linked with the independents in a series of "licensing, financing and distribution deals"[82], a practice which was pioneered in the 1960s and has become thoroughly institutionalised since. From this point on, the majors have acted largely as distributors, a much more stable part of the market than the production side of record making[83], but still one that is not able fully to influence what products are available in the market. Having been surprised by the success of the independents in the 1950s, the majors by this stage had:

> discovered a way of capitalising on each fad. Since they have a range of artists under contract with one or other of their various subsidiary labels, they can take advantage of every nuance of consumer taste.[84]

By 1973, this new method had become a standard part of the way that the record company viewed itself, as shown when Arthur Taylor, President of CBS, spoke to a group of New York stock analysts, telling them that:

> We think Columbia records is particularly well suited to maintain its leadership of the recorded music industry. Because of the versatility of our catalogue – which covers literally every point of the music spectrum – we can and do capitalise on the rapidly changing public tastes.[85]

This new approach also extended to marketing and re-packaging the ideologies that were developing around rock in particular, leading Stan Coryn, President of Warner Bros. Records to claim in 1971 that "[w]e don't cover hit records anymore, we cover hit philosophies."[86] In essence, by 1970, the transition of rock from being the enemy of the majors, a fad beneath their notice that refused to die, to being the majors' life blood was concluded, leaving the few remaining true independents to fill in holes in the market ignored by the majors, as they had before the era of rock n' roll had enabled them to rise to dominance.

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[82] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, p.152.
[83] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, pp.16–17.
[84] Peterson & Berger, 'Cycles in Symbol Production', p.169.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

Independents and authenticity

In a sense, then, the period being discussed here witnessed a shift in position, from the independents' being the apparently more artistically motivated champion of progressive music in the form of rock n' roll and the majors being the apparently more commercially motivated mainstays of conservative taste, to the majors' housing rock and the independents' releasing formulaic pop. One might assume that such a transition would have an effect on the perception of rock as authentic, or at least on the perception of independents as a site of authenticity, as opposed to motivation for commercial gain. At the very least, it seems to demonstrate that, if indeed rock was still the site of 'progression' in music, then the majors, not the indies, were now "smart enough and flexible enough to respond to an unsated consumer demand"[87] in Garofalo's words. However, to assess this in terms of possible ramifications for rock and authenticity, we can turn to Gillett, writing in 1970, who highlights the irony of the move of the derivatives of rock n' roll from the independents to the majors, saying that:

> ...while the contrived bubblegum sound was recorded by independent companies, rock was almost entirely under the control of majors, confirming the impression that, despite the vaunted political implications of the music, this [rock] was a formulated product, whose audience was often more, rather than less, gullible than the bubblegum and soul audiences they sometimes belittled.[88]

This statement implies beliefs about the authenticity of the independent record label – if rock is being recorded by the majors it must be a formulated (or inauthentic) product, ironically for Gillett, more so than the bubblegum pop, which Gillett himself admits was "planned entirely for profit, not as anybody's art."[89] For Gillett, it seems that it was only when rock was the province of the independents, i.e. when it was rock n' roll, that it was an authentic, spontaneous (as opposed to formulaic) expression. For Gillett, rock is merely a simulation of authentic rock n' roll, created by replicating and repackaging the spontaneous style of rock n' roll as rock for the profit of the majors. For him, it seems it is *because* rock is produced by the majors that it is *inevitably* inauthentic, a position that fits nicely with Adorno's influential beliefs, widespread at the time that Gillett was writing, about the inevitable homogenisation of the products culture industry. [90] This

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[87] Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.129.
[88] Gillett, *Sound of the City*, p.340.
[89] Ibid., p.339.
[90] *Sound of the City* grew out of an MA thesis Gillett wrote in 1966. He lectured in social studies and Kingsway College for a while, as he turned the thesis into a book before becoming a music

association of independents with authenticity (and majors with inauthenticity) is still widespread, as mentioned above, and will be assessed further here, as it has important repercussions for changes in the industry at this time.

It is possible to see the association of independents with authenticity and majors with formulaic music as an extension of the use of authenticity in the art-versus-commerce debate outlined in the first chapter, and as a reflection of the fears about the culture industry that Hesmondhalgh states were prevalent from the end of the 1960s.[91] Both Hesmondhalgh and Toynbee see the art/commerce dichotomy as inherent and crucial to the culture industries in general and to the record industry in particular, affecting both the way that the latter operates and the way that it is perceived.[92] According to Hesmondhalgh, as a result of an "overly polarised view of creativity and commerce"[93], there is often an assumption that "those who reject commercial imperatives the most are best."[94] This view can be seen to some extent in Gillett's assessment of rock as inauthentic as a result of its being made under the auspices of the major record labels. This notion overlooks the fact that the two presumably opposing sides, the independents representing art and the majors representing commerce, are both unquestionably part of a commercial framework – in Adorno's terms, they are both part of the culture industry and therefore should inescapably both be incapable of producing authentic art. Frith suggests that the ideology of independents as authentic sites for rock and rock n' roll production emerged at the same time that the ideology of authenticity emerged that surrounded rock in general; however, evidence suggests that the roots of this idea go back further than that and relate to the much broader concern of the difficulty of producing authentic art in an industrialised culture, as outlined in Chapter one.[95]

Garofalo highlights the tensions inherent within the industry as a capitalist enterprise, apparently opposed to the politics of its rock artists. According to him, the initial attempts to address this tension were expressed in terms of "culture vs. commerce, music versus markets, the electric version of the authentic-commercial debate of the folk revival"[96], a connection that Gillett's above comment also highlights. However, Garofalo states that

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journalist for *Record Mirror* in 1968. It was published in 1970 in the US (1971 in UK), with additions reflecting the changes in rock since 1968. See Anderson, Ian, 'Charlie's Angle – a biography of Charlie Gillett' http://www.charliegillett.com/froots_article.html. Last accessed 17/3/08

[91] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, pp.16–17.

[92] See Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.2 and Ibid., pp.71–73.

[93] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, p.71.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Frith, *Sound Effects*, 1981.

[96] Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.199.

some observers understood that this contradiction was always inherent to rock n' roll, such as Michael Lydon, who wrote in 1970:

> From the start rock has been commercial in its very essence... it was never an art that just happened to make money, nor a commercial undertaking that sometimes became art. Its art was synonymous with its business.[97]

By this stage, rock was thought of and discussed as an art, so the art-versus-commerce argument and its links to authenticity are directly negotiated using those terms.

Gillett is also a commentator who understood this contradiction, as can be seen in his admission that the independents were motivated by profit with their production of bubblegum pop, and his simultaneous association of the independent labels with authenticity – implying that for him, the authentic-commercial argument was by no means simple. His sense of authenticity would seem to be one of authentically capturing the essence of rock n' roll, of fostering artistic freedom and therefore allowing authentic expression by the rock n' roll acts. For him, writing in 1970, authenticity seems to be related more to passion for the music produced, a relationship that is still used to describe these early independents today. Al Kooper, for example, in his effusive foreword to one of the few histories of early independent labels, encapsulates this view:

> Passion. That is the one common denominator in this book. Some [label founders] did it for cash, some did it for love of music, and some did it because other people talked them into it. But once they got started, the passion came in...[98]

Kooper goes on to link the independents to originality and innovation in music, also usually attributes linked to authenticity, going so far as to say that without the independents, and therefore perhaps without the key motivator of passion, "rock n' roll, electric blues and rockabilly"[99] may not have existed. Clearly, a more nuanced approach to the independents and majors, as recommended by Garofalo, will be necessary in order to discover how art and commerce were related in the record industry in the late 1960s, and how this related to ideologies of authenticity.

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Kennedy & McNutt, *Little Labels*, p.vii.
[99] Ibid.

Stephen Lee provides one step toward that more nuanced view of independent record labels, based on a detailed, field-work based study.[100] In his study of the 1980s dance label Wax Trax!, he raises several points about the ideology of independents that are relevant here, in particular relating to the importance of the label personnel's beliefs about the motivation behind the label. Lee explains that the self-definition of the company as an independent by its employees largely revolves around a suspicion of interactions with major labels and a pride in the company's use of independent distribution systems. In particular, staff at WaxTrax! had concerns over:

> losing artistic or 'creative' freedom for their artists, the implications of associating with a ...[major label] that might not 'understand' the label's music or niche, and concerns about losing the label's 'identity' with its audience...[101]

Lee links these ideas to Romantic notions of artistry and creativity, which he suggests, after Frith, emerged during the 1960s and 1970s, when independents became associated with

> the declaration of an 'alternative' cultural sensibility, the Romantic myth of the artist, and ... the need to maintain a business and cultural separation from a record industry defined and utterly dominated by the major labels.[102]

Hesmondhalgh claims that these beliefs were widespread in the rock press in the late 1960s, citing Gillett as an example; however , a survey of the existing American rock press up to late 1968 (essentially *Crawdaddy!* and *Rolling Stone* magazine) showed little evidence to support this view. Indeed, in this period, *Rolling Stone* magazine regularly published articles advising bands on how to gain fair record contracts from the highest bidder, irrespective of whether they were independent or major.[103] These beliefs relating to Romanticism are, of course, also the ones that are key to the concept of authenticity in general that emerged in rock as a genre at the time discussed here, and Lee argues that the reason that the powerful association of these ideas with the term 'independence'

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[100] Stephen Lee, 'Wax Trax! Records'.
[101] Ibid., p.16.
[102] Ibid., p.13.
[103] See for example Ralph Gleason on how to get a record deal in 'Perspectives', *Rolling Stone* magazine Vol.1, No.3, Dec 14th 1967, p.10 and on how record companies in general are accommodating the new San Francisco sound, 'Perspectives', *Rolling Stone*, Vol. 1, No.6, Feb 24th 1968, p.9.

continues today is because of the term's "operation as a historical referent"[104]. Lee believes that the term harkens back to:

> a different era [i.e., the 1960s] that treated the concepts of artistry, independence and audience as somehow shared. At both the industry level and that of the audience, the term independence still evokes certain aspirations about the relationship between [sic] business, capital, creativity and subjectivity, even if these sentiments now describe little else other than tiny record companies.[105]

This last statement refers to romanticised beliefs about independent record labels as sites of authenticity in the 1960s; and although Lee acknowledges its being partly the result of the Romanticisation of the rock era, he also believes it to carry some truth, particularly in the *aspirations* of independent record companies past and present. However, Hesmondhalgh claims that the idea of independents being seen as opposition to the majors began to emerge in the late 1960s, and that this was not in terms of ideas related to the Romantic artist, although these were prevalent at the time. Instead, the independents, according to him, were seen as representing opposition to commercial control either through a 'hucksterish entrepreneurism' or through "being in touch with trends in local settings"[106], neither of which seem to be tied to any particular aspiration to do anything other than make a profit. This emergence of the idea of independents as somehow in opposition to the majors does not, however, relate very closely to their behaviour during the 1960s, as evidenced by the willing merging of many independents with the majors and the widespread use of majors as distributors of new independent subsidiaries described above, hardly a sign of maintaining a 'business and cultural separation' from the dominant major labels.

Elektra Records

One of the few detailed accounts of an independent label that exemplifies the trend of increased close relations between majors and independents in the 1960s is that of Elektra, originally a folk label that moved into rock in the 1960s and eventually became part of WEA. Written in 2000, this history is interview-based and centres on accounts of Elektra by Jac Holzman, the founder; but it also includes complementary and contrasting

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[104] Lee, 'Wax Trax! Records', p.30.
[105] Ibid., p.30.
[106] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, p.61.

interviews with other people who were involved, giving a multi-faceted view of the aspirations and motivations behind the company as it developed, although, of course, all coloured through the lens of memory. Holzman states that his main motivation for starting a folk label in the early 1950s was to provide music that he "adored"[107] and wanted to own on record, music that was not available on the major labels at that time. He also attributes this motivation to other lone independent label founders that started up around the same time, such as Ahmet Ertegun at Atlantic, initially primarily a jazz label. Holzman describes a sense of camaraderie amongst the independent label owners, who felt that they were offering an alternative to what was available on the major labels, and worked together, sharing business practices "to show what independent labels could do."[108] In these early stages, "[e]veryone cared deeply about what they were doing, and as a secondary consideration you might even be able to make a living."[109] In other words, at this point, according to Holzman, being an independent record label owner could be said to have been motivated by passion, not profit.

However, Holzman also reveals that as time went on and Elektra became more successful, he moved beyond just wanting to "make a living" to wanting to build a highly successful and profitable record label, although he usually attributes the motivation for this to wanting to do the best for his artists. But for his staff in the mid-1960s, which had grown considerably from Elektra's early days, it was clear that one of Elektra's goals was to be hugely profitable eventually. As Mel Posner, who was with Elektra from early on and eventually became its president, explained: "The thought that Jac had instilled was that Elektra was going to go public, make a lot of money in the public offering and we were going to share."[110] He used this as a way of keeping his staff loyal despite their relatively low wages, as Posner asserts: "...[W]e did without for a long time ... because it was in our interest, based upon the promise that one day there would be a payoff..."[111] This is different from the WaxTrax! motivation, where the fact of being independent was the main source of pride for the staff who worked there. At Elektra, although there was a sense of pride in being independent, the goal was to be a big enough success to make a lot of money.

Holzman highlights the late 1960s, the time that is most often attributed with a strong link between the independents and authenticity, as a time when concerns over profit became a

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[107] Holzman in Holzman, *Follow the Music*, p.8.
[108] Ibid., p.9.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Posner in Holzman, *Follow the Music*, pp.147–148.
[111] Ibid., p.148.

particularly important force in the music industry, both for the majors and for the independents, as they battled for market share (as was shown in Table one). As previously discussed, this was a time when record sales were booming, and a high turnover of records was essential, driving a series of mutually beneficial mergers of independent and major labels. This was also the time when rock music, the music most closely associated with authenticity and increasingly discussed in these terms in the burgeoning rock press, was mainly produced for and distributed by major record labels, not the independents on which rock n' roll had flourished. Holzman describes this period as one in which the record industry increasingly "attracted the money-driven"[112]. The artists, "and equally or more their managers and lawyers"[113] were now "primarily interested in maximising their profitability."[114] He is particularly negative about lawyers motivated by the increasing money available in rock, who would approach Elektra's artists and those of other independent labels, offering to negotiate them much bigger advances with major labels. Elektra could not compete on this level, being unable to pay such big advances, instead offering a more personal relationship with the artist than a major would be able to.

However, by the end of the 1960s, "the feeling developed among artists that all record companies were the same, it didn't make any difference with whom you went, they only wanted the money."[115] In other words, there was no longer a widespread belief that independents allowed artists to create their music unfettered by the commercial concerns of a major label, nor did independents any longer enjoy cache of such a notion when artists were considering record deals. This could have been because the majors were now offering more creative freedom and resources to the artists, because of the intense competition between labels for performers of rock music, by now recognised as a highly profitable sector of the industry.[116] This last development caused problems for the fully independent labels trying to compete with the majors for a share of the rock market, as it led to increased costs of obtaining an artist and increasingly complex recording contracts' being made. Holzman summarises the changed position of the independents at this time:

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[112] Holzman in Holzman, *Follow the Music*, p.306.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Braun in Holzman, *Follow the Music*, p.307.
[116] Peterson & Berger, 'Cycles in Symbol Production', p.168.

> [A complex recording contract] was just one symptom of a larger change. The MUSIC business – which was where I had started out and where I was happiest – was becoming the music BUSINESS.[117]

In other words, the main motivation for staying involved in the record industry was no longer a desire to produce music that the independent owners 'adored' and wished to own on record — in other words, passion — but was now largely profit.

It was at this juncture that Elektra approached Warner to negotiate a distribution deal or merger. Again, the profile of Elektra is not one of a company that is attempting to forge separate cultural and business practices from those used by the majors; if anything, the label increasingly adopts the majors' practices in order to continue to compete in the market place. This shift in motivation by the independents from music to business that Holzman describes is also described by Lee in his account of how the staff at Wax Trax! Records coped with the transition that took place in the early 1990s from being a fully independent label to having a production and distribution deal with a subsidiary of a major label. Lee describes how originally the label's staff strongly adhered to beliefs that to provide the ideal conditions for creative production, the label needed to be fully independent. These beliefs changed when economic necessity dictated that in order for the company to survive it adopted a more profit-orientated approach. Until this point, the label's goal was to succeed as an independent, with all the attendant ideological beliefs and practices that this entailed, such as giving freedom to artists. Instead, the goal then shifted to one of corporate survival, leading to a point when the independent label was forced to approach a major for a distribution. At this stage, the ideological beliefs of the staff also shifted to encompass this new relationship to the major labels.[118] Although Lee does not detail what this new position actually was, he suggests that the label's staff would see themselves now as a successful independent who had learned how to work better within the record industry system, whilst still releasing the music that they were passionate about and ensuring profits for themselves and their artists.[119]

It appears from this that the independent authentic ideology is flexible enough to encompass this new hybrid independent position, as it also was for Gillett, who saw the semi-independents' production of bubblegum pop as more authentic than the majors' production of rock. The irony of the discussion in Lee's article is that he attributes the

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[117] Holzman in Holzman, *Follow the Music*, p.307.
[118] Lee, 'Wax Trax! Records', p.16.
[119] Ibid., p.24.

origin of the beliefs about "independents" as a site of authenticity to a breed of company that, as outlined above, it seems never existed. He also fails to discern that the situation that he is describing, whereby an independent has to turn to a major for distribution deal, has also occurred throughout the history of the record industry, if an independent grew large enough to need efficient and stable distribution. (He implies that it is a more recent development.)[120]

One of the goals of an independent record industry was always profit, and indeed in many cases this was the primary goal, as recognised by several authors on the subject as discussed above (although for many of them this does not detract from the label's authenticity, because the reason for the label's existence, despite its goal of profitability, was 'passion'). The historical period of independent record labels that most strongly associated them with the ideals of authenticity relating to creativity also, ironically, was a time that the independents in general were forming closer links with the major labels, either through distribution deals or mergers, and were also retaining a large share, and sometimes the majority, of the market. This was not a time of dominance by the majors which the independents were valiantly fighting. In fact, such a situation had not existed at all until the proliferation of the independents in the early 1950s. Up to that point, the independents dominated their own niche markets and were not in direct competition with the majors. They did not start to compete directly with the majors until the success of rock and roll, which they quickly used to wrest the majority of the market share from the majors. It is only once the independents became a dominant force in the market that they were interpreted as a site of resistance to the majors.

Holzman, for example, describes the independent labels in the late 1950s in New York as sharing business practices "to show what independent labels could do"[121]. That could be read as some form of resistance against majors, in that he is competing and offering an alternative to them, both in terms of repertoire and in the approach to making records (doing it for passion, not profit). However, firm claims of active resistance against the majors do not seem to have circulated (in written form, anyway), ironically enough, until after the independents and majors started to merge and move to a more collaborative model of working with each other. Perhaps this indicates that the idea of opposition between independents and majors arises because of nostalgia for an earlier, mythical,

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[120] Lee is not alone in this assumption. Garofalo, despite his comments about the need to have a nuanced view of independents and majors, also sees the independents as "successfully challenging the majors for market share" until the 70s, when "their larger function became providing research and development for the majors". See Garofalo, 'From Music publishing to MP3', p.338.
[121] Holzman in *Follow the Music*, p.9.

more authentic time when some labels still represented art, not commerce, much as Lee claims that modern independents are doing through the use of the term independent as a historical referent. This nostalgia could also be a symptom of more recent anxiety amongst indies (and their fans) that indies were increasingly becoming like majors.

Lee does offer an explanation of how the WaxTrax! employees manage to continue to perceive themselves as authentically independent despite their deal with a major label, by suggesting a further method to those outlined earlier in the chapter that the majors use to try to eliminate competition from the independents. Instead of buying the label out, or riding out the trend, or copying the style of the independents, the majors sometimes simply "convert the indie label to its own ideology of 'proper business practice', thereby encouraging consolidation and eliminating competition."[122] Lee argues that it was because the employees of WaxTrax! generally mimicked the design of the majors' systems of operations, including division into departments such as A&R and promotion, and the payment of artists through royalties, that they could see the distribution deal with the majors as improving and strengthening their business to enable them to carry on with the artist-orientated role of being an independent. Lee describes how, because of the insidious nature of the capitalist system, they were unable to imagine an alternative model that would allow them to be economically successful and remain true to their independent ideals.[123]

Arguably, this has always been the case with independents — as they become larger companies, they have to be able to compete with the majors by matching the majors' distribution and manufacturing capabilities, as well as their creative abilities in creating new product, as they are functioning within the same market and need to reach the same audience through similar channels. Indeed, it could be said that the channels through which a cultural product have to pass have more of an effect on the operations of record companies as a whole than the ideologies of the employees, especially in terms of distribution, as if a record fails to pass successfully through these channels, it cannot compete for an audience. The effects of this will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

It does seem that the process of the adoption by the independents of the major record companies' structural organisation that Lee outlines in the case of WaxTrax! occurred

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[122] Lee, 'WaxTrax! Records', p.26.
[123] Ibid.

with most independents that survived to the end of the 1960s.[124] The logical extension of following the majors' 'proper business model' was to use the majors themselves to provide the distribution system so desperately needed to allow the independents to match the majors' turnover of records. However, I would suggest that this idea of the majors' converting the independents to their ideology of a 'proper business model' was not a one-way transfer of ideological belief, as Lee suggests; rather, the independents also converted the majors to an acceptance of their ideology of focus on the artist and ideas of creative freedom. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, this process continued to the extent that such an ideology permeated the majors from the mid-1950s onwards, causing a big shift in their organisational structure. Indeed, it could be argued that this was the most powerful change in the record industry (not the co-option of independents into the majors) at this time, entailing drastic structural re-organisation by the majors and allowing the independents to continue to operate with little interference from the majors, as long as they continued to provide them with profitable product.

It is my contention that the significance of the major-independent dichotomy, so often expressed in terms of authenticity, is that it allowed the idea of creative freedom and beliefs about the conditions required to create art within a capitalist system, themselves often expressed in terms of authenticity, to permeate to a much greater extent the majors than they had during the rock 'n' roll era, and causing the latter to restructure dramatically their organisation. It is at this point that institutional autonomy becomes a fundamental part of the record industry structure.

Differences in organisational structure of the independents and majors

The close relations between independents and majors that developed through the late 1950s and 1960s, as the majors and independents fought for the same market share, created conditions that threw the need for originality and creative freedom into sharp relief. Prior to the independents' gain of significant market share in the 1950s, great originality was not important. Records were made of songs which did not differ from each other significantly in style, had a limited range of lyrical content, and there was a strong dependence on covers and pastiche to create hit records. This arguably partly

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[124] See for example Garofalo, *Rockin' Out* pp. 200–203 for a brief overview of the major-like operation of the record industry by the end of the 1960s, or Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven* for more detailed accounts of the operation of Motown and other independents by the end of the 60s, pp. 508-517.

reflected the fact that up to this point, records were made to sell a song, which would be played live both in concert and on the radio, and would also be sold to the public as sheet music, making big profits chiefly for the publisher and slightly less-so for the song-writer. The combination of the song, the arrangement and the distinctive sound of a record had yet to become the artefact that appealed most to the public, and particular recordings were not yet protected by copyright.[125] The record was still a publicity device to encourage people to buy sheet music, rather than an independent profit generator in its own right. However, as the impact of radio, and later television, on people's listening habits increased, it was the record itself, the specific performance by a particular performer playing a specific song, that people wanted to own.[126]

By the mid-1960s, as rock was becoming established as the most profitable form of popular music, sheet music sales had collapsed.[127] This shift away from sheet music and live performance as the main musical objects for sale, and towards records, is often described as one of the fundamental differences between rock and roll and the music that came before it.[128] The role of records as the primary medium for the music is also argued to be responsible for the boom in commercial possibility that occurred in the music industry throughout the 1950s, and it is not surprising therefore that such a fundamental shift called for new marketing techniques, as the nexus of power in the sales of music moved from the publishing companies to the record companies for the first time.[129]

The next chapter will show how the majors, needing a new business model to meet the rising demand for distinctive records, turned to the independents, many of whom had specialised in selling music that was part of an oral tradition (such as the blues, folk, and Country and Western), for a model for creating a more varied musical product, emphasizing distinctive performance on record; and the independents, in turn, turned to the majors for a model of how to reach a wider national and international audience. The logical conclusion of these changes by the end of the decade was a situation where the majors outsourced much of the production part of the system to the independents, either as subsidiaries or through distribution deals, and the independents outsourced their

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[125] See Zak, *The Poetics of Rock*, pp.24–48 for a discussion of the record as a musical work in itself, comprising of the song, the arrangement and the track.
[126] See Garofalo, 'From Music Publishing to MP3', pp.318–336 for a concise account of the shift from sheet music to record as the primary format of music distribution and sales.
[127] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.396.
[128] See Zak, *The Poetics of rock*, pp.10–17 for a discussion of rock and rock n' roll as primarily recorded musics.
[129] Garofalo dates the shift from sheet music to records as 1950 in 'From Music publishing to MP3', p.336.

distribution to the majors. This was not a simple matter of the majors' co-opting the independents, but of a more symbiotic relationship emerging between the two different types of record companies, partly based on beliefs about authenticity and its importance in the production of rock music. Another important factor, as mentioned above, was technological changes that affected both the roles of personnel within the record companies and the use of technology in the studio. This role of technology will be assessed in the next chapter, prior to an account of how these factors can be seen in the re-structuring of the industry.

Chapter Four: 'Technology, Authenticity and the Rise of the Entrepreneur Producer'

Having critiqued the conventional history of the record industry in the sixties in the previous chapter, we can now explore the ramifications of the impact that the relationship between the independents and the majors had on the creation of rock. This chapter will provide a brief overview of how the record industry had been structured before the 1960s, in order to convey the magnitude of the restructuring that occurred in the record industry during the 1960s, and also to convey the differences between independent and major organisational practices in more detail. It will then go on to see how these organisational restructurings affected the production of rock in the form of the entrepreneur producer.

Reebee Garofalo has suggested three phases of the history of the music industry, each of which was dominated by a different type of organisation. Music publishing houses dominated the music industry as long as sheet music was "the primary vehicle for disseminating popular music"[1]; then as recorded music achieved dominance, the record companies took power, before the era of trans-national entertainment corporations treated music as "an ever-expanding series of 'revenue streams' no longer tied to a particular sound carrier."[2] The cross-over point where power shifted to the record companies from the publishers, for Garofalo, is 1950, when the WINS radio station in New York announced that it would programme only records from then on.[3] It is noticeable that this was also the time that the independents started to threaten the majors' market share seriously for the first time. The fact that the rise of the record as primary object in pop music was congruent with the rise of the independents was not merely coincidental. Instead, it seems it was largely due to the way that both independent and major record labels had historically organised themselves first in relation to the music publishing industry and then later to radio, which as Garofalo notes, was key in the establishment of records as the primary vehicle for music.

In the early years of the 'music publishing dominant' phase of the record industry (from around 1890 to1909), copyright law was such that the majority of the money made would go to song writers and music publishers, as a royalty was paid for each item of sheet music sold.[4] There were no royalties attached to records themselves at this time. The

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[1] Garofalo, 'From Music Publishing to MP3', p.319.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p.336.
[4] Garofalo, 'From Music Publishing to MP3', pp. 323–326.

earliest record companies largely made recordings of spoken word, instrumental selections or classical music, initially, but as they quickly became very profitable, the publishing companies took notice. A change in the copyright law in 1909 extended guaranteed royalty payments to cover mechanical reproduction of a song, so that records now carried with them a royalty fee, payable to the publisher,[5] heralding a new era of collaboration between the publishers and the record industry.[6] It is here that a difference can be distinguished between majors and independents in their relation to publishers. Both needed songs to record, of course, but they gained access to them through different means. The majors generally acquired their popular music directly from the publishers, who in this early stage were agglomerated in the area of New York known as Tin Pan Alley. Tin Pan Alley used aggressive marketing tactics, offering performers various incentives to include a song in their act.[7] Once the mechanical royalty came in, they also turned these marketing skills to selling their songs to major record companies in a similarly aggressive way. Thus Tin Pan Alley style became the dominant form of recorded popular music, distributed on recordings by the majors.[8]

The independents on the other hand, tended to record performers who wrote or brought with them their own songs, which would sometimes then be published, usually by a separate small publishing company, or by a publishing company set up by the independent label or even independent record producer him/herself.[9] These two approaches to publishing in the independents suggest that whilst the major labels were making records of pre-existing, score-based music, be it classical or popular, the independents were primarily making records of unpublished songs that were part of a more localised, oral tradition (such as blues, hillbilly and folk), either by contracting singer-songwriters to perform their own material, or by buying the mechanical rights for songs that the publishers had previously rejected. They would then later publish them as score-based articles if the recording proved popular, to ensure continued income from any covers that might be made of the records.[10]

According to Sanjek, it had become clear by 1916 that the best method to encourage the public to buy songs in any format was for them to hear the song performed. Initially this was mainly through live performance in person, but from 1924, it was clear that live

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[5] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.xiv–xv.
[6] Garofalo, 'From Music Publishing to MP3', p.327.
[7] Ibid., p.322.
[8] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven* pp. 16–44.
[9] Kennedy & McNutt, *Little Labels* includes several examples of labels that did this.
[10] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.65.

performance broadcast on the radio was a more powerful tool, and copyright law was extended further to guarantee royalty payments to publishers each time that a song was performed on the radio, as well as in live performance in venues.[11] By 1937, radio was accepted as the only vehicle that could provide sufficient exposure of a song to determine its success or failure in the market place. At this stage, popular music on the radio was performed by bands live, not usually played on records. The music industry now consisted of three interrelated parts, music publishing, record production, and radio.

The need for radio stations to sell advertising time partially determined which kind of music was played on the radio. Radio had favoured the broadcast of classical music initially, in order to "nourish the cultural sensibilities of the middle-class audience", but advertisers were more interested in appealing to popular tastes, which tended more towards popular song. That, in turn, tended to work to the advantage of the independents by the 1950s, at which time the vast majority of radio programming was on records, as they were providing the niche products that were increasingly in demand by listeners.[12] By this time, television had attracted most of the advertising away from the national radio networks, and local radio stations (of which there were about 2000 in 1948)[13] became the most effective place for local advertising, strengthening the role of these radio stations and increasing the selection power of their independent DJs. These independent DJs relied on their inventiveness and ability to create unique programmes and were therefore more open to experimenting with music that was not mainstream.[14] The independents could provide this niche music and started seriously to threaten the majors' market share. Another change due to the increasing importance of records was that from 1948 a song would now only be published after a record was released, often by the song-writer him/herself, who would thus retain all of the royalties.[15] This was based on the publishing practice that the independents had used from the outset, thus constituting an example of the influence of their practices on the direction of the record industry overall, at this time. As the independents had arguably been more focussed on the selling of records instead of songs, and had also historically effectively targeted niche, local markets, they were very well placed to thrive when the publishers, who had previously been very influential on both the major label's selection of songs and on what was played on the radio, lost their position of power; they also offered a wider variety of product that the public were demanding. So overall, the shift from sheet music to records as the

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[11] Ibid., pp.22–89.
[12] Garofalo, 'From Music Publishing to MP3', pp.331–333.
[13] Ibid., p.335.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Sanjek, *Pennies from heaven*, p.274.

primary vehicle for music required new organisational structures, many of which had been part of the independent labels for some time, for the industry to continue to be profitable.

Records in the 1960s

By the advent of rock in the mid-60s, records had become the primary vehicles for selling music, and they were now the major source of income for song-writers, arrangers, publishers (through the practice of covering as well as sheet music sales), and performers alike.[16] However, publishing and sheet music did remain an important sector of the music business, as evidenced by the success of Bob Dylan's songs, which were bought by Warner Bros.'s publishing arm and turned into hits for other artists.[17] Although historically, the power relationship between the record industry and the other two elements; publishers and radio, had been negotiated differently by the majors and the independents, now that the nexus of power in the music business as a whole lay with records, both the majors and the independents needed to find a new organisational structure to make the most of these new conditions.

The fundamental problems that the record industry had at this time were those of selection of music to record, manufacture of recordings, distribution of the product, and advertising of said product to the public, the last of these primarily done through radio play, but also through the placement of records in shops. The majors tended to manufacture their own records using their own manufacturing plants. They also increasingly took control of their distribution networks, especially after the Second World War, when they felt threatened by the increasing success of the independents.[18] Internally, they were organised to deal with the publishing side, the record production side and the distribution side separately, mainly through divisions into separate departments. The publicity and sales departments organised marketing campaigns for records and liaised with the distribution arm of the company, and the records were made by a creative team of musicians, arrangers and engineers.

The Artist and Repertoire (A&R) departments were responsible for selecting songs offered them by publishers, or deciding to cover songs, and for finding the correct artist to

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[16] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, pp. 396–397.
[17] Ibid., p.385.
[18] Ibid., p.224.

sing the song and guide the recording process. They also contributed to the packaging of the record. In effect, they were the contact point among the three elements of the business, namely publishing, recording and distribution/sales. As such, A&R people held increasing importance as the major labels struggled consistently to make hit records in the late 1940s. According to Sanjek, at this time, only one in twenty-five records released enjoyed any success in record stores, and there was a "dearth of experienced talent"[19] at the major labels. In the late 1940s, neither A&R men nor publishers seemed sure which songs would be a hit; so a scatter-gun approach was adopted, whereby publishers would approach the majors with multiple songs, hoping that one would be successful, and increasing numbers of records were released each week. Covering was rife, as it was seen as one of the only ways to guarantee a hit in this more unpredictable market. The majors' (and indeed the publishers') initial approach to the market uncertainty was not to develop innovations in records but rather to spend increasing amounts on promotion of records.[20] This was when the independents started to gain control of the market.

In comparison to this quite strict division of labour in the major labels, the independent record labels used a variety of organisational methods to liaise among the different elements of the music business, with some accounts suggesting that one person performed all the functions of a major label.[21] However, a brief survey of histories of several independent companies reveals a variety of practices, although these businesses were usually established by one person, who took responsibility for choosing the material to record him/herself.[22] The independents that emerged in the 1940s and 1950s operated largely on similar lines to this, initially only intending to reach a local audience; they often had direct contact with their customers either through record clubs, door to door sales or through running a shop. Through their customers, they could use local knowledge to scout for talent, to observe what styles and records were popular, and to test their new products on a captive audience. Some of the independents that incorporated a shop became the most successful of the 1960s, such as Elektra and Stax. Many of them also published their own music through in-house publishing companies, both to avoid paying royalties and to garner profit if the song was covered, which occurred with increasing frequency as the 1940s and 1950s progressed.

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[19] Ibid., p.236.
[20] Ibid.
[21] See Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*: "rock lore is rife with stories of enterprising label owners … who performed all the technical functions of producing and recording and then distributed their records from the trunks of their cars." p.82.
[22] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.237.

Generally, the independents had much lower overheads than the major labels, because of their outsourcing of manufacture, recording and distribution; they thus found it easier than majors to make a profit on a record.[23] Initially much of their profits were dependent on jukebox sales; but as independent specialist radio developed, the independent record companies also targeted specialist stations by encouraging their distributors to forge relationships with the DJs there. (This practice led to the payola trails at the end of the 1950s.) As demand for the independents' product shifted from a local market to a national one, distribution became the independents' main problem, and the more successful companies started their own distribution networks, which could then distribute the smaller independents' products. Others turned to the majors to distribute. Several of the founders of independents such as Sun records and Elektra came from a music engineering background and could carry out recording, as well as fulfilling the other functions usually segregated in the major labels. As they were not working as part of the engineering union, they were also free to experiment with new recording techniques that were now possible with the introduction of magnetic tape. This linked into the other independent practice that emerged in the 1940s and 1950s, the growth of the independent producer, who scouted for talent him/herself and arranged for recordings to be made, then leased the masters to either independent or major labels for marketing and distribution.[24]

In essence, then, the independents usually operated with people fulfilling several of the roles that were carefully segregated in the major-label organisations. There was also closer liaison between the different aspects of the record industry, in particular in terms of feedback from personal contact with the customers and artists, which enabled the independents to respond quickly to their demands, suggesting Garofalo's description of the indies as "smart enough and flexible enough to respond to an unsated consumer demand"[25]. The equivalent role of the major label A&R personnel usually fell to the owner of the record label, or to a team that he recruited from the local music scene, who could respond quickly to what was popular amongst the local audience. The majors did not have such an effective market research system in place, and instead of responding quickly to local changes in taste, they would usually wait and see which records were unexpected hits and then copy them until a trend exhausted itself. Until the independents had gained control of the market through the success of rock n' roll, the majors did not realise that the music that they were producing was not what the public wanted.

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[23] Gillett, *Sound in the City*, p.80.
[24] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.386.
[25] Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.129.

It is arguable that for the independents, the role of A&R itself had a different emphasis from that of the majors, especially as most of them were primarily concerned with signing artists who could provide original material, rather than performing material published as sheet music. This meant that the focus in the relationship with the artist was less one of matching great (but disposable) talent to a hit song than it was at the majors; rather, it was a role more akin to idea of artist development, which encouraged artists to provide their own material and pursue their own style and sound. This practice of allowing the artist to provide the material was also extended in particular by the independent labels that had their own studios, such as Sun, and by the owners who understood audio engineering and had a direct hand in the recording of tracks. At these independents, the idea of developing an individual artist was taken further by using experimental recording techniques to capture a unique sound for the artist. Once successful, these unique techniques often became formulated into a signature sound for a label. Through these combinations of the roles of quick market response, encouragement of original material from artists and experimentation with recording techniques, the independents were continuing their specialisation in making records, rather than recording songs. They were also developing a new equivalent to the A&R man that the majors eventually adopted, the entrepreneur record producer.[26]

From A&R man to Entrepreneur Producer

The development of the A&R man into the entrepreneur producer can be related both to the changing role of technology in the record industry and to the ideology of authenticity. Despite the above arguments linking the idea of authenticity and artistic autonomy to the independents in the 1950s and 1960s, several recent commentators had argued that the idea of autonomy and its necessity for creative work is central across the cultural industries, whether they are major or independent organisations. Hesmondhalgh emphasises that one of the distinctive features of the cultural industries in the complex era of production is the high level of creative autonomy allowed to "the project teams involved in creation and conception"[27] of a cultural product. The various members of these project teams are divided by Hesmondhalgh, after Ryan, into four categories. The first two are 'primary creative personnel', such as musicians or sound mixers (Hesmondhalgh arguing that the latter have increasingly become record producers) and

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[26] I use the term A&R man advisedly here. The A&R roles and entrepreneur producers were almost always male.
[27] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, p.54.

'technological craft workers', such as sound engineers, who are creative but not involved in "the conception of ideas that will be the basis of the finished text."[28] In the music industry, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, these two categories became increasingly interchangeable. The third category contains creative managers, such as A&R men, who act as mediators between the interests of company owners, primarily interested in profits, and creative personnel, who want to build their reputation by producing original, innovative and/or accomplished works. Of course, the creative personnel are presumably also interested in making profits – indeed, their continuing autonomy is dependent on their ability to create profitable goods. But Hesmondhalgh argues that this is not their primary motivation – for him their autonomy creates a space free from the demands of profit accumulation. This position seems to me to be very close to Romanticising symbol creators, using the very ideas about authenticity that Hesmondhalgh claims allow for their autonomy in the first place, and one which has ramifications for the assessment of the role of entrepreneur producer as we shall see below.[29]

The fourth category contains owners and executives, who hire and fire people and direct company policy, but who have limited involvement in the development of texts.[30] Hesmondhalgh states that it is the first two categories of the project team, in particular, that are given a high degree of autonomy, albeit under the auspices of the creative managers, and that this is partly due to cultural beliefs about the conditions needed to produce art. He states that since the Renaissance, and especially since the Romantic movement, "there has been a widespread tendency to think of 'art' as the highest form of human creativity"[31] and, further, that there are long-standing assumptions about the desirability of autonomy in the creation of 'art', resulting in creative managers' believing that autonomy is necessary for the creation of a new hit, genre, or star.[32] Surely these long standing assumptions are also the ones discussed at some length in the above chapter about the nature of artists and the need for them to be 'authentic', for which originality was the pre-requisite. For this reason, factory-style production "is widely felt to be inimical to the kinds of creativity necessary to make profits."[33]

Jason Toynbee also develops ideas of autonomy in the culture industries, focusing in particular on the popular music industry, in which he argues that musicians are given an

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[28] Ibid., p.52.
[29] Ibid., pp.72–73.
[30] Ibid., p.53.
[31] Ibid., p.4.
[32] Ibid., p.22.
[33] Ibid., p.56.

exceptionally high level of institutional autonomy. Toynbee believes that this is partly because popular music is a field in which the cultural product, music, can be produced on a small scale by small numbers of people and can be adapted for use in a range of contexts, including across media produced by other cultural industries.[34] This has meant that musicians can claim an unusual degree of independence, at least since the widespread use of music on the radio in the interwar periods. They could sell their services to several buyers, as entertainers, song-writers, radio bands, session players and touring artists, which also gave them the chance sometimes to take more control in creative decision-making. Conversely, the then-new mass media could be used for the wide dissemination of a more standardised product, with intense focus on fewer artists turning them into cross-media stars, as was done in the case of Bing Crosby. Toynbee believes that because of this, the two opposing aspects of the record industry, leading on the one hand towards factory style, closely controlled production with wide dissemination, and on the other towards the autonomous musician with creative control, have "become embedded in the organisation of the industry."[35] For him, unlike for Hesmondhalgh, the emergence of institutional autonomy for musicians is not related to any belief about the necessary conditions for artistic creation. Instead, he believes that it originally emerges from the logic of the market, but that by the rock era, institutional autonomy for musicians was maintained because of audience demand, a demand partly based on beliefs about the importance of authenticity in musicians, and the belief that that authenticity is not possible in a commercial context. This factor of audience demand for authenticity will be addressed in Section Three.

Early studies of the way that the record industry operated, focusing in particular on the amount of institutional autonomy allowed to various workers, were carried out in the early 1970s by Peterson and Berger. Most recent accounts of the inner workings of the record industry, including those of Hesmondhalgh and Toynbee, build on their ideas.[36] Peterson and Berger saw the rock and roll era as the point at which the oligopolistic control of the industry by the majors was broken, as discussed above, and posited that the reason for this break was the rise of the independents, who were meeting previously unsated consumer demand. They also attributed it more specifically to the development of the entrepreneur producer.[37] For Petersen and Berger, entrepreneurship is a leadership

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[34] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.25.
[35] Ibid, p.26.
[36] See Richard A. Peterson & David G. Berger, 'Entrepreneurship in Organisations: Evidence from the Popular Music industry', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1971, pp.97–107, and Peterson & Berger, 'Cycles in Symbol Production', pp.158–173 for the original studies.
[37] See Peterson & Berger, 'Entrepreneurship', pp.97–103.

style used to enable an organisation to cope with turbulent market conditions, in which it is difficult to predict which products will sell. Anyone within an organisation can take an entrepreneurial role, not just management, and the entrepreneur's function is to "carry out novel combinations of available resources"[38] to meet the changing demands of the turbulent market. The entrepreneur can only operate effectively if given freedom to work outside the usual channels, which poses problems for control of the entrepreneur by the organisation that he works for.

This can be adapted to by the organisation in a variety of ways – if the organisation is small and loosely structured enough, it can cope with the uncertainty of the entrepreneur. This was the case with the independent record companies in the 1950s and 1960s. The entrepreneur may run his/her own business, as was the case of the independent record producers that emerged in the late 1950s; or the large organisation may control the entrepreneur by separating him/her and his/her interaction with the turbulent market from the other two aspects of the record industry (manufacture of records, and sales and marketing), and by minimising financial risks, closely monitoring the success or failure of his/her products in the market and continuing or terminating his/her usually short term contract accordingly.[39] In the record industry, from the 1950s onwards, the entrepreneur figure was the record producer, whose job was to organise and supervise the creation of "that combination of novelty and sameness which is a hit recording."[40]

At the time of the emergence of the role of record producer, the term "A&R man" was still sometimes used interchangeably. However, the producer's role was subtly different from the A&R man's as described above, and the role of the producer was very similar in both independent and major record companies. Producers went out seeking artists to record, both through listening to demos and going out to coffee shops and local clubs. They then helped artists/bands to choose the music to be recorded and the style in which to play, and also booked studio time and hired the session musicians, if necessary, all of which had a direct impact on the final sound of the record. This is a point of contention for Toynbee, who believes that the musicians are the main holders of institutional autonomy, not the producer, whom he sees as largely representing the financial side of the organisation. Hesmondhalgh also sees the producer's role in this way, arguing that he is a creative manager, not a 'symbol creator'. Although the producer does to some extent have this function, and the A&R man certainly does to a much greater extent, this picture

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[38] Ibid., p.100.
[39] Ibid., pp.98–99.
[40] Ibid., p.99.

seems a little simplistic in terms of the division of labour and status between musicians and producers in the making of records; and it certainly confuses the issue when applied to the 1950s and 1960s, when the producer increasingly did have a direct creative impact on the records produced, as will be demonstrated below. That impact would arguably place him at least equally, if not more, in Hesmondhalgh's first category of primary creative personnel (in which he does include, later, sound engineers as record producers) as in the role of creative manager (in which he includes A&R men), whose primary goal is profit for the company.

Both Toynbee and Hesmondhalgh are primarily interested in the conditions of creative workers within the cultural industries, and both argue that in the music industry in particular, the way that the industry is organised allows a "radius of creativity"[41] in which autonomous creative work can take place, free from the "demands of profit accumulation."[42] For both authors, this is related to authenticity: for Hesmondhalgh, the belief that an arena free of commerce is necessary for the production of authentic art causes organisations to allow symbol creators relative autonomy; for Toynbee, the audience's insistence on an authentic connection to the music and musicians "initially and relatively, but always significantly"[43] protects the music from corporate control, as the record industry has to acquiesce to this belief to some extent. However, the insistence that the primary symbol creators are musicians confuses the status of the role of the entrepreneur producer at the time I am looking at by imbuing the musician with the authentic artist status whilst denying it to the entrepreneur producer.

Toynbee, in particular, does this specifically, arguing that if the working practices of the entrepreneurial type from the 1950s and 1960s are examined closely, he emerges as a "huckster"[44] – "a petty capitalist who has an eye for the quick buck. By the same token, though, he can think creatively and knows how to mould talent for the market-place."[45] He operates in several areas, either as an artistic manager, an independent record company owner, or as an independent record producer. However, Toynbee argues that although these huckster figures were imbued with an aesthetic function (or were related to authenticity in my terms, by the terms of the above discussion of independents versus

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[41] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.2.
[42] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, p.72.
[43] Toynbee *Making Popular Music*, p.6.
[44] Frith, *Sound Effects* p.92, quoted in Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.12.
[45] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.12.

majors) by writers by the end of the 1960s[46], this link acted to hide a contradiction in its celebration of the "fecund" encounter between "aggressive petty capitalism" and popular music. Toynbee agrees that the huckster is acting as an autonomous entrepreneur who works at the margins of the music business and that he also often grants autonomy to the musicians that he works with, in terms of decisions relating to repertoire, style and sonority.[47] On the other hand, far from being a champion for musicians, the huckster is "out for himself and will tend to extract as much as he can for the least payment possible from the musicians contracted to him."[48]

For Toynbee, it seems, this is a problem, as it means that the huckster is not using his autonomy to act within the "radius of creativity"[49], that "space within the economic field where non-economic goals are pursued."[50] The implication is that he is therefore not being truly creative in the sense that the musicians are, as he is not free from the taint of commerce. Toynbee thus replicates the ideology of authenticity that insists on the separation of art from commerce. Whilst arguing that the tension between ideas of art and commerce is a complex one in popular music, Toynbee argues that musicians can operate free from economic concerns within the larger industry structure, something that should be lauded in that it, to some small extent, "perverts capitalism."[51] In this way, although trying to assess and critique the model of authenticity related to the dichotomy between art and commerce, and its effects, Toynbee still seems to believe that creative workers should be autonomous, not just in terms of self-directing their creative work, but in being free to pursue non-economic goals. In other words, he preserves the dichotomy of art and commerce and uses it, in the case of the entrepreneur producer, to judge whether personnel involved in the making of popular music are truly autonomous (for this, I read "authentic") or not, finding that the producer is not truly autonomous in the way that musicians are.

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[46] Writers such as Nick Cohn, *Awopbopaloobop. Alopbamboom: The Golden age of Rock*, Grove Press, New York, 1973 revised edition, 1996 and Charlie Gillett, *Sound of the City* – Hesmondhalgh (*Cultural Industries*, p.61) erroneously uses these two examples after Toynbee as evidence that the association between independent record labels and authenticity was well-established in the rock press in the late 60s, but I have found no evidence to support this, in fact it seems that any importance as sites of authenticity the independents may have had earlier was largely lost as rock became more profitable and bands became more interested in profit, as suggested in the earlier discussions of Elektra records.

[47] Peterson and Berger conversely argue that this ceding of autonomy to musicians is illusory, and that the entrepreneur producer always has the last say in repertoire selected, though he may do this so diplomatically that the musicians do not realise it. See Peterson & Berger, 'Entrepreneurship', p.100.

[48] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.13.

[49] Ibid., p.3.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

The investigation of creativity and the nature of art is not the topic of this thesis; but Toynbee's discussion and his conclusions about the primary motivations of the huckster entrepreneurs that he identifies as working in the late 1950s and 1960s are important, because they highlight the fact that we commonly believe that musicians are primarily responsible for what we hear on records. Fans and scholars commonly attribute creativity on records to the musicians and, from the late 60s onwards, judge them and their creative abilities according to concepts of authenticity. The dichotomy that Toynbee sees between art and commerce has possibly caused him to overlook the contribution of the producer to the creation of records, and to over-estimate the significance of the musicians that we hear.[52] My argument here, however, is that beliefs about authenticity pervaded the entire industry from the 1950s onwards, with a range of different functions and effects. These beliefs regarding the conditions required to create art did not just give musicians autonomy, they also encouraged the industry to increase the number of autonomous individuals that they employed, or had dealings with, in most sectors of the industry. As shall be demonstrated below, in terms of the possibilities for the music produced, the producer was arguably one of the most important in determining the sound of rock on record – which was, after all, the medium through which most people came into contact with this new music.

The confusion over the authenticity, creativity and autonomy of the role of the producer possibly also arises because Toynbee and Hesmondhalgh are writing at a time when the producer and the A&R man have developed into separate roles, the former more involved with what happens in the studio (hence, presumably, Hesmondhalgh's attribution of the primary creative worker, a 'sound technician' as a producer), the latter more involved with talent-seeking and selection. However, at the time Peterson and Berger were writing, and throughout the time that I am interested in, the terms "A&R man" and "producer" were largely interchangeable, although they did seem to denote different emphases within their role.[53] The entrepreneur producer, as described by Peterson and Berger, was a generalist who did not himself do any of the technical expert jobs in the

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[52] There are some exceptions, of course: nobody attributes the creativity of "Be My Baby" to the Ronettes, rather it is given to Phil Spector, the producer, of who more below. However, this treatment of star producers is rare in rock.

[53] Peterson and Berger explain this, saying, "this is the producer – sometimes called an artist and repertoire man or A and R man" ('Entrepreneurship', p.99). This use of 'sometimes' implies that by 1971, when Peterson and Berger were writing, the term "producer" had become more widespread than that of "A&R man". This may have important implications for the changing role of the producer in terms of how involved he was becoming with the recording process, but finding when the term "producer" became more commonplace than "A&R man" is beyond the scope of this study.

studio, such as playing instruments or engineering the sound. He did, however, have an impact on the recording in that he hired and oversaw all of the technicians involved in the making of a record, and organised the booking of studio time, another aspect that had a direct impact on the sound of the record, as different studios had distinctly different sounds in the 1950s and 1960s. He was also crucial in his role in providing promotional material, and also in his ability to network with DJs, a position that sometimes put him in conflict with the marketing department.[54] It is his role in the studio that differentiates him from the A&R man, especially as the entrepreneur-producer in independent record labels or independent producer, and increasingly, as the 1960s progressed, at the major labels, the producer shifts somewhat from being a mediating generalist to being a figure who has a definite role in determining the sound of the finished record, an aspect that was increasingly important.

A&R men were originally much more on the business side of the record company, working their way up through the business from lowly positions in retail or distribution, and focussing on talent selection and the choice of song to perform. The shift towards A&R men who could be directly involved in the record-making process began after the Second World War and was glamorised by Mitch Miller, a concert oboist with experience of recording who invented a new sound by recording popular music as if it were classical music, with orchestral arrangements to which he contributed. He produced a string of hit records, first for Mercury records, then for Columbia, and he was very efficient at covering songs that he believed would be a hit, allegedly releasing one cover within two days of the original's being released.[55] The difference between this role and that of an entrepreneur producer is highlighted by Peterson and Berger, who describe Mitch Miller as a master producer, a role that was prevalent in a system where talent was chosen by executives and then assigned to producers, which existed amongst the majors until around 1955. A master producer was allowed to keep any star performer he wanted and "assigned new artists to one of several journeyman producers under his supervision."[56] He was not allowed much entrepreneurial discretion, his job was to match talent to songs. According to Peterson and Berger, in this organisational structure, the master producer was "one craftsman among others." This is in direct contrast to the entrepreneur organisational model in which a raft of producers without direct company supervision competed "in the pursuit of the novel sound" as the market became increasingly turbulent. If this method failed, the majors gave producers even more independence,

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[54] Peterson and Berger, 'Entrepreneurship', p.100.
[55] Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven*, p.236.
[56] Peterson & Berger, 'Entrepreneurship', p.102.

either buying or leasing masters from independent producers, becoming distributers and promoters, or by purchasing independents and absorbing them, or by giving the independent producer his own department as a sub-label.[57]

The earliest entrepreneur producers who leaned more towards a strong role in the studio, more than that of talent selection, were Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, who described themselves as writing records, not songs, and who expected the performers on the record to realise their concept of the song, not give their own interpretation. They initially had their own record label, but became independent producers for Atlantic records, whilst retaining their right to produce for other labels and artists, an unusual arrangement at the time. They created a new sound for Atlantic records, 'sweet soul', by combining orchestral string arrangements with rhythm-and-blues style songs and a new singing style.[58] As was the usual treatment for entrepreneur-producers, Jerry Wexler at Atlantic records, who found this new style "very confusing on first listen"[59] allowed the record to be released because of Leiber and Stoller's successful track record as hit makers. An important apprentice of Leiber and Stoller was Phil Spector, who became one of the most successful independent producers in the 1960s. Spector developed 'The Wall of Sound' mainly for girl groups and teen idols in the early 1960s, with large numbers of musicians recorded without acoustic isolation on 12 microphones, in a small, high-ceilinged room at Gold Star studios.[60] The result was a track that had the instruments blended into one timbral entity, making the effect almost impossible to replicate in cover versions.[61]

Spector is an interesting case study for my purposes, as he was the first producer to be widely compared to a musical artist and discussed in terms of genius, notably by Tom Wolfe in his 1964 essay 'The First Tycoon of Teen', which describes Spector as "America's first teen-age tycoon, a business genius, a musical genius"[62]. Other commentators compared him to Wagner, and Spector referred to his singles as "teenage symphonies"[63], perhaps one of the first indicators of the idea of producers, and mastery of studio techniques, as being potentially authentically artistic in a way comparable to that of the Romantic artist, an idea which became prevalent in rock around 1965. The attributions to Spector in these terms also complicate the discussions of the role of the

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[57] Ibid.
[58] Covach, *What's That Sound?*, p.124.
[59] Ibid., pp.140–141.
[60] Cunningham, *Good Vibrations*, pp.60–66.
[61] Covach, *What's That Sound?*, p.126.
[62] Tom Wolfe, 'The First Tycoon of Teen' in *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby*, Bantam Books, New York, 1999 (originally 1964), p.72.
[63] Covach, *What's that Sound?*, p.127.

entrepreneur producer as conceived by Hesmondhalgh and Toynbee, placing him much closer to the autonomy that they wish to give to creative workers than to the entrepreneurial business-oriented position that they both attribute to producers. Spector, for example, does not seem to fit comfortably with Toynbee's description of the role of the entrepreneur producer as a necessary controlling force needed by the record company to control the turbulent nature of musicians with a firm hand. Although tales abound of Spector's bullying approach to the musicians in the studio, exhorting them to play songs repeatedly until he had captured the sound that he had imagined, he, too, had a 'turbulent' artistic nature; it was he who was controlled by the firm hand of the people in the record companies, who would hire or fire him on the grounds of whether he continued to make hits or not. In other words, he was granted institutional autonomy within the studio, but this was contingent on his continuing to be a successful entrepreneur producer, continually creating hit records.

Spector also confounds the idea of the entrepreneur producer as a generalist who does not carry out any of the technical tasks in the studio, despite the fact that Peterson and Berger single him out as the most notable example of the entrepreneur as independent producer.[64] Although it appears that Spector did not, in fact, engineer the recordings himself, he did write or co-write most of the songs that he recorded (having originally been a song-writer and producer under the supervision of Leiber and Stoller), which does not conform to the view of producer as non-specialist; and he was very much responsible for the sound of the recording through the arrangements that he made. Larry Levine, the engineer that worked on the Spector's recordings at the height of his fame (1962–1966), also attributes the sound of the records to Spector, despite the fact that Levine controlled the console. He describes their working relationship as being one in which the ideas (such as the large number of musicians in one room and allowing the sound to bleed across microphones) came from Spector, and the engineers "helped wherever we could." On one occasion, for instance, Levine was re-balancing the backing track to 'Zip-A-Dee-Doo-Dah',[65] and he had balanced all 12 microphones except the one on the lead guitar, when Spector:

> just shouted 'Yeah, that's the sound!' I said 'Well, I still don't have [the guitarist's] mic up yet.' He said, 'No, don't bring it up, that's the sound I want to record. Let's record now!' Hence the weird sound of the guitar. [66]

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[64] Ibid., p.103.
[65] Bob B. Soxx and the Blue Jeans, 'Zip-a-Dee Doo-Dah'/'Flip and Nitty', Philles Records 107, released US December 1962.
[66] Cunningham, *Good Vibrations*, p.62.

He also describes Spector's approach in working with the musicians, altering the arrangements as he went along, adding effects to the different tracks 'live' as the track was recorded. Although this could be seen as an entrepreneurial, generalist role as described by Peterson and Berger, here Spector seems to me to be making technical decisions, if not actually handling the technical equipment himself. Instead of being a mediating figure, Spector was very much in charge of the recording process, and it was his creative vision that was being realised.

This was certainly the public perception of Spector, as described (and arguably powerfully shaped) by Wolfe's article. He states that "Spector does the whole thing..."[67], writing words and music, scouting and signing talent, organising and running the recording session, and putting the musicians "through hours and days of recording to get the two or three minutes he wants...".[68] According to Wolfe, Spector "handles the control dials like an electronic maestro, tuning various instruments or sounds up, down, out, every which way, using things like two pianos, a harpsichord and three guitars on one record; then re-recording the whole thing with esoteric dubbing and over-dubbing effects – reinforcing instruments of voices ... The only thing he doesn't keep control of is the actual manufacture, the pressing of the records and the distribution."[69] This perception of Spector as engineer does not correspond with Levine's descriptions of the recording process, but it was an important change in the public perception of the producer. He was now being seen more as an artist, someone who had a direct hand in the making of a record, rather than a business man. This view was also reinforced by publicity shots of Spector (see Figs.3 and 4), which showed him stood behind the console with his hands on the dials, implying a literally hands-on approach and emphasising his control of the technical aspects of recording; but he was stood on the wrong side of the console table, with his back to the recording studio, facing the place in which the engineer would usually sit. It would not be possible for him to do anything hands-on from this position at all; but the picture presents to the public, who presumably up to this point were relatively unaware of the record-making process, a new role of the producer, as central to, and fully in control of, the recording process.

The tension that this raised with the previous view of the producer as primarily a business man is also highlighted in the Wolfe article. The article makes frequent references to the

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[67] Wolfe, 'Tycoon of Teen', p.67.
[68] Ibid., pp.67–68.
[69] Ibid., p.68.

advantages that Spector's youth gives him, portraying him as an insider figure of the youth music scene ("he was somehow one of them, the natives, the kids who sang and responded to [rock n' roll] music...The kids comprehended him."[70]); it also refers to problems that his success causes for him, suggesting a position as an outsider, as he is not only one of "the kids", he is also a businessman, which means that "the kids" don't treat him as just a fellow "kid". Instead they "all want to form the 'father thing' with him. Or else they want to fawn over him... fall down in front of him...anything to get his attention and get "the break", just one chance."[71] This tension, which neatly encapsulates Toynbee's problems with the art/commerce dichotomy in popular music, emphasises the difficulty of assessing the entrepreneur-producer as either an artist or a businessman. Fundamentally, to be successful, he must be both.

Interestingly, when tracing the history of authenticity and the art/commerce dichotomy, Wolfe's article, in its exploration of the tension for Spector inherent in acting both as a creative genius and a business genius, also seems to be explaining to the public that this is a new role that he is occupying. Even though it firmly bridges art and commerce, this does not seem to cause any problems in terms of Spector's status as a genius for Wolfe. Perhaps this is because he is part of a new, as yet to be explained phenomenon, the successful teen businessman. As we shall see, as the 1960s progressed, the artistic aspect of the producer in some circumstances became more exaggerated and lauded, as bands started to demand more creative input into the recording process.

Edward Kealy outlines this process.[72] As the 1960s progressed, the separate roles and status of personnel directly involved in the creation of records (engineers, musicians, arrangers, producers etc.) became increasingly blurred, as recording artists started annexing the "craft of sound mixing into their art"[73] and some sound engineers started trying to stop being designated 'technicians' and become collaborative 'artist-mixers'. Kealy outlines this development, comparing it to instances throughout art history when artists have become interested in crafts as media for artistic expression, causing new aesthetic criteria to be developed for the judgement of the craft, and a change in status of the work and workers from technical to artistic.[74] This relates closely to issues raised above in Chapter one, especially those surrounding the use of gabble to authenticate an

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[70] Ibid., p.67.
[71] Ibid., p.70.
[72] Kealy, 'From Craft to Art', pp.207–220.
[73] Ibid., p.207.
[74] Ibid., pp.207–208.

activity as art rather than as anything else. A closely related instance would perhaps be the raising in status of folk music to an artistic position in the Romantic era.

Kealy focuses in his article on the figure of the sound mixer, who is the person who literally handles the dials on the mixing desk. Larry Levine would then be a sound mixer, although in current terminology, he is referred to as an engineer. Conversely, if it were true that Phil Spector did "handle the electronic dials like a maestro"[75], he would also be a sound mixer for Kealy, although he would more usually be designated as a producer. Kealy describes the shift of control over the mixing desk from the engineer to the producer, and eventually to the musicians themselves. Kealy also links the change in roles in the studio to technology, citing the introduction of tape as the basis for both the rise of independent entrepreneurs into the recording business (as it made setting up a studio cheap and relatively simple), and also a change in the way that the purpose of recording was perceived. The early purpose of recording was to capture the music as unobtrusively as possible; the recording process, according to this standard, should be transparent, providing a simulation of conditions of a concert hall experience as much as possible. At this time, the training of engineers was union based, and there was strict separation of roles in the studio, with no-one but the engineer allowed to touch any of the recording equipment. The engineer's role was not to make aesthetic judgements, but rather to capture whatever was played in the studio as accurately as possible onto the recording, which at this time was cut straight to disc. Kealy describes this as the period of the craft-union mode in popular music production.

Since the rise of the independents, a new recording aesthetic arose which appreciated studio recording for itself, not as a simulation. According to Kealy, this development:

> encouraged innovation in using limited studio and artistic resources: the use of echo and reverberation devices instead of cavernous studios, recording at loud volume levels, the use of novel microphone placements, electronically altering the acoustic sound's waveform, and various forms of tape editing.... The aesthetic and commercial goal was to get a 'hit sound' from the studio.[76]

Recording was moving towards being an art instead of a science, with a new organisational structure, that Kealy describes as the entrepreneurial mode, not in the sense of Peterson and Berger, but in the more general sense of a time when producers with an

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[75] Wolfe, 'Tycoon of Teen', p.68.
[76] Kealy, 'From Craft to Art', pp.212–213.

entrepreneurial approach could survive and indeed thrive through the exertion of their independent aesthetic judgement in the record industry. With this more experimental approach came a more collaborative way of making records in the studio, with musicians, engineers and producers working together to discover new sounds. Kealy uses Spector as an example of this new practice, describing him as encouraging his sound mixer, Larry Levine, to move beyond the rules of recording in which he had been trained:

> You really needed somebody good alongside of you, and ... for what I was doing, [Larry] was invaluable. Everything was an experiment. We were breaking every rule there was to break like 'don't go over the red line with the needle' and 'watch this' and 'it's gonna skip' and who cares? ... Just make the record.[77]

Kealy's descriptions of collaboration in this entrepreneurial mode seem to reinforce my argument that the role of producer was, at this stage, somewhere between art and commerce, and it was definitely closely involved with the technical aspects of recording. As the 1960s progressed, Kealy argues, the art-mode was entered. This has been discussed in the typology of authenticity in my Introduction, describing the shift in authenticity in popular music from being closely related to folk music – music of the people for the people – to one more closely corresponding to that of Romantic art. Kealy argues that the key change in developing the art mode was "the integration of the sound of the studio technology with the musical aesthetic of popular music."[78] This caused a rise in interest in the craft of sound-mixing amongst aspiring rock musicians, who learned to play rock by trying to replicate electromechanical sounds heard through electromechanical media (radio and records) on electromechanical instruments (electric guitars); the resulting "recording consciousness" raises interest in experimenting with sound in the studio.

Kealy explains that a new power relationship had to be established to allow rock musicians to become more intimately involved in the studio process, a shift that occurred throughout the period discussed here. Initially, the major recording companies, still largely following the craft-union mode of production, would not allow the rock musicians to touch the equipment; but as the 1960s progressed, the bands were given more creative freedom with studio equipment. Kealy argues that this is because of the bands'

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[77] Richard Williams, *Phil Spector: Out of his Head*, Omnibus Press: London and New York, 2003, p.67.
[78] Kealy, 'From Craft to Art', p.214.

developing into independent production units. This is also what Toynbee sees as the wellspring of the autonomy given to musicians – it is their capacity to earn across several media that means that the record company cannot control their activities. Kealy also argues that the motivation for the bands' taking more control of the recording process was financial, quoting an independent producer, who stated that:

> [i]f you're a success as an artist it galls you to think there are other people who are making 15 to 20 percent of what you do as an artist. And the thought is always in your head. "Why do I need all these extra people?"[79]

The late 1960s was a time when rock bands, for the first time, through the sale of millions of albums, publishing rights and large-scale concert tours, could generate enough revenue to finance the building of their own recording studios with state-of-the-art equipment, and to establish their own record labels, which were usually subsidiary labels for the majors to which that the bands were signed, as the Beach Boys did with Brother Records. Bands without access to their own studios would often choose to work at studios with engineers who they felt understood the sounds that they wanted, or who would allow them to mix the album for themselves.[80]

Kealy argues that the distinguishing characteristic of this art mode in studio collaboration is that "middlemen representing the commercial interests of record companies or independent entrepreneurs are excluded from the studio productions"[81]; this leaves "the collaborators most directly involved in producing the ...sound – the musicians, composers and sound mixers"[82] to take responsibility for organising the work to be done at each session and making the aesthetic decisions. In other words, these three groups act together to function collectively as an entrepreneur producer, in the Peterson and Berger sense of one who makes the novel combinations that result in a hit record. However, it seems to me that Kealy is focussing too much on the work of the engineer as sound mixer here, and relegating producers once again to a primarily business oriented role. This ignores the fact that, although it may be true that the studio was now being used by bands and their collaborators as an instrument in itself, in other words as a means of producing art, the bands were largely motivated by profit. Instead of the business-oriented personnel's being segregated out of the studio, the bands take on this function

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid., p.215.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.

themselves; they are still dependent on budgetary issues and they will still only be allowed to continue having the freedom in the studio if they continue to make hit records, either for the record company financing their studio time, or in order to cover the costs of running a studio themselves. Kealy also fails to mention that, at this time, bands who owned their own studios and record labels also began to function in the other roles of producers, seeking out talent and recording it for their labels, sometimes providing the acts that they found with songs and furnishing them with their signature production sounds. In other words, instead of banishing the independent entrepreneur producer from their studio, the bands took on this function themselves. This was not a pure art mode, but rather a continuation of the mix of art and commerce that had always characterised rock.

Interestingly, Kealy argues that the criteria used to judge recording in the art-mode era changed from being a utilitarian-based one – how well was the sound captured – to a primarily expressive one – that of producing artistic sounds.[83] This of course, is also primarily a way to distinguish a record from others in the market – the sound of the recording became increasingly important, and records were increasingly discerned on this basis; people no longer just wanted the hot new song, they also wanted the hot new sound. That sound was something that a producer figure could provide by bringing a guiding ear to the studio process, resulting in a distinctive sound that recognisably belonged to a label, in the case of labels such as Atlantic or Motown, or a band, as in the Doors, or an individual, such as Phil Spector or Brian Wilson.[84]

The other aspect to the art mode is that the mixers, the workers who had used to be craft workers and whose work had now to some extent been taken by the artists, started to discuss themselves as artist-craftsmen. By 1974, an aestheticised idea of the sound mixer was being used in trade magazines such as *Engineer/Producer*, as could be seen both in its masthead ("The magazine produced to relate Recording Art to Recording Science to Recording Equipment") and in its editorials. One of the latter opined that:

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Kealy himself alludes to this with his inclusion of a quote from a young part-owner of a New York studio, who stated in *Billboard* (10 May 1969) that: "The sound of today's record has become a much more important ingredient in the formula for a hit record than the hit of the 1940's... the engineer ... can improve the arrangement, merely by adding one of the effects and that added effect could have more impact than the other [musical] two-thirds of the arrangement." (Ibid, p.217.) But Kealy does not pick up on this point about sound's having a financial basis, not just an artistic one.

> As musical ideas and recording techniques have been refined, the demands upon engineers and producers have grown comparably, to the point where their craft is an art form in and of itself. Today their expertise with a fearsome array of concepts and hardware can easily make or break a record.[85]

Kealy outlines how the decision to move towards being an artist-mixer causes career uncertainty for his "mixers", as they become subject to the vagaries of the market instead of being attached to a single studio. Here, again, I would suggest that Kealy's conflation of engineers and producers under the term of "mixers" is confusing; although it may be true that engineers had historically been employed as technicians, the producer figure was already subject to the whims of the market, being only as good as his last hit record. However, Kealy's discussion is one of the few that does describe the changing organisational structure of work in the recording studio over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, and it links that structure explicitly to notions related to art, so is useful to my discussion.

The bulk of this chapter has consisted of a reconsideration of the development of the role of the entrepreneur producer, arguing that as the music industry became more focussed on making records with distinctive sounds, the creative autonomy of the producer became a crucial strategy in negotiating the vagaries of the music market. In this section as a whole, accounts of the organisation of the record industry in the 1960s and in particular the role of the producer have been critiqued in an attempt to re-assess arguments about art versus commerce made about the industry in the 1960s, which themselves are usually imbued with beliefs about art versus commerce. I have tried to show here that instead of discussing these changes and the personnel involved with them as always being motivated by art or commerce, it is a mixture of the two that drove the success of rock music in the 1960s, and that attributions of authenticity to certain labels or personnel is not usually provable when the history of the record industry from 1940 to 1970 is taken as a whole. It seems to me, however, that it was the *ideas* related to artistic autonomy and the need to be free from commercial influence that were key in the development of the producer from A&R man to musician outlined in this chapter, as the drive towards an emphasis on sound, rather than song, begins. Such ideas, which can be traced back a long way in discussions of art and music, seem initially to have had a powerful effect on the independent record companies, who operated by seeking talent who could effectively be self-producing and simply recorded. This allowed an ideological link between the

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[85] Ibid., p.209.

independent record company and artistic freedom to be made, encouraging 'authentic' artists to wish to record with independents rather than with major labels. The independents also adopted an entrepreneurial approach, meaning that they could quickly respond to the rapidly changing market. As the independents began seriously to threaten the majors' market share, at the time that the record became the most important medium in the music industry, the majors first tried to suppress the independents through the payola trials; but as this failed, and ironically reinforced the more open market through law, the majors then turned to adopting what they believed to be the independents' strategies. This involved initially allowing producers, and then musicians, increasing institutional autonomy, creating the position of the entrepreneur-producer, who was able to respond quickly to the market but who would be fired or hired, according to his success at doing so. As rock became more profitable, and the bands could demand more and buy their own studios, the musicians also began to be treated as artists, and were accordingly given the institutional autonomy required for their creative work to be carried out effectively.

This belief in the necessity of institutional autonomy, and the adoption from the independents of the role of the entrepreneur-producer, illustrates how the ideology of authenticity thoroughly permeated the music industry at this time and shaped its business practices. As the 1960s progressed, and the majors slowly re-acquired majority market share, the independents began to merge with the majors in order to survive. At the same time, the ideology of authenticity started to be discussed openly in relation to rock, and increasingly used as a selling technique. This will be discussed in depth in section three. By the end of the decade, significant institutional autonomy for personnel involved in the creation and dissemination of rock music was firmly established in the structure of the industry as a whole, and 'authentic' rock was firmly established as the most profitable form of popular music that had ever existed. In the next chapter, we will now see these changes in action, in the case of the creation of the Beach Boys' *Pet Sounds*.[86]

[86] The Beach Boys, *Pet Sounds*, Capitol T2458, released US May 1966. Released UK, Capitol T2458, June 1966. Produced Brian Wilson.

Chapter Five: *Pet Sounds* – Brian Wilson and the Beach Boys as Authentic Studio Auteurs

The Beach Boys are an excellent example of how a major label, Capitol's, changing attitude toward institutional autonomy of first producers, and then rock musicians had direct effects not just on the working practices of a band, but on the music that they created. To demonstrate this, the case of *Pet Sounds*, now regularly voted one of the top albums of all time, will be examined.

The recording of The Beach Boys' second album, *Surfin' USA*, in 1963, not only represents the moment at which the surf craze and The Beach Boys went global, but also marked the point at which Brian Wilson, who up to now had written and arranged all The Beach Boys' material, also became their record producer. Wilson was one of the earliest recording artists to be allowed to act as an entrepreneurial producer, a position which he managed to attain because Capitol were pleased with the sales of The Beach Boys' first singles and album released in the previous year. He immediately took advantage of his new role, persuading Capitol that he should be allowed to record in whichever local studio he wished to, instead of in Capitol's in-house studios that were designed to record big orchestral sounds.[1] This was unprecedented at that time, but Capitol trusted Wilson's instincts as an entrepreneurial producer and allowed him freedom to experiment with different studio sounds. The studio that The Beach Boys most frequently used from 1963 onwards was Western Recorders 3, the smallest, narrowest and cheapest studio in the United Western Recorders Studio complex.[2]

The combination of Wilson taking the helm of the recordings, the skills of engineer Chuck Britz (who remained The Beach Boys' engineer at Western until 1967), the "high, bright sound" of the new recording studio at Western Recorders, and the use of a three-track tape recorder[3] resulted in the establishment of the distinctive Beach Boys sound, which features "double-tracked, meticulously synchronised harmony parts."[4] This new sound was strongly influenced by Phil Spector, whose 'Wall of Sound' technique and

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[1] Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, pp.26–32.
[2] Jim Cogan & William Clark, *Temples of Sound: inside the Great Recording Studios*, Chronicle Books, San Francisco, 2003, p.32.
[3] A three-track tape recorder is one that will record three separate soundtracks onto one reel of tape, a four track has four, an eight track has eight and so on. The three-track was the most advanced tape machine available in Los Angeles at this time.
[4] Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p.65.

finely controlled mono mixes were a big influence on Brian Wilson's production ideas, as he later recalled:

> I was unable to really think as a producer until the time where I really got familiar with Phil Spector's work. That was when I started to design the experience to be a record rather than just a song.[5]

This new emphasis on record design would lead to extending the possibility of making records in the studio, but also caused problems for the band as a live unit later. On stage, they could only successfully reproduce the song, not the overall effect of the record.

Capitol's faith in Wilson as an entrepreneurial producer was well-founded as he dutifully recorded three albums and at least four singles every year until 1966, most of which at least charted in the Top 10.[6] During this time frame, the recording technology available to Wilson became more advanced, as he gained access to four-track tape machines and eventually one of the first commercial eight-track machines, which was installed at Columbia studios (Los Angeles) in 1965.[7] These increasingly powerful machines enabled Wilson to build up more complex mixes, and gave him more control over the sounds produced.

The so-called 'British invasion' in February of 1964, when Beatlemania first hit America, combined with the fact that Capitol became The Beatles' American label, increased the pressure on Brian as he faced serious competition for his string of Top Ten Hits for the first time since the release of *Surfin' USA*. At the end of 1964 Wilson suffered a breakdown as the band set out on tour, and stopped touring with the band from that point on, apart from the occasional live appearance. From then on, Wilson became primarily a recording artist, leaving the rest of The Beach Boys (now with new member Bruce Johnston) to take his music around the world.[8] This split between the live aspect of the band and the increasing sophistication of their recordings, enabled both by advances in technology and the removal of the distraction of the demands of touring for Wilson, played a key part in the changing perception of the authenticity of the band, as Wilson moved towards the model of Romantic authenticity outlined in the introduction that is described by Moore as being based in artistic freedom within the confines of the record

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Brad Elliott, *Surf's Up! The Beach Boys on Record 1961–1981*, Helter Skelter Publishing, London, 2003.
[7] Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, p.87.
[8] Ibid., pp.75–79.

industry, encouraged by technological development.[9] This shift was allowed for Wilson as Capitol had adopted the entrepreneurial production model based on that same ideology of authenticity. However, Wilson and the Beach Boys were not immediately accepted as being authentic in this way by the rock audience in America as will be demonstrated in Chapter six.

The split between touring and performing also encouraged Wilson to work with other musicians, and he increasingly worked with a crack team of session musicians who also worked for Phil Spector, later known as the Wrecking crew. The skills and playing styles of these musicians, and their enthusiasm for working with Wilson, gave him a new palette of sounds in addition to The Beach Boy's voices to develop further in the studio. He worked on new methods of arranging and mixing sounds through the early months of 1965, the results of which can be seen on the B-side of the album *Today!*, released in March, and in the introduction to 'California Girls', released in July of that year, apparently the first song that Wilson wrote under the effects of LSD.[10] Wilson now pinpoints the recording of 'California Girls' as the moment when he fully realised how to use the studio itself as an instrument.[11] The influence on Wilson of his label-mates The Beatles also peaked in 1965 with the release of *Rubber Soul* in December which made Wilson realise that "the record industry was getting so free and intelligent. We could go into new things – string quartets, auto-harps, and instruments from another culture."[12]

With Capitol's confidence stemming from his past hits, and freedom from the need to go out on tour, Wilson could work unencumbered in the studio, working with lyricists of his choice, using the latest technology and the Wrecking Crew to create new sounds as he wished. The opening of 1966 saw the initiation of the so-called production race between The Beach Boys and The Beatles, and marked the point at which Wilson made his bid to be taken seriously as an authentic artist. The result was the album, *Pet Sounds*.

The genesis of *Pet Sounds* began toward the end of 1965, when Wilson decided to plan a new direction for the group, a direction that would take them away from their surfing associations and move them towards the idea of artistic expression and experimentation which was starting to spread through the musical community in Los Angeles. In other

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[9] See introduction, pp.13–15.
[10] The Beach Boys, *The Beach Boys Today!*, Capitol T2269. The Beach Boys, 'California Girls'/'Let Him Run Wild', Capitol 5464.
[11] Howard Massey, *Behind the Glass: Top Record Producers Tell How They Craft the Hits*, Backbeat Books, San Francisco, 2000, p.45.
[12] Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, p.104. The Beatles *Rubber Soul*, Capitol T2442.

words, he wished to musically position the group as an authentic rock group instead of representatives of a local surf culture. In a series of interviews in 1966, he described the motivation and initial ideas behind *Pet Sounds*:

> I wanted to move ahead in sounds and melodies and moods. For months I plotted and planned… I sat either at a huge Spanish table looking out over the hills, just thinking, or at the piano playing 'feels'. 'Feels' are musical ideas: riffs, bridges, fragments of themes, a phrase here and there.[13]

These 'feels' were built up into individual songs, which Wilson started to think of as consisting of multiple movements, like "capsulised classical concertos"[14], which he could then mentally break down into "precise little increments"[15], allowing him to "deal with each instrument individually, stacking sounds one at a time."[16] These instrumental parts could then be explained to each musician before being recorded in the studio. In keeping with his quest for a new direction for the Beach Boys, Brian also hired advertisement writer Tony Asher to write the lyrics for the album, which were introspective and based on the two men's memories and feelings about love.

The *Pet Sounds* album was recorded in 27 sessions spread over four months and using four different studios, each of which was selected for its distinctive sound, a result of a combination of the physical design of the studio and the unique consoles and tape machines available at each one. Wilson recorded the instrumental backing track first, usually in one session, using members of The Wrecking Crew, supplemented by other top session musicians working in Hollywood at that time. This use of session musicians instead of band or Beach Boys members, and the wide range of instrumentalists used, including bass harmonica and the theremin, was very unusual in rock at this time. Wilson would work with musicians individually, singing or playing them the details of their part and experimenting with them to create the sound he wanted. He would then experiment with the whole band, instructing them on their relative positions to their mikes, altering echo effects, which he recorded live, and further experimenting with details of rhythm and combinations of sounds before doing a take. He would then record several takes until he was completely happy with every detail of the backing track. This method of experimenting in the studio, and working with the musicians to help realise the sounds

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[13] Quote in Granata, *The Making of Pet Sounds*, pp.72–73.
[14] Granata, *The making of Pet Sounds*, p.58.
[15] Quoted in Ibid., p.61.
[16] Ibid.

that he had imagined, was unique at the time; a combination of mixing live and composing on the spot.

He recorded the backing tracks on three- or four-track tape machines, depending on which studio he was in. This allowed him greater control over the balance of different instruments when he bounced them down to a single track mono mix on another four-track recorder, or the eight-track recorder at Columbia studios, leaving the remaining three or seven tracks available for the vocals. Thus, the instrumental track was 'locked in' before the Beach Boys came into the recording studio.

The vocals also took a long time to record, with the Boys learning their parts when they arrived at the studio. The backing vocals were recorded with all the band members except Mike Love, who needed extra amplification, around one mike, and all the vocals, both lead and backing were doubled, for extra intensity of sound. The vocals would then also be reduced down to one track, and combined with the original instrumental track to create the mono master, which was then slightly compressed and equalised to give the whole album a cohesive sound.[17] It was only when the album was completed that any of the performers recorded on it had any idea of the finished versions of the songs, due to Wilson's fragmentary methods of recording, which were enabled by the developing multi-tracking technology. The finished album was a far cry from the earlier Beach Boys albums, which were almost recorded as complete live performances in the studio. Arguably, *Pet Sounds* was the first album to exemplify Moore's idea of authenticity as experimental artistic freedom within the confines of the record industry, a shift that was enabled by the combination of the entrepreneurial approach to production allowed by Capitol and the increasing possibilities offered by the developments of recording technology.[18] Although the shift for the Beach Boys themselves from a folk authenticity to an authenticity based more on the idea of studio auteur was not immediately achieved on the release of this album, it did provide a foundation from which they could start to build a new reputation for themselves as authentic artists.

The resulting album was very different from previous Beach Boys' material, and also sounded unlike any other rock album at that time. The album functioned as a coherent unit, rather than a collection of possible singles padded out with filler material. The subject matter was a direct contrast to the usual upbeat Beach Boy themes of high school and surfing, with lyrics that focus on a young lover's individual doubts and hopes and

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[17] For a very detailed account of the recording of Pet Sounds, see Ibid.
[18] See earlier discussion of Moore, Introduction, pp. 13–15.

fears, and were the first in rock to feature the word 'God' in the title (in the song 'God Only Knows'), a decision that was considered to be risky at the time. The sound was described by one critic as having "that lovely, distinctive smothered Wilson sound as though they're all singing through sugar cotton wool"[19], and another described the album and its importance as follows:

> He's brought in the lot here, orchestral sounds, organs, bells, a train, and dogs barking for a start. This is the way pop LPs are going: months of preparation, unusual voicings, intricate writing, multi-tracking etc. It's good value for LP buyers though how they can ever do it in person is baffling...[20]

This last comment regarding the ability of the band to reproduce the record live again highlights the growing problem of reconciling the authenticity of studio experimentation and artistic freedom with the growing importance to rock of live performance. As records moved further from being recorded performances towards being compositional processes in themselves, the dichotomy between record and live performance started to become problematic in a way that it had not been previously.

One particular song that exemplifies the unusual sound features described above is the closing track of the album, 'Caroline, No', which was also released before the album was completed as the first Brian Wilson solo single, of which more in chapter seven.[21] The song is sung in the first person, and is addressing a girl called Caroline who has changed as she grew older, losing her 'happy glow' and cutting off her long hair. It appears to be about lost innocence and the disillusionment that can come with time after the initial rush of love has passed. The song opens with an unusual percussive effect, created by playing an upside down plastic water cooler bottle, then feeding the sound through an echo chamber to create strong reverb. A gently undulating harpsichord and ukulele come in over a subtly syncopated bass line followed almost immediately by Brian Wilson's sweetly mournful lead vocal. The whole song was sped up to raise it by a semitone in order to make Brian's voice sound younger and sweeter than it really is. The melody line meanders with no clear distinction between verse and chorus, although it is in a basic strophic structure, with the refrain of 'Caroline, No' acting in place of a chorus. The lack of dense Beach Boy vocal harmony is very noticeable. The arrangement of the song

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[19] From *Disc & Music Echo*, quoted in Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, p.136.
[20] From *Melody Maker*, quoted in Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, p.139.
[21] Brian Wilson, 'Caroline, No'/'Summer Means New Love', Capitol 5610, released US March 1966.

becomes denser as it progresses, with the addition of guitars, saxophones, flute and bass flute. It ends with the full ensemble playing an instrumental version of the opening verse, and as this fades out, the sound of a passing train and Wilson's pet dogs wildly barking (created through a combination of a pre-recorded train and the dogs barking in the studio) fades in and out again to end the album. This use of real life sound effects on a rock album was also unheard of at this time.[22]

Once the recording was completed, the band organised a cover for the album that gave little indication of their new musical direction, with a drab photo of the band with some goats at San Diego Zoo on the front, and pictures of both Brian Wilson in the recording studio, and the band on their recent tour of Japan on the back, which show them wearing their distinctive striped shirt uniforms and samurai costumes (see Figs. 5 and 6).

Capitol executives were not pleased with the finished album, with the sales department in particular worrying because the production, style and subject matter were so different from the established image of the Beach Boys, with their wholesome, 'fun in the sun' image. However, the album was released in the U.S. on May 16th, 1966. Unfortunately, despite some glowing reviews amongst American music critics, it was, by The Beach Boys standards, a relative flop, peaking briefly at number 10 on the album chart on 2nd July, and was the first Beach Boys record in three years not to go gold.

The initial relative failure of *Pet Sounds* demonstrates that the major label's adoption of the entrepreneur producer could not guarantee that a record would be a hit. This was partly because the freedom allowed to a producer was related only to his latest success and his hit track record, not on assessing what was currently successful, and may therefore continue to be so. There was still little way of predicting what might be a hit, and very little chance for the record industry to effectively manipulate the market in order to increase a given record's chances. In the final section of this thesis, I turn to this problem for the record industry and discuss possible reasons for it and its eventual solution, which was to apply the ideology of authenticity that demanded institutional autonomy from record company employees to both the A&R roles and the sales and marketing departments. The authentic outcome for the Beach Boys, and the fate of *Pet Sounds* will also be revealed in the final chapters.

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[22] See The Beach Boys, *The Pet Sounds Sessions Produced by Brian Wilson* box set, Disc 1, track 13, Disc 2, tracks 1 and 2, and Disc 3, tracks 23 and 30 for various informative versions of 'Caroline, No' that aided this description, as well as the accompanying booklet for details of the recording methods used.

Section Three: 'Consumption and the Counterculture'

Chapter Six: 'Authenticity, Counterculture and Cultural Intermediaries'

This section continues looking in detail at the changing structure of the record industry in the 1960s, but shifts the focus onto the consumption side of the business instead of production, looking at how the industry interacted with the public through marketing and media. As we have seen above, changes in production in the industry were motivated partly by beliefs about authenticity and its importance in the creation of rock music. Here, I argue that beliefs about authenticity were also crucial to the marketing and distribution of rock music, not just as a cynical marketing device, but as a fundamental factor affecting the organisation of the industry in its attempts to reach the audience.

To briefly recap, the record industry was divided into three sections each related to a different aspect of the record making process, which Hesmondhalgh describes as creation, reproduction and circulation.[1] In the 1960s, responsibility for negotiating these processes roughly corresponded to treatment by three separate divisions; production, manufacture and sales and promotion. The production stage was under the remit of A&R men and/or entrepreneur producers, and increasingly involved musicians in the creative process as the 1960s progressed. This is the stage at which artists are selected, musical material decided upon, and the tracks recorded and mixed in the selected studio. As discussed in the previous chapter, because of the ideology of authenticity in relation to ideas about the conditions under which it is possible to be a true artist, this was an unusually autonomous division of the industry. Conversely, Manufacture, which involved the pressing of records, and Sales and Promotion, which involved marketing, publicity, approaching DJs and distributing records to record shops, are described by both Hesmondhalgh and Peterson and Berger as being much more tightly controlled, with little opportunity for an entrepreneurial approach. This is in order to compensate for the loose control of creative personnel, and the risk that this can incur.

Hesmondhalgh believes that this combination of "loose control of creative input, and tighter control of reproduction and circulation constitutes the distinctive organisational form of cultural production during the complex production era."[2] However, his argument of tight control of the circulation stage of production arguably did not apply to rock in the

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[1] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, pp.54–55.
[2] Ibid., p.56.

1960s. In the same way that the industry had restructured to allow entrepreneur producers creative freedom to create the rock product that the independents had had such success with, the majors also had to change their marketing practices to target and reach the rock audience. It was only by changing these practices that the majors could win back the dominant market share from the independents. To achieve this, in an unprecedented move, the majors increasingly turned to external consultants from *within the rock scene* to act as a conduit between rock's developing institutions and its fans. These people sometimes already had experience of working with rock's institutions, such as music journalist Derek Taylor, who became the Beatles' and the Beach Boys' publicist, or Jimi Hendrix's manager Chas Chandler, who was originally bassist for The Animals. Often, however, they were just fans of the music, or part of the counterculture scene that rock bands were increasingly associated with. As rock grew, people involved in the music, but not directly employed by the music industry, helped to define the genre, organising events, gigs and festivals, and starting their own dedicated rock press, most famously *Rolling Stone* magazine, started in San Francisco in 1967.

These people were cultural intermediaries for rock, and the industry needed them to enable rock to be sold on a large scale to the public. It is arguable that the already established idea that creative personnel needed to be able to be 'authentic' within the record industry to produce original hits was extended to recognising that in order to sell the music to the public, the people involved in selecting bands, songs, hit singles and albums to promote and determining how this should be done also needed to be able to be authentic, to sell rock according to the rules of its own authenticity. In other words, the record industry needed the cultural intermediaries to create some authentic gabble, to use Trilling's phrase, for them 'on the outside' in order to create a market for their 'authentic' rock goods.

The work of these cultural intermediaries also directed the nascent ideas of what rock was back into the industry, which directly shaped the recordings produced, both musically and technically due to the continuing influence of the ideologies of authenticity that the cultural intermediaries shaped and purveyed. The cultural intermediaries' understanding of rock was also reintroduced into the rock scene from which they originated and spread beyond to the wider public, who in turn, according to Toynbee, increasingly demanded authenticity from rock musicians in the form of relative independence from record industry control.[3] This resulted in rock's emerging as a self-reflexive genre, one which

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[3] See Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p.xxi.

shaped the conditions for its own reception. Thus the cultural intermediary was involved in both disseminating the idea of authenticity in rock and also, through these ideas, regulating the creation of its recordings.

To explain why the industry had to turn to rock cultural intermediaries, I shall first outline the structure of the marketing and sales divisions of the record industry at this time, and crucially its relationship to external media which would in effect advertise its wares directly to the public, in other words, how the industry attempted to reach the consumer. I shall then go on to examine the role of the cultural intermediaries and the beliefs of the broader culture in which they were operating before assessing how the record industry used them in practice in the next two chapters.

As in the production segment of the record industry, the fundamental aim of everything that the marketing and sales departments do is to reduce the risk of a commercial failure when releasing a new recording. According to Negus's study of the workings of record companies in the 1990s, in more recent years, it has been realised by the record industry that recordings require particular markets, presumably following the splintering of rock and other popular music into myriad subgenres, and that these markets are not simply 'out there' waiting to receive new products; they have to be created.[4] According to Negus, in 1992, the current established method used to create a market for a recording, and thus ensure its commercial success, was the process of artist development.[5] However, in the mid-1960s, these ideas of market creation and artist development had yet to be developed, and the record industry was in a state of flux in its techniques used to sell rock music. This was because by 1967, it had become apparent that rock music was the most potentially profitable music, yet the record labels apparently had little idea of what rock music actually consisted of and how to sell it effectively if it did successfully sign a rock band. This problem was extensively discussed in *Billboard* magazine (the main industry magazine in the US at the time) from 1966–8, with various sectors of the industry openly discussing the problem of rock, which was both such a mystery and an opportunity. Articles covered a range of issues, for example changes in listener buying habits, in particular the swing towards albums instead of singles that was a feature of rock; the dependence on independent producers; the difficulty of getting rock acts on established radio shows; and the possibilities for new marketing techniques with a variety of

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[4] Negus, Keith, *Producing Pop: Culture and conflict in the popular music industry*, Arnold, London, 1992, pp152–153
[5] Ibid.

suggestions and solutions being proposed.[6] The discussions can perhaps best be summed up by the following quote from a 1967 interview with the vice president of a New York radio station, who said,

> It doesn't take a perceptive person to realise that there's something going on out there in the record-buying world... and no-one seems to know what it is yet...I'm not convinced any of us in the radio or record business knows what the hits are anymore.[7]

Interestingly, although the record labels attempted from the early 1960s onwards to succeed in the rock market through creative production practices, using the entrepreneur producers, they did not initially use a similar approach to develop creative marketing practices. As Hesmondhalgh and Toynbee both argue, the sales and promotion sections of the industry were fairly controlled to compensate for the risk involved in using an entrepreneurial approach at the production stage. However, as shall be demonstrated in the rest of the thesis, this changed as the 1960s progressed and it became apparent that new marketing methods were required for rock music.

There has not yet been any detailed academic work on the marketing of rock in the 1960s, but the state of uncertainty in the record industry regarding the best techniques to sell rock music can be seen by reading the many articles that emerged in *Billboard* magazine about the different types of rock, the problem of defining it and different methods that could be used to market it. One simple indication of changes in approach to marketing can be seen in the changing styles of adverts used to promote rock music, both in *Billboard* and in the emerging rock press from 1966, a theme that will be returned to throughout this section. The adverts included in *Billboard* in 1965 follow a fairly standardised pattern, highlighting the chart potential of a band based either on its own track record or that of the genre that it was part of, clearly aimed at DJs and retailers. This style of advert, clearly not intended to sell albums to the general public, is discussed in one of the early studies of the progress of a record through the record industry from production to manufacture to sales based on data collected in the mid 1960s by

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[6] See, for example, 'Independent Producers — The Doors Are Always Open', *Billboard*, Jan 21st, 1967, p.36, 'Rock Takes Over As College Mod Look', *Billboard*, Mar 11th, 1967, p.1, 'Fan Mags Snub New Disc Acts', *Billboard*, Apr 1st, 1967, p.25, 'SF 'Hippop' Music Format of the Future?', Jun 24th, 1967, p.30, 'LP Perils Single in Bowing Acts', *Billboard*, Aug 19th, 1967, p.4., 'DJ Dilemma: Spin Disks they Don't Like', *Billboard*, Nov 4th, 1967, p.28.

[7] Ruth Meyer, vice president for programming at radio station WMCA in New York, *Billboard*, July 22nd, 1967, p.2.

sociologist Paul Hirsch.[8] Hirsch describes how the level of promotional backing given to a record, which would include the type of advert used, was related to the expectation that record executives had that any given record would be a hit, and also indicated these expectations to the retailers and Top 40 radio programmers that the promotion was aimed at. If a record's release was preceded by a large-scale advance publicity campaign, which might include full page ads in trade papers, special mailings to radio personnel, and personal appearances by the artists, then retailers and radio personnel would know that it was expected to be a hit. Conversely, if a record was released with minimal fuss, or with no advance publicity at all, this was an indication that it was not expected to be a hit.[9] Hirsch claims in his study that direct advertising to the public was not done, arguing that the record industry had no direct access to the public. In this assessment he overlooks the role of the album cover, which the record industry controlled and the audience had access to, but they were also fairly standardised in popular music at this time. These were usually brightly coloured, with photos of the band on the front, posed and usually wearing suits, or portraying teenagers dancing to records. Although the back-drop used for bands sometimes varied (the Beach Boys were portrayed on the beach for example, see Fig. 1), there was little attempt to give the bands an otherwise distinct image through cover art at this time.[10] Commentator Michael English argues that the record industry "had no great track record in visual creativity" as "[a]ll its energy and wealth were channelled into the music."[11] Whilst this is an exaggeration, as several labels did use innovative cover design, particularly in the jazz, classical, and folk fields, it is possible that the big record companies in particular were loath to focus on the visual side of the album in popular music, as it was a product that was not intended to appeal to what was considered to be a discerning audience, being aimed largely at teenagers in the early 1960s. The Beach Boys album cover for *Pet Sounds* was a fairly typical example of this standard style of pop album covers.

Apart from album covers, then, the public rarely saw direct adverts of music. Instead, record companies had to reach the public indirectly through a series of gatekeepers, the most important of which were radio programmers and DJs. It was thus primarily the playing of records on radio that acted as adverts for new musical products. Hirsch was one of the few to investigate the processes that a new cultural product must move through

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[8] Paul M. Hirsch, *The Structure of the Popular Music Industry*, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1969.
[9] Hirsch, *The Structure of the Pop Music Industry*, p.34.
[10] Storm Thorgerson, *Classic Album Covers of the 1960s*, Collins and Brown, London, 2005, pp.10–11.
[11] Michael English, 'Foreword' in Ibid., p.7.

to move successfully from the production stage to consumption by the audience. He describes this as the "through-put sector" which "filters the overflow of products".[12] As discussed by Toynbee, in the record industry, because of the uncertainty over which products will be successful, there is over-production of records in the hopes that one will be a hit. However, according to Hirsch, many of these records will never reach the consumer. This is due to a complex filtering system used to ensure that only a small sample of available products reach the public. In the case of the record industry, this filtering largely takes place outside the record industry itself, beyond the direct control of the record companies themselves. The record companies offer a minority of the records produced to these external organisations for "presentation to the public."[13] However, because the market for the record industry is so unpredictable, the record companies cannot afford to produce and promote only the records that are likely to succeed. They must over-produce and take chances in promoting unknown quantities because they cannot "effectively control those elements in their environments which determine the fate of their products."[14]

Hirsch describes the cultural industries as struggling with uncertainty at both their input and output boundaries, in other words, dealing with risk both in deciding what products to make and which products to try to persuade the public to buy.[15] He describes a series of filters and gatekeepers that a product must successfully negotiate in order to reach the public. Hirsch's discussion of this series of filters is based on studies of the major record labels, but it equally applies to the independents who had the same need to reach a market. By the mid-1960s, as discussed in the previous chapter, the methods used by the independents and majors were very similar both in the allowing of creative freedom to the producers and musicians on records, and in the approaches made to radio personnel in an attempt to persuade them to play the records. The focus here is on the different outlets on the outside of the record industry that were appropriated in an attempt to reach the lucrative rock audience, something which usually started with one record company or another, and then, through example and discussion as a marketing technique in the trade press, was adopted across the industry as a whole. Thus, by trial and error, a successful rock marketing approach was developed by the end of the 1960s, one which made full use of all the apparently independent media and events available, as shall be seen in chapters seven and eight.

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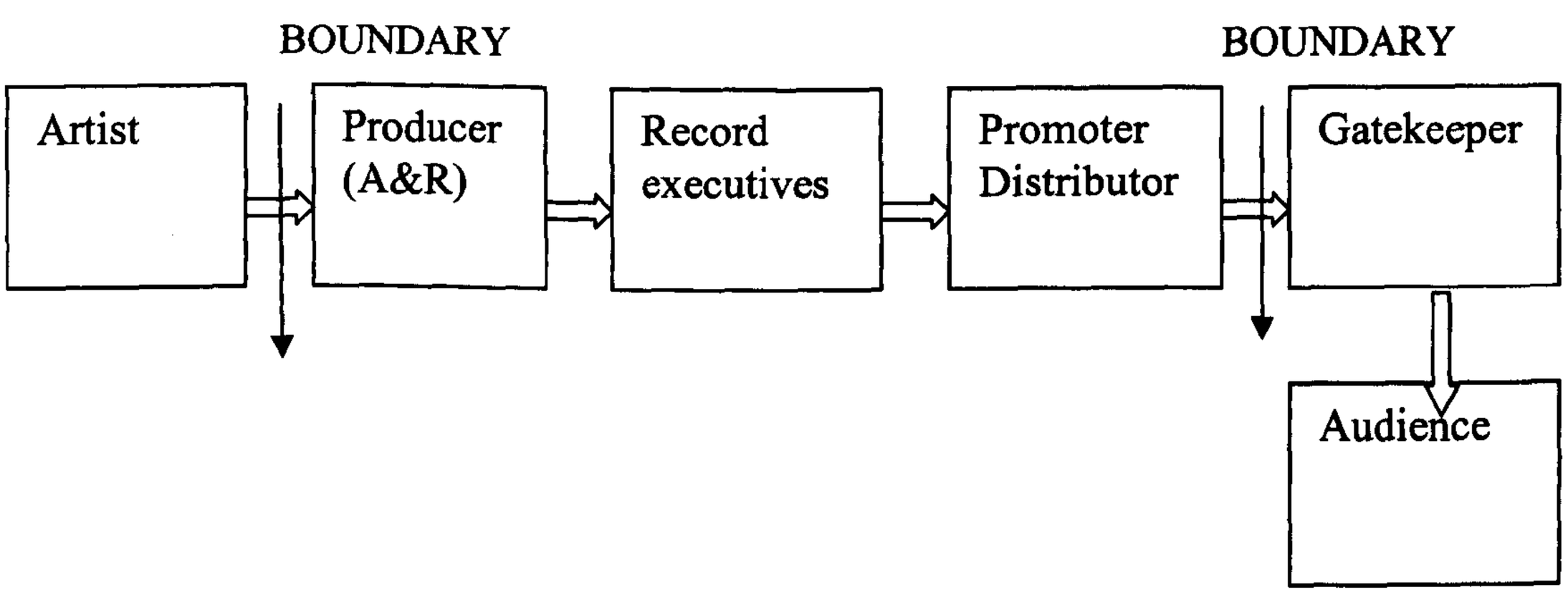
[12] Paul Hirsch, 'Processing Fads and Fashions', p.640.
[13] Hirsch, *The Structure of the Pop Music Industry*, p.6.
[14] Ibid., p.5.
[15] Hirsch, 'Processing Fads and Fashions', p.639.

The filter system, described by Hirsch, which records must negotiate from creation to reception by the audience can be summarised as follows:

Table 2. Filter model of the Record Industry[16]



Each box represents a category of person that a cultural object must move through to achieve the next stage before finally reaching the audience. The first three stages could be described as the production stage – the artist and song are discovered and recorded by the producer, who works at the input boundary of the industry. The producer then has to persuade the record executives that the record is worth promoting. Once that has happened successfully, the record then reaches the key stage in the movement of a cultural product from its creator to its eventual audience, as the promoter "steer[s] the product to the attention of the public through the facilities of the gatekeepers."[17] The next three stages could be described as the consumption stage of the organisation, with the focus on persuading people to promote/consume the records that are the outcome of the production stage. The gatekeepers are those working in media external to the record industry through which the public can hear, or hear about, new releases. They can be understood as policing the output boundary. Increasing amounts of record industry time and money were involved in persuading the gatekeepers to promote their latest products, initially through payola, but then, as the 1960s progressed, through more targeted marketing techniques. There are problems with this model of cultural products moving through a series of filters and gatekeepers. It has been criticised by Negus for being

[16] Derived from Hirsch, *The structure of the Pop Music Industry*, p.17A.
[17] Ibid., p.8.

"limited by the assumption that cultural items simply appear at the 'gates' of the media producing corporation where they are either admitted or excluded."[18] He emphasises that content is also actively sought out by the gatekeepers or planned to benefit the company that will next be using the product, for example by staff "deciding in advance the genre of music that they are seeking and encouraging its selection."[19] However, Hirsch does, in fact, address this when he discusses the role of program controllers in radio, in his study of gatekeepers in the music industry (of which more below).[20] These program controllers will select records from those offered to them by the record promoter, but the selections will be influenced not only by the persuasive methods used by the promoter, but also by the other releases that the program director has been offered for radio play that week. Hirsch's model also lacks any recognition of feedback between stages through which a product will move, such as producer and artist, or record executive and producer, important elements in the interrelationship of production and consumption as will be demonstrated in the case of the Beach Boys below. However, as a simple reminder of the different stages that a cultural product moves through, as a demonstration of the key role of gatekeepers, and as part of the only academic study of marketing of music in the 1960s, it is a useful model to bear in mind for the rest of my discussion.

Hirsch, using data and research collected in 1967, focuses on Top 40 Radio as the most important gatekeeper for the record industry, and in particular for the treatment of rock at the time. There are various accounts of the origins of the Top 40 Radio format, the most basic of which is that it was invented in 1951 by Robert Storz, an independent radio chain owner looking for a distinctive format for his radio stations.[21] He based the format on the "Your Hit Parade" format, which had been a programme that concentrated on a few popular songs, and extended it into a 24 hour format, consisting of the top 40 best-selling singles that week, as expressed in *Billboard*'s chart listings, interspersed with advertising jingles, musical station breaks, gimmicks designed to get listeners to phone in and competitions to keep them listening. There were complaints in the 1950s from both record companies and advertisers that the Top 40 format was limiting the role of DJs too much, turning them into automatons, and that the radios were targeted too heavily to the teenage market, who, although they bought singles in disproportionately large numbers, were at school most of the day and did not have disposable income to spend on goods that

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[18] Keith Negus, 'The Work of Cultural Intermediaries and the enduring space between consumption and production' in *Cultural Studies*, 16:4, pp501–515, p.510.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Hirsch, *The Structure of the Pop Music Industry*.
[21] See for example, Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.83 and Sanjek, *Pennies From Heaven*, pp.442–5. I'm following *PFH* as it was apparently researched from primary sources in the main.

would be advertised on the radio. There was also a concern that it promoted singles more than albums, whereas at this time, albums accounted for the majority of record sales, bought by adults.

The DJs on this format had very little autonomy in terms of the music selected, meaning that opportunities for payola of the DJs were limited, and the 'personality' DJ which had been so important to the spread of rock n' roll was usurped by carefully controlled, upbeat DJs, who rarely adlibbed, giving short introductions to the records and never showing particular enthusiasm or attributing a record to a particular label, which reduced further the influence in terms of advertising for a label in general such a format would have.[22] Top 40 formatting was soon found to be extremely profitable, and by 1960, most DJs on music stations were following the Top 40 format forced on them by station owners. This also had a clear influence on record dealers, who would often only stock the Top 10 hit singles each week, based on Top 40 radio play.[23] By the late 1960s, at the time Hirsch was conducting his study, Top 40 radio was known to be listened to by a range of people, including adults, as rock became more acceptable to a wider audience. Hirsch argues, though, that as the majority of singles were still being bought by teenagers, and these singles determined what was heard on Top 40 radio, it was teenage taste that was essentially determining what the wider audience was listening to and liking, a situation which implies that this was also determining what could be considered rock.

Hirsch himself suggests that the best term for this music is "Top 40 music"[24], whereas a commentator on the profitability of rock n' roll's development into a more complex music that had "become the darling of the intellectuals and a communication link between intellectuals."[25] suggests that it be called "contemporary or just plain pop."[26] However, his description of this music coincides more strongly with that which was described as "rock" in the rock press:

> [rock n' roll] has ... incorporated strains from country-and-western music, Elizabethan folk songs, jazz and the classics. It is being altered by electronic and acoustical manipulation, influenced by the effect of hallucinogenic drugs on

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[22] See Sanjek, *Pennies From Heaven*, pp.442–445 for account of the rise of Top 40 radio programming.
[23] Ibid., pp.363–364.
[24] Hirsch, *The Structure of the Popular Music Industry*, p.14.
[25] S.H. Brown, 'The Motown Sound of Money' in *Fortune*, September 1967, p.103, cited in Hirsch, *The Structure of the Pop Music Industry*, p.12.
[26] Ibid.

> thought and perception and has developed into so many overlapping new styles that rock-and-roll is too restrictive a label.[27]

His suggestion of a change in terms seems to be motivated by the music's move away from the more simplistic rock and roll that was exclusively associated with teenagers, and which adults found "exasperating"[28]. Instead, he is suggesting the use of 'pop', a term which referred to the mass market popular songs developed by Tin Pan Alley, which has associations of softness, sophistication and a music that everyone, adults and teenagers, can enjoy. This is quite different from the idea of rock that was developed in the rock press, as will be shown below.

Hirsch explains the power Top 40 radio had gained by the late 1960s by explaining that in any given city, only Top 40 records that have received airplay would be available for purchase in retail outlets to the public.[29] Top 40 also had power in that it had also become the only way for new acts to gain exposure to potential audiences. This shows that the record industry had yet to catch on to the importance of live performance to establishing a new band. The Publicity director of Liberty Records discusses this, saying:

> Records are not sold as other products are...It involves the introduction of many new artists to the public. You cannot expose their performance because its just on grooves and the public will not know what they sound like; today the day of the listening booth is long since past, with the advent of modern merchandising methods. Record companies are dependent on radio...to introduce new artists as well as to introduce new records of all artists to the public.[30]

This dependence on radio play was troubling for the record companies as, of 300 records released weekly, fewer than 70 would make it onto Top 40 radio playlists, and of those 70, even fewer would be played nationally.[31] This implies that Top 40 radio personnel were the ultimate gatekeepers through which a record must pass in order for it to be a success in the market. This lack of alternative gatekeepers for rock in the mid 1960s was a serious problem for the industry, especially as the nature of rock shifted away from a

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Hirsch, *The Structure of the Pop Music Industry*, p.24
[30] Norman Winter, quoted in 'Reviewing Reviewers', *Billboard*, 29/4/67, cited Ibid. p.32.
[31] Hirsch, *Structure of the Pop Music Industry*, p.32.

focus on the individual single to the idea of an album as a complete artwork in itself as discussed in *Billboard* magazine.[32]

However, the dependence on Top 40 radio was not the only problem at the output boundary that the industry faced at this time. The other major problem was in relation to the "something going on out there in the record-buying world..." that Ruth Meyer referred to, which was the increasingly close relationship between rock and the emergent American counterculture which occurred as the rock audience changed from teenagers to college students.[33] Countercultural ideas of rebellion and individuality can also be closely linked to the ideologies of authenticity that were attached to rock as the sixties progressed. The first of these is the Romantic art versus commerce argument which was a key part of countercultural discourse as shall be discussed below, and the other is the emergence of the authentic dichotomy between live and recorded music which seems to arise from the use of rock music as an integral part of the hippies' communal gatherings, the fore-runners of the open air rock festival, as will be discussed later. It is to the link between counterculture and rock and the problems that this caused the industry that we will turn to now.

Rock, Authenticity and the Counterculture

Although there are almost always claims of close connections between rock and the counterculture, writing about rock in the 1960s in terms of subculture, or counterculture, or even as a clearly defined music or scene is complex, as all these categories were in a period of flux, or were being formulated for the first time in the period under discussion. Even the concepts themselves are difficult to explain or define and are often contested. The term "counterculture", for example, according to one article, "falsely reifies what should never properly be construed as a social movement."[34] Instead, it should be described as "an inherently unstable collection of attitudes, tendencies, postures, gestures, 'lifestyles', ideals, visions, hedonistic pleasures, moralisms, negations and affirmations."[35] Based on the way that "counterculture" has been used by academics, a counterculture can be clearly distinguished from a subculture in that a subculture is "a neutral subset of a larger society, such as racial, ethnic or religious groups." According to

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[32] See 'LP Perils Single in Bowing Acts'.
[33] See 'Rock Takes Over As College Mod Look'.
[34] Braunstein and Doyle, 'Historicising the American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s', pp.5–14.
[35] Ibid.

sociologists in America prior to the 1960s, the aim of a subculture is not to oppose dominant society, it simply provides its own normative characteristics "through an internally directed process of socialisation and interaction."[36] A counterculture, however, represented a "full-fledged oppositional movement with a distinctly separate set of norms and values that are produced dialectically out of a sharply delineated conflict with the dominant society."[37] In other words, it largely defines itself through what it is not, in comparison to dominant society.

Furthermore, a counterculture aspires to transform the values of the dominant culture, eventually, if successful, becoming the dominant culture itself and perhaps inspiring countercultures of its own. The counterculture as a monolithic construct in the 1960s is also difficult to discuss because, like rock, it was in a state of flux as it developed, and its manifestations varied from place to place. Although dates vary, there is general agreement that the first phase of the counterculture, often described as the utopian phase, peaked in 1967 to 1968, and then disintegrated as the 1960s drew to a close. Rock is also often spoken of as peaking in 1967 with the Monterey Pop Festival and the release of *Sgt Pepper*, followed by an expansion of the genre which becomes less authentic, as the commercial benefits become realised and the drug of choice changes from LSD to cocaine. This outline of the rise and fall of the counterculture is also often linked to commercialisation, either of the counterculture itself, or of rock music. For example, Braunstein and Doyle suggest that the early phase of the counterculture was a youth-based, white middle class movement, with a large proportion often described as hippies. They suggest that the term "hippie", which was widely used in the mainstream news media, can be seen as "an ideological charade adopted temporarily by some counterculturalists" which was dropped after 1968, with the term persisting merely as "an assumptive signifier to designate a look, a fashion, an attitude or a lifestyle."[38] Braunstein and Dolye argue that those designated as hippies (those who chose to 'tune in, turn on and drop out' and live in virtual poverty out of choice) were motivated by the pervasive belief that a post-scarcity society was coming in which technology would alleviate the need for anyone to work and bring the end of capitalism. As the 1960s moved towards an economic downturn at the beginning of the 1970s, these beliefs seemed less sustainable and the counterculture fragmented into a number of approaches to acquiring cultural liberation. "Expectations ebbed that American society could be

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Braunstein and Doyle, 'Introduction', p.11.

radically altered, whether by politics, revolution, or alchemy while at the same time 'practical liberation' on the level of lifestyle became the countercultural mode."[39]

This emphasis on a change in lifestyle as being the most effective form of counterculture after 1968, and the assumption that the term hippie came to denote a "look, a fashion, an attitude, a lifestyle" instead of a real countercultural stance capable of effecting wide-reaching change has similarities to the way that rock is often discussed as losing any real sense of opposition to the Establishment after 1967. This may, of course, be partly because rock's history is so intertwined with that of the counterculture that the same rise and fall myth is applied to both, or may be because something did fundamentally change in relation to both at that time. Certainly, rock was considered to be a very visible part of the counterculture by the mainstream media and is often cited when the appropriation of the counterculture by capitalism is discussed, raising questions of the authenticity both of hippies after the Summer of Love and that of the bands that played for them. I do not want to determine exactly what the counterculture may or may not be, but there was certainly a strong link between rock and some elements of the counterculture; although academics commenting on the counterculture in the 1960s, such as Roszak and Mailer, did not address the role of music, the history of sixties rock is now almost always discussed in terms of counterculture, and modern histories of the counterculture likewise usually contain discussions of the role of rock.[40] Perhaps, as Sheila Whiteley explains, it is true to say that, although the reach of rock spread far beyond those who were part of the counterculture, there were clear similarities in the anti-Establishment stances and discourse of members of both rock and the counterculture movement.[41] Certainly, there were strong similarities in the emphasis on authenticity in both cases.

Rock was most often connected to the hippie aspect (or Utopian phase) of the counterculture at the time in the rock press, for example in the closing paragraph of *Crawdaddy!*'s account of the San Francisco scene:

> Above all, the San Francisco sound is the musical expression of what's going down, a new attitude toward the world which is commonly attributed to 'hippies' but which could more accurately be laid at the feet of a non-subculture called

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[39] Braunstein and Doyle, 'Introduction' in Braunstein, Peter & Doyle, Michael William, *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*, Routledge, London, 2002, p.12.
[40] Although Roszak at least now regrets this, saying in the introduction to a recent edition of his book: "if there is one aspect of the period that I now wish had enjoyed more attention in these pages is the music." See Gair, Christopher, *The American Counterculture*, Edinburgh University Press, 2007, p.11.
[41] Whiteley, *Space Between the Notes*, p.5.

> People, earth people, all persons who have managed to transcend the superstructures they live in.[42]

This view of rock, and in particular the rock made in San Francisco, being a reflection of hippie culture and a means to spread its message was prevalent in the emergent rock press in 1967 and also appeared in *Billboard* magazine in the form of a *Billboard* Spotlight pull out included in the 6th May 1967 issue, entitled *San Francisco, 'America's Turned on City'*. *Billboard* Spotlights were designed to draw the industry's attention to new, potentially commercially viable music scenes, and took the format of substantial magazines within the magazine (the SF Spotlight is thirty pages long) including a range of articles about the area under discussion as well as interviews with local musicians, radio DJs, producers, managers and so on. The introductory article states that "San Francisco "has spawned the 1967 Beatnik, the hippie, who comprises the melting pot, the nucleus, the creative environment for the young upstarts who are carrying the city's pop music banner" and goes on to announce that the city is "flirting with full initiation as a major musical center as a result of the pop/hippie movement."[43] Interviews with local musicians and businessmen included in the Spotlight also reinforce this idea of the counterculture and music scene being one and the same thing in San Francisco, but a survey of contemporary underground-press fanzines and newspapers suggests that this link was considered to be less important outside San Francisco, especially amongst the more politically motivated newspapers of the time.[44] Most of these newspapers in the period 1966–1968 contained some reference to music, and many carried record adverts, of which more later, but they usually did not explicitly link the music to countercultural politics. However, the rock press view of rock's relationship to the counterculture has become the accepted view, with rock being most closely associated with the hippie aspect of the counterculture, the element that tried to cause revolution not through direct political action or protest, but through individual adoption of an alternative way of life, the idea being that if enough people moved beyond the existing system, the state would eventually change. It is also interesting to note that as rock and the counterculture became linked in the media, a new kind of authenticity became discussed, one which was

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[42] Paul Williams, 'The Golden Road: A Report on San Francisco', *Crawdaddy!*, July 1967.
[43] Eliot Tiegel, 'San Francisco: A Cauldron of Creative Activity: Can the Expanding Pop/Hippie Movement turn the City into a Major Music Centre?', *Billboard*, May 6th, 1967, p.SF-2.
[44] Archival research carried out in The Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA using *The Underground Press Collection* microfilms surveying content of a variety of publications from across America 1966–1968, including *Avatar* (Boston), *Free Door* (San Diego), *The Chicago Seed*, *Washington Free Press*, *Guerilla* (Detroit), *East Village Voice* (NY), *The Berkeley Barb*, *The Milwaukee Kaleidoscope*, *The Los Angeles Free Press* and *The Oracle of San Francisco*.

much more fiercely anti-commercial than that associated with the rise of the entrepreneurial producer.

The idea of rock as art had, during the course of 1966, become accepted in some parts of the mainstream media, with serious articles about the artistic status of Brian Wilson and other rock performers, and the first documentary about rock, *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*, which included an introduction by Leonard Bernstein lauding some rock at least as examples of a new form of modern art music, as will be discussed in the next chapter.[45] However, this form of authenticity was clearly closely related to the record industry and to commercial success, apparently unproblematically so, in terms of the effect this might have had on the perceived authenticity of the artist. It was not until rock was linked to the counterculture that bands were increasingly required to be authentic not just as artists, but as anti-Establishment artists, and preferably to be part of the counterculture community, at least in appearance. This mode of authenticity seems to have appeared directly from the hippie ethos. As Christopher Gair discusses, this transformation to an anti-commercial stance seemed to occur remarkably quickly after the bands associated with the hippie movement in San Francisco suddenly had a national presence, following the Monterey Pop Festival in June 1967.[46] The detail of how this new form of authenticity functioned in rock will be addressed in the next chapter.

Whilst there is disagreement over whether the hippies were synonymous with the counter culture, or whether they represented just one aspect of it amongst theorists, I am particularly interested in the idea of 'hippie' as indicator of a lifestyle, and its links with authenticity. One theorist who firmly elides the counterculture with the hippies and discusses both in terms of authenticity is Thomas Frank, who particularly explores the counterculture's relation to business. Frank describes how business was portrayed by countercultural sympathisers as an evil force against which the counterculture arranged itself. According to these accounts, from the earliest stages of the counterculture, business

> dogged it [the counterculture] with a fake counterculture, a commercial replica that seemed to ape its every move for the titillation of the TV-watching millions and the nation's corporate sponsors. Every rock band with a substantial following was immediately honoured with a host of imitators; the 1967 Summer of Love was as much a product of lascivious television specials and *Life*

[45] *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution* (David Oppenheimer, CBS, 1966)
[46] Gair, *American Counterculture*, p.134.

> magazine stories as it was an expression of youthful disaffection; Hearst launched a psychedelic magazine in 1968; and even hostility to co-option had its own desperately 'authentic' shadow, documented by a famous print ad for Columbia records titled "But the Man can't bust our Music". So oppressive was the climate of national voyeurism that, as early as the fall of 1967, the San Francisco Diggers had held a funeral for "Hippie, devoted son of mass media."[47]

However, Frank argues that the idea of splitting the counterculture into authentic and fake is problematic, particularly because so many mass culture phenomena and media were embraced and emerged out of the counterculture. This, of course, is also a large part of the problem of discussing rock in the terms discussed above. Frank argues that the basis of the counterculture was a response to mass culture theory, which he believes most literate Americans would have been aware of in the 1960s. The most important essay in mass culture literature was a 1957 essay against conformity by Norman Mailer, entitled 'The White Negro: Superficial Reflections on the Hipster' in which he proposed the solution to the conformity of American Culture in the figure of the 'Hipster'.[48] Frank sees this essay as the founding of the authenticity as solution to mass culture, a solution he sums up as:

> One is Hip or one is Square..., one is a rebel or one conforms,...trapped in the totalitarian tissues of American society, doomed silly-nilly to conform if one is to succeed." Unlike the "over-civilised man" with his diligent piling of the accoutrements of respectability, the hipster lives with a "burning consciousness of the present," [and lives for] immediate gratification.[49]

In other words, in order to resist the rise of mass culture, one must adopt a hip position to overthrow its norms and social mores. This is described by Frank as the idea of "hip-as-resistance". Frank relates this to late nineteenth century movements, as I have related the rise of authenticity in relation to music, which grew out of Romanticism, making art a lifestyle in opposition to that of the bourgeosie.

However Mailer's idea of the quest for authentic experience was different, in that he democratises these ideas, extending ideas previously only shared amongst highbrow

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[47] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture and the rise of hip consumerism*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1997, p.7.
[48] Norman Mailer, 'The White Negro: Superficial Reflections on the Hipster', in Norman Mailer, *Advertisements for Myself*, Harvard University Press, New York, 1992, pp.337–358.
[49] Frank, *The Conquest of* Cool, p.12.

groups to "the widest possible audience"[50]. He explains the counterculture as a successful adoption of mass culture critique by millions of ordinary Americans, expanding "the eternal conflict of artist and bourgeosie" into "cultural civil war", especially in relation to the growing youth culture.[51] Academics and countercultural sympathisers who saw the counterculture as a positive thing saw the commercial success of various attributes of the counterculture as evidence of the Establishment's hostility to the counterculture, and its attempt to undermine its revolutionary potential by flooding the market with "pseudo-hip culture-products"[52]. According to these views, these products were designed by the Establishment to buy off and absorb its opposition, turning emblems of dissent into meaningless harmless consumer commodities and then selling them back to their originators as the real thing.

Gair discusses some of the complications of the extreme anti-Establishment stance taken by some musicians originating from the San Franciscan counterculture, who as soon as they signed record deals struggled to see themselves as authentic following the art versus commerce form of authenticity.[53] Gair argues that Allan Ginsberg's endorsement of Bob Dylan "going electric" offers a way around this for Jefferson Airplane and other psychedelic bands, explaining that "Ginsberg was reported [by Ralph Gleason] as refuting the notion that Dylan had sold out by going electric, suggesting instead that he had "sold out to God. That is to say, his command was to spread his beauty as wide as possible. It was an artistic challenge to see if great art can be done on a jukebox. And he proved that it can."[54] This ties into commentary in some areas of the press, and in the *Inside Pop* documentary, that rock was the most powerful agent in the altering of a large number of people's consciousness. The wide dissemination of rock through the media meant that a large number of people could be encouraged to open themselves up to a new alternative style of living; they could adopt a lifestyle that would bring in a new era, the age of Aquarius. Hence the art-versus-commerce argument becomes slightly more complicated at this point, something that Gair hints at with his suggestion that Jefferson Airplane's use of electric guitars and amplifiers denotes a willingness to appropriate the products of corporate America, but to put them to their own, alternative use. This is particularly marked in their use of feedback, which Gair argues suggests something "modern, urban and slightly out of control."[55] The use of feedback can also denote

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[50] Ibid., p.13.
[51] Ibid., p.13.
[52] Ibid., p.16.
[53] Gair, *American Counterculture*, pp.169–173.
[54] Ibid., p.169.
[55] Ibid., p.171.

rebellion, as it represents a misuse of the more usual careful control of recording equipment and amplification, an embrace of something which is usually considered undesirable and repressed.

Based on this example, Gair argues that commerce in itself is not the problem against which art should arrange itself, by this conception, but it is more that certain types of commerce that follow along lines set by the establishment are problematic. For example, co-option of countercultural products and ideas by the Establishment was discussed as a problem within the counterculture itself, with Ralph Gleason, co-founder of *Rolling Stone*, listing various examples of counterculture ideas' being used in advertising in December, 1968, noting occasions of it in fashion, cars and telecommunications; he reserved particular scorn for Columbia Records, who had succeeded in working out how rock and its relation to the counterculture worked enough by this stage to run ads featuring the line "If you won't listen to your parents, The Man, or the Establishment, why should you listen to us."[56] The significance of this response to music advertising will be discussed in chapter eight.

However, as Frank demonstrates in the case of advertising and fashion, and as I have discussed above, the ideas regarding the importance of creative freedom and the nature of art had already pervaded the record industry before the counter culture had developed into the hippie movement, allowing many creative personnel unprecedented freedom within the confines of the record industry. Frank argues that from the late 1950s onwards, management texts were regularly critiquing the corporations' own management systems and hierarchies, and were instead suggesting models that favoured relative freedom of individuals, as this was seen as a more creative work environment than having workers who were over-managed. Marketing, in particular, was changing across corporations at this time, with the recognition, already seen in my discussion of the record industry, that market segmentation could be used to "create divisions in markets that [marketers] can exploit with competitive advantages."[57] Under this regime, physical differences between products were not as important as before: "under market segmentation, competitive battle is joined over issues like brand image and consumer identity, with advertising taking an ever more prominent part in business development."[58]

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[56] Frank, *Conquest of Cool*, p.16.
[57] Ibid. p.23.
[58] Ibid., p.24.

According to Frank, these changes also highlight a fundamental change in the attitude of business to youth. Before the 1960s, youth were marketed to because of their "still unformed tastes and their position as trend leaders."[59] In the 1960s, youth became not just a natural demographic, but a "consuming position to which all could aspire."[60] He goes on to argue that "[t]he conceptual position of youthfulness became as great an element of the marketing picture as youth itself."[61] In other words, in the 1960s, youth, and the youth movements of the New Left and the hippies became lifestyles which everyone could aspire to. This link of counterculture to lifestyle is important to the development of the role of the rock cultural intermediary as will be demonstrated below. Crucially, Frank argues that instead of corporations' wishing to control the counterculture through co-option, a revolution along similar lines to the counterculture, was already being carried out in businesses and their practices in the 1960s, one that in some cases preceded the counterculture, in others was influenced by it. For Frank, businesses' interest in the counterculture was not, then, just for selling purposes, but because:

> they approved of the new values and anti-establishment sensibility being developed by youthful revolutionaries. They were drawn to the counterculture because it made sense to them, because they saw a reflection of the new values of consuming and managing to which they had been ministering for several years. Hip capitalism wasn't something on the edges of enterprise, an occasional hippie entrepreneur selling posters or drug paraphernalia. Nor was it a purely demographic manoeuvre, just a different spin to sell products to a different group. What happened in the sixties is that hip became central to the way American capitalism understood itself and explained itself to the public.[62]

Thus, Frank argues, from 1967 onwards, instead of just using youth in general as a means of selling products, advertising and fashion executives started to "embellish both their trade literature and their products with images of rebellious, individualistic youth."[63] In doing this, they were not just targeting the youthful audience, but also "served corporate revolutionaries as a projection of the new ideology of business, a living embodiment of attitudes that reflected their own."[64] The counterculture's "simultaneous craving for authenticity and suspicion of tradition seemed to make the counterculture an ideal vehicle

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[59] Ibid., p.25.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., p.26.
[63] Ibid., p.27.
[64] Ibid.

for a vast sea-change in American consuming habits...[towards] a hip consumerism driven by disgust with mass society itself."[65] This offered a chance to the dynamic rising executives to change their corporations to cope with the "chaotic and frenetically changing economic universe."[66] and, at least in the case of the music business, offered a language and symbolism that would allow the industry to reach the largely youthful audience that it required.

Frank's analysis of the relation of countercultural values to the advertising and fashion industries is convincing, and it certainly matches developments that I have charted in the music industry, particularly in the increased freedom allowed to creative personnel, particularly on the production side of the business. However, the issue of authenticity was a particular problem for the music industry, and although the counterculture did to some extent reflect changes the industry was already making within itself, both in the independents and the majors, the audience that the music industry wanted to target was the youth market, and so for them it seems particularly important not just to get the language and symbolism right, but also to make it appear authentic, something which Columbia in their advertising did not seem to do successfully. As Gair discussed, using aspects of corporate America to spread ideas of alternative living and altered consciousness was acceptable to the counterculture — indeed, it was encouraged; the difficulty was to do this without it being perceived as the corporations co-opting the counterculture, instead of vice versa. In order to manage this, perhaps still using countercultural ideas about creativity and individuality to help solve the problem of reaching this chaotic market, as Frank suggests, the record companies realised that they needed to change their promotional techniques, which had remained the same since the rock n' roll era. Instead of changing these techniques completely, or instead of turning to the rapidly developing advertising industry, the record companies followed the same promotional principles, but allowed various personnel with countercultural experience immense freedom in deciding the details of how this should be done, in order to preserve and, if necessary, fabricate the apparent authenticity of their acts. To do this, they turned to the rock cultural intermediaries.

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[65] Ibid., pp.27–8.
[66] Ibid., p.28.

Pierre Bourdieu's Concept of Cultural Intermediaries

As mentioned in chapter one, the term "cultural intermediary" is usually linked to Bourdieu, who particularly wrote about "new cultural intermediaries" in his work *Distinction* in 1984. In this work, Bourdieu sees not just economic capital, but also cultural and educational capital, as markers of class.[67] These different forms of capital combine in different ways to construct the tastes of different class groups in cultural tastes, and also lifestyle and consumption preferences. Bourdieu sees society as broadly divided into three different classes, each with different types of people within them, with varying amounts of different types of capital: the dominant class is the bourgeois, who are all high in cultural and educational capital, but have differing amounts of economic capital. It is these dominant classes which determine what legitimate cultural values are, or should be, although this is contested between different sub-groups, such as the intellectuals and the professionals. The dominated class is the petite bourgeoisie, who aspire to the legitimate lifestyle of the bourgeois, but who largely lack the educational and cultural capital to attain it. This class, too is divided, mainly according to educational capital. Then there are the working classes. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu describes the development of two new classes emerging in the 1960s, the new bourgeois and the new petite bourgeoisie. Bourdieu's description of cultural intermediaries is very inclusive, and as the term has been used in cultural studies, the precise meaning of the term "new cultural intermediaries" has become somewhat confusing, as highlighted by Hesmondhalgh.[68] Bourdieu seems to use the term to describe a specific subset of a specific class, mainly working in the mass media and acting as cultural critics. Bourdieu sees these as equivalent in power in influencing taste to the intellectuals and artists of the higher classes, because of the broad reach of the media.[69] Hesmondhalgh argues that the 'old' cultural intermediaries (which Bourdieu does not specifically discuss) must have been the critics and experts who commented on "serious, legitimate culture in the pre-mass media age."[70] Some of the earliest versions of these in relation to music would have been the nineteenth century cultural critics discussed in Chapter One.

However, Hesmondhalgh argues that the term 'new cultural intermediary' has become problematic because of the different understandings of it used by different authors over time, most of whom expand the term to include the entire class which cultural

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[67] Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, Sage Publications, London, 1991, p.88.
[68] Hesmondhalgh, *The Culture Industries*, pp.53–54.
[69] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.325.
[70] Hesmondhalgh, *Culture Industries*, p.54.

intermediaries have come from. As Hesmondhalgh points out, the term has come to "refer very generally to those involved in the production of symbols, of texts" which does seem to me to be problematic. Hesmondhalgh's answer is to avoid the term altogether, labelling people directly involved in the creation of texts/symbols as "symbol creators" or "creative practitioners", and those involved in marketing and A&R as "creative managers".[71] He does not, however, say whether the critic can still be considered as a cultural intermediary.

I wish to retain the term here in an understanding of the term derived from Bourdieu in particular, as it seems to me that it describes a role which can directly affect the way that a text is received and interpreted, both within and without the industry that created it. A cultural intermediary, in her/his role as taste maker (which can be achieved from several different occupations), is in a powerful position to influence both the creation and reception of texts and as such deserves special attention and a specialist label, despite the variety of roles that the term may describe. A similar view is taken by Sean Nixon and Paul du Gay, who argue that the study of the cultural intermediary opens up the "links between production and consumption and the interplay between these discrete moments in the lifecycle of cultural forms."[72] This, in turn, can then "bring to light ... the interdependence and relations of reciprocal effect between cultural and economic practices."[73]

According to Bourdieu, there was a shift in French society in the 1960s, with many new occupations becoming widespread, leading to the emergence of the new bourgeois and the new petite bourgeois within the middle classes, which Bourdieu defined in terms of both occupations and cultural tastes. Other theorists have discussed this phenomenon occurring around this time in other countries, such as Lash and Urry, who describe the rise of the service class in America.[74] This development represents a further fracturing and expansion of the middle class than that which had occurred in the nineteenth century, described in the previous chapter, with Dahlhaus's taste-bearing strata, the educated bourgeoisie (which I am taking as being the equivalent of Bourdieu's intellectual bourgeoisie) being replaced with a new taste-bearing strata, the new cultural intermediaries who are part of the new petite bourgeoisie. For Bourdieu, these new fractions of the middle classes arose out of the huge increase in the number of educated

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Paul Du Gay and Sean Nixon, 'Who Needs Cultural Intermediaries', *Cultural Studies* 16/4, 2002, pp495–500, p.498.
[73] Ibid., pp.497–8.
[74] Ibid.

young people that were part of the baby boom generation. It is here that Bourdieu's work has further significance to my work. The rise of the new cultural intermediary, although here described based on French data, coincided exactly with the rise of media dedicated to rock music in the US, and the rise of the counterculture in the second half of the 1960s. It is for this reason that I do not follow the objections of other theorists to the use of the term 'new' in the phrase 'new cultural intermediary'.

Several have pointed out that cultural intermediaries in the form of critics and advertisers had existed in large number prior to the 1960s, for example the cultural critics of the educated bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century discussed in chapter one, or advertisers in the twentieth century. However, I believe that Bourdieu's description of these particular cultural intermediaries is valid because, although they may occupy jobs that existed before, their background, number and approach to culture and its promotion in particular do seem to be new in the 1960s. The idea of new cultural intermediaries does seem to be particularly useful in the study of rock in particular, a previously denigrated form of low culture, whose production and promotion practices were drastically altered at least partly because of the increased use of cultural intermediaries in a range of roles, mediating among the various different elements of the industry and causing it to change. Although problematic, Bourdieu's ideas of the new cultural intermediary offer a theoretical perspective that draws together social, economic and cultural change in a way that I believe is highly relevant for the development of the discourse of authenticity in rock at this time, and for the shape of the institutions which grew up around it. However, as my thesis focuses on the very specific case of rock, I shall use the term *rock cultural intermediaries* to describe the particular subset of cultural intermediary roles that interests me.

From the 1960s onwards, according to Bourdieu, class lines were increasingly delineated not in terms of economic capital, but in terms of cultural and educational capital. This results in the growth of knowledge-based industries, including "all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion; decoration and so forth) and in all the institutions providing symbolic goods and services."[75] According to Bourdieu, these include the various jobs in medical and social assistance (marriage guidance, sex therapy etc) and in cultural production and organisation (youth leaders, play leaders, tutors and monitors, radio and TV producers and presenters, magazine journalists), which expanded considerably in the 1960s.

[75] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.359.

Bourdieu describes a subset of these jobs, in particular producers of cultural television and radio programmes, cultural critics in quality newspapers and magazines, and "all the writer-journalists and all the journalist-writers"[76] as new cultural intermediaries who are ideally placed to impose the lifestyle handed down by the ethical avant-garde of the new bourgeoisie, including attitudes to culture, child-rearing and the relation between the sexes, to the rest of the new petite bourgeoisie. Bourdieu describes the new petite bourgoeisie as having a sense of "legitimacy in teaching others the legitimate lifestyle by a symbolic action" and explains that this both legitimates the lifestyle that they are selling as desirable and legitimates themselves as purveyors of how to achieve it. In this way, cultural intermediaries who make up the majority of these jobs have self-justifying roles, and it is quite possible for them to both see themselves and be seen as important revolutionary forces in the organisation of society, whilst actually subtly manipulating the rest of the petite bourgeoisie. Arguably, this is the role that rock cultural intermediaries such as independent publicists and journalists took in the record industry in the 1960s as will be demonstrated below.

Other aspects of Bourdieu's outline of the make-up of the petite bourgeoisie also correspond to the constituents of the counterculture in the US in the 1960s. He emphasises, for example, the social class background of the new petite bourgeoisie, which quite often have not risen from the rest of the petite bourgeosie, but originate instead from the bourgeosie, meaning that they have the cultural and social capital of that class, but usually have not completed their education to the level that might have been expected, or the educational qualifications they have received were not successfully converted into a typical bourgeois job. This failure to complete education, and the willingness to drop out of recognisable social categories was true of many of the rock critics that emerged in the mid 1960s, many of who were students at University but did not complete their education to a high enough level to become a legitimate cultural critic, an intellectual, and instead became rock cultural intermediaries. Jann Wenner, for example, the founder of *Rolling Stone* magazine, which started at the end of 1967, dropped out of Berkeley University in the Summer of 1966, having tried and failed to join higher levels of society through the debutante scene, leaving to try and become a music reporter and band member. His co-founder and mentor, Ralph Gleason, a jazz critic for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, was of an earlier generation but also acted much as a new cultural intermediary with his early interest in a fringe artistic activity. He, too, had been

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[76] Ibid., p.325.

kicked out of Columbia University without completing his studies.[77] Paul Williams, founder of the first dedicated rock magazine in America (and later a writer on science fiction, another area pinpointed by Bourdieu as an aspect of culture appealing to new cultural intermediaries) also dropped out of college after starting his magazine, *Crawdaddy!*, in February 1966.[78] Richard Meltzer, who claims to be the first author to write a book on rock music, although it was not published until 1970, by which time several other books about rock had appeared, advanced further through his education, becoming a graduate student at Yale. In his words, he wished both to avoid the draft by remaining a student, and to "extend the text of philosophy by dosing it silly with rock and roll."[79] Meltzer suggests that he was perhaps over-encouraged in his attempts to mix philosophy and rock and roll by his experimental teachers at The State University of New York at Stoney Brook, in particular by his painting teacher, Allan Kaprow, who encouraged him to publish the *Aesthetics of Rock*, which originated as an undergraduate extended essay. His papers on rock and philosophy at Yale were not well received, and he was quickly kicked out of college.[80] Several other rock writers did successfully make it through college and were from fine bourgeois or petite bourgeois backgrounds, but instead of taking the jobs that might have been expected of them having achieved University level education, they became rock critics; indeed, many of them became rock critics whilst still at University and continued acting as new cultural intermediaries for rock from that point on, such as Greil Marcus and Jon Landau. Some of these also became rock cultural intermediaries in other roles as producers or managers of bands, as will be discussed in the next two chapters.

These members of the bourgeosie are singled out by Bourdieu for special attention as being particularly well-placed to succeed as cultural intermediaries. This is because, although they usually have lower educational qualifications than is usual for their own class, they still have higher qualifications than are usual for the lower echelons of the petite bourgeoisie, and they also have similar cultural capital to that of the bourgeoisie, putting them in a good position to transmit bourgeois taste and ideas to the rest of the petite bourgoesie. However, Bourdieu suggests that these cultural intermediaries, who see themselves as "unclassifiable, excluded, *dropped out*, marginal (my emphasis)"[81] also have significant ambivalence towards the education system. This results in interest in the lower boundaries of legitimate culture, such as jazz and cinema, and also in low culture

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[77] Robert Draper, *Rolling Stone: The Uncensored History*, Doubleday, New York, 1990, p.60.
[78] Ibid., p.58.
[79] Richard Meltzer, foreword to the reprint of *Aesthetics of Rock*, Da Capo Press, 1987pp.ix–x.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.370.

such as rock music "as a challenge to legitimate culture"[82]; but this interest is pursued with an "erudite, even 'academic' disposition which is inspired by clear intention of rehabilitation..."[83]

As pointed out by Nixon, through these choices to pursue an alternative lifestyle from the classes from which they originated, using the "appropriation and 'rehabilitation' of specific cultural forms and practices"[84] and the deliberate mixing of aspects of high and low culture, the new cultural intermediaries develop a new lifestyle and taste structure which they then disseminate to the rest of the petite bourgeosie. Nixon states that the overriding concern of the new petite bourgeosie is to distinguish itself from the cultural taste usually exhibited by the petite bourgeosie in general[85]. Whilst this may be true, for the new petite bourgeoisie do exhibit very different tastes from the rest of the petite bourgeoisie, Bourdieu seems to suggest that it is more important to them to provide an alternative to old *bourgeois* understandings of culture, but one which is closely related to the tastes of new bourgeois culture. He describes part of the ambivalence towards education as resulting in "a sense of complicity with every form of symbolic defiance"[86] which is associated with low culture, the opposite of bourgeois legitimate taste; but the erudite attitude that they bring to bear on these formerly ignored objects is almost academic in nature and thus can offer, through the power of the mass media through which these ideas are then disseminated, a clear challenge to the assessment of it by legitimate culture.

Negus, one of the few theorists to have looked at cultural intermediaries in the music industry, has a different understanding of cultural intermediaries that should be addressed briefly, seeing them as those who "shape both use values and exchange values, and seek to manage how these values are connected with people's lives through the various techniques of persuasion and marketing and through the construction of markets."[87] He agrees with Bourdieu and others that cultural intermediaries perform these function largely as advertisers and promoters, the people who are "continually involved in explaining to us the use value of these new commodities"[88]; but he argues that many other roles are also involved in cultural mediation, or in the "linkages which might connect

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[82] Ibid., p.360.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Sean Nixon, 'Circulating Culture' in Paul Du Gay (ed.), *Production of Culture/ Cultures of Production*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1997, pp.177–234, p.213.
[85] Ibid., p.214.
[86] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.360.
[87] Negus, 'The Work of Cultural Intermediaries', p.504.
[88] Ibid.

production and consumption"[89]. The people in these roles are excluded from the label "cultural intermediaries", such as senior managers, accountants and business analysts in the music industry, those figures commonly referred to in the music business as "the suits".

Negus argues that these workers also function as cultural intermediaries, arguing that decisions made by 'the suits' do not just represent the financial pressures of "commerce (counterposed against art or creativity)"[90], but instead are involved in "the construction of what it is to be 'commercial' at any one time, often retrospectively, and they are engaged in mediating many of the values through which aesthetic work is realised."[91] Whilst I, too, am wary of the art-versus-commerce dichotomy and the consequent idea of 'the suits' not being cultural intermediaries because of their not being 'creative', I do not believe that many of the executives and accountants involved in the music business in the 1960s were actively involved in determining what was commercial at any one time. Instead, because of their uncertainty about the symbolic value of rock, which seemed to have moved beyond entertainment and was simultaneously becoming increasingly profitable, the executives in charge of labels, including those who had supposedly founded labels such as Elektra or Atlantic for the love of the music, not for the love of commerce, depended on rock cultural intermediaries to inform them what was rock and what was not, and also depended on them to market that rock back to the rock scenes from which it emerged. 'The suits' were only involved in the symbolic mediation of rock inasmuch as they trusted their personnel to mediate it for them. This situation did not last long, however, as several commentators remark. The beginning of the era of the dominance of rock cultural intermediaries, when the ideology of authenticity and the meaning of rock were in flux and open to change, was very short, seeming to stretch from 1966, when the first rock magazine, *Crawdaddy!* was started, until 1969, when the industry had codified rock and developed marketing practices which utilised all its institutions effectively, including FM radio, television and the rock press.

Several writers have pointed out that Bourdieu's focus on class as a meaningful division in society can be problematic.[92] However, as his ideas are so closely related to level of education and age, his idea of a new strand of the middle classes could equally be seen as an explanation for the apparent tension between generations which occurred with the

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[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., p.506.
[91] Ibid.
[92] See Ibid., for example.

birth of the baby boomers, which is usually linked to the emergence of the teenager and rock music, as outlined above. Sociologist Mike Featherstone explicitly makes this link, saying that the highly educated baby boomers in America emphasised the aestheticisation of life, emotional decontrol and informalisation. Featherstone argues that artists and intellectuals in the 1960s "detect[ed], crystalise[d] and disseminate[d] particular definitions of generational consciousness to various publics and markets"[93], reflecting the sensibilities of the baby boom generation. However, he offers no empirical evidence for this and does not make clear who these intellectuals and artist were. From a brief study of the counterculture, it appears that there were few conventional intellectuals reflecting the new way of life suggested by the student New Left movement and the hippies, for example. However, Featherstone emphasises that the interesting aspect of this new cultural attitude in the 1960s is that it "found resonances in a larger audience beyond intellectual and artistic circles"[94] and argues that it was spread through new cultural intermediaries. As pointed out by Hesmondhalgh, Featherstone equates the new cultural intermediaries with the whole of the new petite bourgeoisie class[95] and further seems to equate this class to the baby boomer generation and its aesthetic sensibilities.[96] Featherstone has a very positive view of the cultural intermediaries, whom he describes as "tastemakers" who "encourage an inflation in cultural goods, constantly draw upon artistic and intellectual trends for inspiration and help to create new conditions of artistic and intellectual production by working alongside them."[97]

Featherstone also expands on the importance of the idea of the development of new lifestyles that Bourdieu raises, when he declares that the new cultural intermediaries are spreading the ideas of the ethical avant-garde of the new bourgeoisie.[98] In particular, Bourdieu offers the idea that the individualism that is part of the cultural intermediaries' approach to life – seen in the way that they create their own new jobs, their anti-institutional temperament, their concern to escape heirarchies and classifications, and their willingness to embrace new fashions and low forms of culture and treat them with the "cultivated disposition" once reserved for high culture – may make them the perfect consumer. This perfect consumer would not merely be induced to consume by sophisticated advertising, but also would constantly be exposed to the "immediate impact of the market" without the protection and constraints that belonging to a recognisable,

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[93] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, p.35.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Hesmondhalgh, *Culture Industries*, p.54.
[96] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture*, p.35.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.365.

relatively homogeneous class, or long-term domestic unit, which provide collective memories and expectations and cause the need for long-term planning.[99] It is in this section on lifestyle that Bourdieu seems to see the new petite bourgeoisie as reacting against the more traditional values of the petite bourgeoisie.

Featherstone develops Bourdieu's idea of the importance of cultural intermediaries to the development of new lifestyles much further. According to him, the 1960s can be described as a time not only of the counterculture and the birth of rock, as I have so far described them, but as the time when society became increasingly focused around the idea of lifestyles, resulting in the modern consumer society, rather than one based on mass consumption more associated with the 1950s. Mass consumption implies conformity, but as we have seen in the discussion of the record industry above, there were changes in the 1960s, with audiences (or markets) being thought of for the first time as increasingly heterogeneous; markets were segmented and targeted separately, with, as an example, the realisation that popular music was bought by a wide range of age groups and people.[100] Advertising began to change over this period of time as well, shifting from an emphasis on product quality towards a portrayal of "looser, lifestyle imagery", in effect selling an experience associated with the commodity.[101] This change, of course, is also discussed by Frank. However, as the 1960s progressed, this was no longer the case, and the nature of adverts changed accordingly, reflecting perceived ideals of authenticity related to rock culture, as will be shown in the final chapter.

Featherstone argues that in the 1960s lifestyles are reflexively adopted by "the new heroes of consumer culture", or the new cultural intermediaries, in the way that they "make lifestyle a life project". For the first time, consumers are made conscious that they speak "not only with [their] clothes, but with [their] home, furnishings, decoration, car and other activities which are to be read and classified in terms of the presence and absence of taste."[102] Consumer culture consequently promises a way to provide individuality and difference that is particularly prized by the new cultural intermediaries. Featherstone also links the new cultural intermediaries to the construction of the cultural sphere, arguing that:

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[99] Ibid., p.371.
[100] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture*, p.81.
[101] Ibid., p.86.
[102] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture*, p.86.

> [t]he cultural realm ... has its own logic and currency as well as rate of conversion into economic capital. For the possessors of a high volume of cultural capital, the intellectuals and academics, the prestige and legitimacy, relative scarcity and therefore social value of this cultural capital, is dependent on a denial of the market in cultural goods and a denial of the relevance and necessity to convert cultural capital into economic capital. This misrecognition of the fact that prestigious cultural goods are redeemable as money, points to the maintenance of a 'higher', 'sacred' cultural sphere in which artists and intellectuals struggle to bring forth the products of their 'natural' talents (the ideology of charisma).[103]

This brings us back to the art versus commerce dichotomy that seems to be inherent to the countercultural stance, from which these intellectual cultural intermediaries emerged. Featherstone goes on to argue that the cultural intermediaries in the 1960s also "establish a monopoly in defining legitimate taste within the cultural realm"[104], determining what is considered high and low art. By doing this, Featherstone argues that they are trying to boost their own economic capital by keeping the cultural field autonomous and cultural products scarce commodities which are therefore high in economic value. They therefore resist "moves towards a democratisation of culture."[105]

The rock cultural intermediaries can be understood as adopting a similar position, but as the arbiters of rock taste, as opposed to high culture taste. In the way that rock is written about and treated in the rock press, and to some extent, later in the broader national press, the critics are clearly trying to establish rock culture as a similarly legitimate, prestigious art form. They did this in two ways — one, as discussed by Bernard Gendron, by explicitly aligning rock with high art, especially in response to *Sgt Pepper*, and, two, by using a denial of the economic aspect of rock's cultural products in their discussions of authenticity, similar to that described by Featherstone.[106] This denial of the economic aspect of rock, usually expressed as the importance of not 'selling out' and pursuing an alternative lifestyle, in many cases, without a job, was discussed as problematic in the *Billboard* Spotlight pull out referred to above. A local record label owner is quoted as saying: "Some of the new groups are good but a little crazy. They are absolutely non-commercial (at first) and have to be shown they have to conform a little to make

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[103] Ibid., p.89.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Bernard Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club: Popular Music and the Avant-Garde*, University of Chicago Press, London, 2002, pp.161–163.

money."[107] *Rolling Stone* magazine regularly includes discussions of both the equivalence of rock to high art and of the problem of the commercial nature of making recordings, praising music that seems to be made with artistic integrity, and deriding that in which commercial concerns seem to have determined the nature of the record.[108] Where the rock cultural intermediaries differ immensely from the intellectuals, as described by Featherstone, is in his cultural intermediaries' opposition to the democratisation of culture. Rock was often referred to as a democratising music in which anyone could form a band, and the rock lifestyle was spoken of as being open to anyone willing to "turn on, tune in and drop out", or who was willing to listen to the music. This makes the denigration of the commercial aspect of rock in discussions of authenticity more peculiar, in the fact that the whole idea was to get as many people to listen to the music as possible, and therefore to get as many people as possible to buy the records.

However, profit was not the only motivation for the desire to see rock and its associated lifestyles spread, largely from San Francisco. As several commentators have pointed out, the rock scene in San Francisco was largely musically unimportant, with very few San Franciscan bands making a big musical impression on other rock bands, or even having many hits;[109] but the ideas about what rock could mean as a lifestyle choice were certainly attached to the idea of San Francisco, if not emanating directly from there. The original San Francisco scene started in the two ballrooms, the Fillmore and the Winterland, with concerts organised by Bill Graham. Paul Williams, in one of the first accounts of the music scene of San Francisco available to music fans, ascribes the beginnings of the San Francisco scene to a combination of Bill Graham's ballrooms, the enthusiastic columns written by Ralph Gleason in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Ken Kesey, who tied together the idea of light shows, LSD and rock and roll, and the original bands and organisations that started holding regular rock concerts accompanied by light shows and advanced technology, to develop the "San Francisco Sound"[110]. However, by the time that the idea of San Francisco as musical centre had gone national, so to speak, the ballrooms had lost their importance and had been replaced with "environments even

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[107] Tiegel, 'San Francisco', p.SF-3.
[108] For rock as art, see, for example, Thomas Albright, 'Visuals', *Rolling Stone* Vol.1, No.4, Apr 27th, 1968 and Jon Landau, 'Rock and …' What's wrong with Rock art', *Rolling Stone*, Vol.2, No.4, Jul 20th, 1968. For commercial concerns being problematic, see, for example, Jon Landau, 'Motown', *Rolling Stone* Vol. 1, No.3, Dec 14th 1967, and Jann Wenner, 'Rock n' Roll Music', *Rolling Stone* Vol.1, No.5, Feb 10th, 1968.
[109] See for example, Robert A. Hull, 'Sound and Vision: Psychedelia' in Barney Hoskyns (ed.), *The Sound and the Fury*, pp.378–393, pp.383–386.
[110] Paul Williams, 'The Golden Road: A Report on San Francisco'.

more closely knit into the community"[111], such as the free outdoor concerts held in the Panhandle area of Golden Gates park, the Straight Theatre, a hippie art centre including a combination of theatres, dance workshops, photographic studios and shops in Haight Ashbury, and the new radio station KMPX-FM, which became the model for FM radio rock stations across the country. The idea that a large audience is required and should be built for rock is suggested by Williams's description of the ballrooms as "obsolete in terms of community" but now effectively acting as "induction centres" in which "the teenyboppers, the college students the curious adults come down to … see what's going on, and pretty soon they do see, and pretty soon they're part of it."[112]

Williams states that the main thing that the San Francisco bands have in common is that "they have all been reared by the same audience, the Fillmore/Avalon Crowd, the first good rock audience in America" and states that this audience are responsible for the existence of all the bands that are emerging in San Francisco, highlighting the links between rock and the counterculture community.[113] It is this emphasis on community and the importance of audience that distinguishes the rock cultural intermediaries from the cultural intermediaries described by Featherstone. They are trying to give rock a similar high cultural prestige but are concerned with making it inclusive as a process.

This is also complicated by the fact that for a short time, the rock cultural intermediaries were part of the development of the rock scene and welcomed as such by the bands themselves. In this way, they effectively adopted a position that Bourdieu pinpoints as being unique to the cultural intermediary of the petit bourgeois, one which he describes as being particularly un-self aware. He describes the cultural intermediaries as "'need merchants', sellers of symbolic goods and services who always sell themselves as models and as guarantors of the value of their products, and who sell so well because they believe in what they sell". He argues that in the form of the cultural intermediary, "the symbolic authority of the honest, trustworthy vendor takes the form of an imposition that is both more violent and more gentle, since the vendor deceives the customer only insofar as he deceives himself and is sincerely 'sold' on the value of what he sells."[114]

Bourdieu explicitly links the new cultural intermediaries to the 1960s counterculture, describing them as 'new intellectuals', a point that Featherstone picks up on, describing

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[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.,
[114] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.365.

how they invent a new "art of living that provides them with the gratifications and prestige of the intellectual at least cost."[115] For Bourdieu, this is part of the cultural intermediaries' refusal of institutions and the heirarchies of knowledge that they purvey. Bourdieu argues that the new cultural intermediaries adopt only the most easily-acquired aspects of the "external signs of inner riches previously reserved for intellectuals"[116], but that they see their motivation as the overthrow of taboos, adopting "liberated manners, cosmetic or sartorial outrages, emancipated poses and postures and systematically apply[ing] the cultivated disposition to not-yet-legitimate culture."[117] Bourdieu, however, implies that the stances taken by the counterculture, which he here elides with the new cultural intermediaries directly, are no more oppositional or natural than those of the bourgeois or petite bourgeois, as what is often considered to be a turn to a "wild" or "natural" lifestyle contains cultivated and scholastic impulses of a "romantic flight from the social world."[118] In this way, the counterculture, working through the intermediaries, "leaves its principles implicit"[119], as the bourgeois and petite bourgeois culture does, and so still can appear to be natural to the new petite bourgeoisie, although it is, in fact, based in tastes largely determined by educational and cultural capital, as are all taste distinctions. For Bourdieu, the counterculture is no different from those ways of life, but it does promote interest in lifestyle, and in popular culture, in a way that the other classes do not.

Featherstone argues, though, that the new cultural intermediaries associated with the counterculture did have a somewhat revolutionary effect. He believes that the intrusion of a large number of the new cultural intermediaries into intellectual fields and the determination of what is worthy of serious study, i.e. the assessment of what constitutes high and low culture, can be read as part of the ongoing struggle between "the established and outsiders/newcomers"[120], who have to adopt subversive strategies, seeking "difference, discontinuity and revolution or a return to origins to detect the true meaning of a tradition"[121]. These strategies are used to displace the established ideas in a field and make a space for themselves instead.[122] Featherstone develops these points further, arguing that the ongoing expansion of cultural intermediaries has fundamentally altered what it means to be an intellectual and has caused changes in the way that culture is

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[115] Ibid., p.371.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid., p.370.
[118] Ibid., p.371.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture*, p.92.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.

presented, accessed and assessed.[123] However, this had yet to happen in the 1960s, with very few intellectuals taking an interest in the new lifestyles and many of those who may have become intellectuals dropping out, instead, to become rock cultural intermediaries. It is arguable, however, that here, the rock cultural intermediaries did indeed have a culture changing effect, helping to define and particularly to sell rock music as authentic, based on their own beliefs that it was so. In this way, they were functioning as Bourdieu described, as un-self aware but convincing sellers of the lifestyles and beliefs to which they themselves subscribed.

As the above discussion shows, the record labels had severe problems at their output boundaries in the mid 1960s, through limitations in the ways that they could get their product to the public, and, as discussions in *Billboard* suggest, through confusion over how best to sell their products to that public, even if they were lucky enough to reach it. As the 1960s progressed, and especially as rock started to be discussed as an art or as an expression of youth or the counterculture, getting the public to hear the music alone may not have been enough to persuade them that a record should be bought. Increasingly, records needed to be positioned as being part of the rock genre, and the way most often used was that of arguing, or at least implying, that it was a 'hip' product or that it was authentic, despite being produced within the commercial setting of the record industry. The rise of anti-establishment authenticity in relation to rock also caused problems at the industry's input boundary, in that bands needed to be persuaded that by signing a record deal, they were not allowing themselves to be co-opted by the Establishment. In the next two chapters, I will explore how the industry solved these problems by starting to take an entrepreneurial approach to both the acquisition of bands, and to their marketing and publicity in order to market rock as authentic.

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[123] Ibid., pp.92–94.

Chapter Seven: 'The Rise of the Rock Cultural Intermediary'

The figure of the cultural intermediary, then, is intimately linked to the dissemination and development of ideas relating to authenticity, commerce and the development of alternative lifestyles in the 1960s, ideas which also became indelibly linked to rock culture through the rock cultural intermediaries as the decade progressed. In an extension of the belief in the importance of freedom to the creation of rock music which had led to the rise of the entrepreneur producer, the record industry, particularly the major labels, turned to the rock cultural intermediaries to help solve their dual problem of persuading bands imbued with countercultural anti-commercial values to sign record deals and to help the industry sell the records those bands made back to that counterculture and beyond. 1966 marked point where the record industry increasingly needed cultural intermediaries to work both at its input and output boundaries in order to supplement the existing entrepreneur producer/top 40 DJ gatekeeper approach. This chapter looks at how this worked in practice, exploring the release of the Beach Boys *Pet Sounds* further, and comparing this with the outstanding success of The Jimi Hendrix Experience, a band who were astutely managed and marketed by rock cultural intermediaries.

The ongoing case of *Pet Sounds*

The shift from traditional methods of marketing towards a more complex approach and the importance of the role of cultural intermediaries can be seen in the initial flop and later recovery of the Beach Boys' *Pet Sounds*. The relative failure of *Pet Sounds* in the US at the time of its release reveals the unique problems that the record industry had with changes in record production and the development of rock and their inability to deal with it effectively. Depending entirely on Wilson's track record as a successful entrepreneur producer, Capitol made no attempt to meet the demands of rock authenticity that were coalescing at this time in the rock market. In other words, they failed to use marketing techniques that would persuade gatekeepers or the audience that the Beach Boys were authentic rock stars in the new, Romantic artist sense that was gaining currency at this time.

As discussed in chapter six, Hirsch showed in 1969 that a record company would only heavily promote records to gate-keepers that they already expected to be hits, using techniques including full-page advertisements in the trade press and personal appearances

by the recording artists to create anticipation and demand for releases.[1] This level of promotion would be repeated for as long as bands of that type succeeded in getting airplay — until, in Hirsch's words, "the fad ha[d] run its course".[2] The Beach Boys *Pet Sounds* album was treated this way, with promotional spots pre-recorded for radio stations by the band advertising the new album and its singles, and full-page advertisements in *Billboard.* These adverts, however, gave no indication of the new sound or direction of The Beach Boys, instead depending on their successful established image, and track record of teen hits. This can be seen in the following promo spots, improvised by the Beach Boys, that were given to radio stations to promote the first single released from the album, 'Caroline, No', which was described above:

Promo spot one: opens with an old bar piano playing in the style of chase music from a silent film. Mike Love interrupts: "Just a second, Bruce, hold it. Bruce…Bruce! Bruce we want a little Top 40 sound for this thing…." (Piano switches to ragtime vaudeville playing style) Love continues: "Hi, there… everyone listening to the Kirby Scott show on WCEO. This is Mike Love and on behalf of the other Beach Boys, I'd like to have you give a listen to Brian Wilson's new solo, 'Caroline, No'. (Triumphant cadence on the piano) Someone shouts in the distance "Stop that Piano!"[3]

Promo spot two: [Smashing noise, which continues sporadically in the background amidst muffled laughter from the group] Carl Wilson speaks: "Well, we had our hands on it and broke it… Um, Hi everybody, this is Carl Wilson of the Beach Boys and we're trying to put (little laugh) this record back together …um… for Brian and Johnny Doug is going to play it on WEAM." (distant shout: "There's the hole!", then all the background sounds stop.) Carl continues: "That's W (clap) E (clap) A (clap) M (clap)." The clip closes with an old bar piano cadence similar to that in the previous promo spot.[4]

These promo spots are very similar in style to other Beach Boys promo spots up to this point, where the band 'goof around' and depend on their names being recognised and the audiences' previous familiarity with the group rather than giving any indication of what the next single or album will be like. It would be easy for DJs and consumers to assume from these spots that the up-coming single would be in the familiar Beach Boys style,

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[1] Hirsch, *The Structure of the Pop Music*, pp.34–36.
[2] Hirsch, 'Processing Fads and Fashions', pp.648–649.
[3] See *The Pet Sounds Sessions box set*, Disc 3, track 12.
[4] See *The Pet Sounds Sessions box set*, Disc 3, track 25.

with upbeat surf oriented lyrics, vibrant vocal harmonies and traditional five-piece band backing (drums, guitars, bass and singers).

The release of 'Caroline, No' was the first indication that the Beach Boys new sound was perhaps not going to be entirely successful, as it only reached number 32 in the charts. To compensate for this, Capitol rushed out the 'Sloop John B.' single, which pre-dated *Pet Sounds* by six months and gave little indication of the style of the upcoming album (although Capitol did force Brian Wilson to include it on the *Pet Sounds* album after its success in the single charts, where it reached number two.)[5] Even at these first signs that the album may not be a huge commercial success, there was no attempt made to reposition the Boys and their new sound towards the emerging hip rock market and its nascent rock press.

Capitol reacted to the relative failure of the *Pet Sounds* album as they had reacted to the failure of 'Caroline, No', by rushing out a new album that reflected the band's established style — the first *Best of the Beach Boys* album, released on 5th July.[6] The album soon outsold *Pet Sounds*, reaching number eight, and achieved gold record status very quickly. The release of a 'Best of' album usually indicated the end of a band's career, and signalled a withdrawal of support from Capitol for new Beach Boys product. In other words, for Capitol, this particular fad had 'run its course'. This was entirely according to the norms of institutional organisation at that time, where the only adaptable element was production. A record that did not sell was compensated for by one that probably would. The methods for marketing remained unchanged.

There are various theories amongst Beach Boys fans as to what might explain the initial commercial failure of *Pet Sounds*, ranging from conspiracy theories that Capitol was trying to sabotage the group's success to the idea that the world just was not quite ready yet for such a work of 'mighty genius'. It seems to me that the commercial failure can be explained by the fact that The Beach Boys image and sound was by this point firmly entrenched in the public's imagination, as was the idea of The Beach Boys as authentic folk representatives of a uniquely American way of life. Several commentators on authenticity have emphasised the role of a band's visual image in establishing them as authentic or not. Negus points out that the visual aspect of a band or solo artist is so important that they are often dressed in a style related to previous acts in the same genre

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[5] The Beach Boys, 'Sloop John B.'/'You're So Good to Me', Capitol 5602.
[6] The Beach Boys, *Best of the Beach Boys*, Capitol T2545.

in order to initially establish them as genuine exponents of a particular type of music.[7] This was the case for the Beach Boys, whose dress was a mixture of the influence of earlier surf bands, and the striped suits of the Four Freshmen, a vocal harmony group from New York. Gracyk also discusses this aspect, arguing that each new release issued by an established artist is listened to in terms of their previous releases and their established performing persona. He asserts that "much of our pleasure in a new release by a favourite singer is in its relationship to the established personae of the performer."[8] It seems that in the modern record industry as described by Negus, with the emphasis being on artist development, it is possible for an established act to change their style or image through clever marketing techniques and the seeking out of suitable new markets. This can be seen in the careers of such successful acts as David Bowie and Madonna, who have now both continued successfully as musical artists for over twenty years whilst regularly changing their image as the dominant trends of the music industry have changed around them.

In the case of the Beach Boys in 1965, there was no mechanism in place to allow them to do this. They were one of the first groups to have a career that spanned more than a couple of years, which was possibly achieved partly through Capitol's early policy of not releasing too many singles, and, unfortunately for the band, as the music scene developed from rock and roll to rock, there was no support system in place to help them to make the transition. In attempting to make the transition without the appropriate institutional support, the band appeared to their existing fans to be betraying their previous surfing authenticity with their new more serious direction. Unfortunately, the weight of their established image also prevented them from attracting a new audience of people who would appreciate their progressive musical direction as they couldn't yet be taken seriously as authentic artists merely on the strength of their new sound. As will be seen, the transition to being perceived as authentic artists was made for a short time, but not through any action on the part of Capitol, who continued with their policy of pressurising Wilson to keep producing hit after hit in the same established Beach Boys style. As demonstrated below, the transition was instead made through independent rock cultural intermediaries and the use of the nascent rock press, initially working in Britain.

Although this thesis deliberately focuses on the development of rock in America, the influence of developments in Britain on the American rock scene after the success of the so-called British Invasion cannot be ignored. It is particularly noticeable that the

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[7] Negus, *Producing Pop*, p.65.
[8] Gracyk, *Rhythm and Noise*, pp.54–55.

successful establishment of two American acts, the Beach Boys and Jimi Hendrix, as authentic exponents of rock, occurred first in Britain before this view could then be re-imported to the American rock scene. In both cases, this was achieved through the use of British rock cultural intermediaries working in conjunction with more established British rock bands and the British music press. I shall discuss the processes used to achieve this here as versions of these methods were gradually adopted in America by rock bands, the rock cultural intermediaries and the record industry itself.

The Beach Boys were the first to benefit from the use of rock cultural intermediaries in Britain with the surprise success of *Pet Sounds* after its flop in America. Unlike the reception of *Pet Sounds* in America, the album was a huge success in Britain. As mentioned above, however, this success was not generated by Capitol, who had no plans to release the album internationally after its disappointing sales in America. Instead, it was driven by Derek Taylor, ex-publicist of The Beatles, whom The Beach Boys had personally hired in March, 1966 in order to, in Brian Wilson's words, "take them to a new plateau"[9]. Taylor and Bruce Johnston went to the UK with a copy of *Pet Sounds* on the day of its release in America to start promoting the album there in preparation for the UK tour that the band had booked in November. Taylor and Johnston arranged preview hearings of *Pet Sounds* for hip British journalists and rock luminaries, including Lennon and McCartney of the Beatles in their hotel room in London, ensuring that as many journalists as possible saw that as many hip British musicians as possible were excited about the new Beach boys album.[10] By doing this, they managed to tap into the burgeoning rock press in England and successfully built up demand for the album by selling Brian Wilson as being a pop genius, or authentic Romantic artist in the vein of the Beatles, and heralding the album as the future of pop music. In this way, they effectively created a market for the album and the band in a way closer to the artist development techniques discussed by Negus using members of the London rock scene as rock cultural intermediaries for the Beach Boys.

The album was released due to popular demand to great acclaim in Britain on 27th June, 1966, where it soon shot to number 2 on the album chart and became one of the top five selling albums of 1966.[11] Taylor's technique of promoting the album by selling Wilson as a genius was so successful that on the back of *Pet Sounds* and the 'Good Vibrations' single The Beach Boys were voted Top World Vocal Group in the NME poll that

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[9] Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, p.120.
[10] Ibid., pp.134–139.
[11] The Beach Boys, *Pet Sounds*, UK release, Capitol T2458.

December, coming ahead of The Beatles in their own homeland. For a brief time, this positive perception of the Beach Boys and Brian Wilson continued in Britain and spread through to America's nascent rock press, which had started with the *Crawdaddy!* fanzine in February 1966. It was at this point that the Beach Boys, or at least Brian Wilson, started to be widely accepted as having authentic artistic talent in the recording studio. It still remained for them to be taken seriously as Romantic artists, however, or, in the jargon of the era, for them to make the transition from square, clean-cut all American boys to cool hipsters, ready and able to join the forthcoming Summer of Love. This will be returned to later in the chapter.

The launch of Jimi Hendrix's rock career towards the end of 1966 is another illuminating example of British rock cultural intermediaries in action. Prior to his launch as front man of The Jimi Hendrix Experience, Hendrix, who had taught himself the guitar learning from blues records owned by his father, had been playing the electric guitar in R'n'B backing bands on the so-called 'chitlin' live circuit in America. Between 1963 and 1965 he was employed full time as a member of various backing groups, honing his guitar skills, developing innovative methods for including feedback and distortion into his sound and learning various aspects of showmanship that would be key to his acceptance as an authentic rock musician, such as playing his guitar with his teeth and behind his back.[12] In June 1966, Hendrix started his own band, Jimmy James and the Blue Flames. Despite his blues roots, Hendrix was interested in playing with white musicians and in performing rock and folk covers, moving away from the R'n'B style music that was more commonly played by black musicians at the time, but was unable to find anyone in America interested in signing him to a record label. [13]

It was the intervention of another key British rock cultural intermediary type, the band manager who originated from within the rock scene, that changed his career trajectory. These managers were often friends of the bands and seen as almost a band member themselves — this could be argued for example of Brian Epstein, manager of the Beatles through the period of their success until his untimely death in 1967 and of Andrew Loog Oldham, manager of the Rolling Stones.[14] These managers usually only managed one band at once and had a key role in organising a band's live performances as well as

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[12] Steven Roby, *Black Gold: The Lost Archives of Jimi Hendrix*, Billboard Books, New York, 2002, p8.
[13] See Charles Shaar Murray, *Crosstown Traffic: Jimi Hendrix and Post-War Pop*, (revised ed.), Faber & Faber, London, 2001, pp.45–72 for a detailed biography of Hendrix.
[14] See Brain Epstein, *A Cellarful of Noise: The Autobiography of the Man Who Made the Beatles*, Byron Preiss, New York, 1964/1998 and Andrew Loog Oldham, *Stoned* and *2Stoned*, Vintage, London, 2003 and 2004 respectively for accounts of the role of these managers.

negotiating record deals. They sometimes also acted as producers, expanding the possibilities of the independent entrepreneur producer discussed in chapter four further. By the mid sixties, some rock musicians were looking to move into management and production, using what they had learned about rock in a new role. One such person was Chas Chandler, bassist for The Animals, a successful blues rock group from the UK who had a number one hit with their version of 'The House of the Rising Sun' in the US in 1964.[15] It was Chandler, looking for a new act to manage and produce, who 'discovered' Hendrix through another member of the rock scene, Linda Keith, at that time the girlfriend of Keith Richards of the Rolling Stones.

Keith had come across Hendrix whilst staying in New York as the Stones toured the states in 1966, and was trying to find someone interested in helping him develop his career. On her advice, Chandler saw Hendrix play in a local New York venue, Café Wha, in August 1966, and, convinced that he had the contacts and production knowledge to turn Hendrix into a star, offered to take Hendrix to the UK to develop his career.[16] The introduction of Hendrix to the UK was an exemplary case of using rock cultural intermediaries from within the rock scene to authenticate a rock act. Arriving in Britain on 24th September, within a week, Hendrix was taken to a Cream gig to be introduced to Eric Clapton, who at the time was considered to be the best guitarist in Britain. The gig was held at the Regent Polytechnic venue in London, and the newly-formed blues-rock supergroup Cream drew a big audience of the London music scene.[17] It was suggested that Hendrix jam with the band on stage, which he did, shocking Eric Clapton with his guitar playing skill to the extent that Clapton allegedly left the stage for a while to recover, making a huge impression on the audience, as Clapton was considered to be the best guitarist in London at the time.[18] Thus Clapton acted as a rock cultural intermediary for Hendrix, authenticating him as a rock star for the audience.

Jonny Halliday, the French rock n' roll star, was present at a similar early UK jam session, and he and Chandler agreed that if Hendrix could find a backing band in time, he could accompany Halliday on tour in mid October.[19] Auditions were held, and The Jimi Hendrix Experience, consisting of Noel Redding on bass and Mitch Mitchell on drums,

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[15] The Animals, 'House of the Rising Sun'/'Talkin' 'Bout You', MGM Records K13264, released US, August 1964.
[16] See John McDermott with Eddie Kramer, *Hendrix: Setting the Record Straight*, Warner Books, New York, 1994, pp.6–20 for a detailed account of the 'discovery' of Hendrix.
[17] McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, pp21–22.
[18] See Charles R. Cross, *Room Full of Mirrors: A Biography of Jimi Hendrix*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 2005, pp.161–2 for a detailed account of the gig.
[19] McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, p.25.

were formed and launched on tour in France by the end of October. Although the auditions were not specifically seeking white musicians, the eventual multi-race line-up was a visually arresting and unusual aspect of the band (see Fig. 7). Even the name of the band, thought of by Chas Chandler, was an astute piece of marketing building on the nascent reputation of the unique experience that watching Jimi Hendrix as a live performer was considered to be, and highlighting him as the centrepiece of the band. The tour was a great success, and on the band's return to England, a press agent was hired to "set the publicity machine in motion and inform the press that an unusually capable artist had been found and brought to England."[20] Having made the 'Hey Joe' single, a record deal was made by Chandler with independent UK label Track records, owned and operated by the managers of the Who. Part of the deal was a guaranteed slot on *Ready, Steady, Go*, the British music television show, which allowed the Experience to expose a wide audience to their debut single, 'Hey Joe', released that day (December 16th, 1966), and made the most of their unusual appearance.[21]

Shortly before the television appearance, a press reception and gig was organised for the press and British rock n roll elite to see the newly formed Jimi Hendrix Experience. As was the case with *Pet Sounds*, the presence of the most famous artists present, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, had the effect of confirming Hendrix's authenticity as a new rock contender and the impressed artists went on to shower praise on Hendrix in many of their interviews.[22] This, combined with more television appearances and reports of the increasingly wild stage show that was developed in the following tour of Britain ensured that Hendrix was regularly mentioned not just in the music press, but in the mainstream press as well.

As the exposure continued, 'Hey Joe' did well in the charts, reaching number six by February,[23] and was followed with a second single, 'Purple Haze', released in March.[24] Paul McCartney took on a more direct rock cultural intermediary role for Hendrix, writing a glowing review of Purple Haze for *Melody Maker*, a well-established British music newspaper.[25] The British success of Hendrix was used by Hendrix's management to persuade Mo Ostin at Reprise records (subsidiary of Warner-Seven Arts at this time) to sign the Jimi Hendrix Experience in a deal that had an unusually large promotional

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[20] Michael Jeffery, quoted in McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, p.29.
[21] The Jimi Hendrix Experience, 'Hey Joe'/'Stone Free', Polydor 56139.
[22] McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, pp. 36–39.
[23] Sean Egan, *Not Necessarily Stoned, But Beautiful: The Making of Are You Experienced*, Unanimous Ltd., London, 2002, p.133.
[24] The Jimi Hendrix Experience, 'Purple Haze'/'51st Anniversary', Track Records 604001.
[25] Cross, *Room Full of Mirrors*, p.184.

budget, allowing Hendrix's managers influence over the marketing of the band as well as handling the production side.[26] Thus, they were some of the first rock cultural intermediaries to be allowed creative freedom at both the input and output boundaries of the record industry process.

The above account of the astute positioning of the Beach Boys and Hendrix as authentic rock stars by rock cultural intermediaries in Britain demonstrates how the techniques of artist development were perhaps more developed in Britain than in the US at this time, and that those such as Chandler and Derek Taylor who had worked in the music business there for some time by the late 1960s had a good understanding of how the authentication of an act worked. In both cases, the endorsement by suitable existing rock stars was crucial to the authentication of the American newcomers – the Beatles played a crucial role in both cases, representing as they did the height of the rock aristocracy in Britain. With their track record of innovative musical developments, they were well placed to endorse Brian Wilson's studio creations as examples of authentic rock genius. The Beatles could also act as effective rock cultural intermediaries for Hendrix by praising the unusual soundscapes he created with the electric guitar, but Hendrix, who had not recorded anything for Chandler before he arrived in Britain, needed different treatment to create interest before most people heard him at all, and was initially introduced primarily as a live performer. This tapped into the British interest in American blues that was a huge part of the London scene, seen in the jam sessions with the Cream blues supergroup and in the endorsements by The Who (both personally and through their management signing Hendrix to their label) and the Rolling Stones, who had started off as a blues covers band.

As Waksman, professor of ethnic studies has discussed, Hendrix's race had a large role to play in the successful situating of him as an authentic guitarist following (or some would argue, reclaiming) the blues tradition as it was understood by white British audiences at the time.[27] However, Waksman argues it was also "the combination of musical and physical flamboyance"[28] that Hendrix exhibited onstage that was perceived as proof of his authenticity, and it is this that I wish to focus on, as it was flamboyance in live performance that was to become crucial to Hendrix's perception as an authentic rock star in America as it coincided with the shift outlined in my typology of authenticity from a

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[26] McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, pp.58–61.
[27] Steve Waksman, *Instruments of Desire: The Electric Guitar and the Shaping of Musical Experience*, Harvard University Press, London, 2001, pp.167–206.
[28] Waksman, *Instruments of Desire*, p.188.

Romantic artist model of authenticity, focussed on self-expression on record, to one that saw the live performance as the primary site of authenticity. The further development of Hendrix as authentic rock star will be returned to at the end of the chapter in my discussion of the Monterey Pop festival. For now, though, we return to the brief successful authentication of the Beach Boys as Romantic rock artists following the success of *Pet Sounds* in Britain.

Good Vibrations – Brian Wilson as Romantic genius

After the release of *Pet Sounds* in Britain, Capitol wanted a new single from The Beach Boys, but 'Good Vibrations', which by this time had been worked on for 16 sessions (unheard of at that time for a single), was still not deemed ready for release by Wilson. Instead 'Wouldn't it be nice' backed with 'God Only knows' was released from the Pet Sounds album on 22nd July, and became a hit across the world, although it still only reached number 8 in the US chart.[29] This may have been because, although the Beach Boys are now being taken seriously as Romantic artists in Britain, in the US where there was only one music magazine with small distribution, *Crawdaddy!*, the number of cultural intermediaries who could effectively reach the rock audience was still relatively low in comparison to Britain. In August of that year, whilst Wilson continued work on 'Good Vibrations', Derek Taylor began his so-called 'Brian is a genius campaign' in the US. Taylor explained how the idea came about and then how it was implemented in the hip scene in Los Angeles at that time:

> ...Brian told me that he thought he was better than most other people believed him to be. So I went around town proposing the contention to people [in the local hip scene who knew Brian] and they all said, "Oh, yes, definitely. Brian Wilson is a genius." Then I thought, "Well, if that is so, why doesn't anyone outside think so?" Then I started putting it around, making almost a campaign out of it. But I believed it. Brian Wilson is a genius. It was something that I felt should be established.[30]

The campaign was highly effective, as Taylor made contact with various rock cultural intermediaries in the LA scene as he had with those in London and soon Brian Wilson's name was being uttered in the same breath as that of Bob Dylan, John Lennon and Paul

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[29] The Beach Boys, 'Wouldn't it be nice'/'God only knows' Capitol 5706.
[30] Quoted in Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, p.142.

McCartney. Meanwhile, work had started on the next Beach Boys album, which would be called *Smile*, and also continued on 'Good Vibrations' whilst the band were away on tour. Capitol records were still following the model of entrepreneurial producing, allowing Wilson creative freedom to work on his records as he wished, but executives had misgivings about the cost. Under the terms of being an entrepreneur producer, Wilson would only be allowed to continue with this level of creative freedom if he managed to turn his next record into a hit. Wilson continued working on his new records in the same way as he did on *Pet Sounds*, this time using Van Dyke Parks, a local hipster as a lyricist, and writing many 'feels', which he recorded in several different studios to achieve the correct sound for each one. However, this method of composition was becoming more complex, with each individual song now being built up of multiple short recorded fragments, recorded at different studios and with different instrumentalists, and it was taking Wilson longer to complete each individual track in preparation for adding the vocals. This new method of recording was very gruelling for all the instrumentalists involved, as well as the Beach Boys when they came to do their vocal parts. As Mike Love later described it:

> On one passage of 'Good Vibrations' we did it over and over, not only to get the note right, but we wanted the timbre and quality of each note and how the four parts would resonate together... I can remember doing 25 to 30 vocal overdubs of the same part, and when I say part, I mean the same section of the record, maybe no more than two, three, four, five seconds long![31]

The new method of recording also made it increasingly difficult for Wilson to distinguish between individual songs and to decide when a track was completed, as many of the 'feels' were variations of each other. However, in the case of 'Good Vibrations', Wilson finally decided on a version that he was happy with and it was completed on 10th October, 1966, after six months and 22 sessions of work, during which small sections were recorded and re-recorded, the track was continually composed and altered as it was created, and several trial mixes were made, considered and ultimately discarded before the final version was decided upon. This method of working set a precedent for the work on the new album, *Smile*.

During October, 1966, Wilson and the Beach Boys become associated with David Anderle, a hip TV executive and artist who was later hired as a rock cultural intermediary

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[31] Quoted in Ibid., p.145

by Elektra Records, and decided to start their own record label with him, to be called Brother Records, to allow themselves more artistic freedom. Anderle continued with the 'Brian is a genius' campaign, creating excitement about Wilson's latest work in the press, both music and national, and arranged for Wilson to be included in the documentary being made about the emerging rock movement and its music, *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*. This documentary was the first to take popular music seriously, and had excellent artistic credentials, as it was produced by David Oppenheim, whose previous documentary was on Igor Stravinsky, and presented by Leonard Bernstein.[32]

The development of Brother Records and the involvement with *Inside Pop* both contributed to the slow process of allowing Brian Wilson to achieve the authenticity of a Romantic artist, one who is taken seriously for his artistic freedoms, using two different types of cultural intermediaries. *Inside Pop*, made for CBS by established cultural critics was an early example of Bourdieu's 'old cultural intermediaries' casting a critical eye on rock music and its associations with the counterculture. Anderle was an example of a new, rock cultural intermediary, working as he did in the new media and being part of the rock scene himself. Both sets of cultural intermediaries contributed to the idea that Wilson was an authentic artist, both in the long standing Romantic sense of the word, which Bernstein was well-placed to legitimate for a wider public, and as a Romantic *rock* artist, which Taylor and Anderle could confirm to the hip rock community. 'Good Vibrations' was released in the US on 10th October, and soon peaked at number one across the world, causing Capitol to admit that they were wrong about the Beach Boys new direction, and to once more back Wilson as an entrepreneurial producer as he continued his work on *Smile*.[33] This was entirely in keeping with the ongoing entrepreneurial production system – if a producer could keep producing hits, they were given the freedom to continue creating product, if not, they were soon fired. At this stage, the fact that the huge success of 'Good Vibrations' arguably owed much to the use of rock cultural intermediaries to create a market for the Beach Boys in their new role as authentic rock stars instead of as authentic all American teen stars was not picked up on by the industry, and marketing techniques were not immediately changed. However, the success of 'Good Vibrations' did confirm the status of Wilson as a genius, and, partly due to the astute 'Brian is a genius' campaign, and the interventions of rock cultural intermediaries, he began to be accepted as part of the hip rock movement, and to achieve Romantic rock authenticity, which was growing in currency at the time. This new ideology of Romantic authenticity in rock focussed on the idea that rock musicians were

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[32] See Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, pp.148–150.
[33] The Beach Boys, 'Good Vibrations'/'Let's Go Away For Awhile' Capitol 5676.

being true to themselves and were extending the artistic and expressive possibilities of their music through developments in technology and increased freedom within the record industry, allowed by the entrepreneurial system. This idea was captured in *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*, when the producer, David Oppenheim said:

> Most of us have been raised in the tradition of Tin Pan Alley, where the songs – beautiful or not – were meant to amuse or beguile, but that's all. They were embellishments on life. What these young people seem to say is that their music isn't just decorative; it comes right out of their world. And whatever is working on today's youth is working out in their music ... and the crucible is Los Angeles.[34]

This comment encapsulates the new concept of authenticity in rock – popular music is no longer frivolous or for mere entertainment, it is a music rooted in people's beliefs and worthy of being taken seriously as art as the emerging generation of rock musicians express both themselves and the concerns of their generation through their music. This closely matches Gracyk's description of rock's authenticity as being Romantic in nature, with its power derived from its roots as a people's music. This conception of authenticity seems to have been particularly developed in Los Angeles at the time, where complicated records and production techniques were becoming increasingly important, and demonstrates an apparently effective argument against the charge that bands were inauthentic because they were working within a commercial framework. The way that artists were allowed to operate within the record industry with increasing creative freedom along the lines set by the entrepreneurial producer model meant that they could argue that they were true Romantic artists, expressing themselves and pursuing artistic goals despite working within the confines of the record industry. This view was then spread beyond Los Angeles by cultural intermediaries of various types as demonstrated in the example of the Beach Boys, one of the earliest bands to make use of this method for marketing.

One of the songs that Brian Wilson was writing for the upcoming *Smile* album, 'Surf's Up' was included in the documentary, featured as an exclusive preview performance by Wilson alone at a piano in the recording studio. The song was described on the documentary of being indicative of the emerging rock movement, with Oppenheim describing it as follows:

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[34] Transcript of *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*, p.18. Oppenheim papers, Box 5, Folder 19, Tisch School of Arts Records Series two, Bobst Library, New York University.

> Poetic, beautiful, even in its obscurity, 'Surf's Up' is one aspect of new things happening in pop music today. As such, it is a symbol of the change many of the young musicians see in our future.[35]

The fact that this song was performed by Wilson alone at the piano and that it was spoken about as being symbolic of a new wave of music shows how far the perception of Wilson had come from being a surfing Beach Boy. He was now a Romantic genius, preparing to unleash upon the world his next great musical work, *Smile*, and the Beach Boys were no longer a part of this picture in their own right. At the time of the release of *Inside Pop* in April 1967, when Los Angeles was seen as the crucible of new music, this was not perceived as an obstacle to authenticity for The Beach Boys, but this schism between Wilson the studio auteur and the band as live performers became more marked as 1967 went on, and questions about their authenticity started to be raised. These questions became particularly intense as the San Franciscan music scene became more influential, bringing with it a new ideology of rock authenticity linked to live performance and lifestyle.

Los Angeles versus San Francisco

In order to assess the two opposing forms of authenticity which became part of the Los Angeles and San Franciscan scenes, a more detailed outline of the history of the growth of the rock scenes and their relationship to the hippies in both areas is necessary. The history of the rise of the Los Angeles and San Franciscan scenes and their relation to rock has been discussed at some length, in particular by Barney Hoskyns, historian of the Los Angeles music scene.[36] Hoskyns describes how Los Angeles became established as the centre of the burgeoning music scene in the 1960s, replacing New York as the centre for pop music, with the success of Phil Spector and the Beach Boys establishing the South Californian sound. Musicians formerly based in New York started to congregate in Los Angeles around 1965, such as the Mamas and the Papas, and the Byrds, who were formerly folk musicians but came to Los Angeles and started the folk rock sound, where folk singers started to buy electric guitars and form bands together. This was easier to do

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[35] Ibid., p.36.

[36] See Barney Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun* and Barney Hoskyns, *Hotel California: Singer-Songwriters and Cocaine Cowboys in the LA Canyons 1967–1976*, Harper Perennial, London, 2005.

in Los Angeles than in New York, because there was not a very well-established folk scene in Los Angeles: the ideas of what folk could be were more relaxed there than in New York, and people were more willing to experiment. Labels based in New York also started to be interested in Los Angeles, with those such as Elektra establishing West-Coast offices. One of the main proponents of the new folk rock was Lou Adler, who founded the independent Dunhill label and became an important figure in the development of rock into a viable commercial form, with the success of Monterey Pop festival. By 1965, with the release of the Mamas and the Papas' 'California Dreamin'', produced by Adler, Los Angeles had become an important centre of pop music.[37] Los Angeles recorded bands regularly eclipsed those from New York in the charts, and a burgeoning hippie culture emerged on the Sunset Strip and in the hills of Laurel Canyon, where most of the musicians in Los Angeles lived. This was when the hip group of people that Brian Wilson fell in with emerged; Rothschild, Anderle, Taylor, Jack Nietzche and Van Dyke Parks, many of them associated with Mo Ostin of Warner Bros., who would later sign the Jimi Hendrix Experience to Reprise records. It was the Los Angeles scene that held the first hippie demonstrations against the police crackdowns which were preventing hippies and young people from 'hanging out' on the Sunset Strip in 1966. It was noticeable, however, that the Los Angeles scene was not otherwise particularly politically involved in the way that the San Francisco scene was, with the hippies in Los Angeles barely registering the Watts riots that took place in August 1965. Frank Zappa commented on this disparity in his Watts-Riot song on the 1966 Mothers of Invention album *Freak Out!*, and in later interviews, he said,

> In Los Angeles at that time, in the kiddie community I was hanging out in, they were all getting into acid very heavily, and you had people seeing God and flaking out all over the place. You had plenty of that yet meanwhile there was all that racial tension building up in Watts.[38]

Zappa also expressed his frustration with the lack of politics and effectiveness of the Los Angeles youth/hippie scene on the *Inside Pop* documentary, in which he said:

> I think there's a revolution brewing, and, it's going to be a sloppy one, unless something is done to get it organised in a hurry... And if they'd stop taking drugs, and stop kidding themselves with their fantasies, and if they'd straighten

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[37] The Mamas and Papas 'California Dreamin'/'Somebody Groovy', Dunhill 45D4020, released US, November, 1965.
[38] Quoted in Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p110.

> up a bit, grab themselves a little sense of responsibility, I think everything will turn out alright, that is if they aren't killed off systematically beforehand.[39]

However, despite the perception of the Los Angeles scene as being unconcerned with politics in terms of civil rights, for example, the demonstrating youth and bands were involved in the broader countercultural project of trying to change society through advocating personal freedom, freedom of expression, and trying to spread love through the world through music, an idea that was then broadcast to mainstream society through interviews with hippies and bands on the *Inside Pop* documentary. However, it seems that the San Francisco scene and Frank Zappa were unconvinced that their methods would be effective.

Musically, too, Los Angeles was moving throughout the mid-1960s with the increasingly psychedelic times. Musicians and producers were experimenting in the studio and often, following in Phil Spector's and Brian Wilson's footsteps, were combining orchestral elements into their recordings and providing more experimental sounds. This was partly due to the increased creative freedom allowed in the studio, resulting from the widespread adoption of the model of the entrepreneur producer, and also, according to many commentators, as the use of psychedelic drugs become more widespread amongst musicians.[40] Examples of psychedelic-influenced LA bands between 1966 and 1967 were The Association, The Strawberry Alarm Clock, The Electric Prunes and others, who added a psychedelic sheen to their images and their sound, to move with the times. There were a few LA bands that successfully crossed over between the two scenes of San Francisco and Los Angeles: the Byrds, who became increasingly psychedelic with the release of *Fifth Dimension* in 1966, and Buffalo Springfield, who included wild jams in their live sets, similar to those favoured by the San Francisco bands.[41] Both of these groups were seen by the San Franciscans as more authentic than other Los Angeles offerings, including the Beach Boys, despite the success of the undoubtedly psychedelic record "Good Vibrations", mainly due to their link to live performance culture.[42]

The San-Francisco-versus–Los-Angeles split focussed on the cohesiveness of the musical communities in both towns, and coalesced around concerns relating to the relative merit of live versus recorded music. San Francisco commentators saw Los Angeles as "super-

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[39] *Inside Pop* transcript, Oppenheim Papers, pp.27 & 37.
[40] Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, pp.114–128.
[41] The Byrds *Fifth Dimension*, Columbia CL2549, released US July, 1966. See Hoskyns, *Hotel California*, pp.12–18 for more details of LA-SF crossovers.
[42] Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, pp.120–132.

uptight plastic America"[43], whereas San Francisco had a long history of fostering subversive groups, such as the Beats, the Pranksters and the Diggers. According to Hoskyns, one member of Jefferson Airplane, a popular San Franciscan band, commented that the studio-oriented sounds coming from Los Angeles were inferior because of the lack of emphasis on live performance. He commented that studio recordings were "prefabricated, like the rest of that town... Bring them to the Fillmore [an important live music venue] and it just wouldn't work."[44] The main complaint emerging from San Francisco was the lack of community in Los Angeles, whereas the Angelenos, in return, complained about the lack of the San Franciscans' individual expression, with Frank Zappa commenting on the codified hippie dress that they adopted.[45] Of course, these descriptions are influenced by the way that both scenes were presented in the media to a large extent. However, many commentators do believe that San Francisco had more of a sense of community and more of a link among the hippies and beatniks and the music scene, as they all centred on the Haight-Ashbury area and the Panhandle. This was quite different from the scene in Los Angeles, where the hippies lived in Venice Beach, the live bands performed on the Sunset Strip, and many of the musicians lived in Laurel Canyon, close to the Strip but crucially part of its own neighbourhood. The audience for the music on the Strip also did not necessarily live there, travelling from other areas of Los Angeles and gathering on the Strip, such gatherings eventually causing the demonstrations of 1966. For this reason, the Los Angeles scene was seen by San Franciscans as fragmented and a fake simulation of their own scene.

It was also the case that Los Angeles had attracted the interest of the music industry early on, and there were many studios and opportunities for bands to be signed to labels and record there. San Francisco, on the other hand, had one independent recording studio and a tiny record label based in its environs; opportunities for bands to reach a wider audience were therefore limited.[46] These differences seem to have resulted in two opposing types of authenticity emerging – the Los Angeles form focused on individual expression and artistry in the vein of the Romantic artist, expressed mainly through creative studio work. Live performances were only important as a way for bands to get noticed and signed, and the bands formed their own separate artistic community in Hollywood and Laurel Canyon instead of mixing with the rest of the countercultural scene. In the San Francisco model, bands were part of the scene that came to see them, and live performance was a key part

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[43] Luria Castel, member of communal group the Family Dog which first organised dances in the ballrooms of San Francisco, quoted in Ibid., p.142.
[44] Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p.142.
[45] Ibid., p.143.
[46] See *Billboard* SF Spotlight, p.SF22 for an overview of labels and studio facilities available.

of a broader function of scenic cohesion and community.[47] San Franciscans foresaw a time when studio recording would no longer be the way forward and all recordings would be of live shows; for adherents to that scene, that time would be the ultimate endpoint of rock, with the live performance being the primary object and the recording serving to spread the countercultural message further afield.[48] These authenticity conflicts did not come to a head until the Monterey Pop Festival in June, 1967, when the San Franciscan bands first came to national, and record company, attention. Up to this point, as discussed above in the case of Brian Wilson and the Beach Boys, the Los Angeles view of authenticity in rock being related to artistic freedom was dominant and used to authenticate stars through the use of cultural intermediaries, both 'old' and 'new'. This form of authenticity is also still clear in discussions of rock today.

The fact that both Los Angeles and San Francisco had rock scenes that were part of the hippie counterculture, albeit slightly different ones, did raised issues of authenticity that were problematic for the record industry in terms of signing bands from these regions. Due to the general emphasis on authenticity as part of the art versus commerce dichotomy in the counterculture, record labels, particularly large labels, were viewed with suspicion by some bands at least in part due to the anti-commercial stance that the counterculture had as discussed by Frank.[49] This caused a new problem for the record industry at its input boundary. When the Beach Boys were originally signed to Capitol, it was the norm that suited A&R men would find bands whose greatest ambition was to get a record deal. However, as the Romantic ideology of creative freedom became more important in rock, the bands were less willing to sign deals that they perceived as compromising their musical artistry. This view can be seen in the Billboard San Francisco spotlight in a variety of articles. One commentator says that "in order to be honest, [the artist] has to play his [sic] music. It enables him not to be uptight about a record company ... promising financial success."[50] In Britain, this problem was usually solved through the use of band managers, who acted as a rock cultural intermediary both by reassuring the band that they would protect them from the commercial side of being a rock star, and by reassuring the record industry that the band they represented was an authentic rock act. The manager was a less common rock intermediary in America in 1967, becoming more important as rock became more commercially successful. Initially, however, the larger American record companies that first showed an interest in signing bands from the second

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[47] Ibid.
[48] See Ibid. This idea was also discussed from time to time in a *Billboard* and *Rolling Stone* magazine 1966–1968.
[49] See discussion of Frank, *Conquest of Cool* in chapter six for more details, pp.20-22.
[50] *Billboard* SF Spotlight, p. SF31.

wave of rock *directly hired* rock cultural intermediaries, in the form of fans from the local scenes, to let them know which bands may be worth signing. These rock cultural intermediaries were known as 'house hippies'. The house hippie eased the access of the record labels to the bands in two ways: first, since they were involved in the local music scenes, they were in a good position to judge who was likely to be successful; and second, bands approached by someone who was in the scene would respond more favourably to someone who appeared to share their values than to someone who represented the so-called "Establishment". By allowing these house hippies freedom, the record labels managed to disperse fears of co-option amongst both the bands that they were trying to sign and amongst the audience of those bands, allowing them to retain their aura of authenticity whilst dealing with the Establishment.

Elektra was one of the first labels to hire house hippies. In the early 1960s, Jac Holzman hired Paul Rothchild to be both an A&R man and a producer on his records, to expand Elektra's remit to include the new sounds that were starting to emerge in the New York folk scene. Rothchild had an approach that was important in the increasingly authenticity-concerned 1960s,

> the ability to hang out with musicians and have them feel that you were one of them and that you were part of this incredible campaign that we were all on to turn the world upside down with our music and the great ideas we had when we were stoned last night and so forth.[51]

Because of this gift, and because, in other words, of the realisation that instead of just finding artists on the street and recording them for modest record sales, Rothchild could find bands that would make Elektra an influence on what other bands would form and perform, Holzman asked Rothchild not just to "go to the street. You're in a position to make the street."[52] Holzman gave him increasing freedom to find and sign bands, and then record them as he wished, in the vein of an independent entrepreneurial producer. With the first band that Rothchild signed and recorded, the Butterfield Blues band, he was unhappy with the recording, feeling that he had not captured the band's sound. Holzman trusted Rothchild's creative judgement to such an extent that he agreed to let him re-record the album in a live environment, despite huge costs, a decision that led to a hit album.

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[51] Paul Williams in *Follow the Music*, p.113.
[52] Jac Holzman in *Follow the Music*, p.113.

In 1966, Holzman was looking to expand Elektra further, but New York was where most of the labels were using A&R men to seek new talent; so he turned instead to the West Coast, particularly the LA scene which because of the television broadcast of the protests on the Sunset Strip, had recently come to national attention. It was at this stage that Elektra bought a building in LA, in order to set up a West Coast office and build their own studio, one of the first independents to do so. Shortly afterwards, they discovered and signed the Doors, who became one of the most successful LA based bands. It was not until the Monterey Pop Festival in June 1967 that other record companies started to see the West Coast as the centre of rock; from this point on, it became common amongst the established record-label practice to hire 'house hippies' or 'company freaks' to form a link between the counterculture scene and the executives who ran the labels. It is to Monterey and its impact that we shall turn now.

Monterey International Pop Festival

The Monterey International Pop Festival, which took place from the 16th to 18th June, 1967 was arguably the turning point after which rock music was more clearly defined in terms of differing authenticities, in particular the view of a rock star as a romantic artist, and the importance of live performance. After Monterey, these different versions of authenticity were reinforced and negotiated through rock's own functioning specialist media and festivals circuit, which were also used as marketing tools by the record industry. Monterey was also a crucial moment in the development of the rock industry, demonstrating the importance of the use of cultural intermediaries both to the careers of bands and to the record companies that wanted to sign these new acts. The significance of Monterey was recognised by members of the rock scene themselves, who often describe it as the moment that everything changed, the moment at which psychedelic rock shifted from being an underground movement to being a commercial music. Discussions of the festival and its relation to the countercultural movement and its ethos of democratic, non-commercial live performance as a mode of authentic existence were rife from the festival's inception, with many arguments framed in the terms that Frank describes as being common among discussions of the negative effects of commercialism on the counterculture.[53]

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[53] See discussion of Frank, *Conquest of Cool* in chapter six for more details, pp.19–23.

The festival was first conceived by Alan Parisier, a "paper fortune heir and [LA] Sunset Strip scenester"[54] who had previously organised a fundraiser featuring local bands for CAFF (Community Action for Facts and Freedom), which had been formed by Derek Taylor, publicist of the Beach Boys, in response to the treatment of young people on the Strip in LA in 1966. Parisier secured Derek Taylor's assistance as publicist and through him approached John Phillips, member of the Mamas and the Papas to suggest that the band headline the festival. Phillips discussed this with Lou Adler, producer of the Mamas and the Papas and owner of local independent record label Dunhill records, and together they wrested control of the festival from Parisier and his partner, transforming it into a charity fundraiser at which acts would appear for free. Adler and Phillips used their connections within the music scene to form a festival committee of the biggest stars of the time including Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys, Paul McCartney of the Beatles and Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones and secured commitments to perform from local stars the Byrds, the Beach Boys and Simon and Garfunkle. Crucially, arrangements were also made for the festival to be filmed for commercial release.[55] Adler and Philips were in this way effectively acting as cultural intermediaries, using their own kudos within the rock world (the Mamas and the Papas had had several top 5 hits since 1966 and were at this time riding high in the US and UK charts with their latest single) to persuade the most important and influential rock stars and acts of the time to showcase themselves and add their cultural capital to the festival. Through the filming, once Adler and Philips had taken over organisation, this festival from the outset was conceived not just as a way of reflecting the rock scene back to itself, but of reaching a wider audience across the country. This was also reflected in the publicity material written by Taylor which combines flowery psychedelic language with attractive selling points. For example:

> The Festival plans to attract tens of thousands of pop followers – the young and those who remember, the free and those who would like to be, to watch and hear and absorb and enjoy some of the world's best young entertainers in the happiest surroundings, piling music upon music, hour upon hour into the sapphire evening.[56]

This both appealed to the counterculture idea of freedom of expression for the young people who read about it in the local press, and highlighted to the record companies also

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[54] Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p.145.
[55] Ibid., p.146.
[56] First Monterey Festival Press release, reprinted in *The Jimi Hendrix Experience: Live at Monterey*, Geffen Records 0602517455160, released on CD 2007 liner notes.

receiving these press releases that there would be a large audience there so this would be a good showcase for bands and that the "best young entertainers" would be there available for signing. It seems significant that the term entertainer is used instead of artist, bearing in mind the prevailing ideology of authenticity which highlights not just the importance of the freedom of expression but also links this directly to artistry. This conflict between the potential commercial interests of the record companies in the festival and the idea of the festival as a countercultural expression became marked early on when the festival organisers approached the San Francisco bands to perform. These clashes related to the differences between the Los Angeles and San Francisco scenes outlined above, with the San Franciscans initially unwilling to be involved with a festival organised by members of the Los Angeles scene.

Although Adler and Phillips had been able to use their position within the Los Angeles scene to gather together successful acts and support from Los Angeles and Britain, their authenticity as rock cultural intermediaries, unquestioned in Los Angeles, was questionable according to the ideology of authenticity current amongst the San Franciscans. According to Country Joe of Country Joe and The Fish, Monterey was "a total ethical sell-out of everything we'd dreamed of"[57] whereas for Adler, it was serious business enterprise "this wasn't a hobby. [The San Francisco bands] called it slick, and I'd have to agree with them."[58] However, for Adler and Phillips, being "slick" did not mean that they were not trying to represent authentic rock, it just meant that for them the art versus commerce issue was not related to authenticity at that time due to the fact that they did not perceive working within the record industry as compromising to their artistic freedom.

To solve the problem of communication with the San Franciscan bands, Adler and Phillips had to use cultural intermediaries of their own to mediate between these two different ideologies of authenticity: Bill Graham, who owned the Avalon and Fillmore venues, which were the nexus of the live San Francisco rock scene, and Ralph J Gleason, music journalist and future co-founder of *Rolling Stone* magazine, who had advocated a serious press response to San Francisco rock since he became aware of the scene around 1965.[59] The San Franciscans agreed to appear, and in the end dominated the festival bill. As the purpose of the festival by this stage was to "get across a true cross section of

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[57] Hoskyns, *Hotel California*, p.19.
[58] Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p.146.
[59] See Draper, *Rolling Stone Magazine: The Uncensored History*, pp.25–31.

everything happening in pop"[60], bands also appeared representing the New York scene. Two UK acts were also included on the roster, recommended by Paul McCartney, who was on the advisory board. One of these was The Jimi Hendrix Experience, for whom McCartney had acted as a vociferous rock cultural intermediary in the UK earlier in the year, as discussed above. The resultant festival had a very varied line up, introducing a range of acts from a range of genres to a new audience, including Otis Redding and Ravi Shankar. The festival was also unique in the way that it brought together several of the important movers and shakers of the growing countercultural movement, such as Dennis Hopper, future producer and star of *Easy Rider*, the first film to have an entirely rock soundtrack, Brian Jones of the Rolling Stones, and of course the increasingly ubiquitous Derek Taylor. The influence of the San Franciscan bands who incorporated lightshows and spectacle into their stage acts introduced the audience and the American record industry to the potential for live performance to enhance the image and experience of a rock act. The British representatives with their dramatic stage shows, the Who smashing their guitars, and the famous burning of Hendrix's guitar, were particularly noticed. It is arguably the importance of live spectacle at Monterey, particularly after the release of the film, that led to the spread of an ideology of authenticity linked to live performance beyond the San Francisco scene, as will be discussed later. Several band's careers were launched at the festival, including Janis Joplin with Big Brother and the Holding Company, The Jimi Hendrix Experience (of whom more in chapter eight), and the aforementioned Otis Redding, and many important signings were made there as Adler had invited various record company heads to come to the festival. Most of the industry representatives there not only signed as many of the bands as they could, but also hired their own cultural intermediaries in the form of 'house hippies', from the hipsters involved in the festival.

In this way, Monterey was the beginning of the record industry's understanding of how to make rock profitable, by augmenting their existing strategy of allowing the creative team behind the music relative freedom with a new strategy of using the cultural intermediaries involved in the rock scene to persuade bands that they should sign record deals, and then to persuade the public that these signings did not threaten those band's authenticity. It is for this reason that Monterey is often bemoaned as the beginning of the end of authentic rock in the sense of it being a true expression of a countercultural movement that many of the San Franciscans believed it to be. However, even the most outspoken anti-commercial bands could concede that this was not entirely a negative thing; as Country

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[60] Lou Adler, quoted in Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p.147.

Joe later admitted, despite Monterey being a "sellout", it "was something we desperately needed, because we were totally isolated."[61] This view of the festival neatly exemplifies both the tensions between the different ideologies of authenticity surrounding rock and the crucial role of rock cultural intermediaries, not only in negotiating between the record companies and the bands, thus overcoming the tensions of art versus commerce at the root of the authentic ideology, but also negotiating between the different ideologies of authenticity that existed in the various rock scenes. It was also after Monterey that these concerns about authenticity shifted from being local to the Californian scene, to become national concerns in the discussion of rock music through the development of dedicated rock media. These developments and their repercussions will be the focus of the next chapter.

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[61] Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p.149.

Chapter Eight: 'Heroes and Villains': Authenticity defines Rock

This chapter looks at the role of rock cultural intermediaries in the aftermath of Monterey as they helped shape and sell rock through the negotiation of different ideologies of authenticity. In particular, I focus on the print media in disseminating ideas about authenticity in rock beyond the rock scenes from which they had originated back into the industry and to the broader public, through adverts, record reviews and articles on rock. It also traces the expansion of the ideology of authenticity within the record industry itself, first with the standardisation of the use of the house hippie, with the ongoing freedom accorded to the entrepreneur producer, as discussed in chapter four, and with the adoption of new marketing strategies that focussed on rock as authentic, and incorporated live performance. The effects that the shifts and negotiations of differing types of rock authenticity could have on the career trajectory of bands are also explored, with the final failure of the Beach Boys to attain rock authenticity compared with the demands upon Jimi Hendrix to keep replicating the spectacle of his Monterey performance.

After Monterey, it is true to say that the record label's attitude towards rock changed to a more flexible approach, with much more use of rock cultural intermediaries to persuade bands to sign and a more flexible approach altogether, especially on the West Coast, to the type and appearance of people employed by record companies. This change was seen as negative by some people, who saw it as evidence of fakery in rock, but it could merely reflect the sincere adoption of countercultural values, and in particular the extension of the idea of individual freedom leading to innovation as a successful strategy for managing risk in business as Frank discussed.[1] For example, Dan Bourgoise, former A&R man for Liberty records, said:

> After Monterey, suddenly everyone in the company was wearing Nehru jackets and goatee beards. It was instant psychedelia. Monterey Pop was the death of pop. When the executives started looking like the bands, we were in trouble.[2]

Bourgoise sees this as a negative development for rock, but the use of house hippies was arguably a good thing for both the record labels and the bands that they signed, as argued by Holzman of Elektra. He describes the role of the house hippie, who he refers to as a 'company freak' as being to:

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[1] See discussion of Frank, *Conquest of Cool* in chapter 6, pp.25–28 for more details.
[2] Quoted in Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p.150.

> interpret the artist to the company and the company to the artist. If something new was beginning to surface, the [company freak's] responsibility was to find out first and let me know. They networked voraciously. They listened to comments and criticisms about the label from Elektra and non-Elektra artists and fed that information to me.[3]

Holzman describes his 'company freak' in New York, Danny fields, who explains the divide between him and the more traditional-minded executives working at the Elektra New York offices as a divide between "fifties kind of people" and a "sixties kind of person"[4], reflecting the shift towards a countercultural approach towards running a business that Frank describes.[5] Holzman also describes the entire staff at his Los Angeles studio as 'company freaks' who were essentially part of the Los Angeles 'hip' scene. These company freaks were also increasingly trusted to act, as Paul Rothchild had done, as A&R men, as well as gatherers of countercultural information.

However, using 'house hippies' or 'company freaks' was not always simple, as there are inherent ideological tensions in the role of a rock cultural intermediary working for a large corporation. The main Elektra company freak in the Los Angeles studio, David Anderle, eventually became so involved in the scene that Holzman had to fire him. There are differing accounts of the exact politics involved, but it seems that Anderle was very effective as a rock cultural intermediary, building up excellent rapport with musicians from the scene, and was an active part of the Los Angeles 'hip' scene, who had helped spread and support the 'Brian is a genius' campaign. However, Holzman describes him as identifying so much with the artists that his ability to represent the company effectively was lost. Anderle agrees with this, saying that he became more interested in being actively part of the scene than in being in the office.[6] This highlights the possible ideological tensions that working as a rock cultural intermediary in the record industry could cause.

These can be seen in another example arising from Monterey. Andy Wickham, Reprise's "house hippie" was hired at Monterey festival, where he had been working as an assistant to Lou Adler. Having initially been excited by the American music scene, Wickham had become disenchanted as the underground scene became more commercially successful,

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[3] Holzman, *Follow the Music*, p.257.
[4] Fields, Danny in Ibid., p.258.
[5] See discussion of Frank, *Conquest of Cool* in chapter six for more details, pp.25-28.
[6] Anderle in Holzman & Dawes, *Follow the Music*, pp.291–292.

following the art versus commerce arguments of authenticity. As a result of this ideological standpoint, when Wickham was asked to write the program notes for the festival, he wrote "a vehement indictment of the show and its participants, charging that any claims to being social crusaders were a sham and that artists and the festival's promoters were motivated solely by greed."[7] These notes were never published and Wickham was fired but still attended the festival, where he was hired as Reprise's house hippie, resulting in him breaking his own ideology of authenticity. Being initially part of the scene, 'house hippies' would be imbued with countercultural ideology, which would be opposed to working for a large business such as the record industry. This is of course why they were hired. It seems likely that during the negotiations of different ideologies of authenticity, and due to the tension of the necessity of producing rock in a commercial framework, that at least some cultural intermediaries practiced authentic ideological slippage such as that demonstrated by Stephen Lee in his study of independent label, WaxTrax!, where label staff changed their ideological position from being totally opposed to being a subsidiary of a major label to one of believing that subsidiary deal that they were forced to make as economic conditions changed in fact made them able to be a better independent. Thus people imbued with ideologies of authenticity working in the record industry can move from one type of authenticity to another whilst still remaining authentic in their own and in other's eyes by changing their beliefs about what authenticity means.[8]

Another label that made good use of house hippies and promotion through cultural intermediaries was Warner Bros., who as discussed above become the biggest selling record label for rock in the early 1970s, and were one of the earliest labels to appropriate independents and allow them the freedom to act semi-independently, thus reflecting the growing ideology of the conditions necessary for authenticity in the record industry. It was the Reprise label that was the source of Warner's rise in the rock music scene, mainly due to Mo Ostin, Frank Sinatra's accountant, who persuaded Sinatra to cede control of the artist's roster to the A&R men overseen by Ostin. Ostin assembled a team of men who's taste and talent he respected, including Derek Taylor in 1966, publicist for the Beatles and the Beach Boys, and, again reflecting the new move both in business and in the counterculture for encouraging individualism, he allowed them relatively free reign to spot and sign talent. One talented member who signed to the label in 1967 was Van Dyke Parks, a former child prodigy who had recently been thrown off the Beach Boys *Smile*

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[7] Fred Goodman, *The Mansion on the Hill: Dylan, Young, Geffen, Springsteen and the Head-on collision of Rock and Commerce*, Pimlico, London, 1997, p.77.
[8] See Chapter Three, pp.41–3 for previous discussion of WaxTrax!

project by Mike Love.[9] With the figures of Derek Taylor and Van Dyke Parks on board, Reprise had managed to employ two of the leading figures of the main hip scene of Los Angeles at the time. As mentioned in chapter seven, Mo Ostin also signed the Jimi Hendrix Experience in 1967 prior to the band making any appearance in the US, and his colleague Joe Smith at Warner Bros. signed the Grateful Dead, the biggest San Franciscan rock band.[10] This last signing was particularly astute by the label in terms of building a reputation for being an authentic rock label. As Fred Goodman, rock journalist reports:

> ... the Grateful Dead proved a priceless asset for Warner/Reprise. They were authentic American bohemians, the cid-munching standard bearers of the underground. The Dead challenged convention – and now, by inference, Warner Bros. did as well.[11]

According to Stan Coryn, the director of creative services, through this signing, Warner/Reprise "became the notorious place to be if you were a record act... We were daring in our signings and appeared to be to be daring in our exploitation of signings. We would do anything."[12]

These signings were all brought about through Ostin having faith in the rock cultural intermediaries that he hired specifically to extend the artists roster at Warner Bros., a move which was later consolidated by the acquisition of other labels Atlantic and Elektra, following the model of covering all music types to minimise risk in the market. Ostin also hired a house hippie at Monterey to keep an eye on the burgeoning LA scene; Andy Wickham, mentioned above. Wickham is an excellent example of a rock cultural intermediary: working at Immediate Records for Andrew Loog Oldham, manager of the *Rolling Stones* in London, before becoming a publicist for Lou Adler's Dunhill Label in 1965.[13] He looked the part "wearing beads and chains and long hair"[14], meaning that he could appear to be authentically part of the hippie culture, but he also had experience of working in the record industry and he carried the kudos with him of being associated with two of the most respected and authentic rock impresarios – Adler and Loog Oldham. Like Elektra's house hippie, he was not given authority to sign bands, but could act as

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[9] Hoskyns, *Hotel California*, pp.8–12.
[10] Gair also discusses the signing as part of the contradictions of the anti-Establishment stance of the San Franciscan bands. See Gair, *American Counterculture*, pp.133–134.
[11] Goodman, *Mansion on the Hill*, p.75.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Hoskyns, *Hotel California*, p.36.
[14] Ibid.

Reprise's ambassador, assuring bands symbolically that their ideology of authenticity would not be compromised by signing with the Reprise label.

Having to some extent solved the problem of reaching the rock bands associated with the counterculture through the use of the house hippies at their input boundary, the industry were still faced with the problem of the radio DJ being the only gatekeeper available to them to reach the rock audience directly. However, after Monterey, contrary to Hirsch's arguments that Top 40 radio was the only gatekeeper available for effective promotion of music, it became clear that rock could be broadcast and advertised across a range of media. Developments such as film, FM radio and the nascent rock press, at this point existing only in the form of *Crawdaddy!*, extended the methods the industry could use to reach its customer. As a result, the industry turned to rock cultural intermediaries working in these new media to effectively negotiate with the rock audience using methods which originated from within the rock scene itself. Thus they had now extended the idea of entrepreneurial freedom across the industry, into A&R, production and sales and marketing.

Media and print advertising

FM radio, film and television were all important alternative gatekeepers for rock in the late 1960s. The power of Top 40 radio was broken to some extent in the late 60s by the development of FM radio as a place where rock could flourish, a development that allowed more independent programming methods to develop modelled along the lines of college radio stations instead of being strictly controlled by play lists. This change was brought about by an FCC ruling that specified that FM radio programming had to differ from AM radio programming by at least fifty percent. FM radio would play entire albums, eclectic mixes of music styles, ranging from jazz through folk and rock to classical, and re-introduced the personality DJ to the airwaves.[15] Ben Fong-Torres, *Rolling Stone* writer and sometime moonlighting DJ, was a typical cultural intermediary in that he worked across different forms of the media, disseminating and shaping ideas about what rock might be through his DJ selections and his rock criticism. He described the typical FM station as "[going] on with good vibes, building an audience of loyal listeners by playing album cuts unheard on AM, by talking with instead of to, listeners,

[15] See Garofalo, *Rockin' Out* for a brief account of the history of FM radio, pp.224–225.

and by opening up the station to the community."[16] However, FM radio was largely local radio. To reach a national or international audience, the record industry needed to develop other ways to reach rock's potential audience, and for this they increasingly turned to the print media. The emerging rock press were key gatekeepers by the end of the 1960s, but the mainstream national and local press after Monterey also included coverage of rock and the counterculture, including features on happenings, festivals, hippie fashion and so on. These press outlets acted as gatekeepers not only in terms of which records reached an audience, through print adverts and rock criticism but also by shaping which records the audience would view as being rock or not through aligning rock with the counterculture and its associated discussions of authenticity.

It was not only the record industry that was making use of extensive media around the time of Monterey, the extensive use of media was part of the counterculture as a whole. Thornton argues that the media are crucial to the formation and maintenance of subcultures in her study of how the media are "integral to youth's social and ideological formations"[17] in rave culture in Britain. Her ideas can be used to illuminate the relations among media, counterculture and the record industry in the 1960s. Thornton divides the media related to club culture into "local micro-media", "niche media" and "national media".[18] "Local micro-media" consist of flyers and listings designed to target the actual people who might attend the event.[19] This would be the equivalent to flyers and posters in San Francisco in the 1960s, the art of which was very influential on the style of advertising and record covers in the late 1960s. (See Fig. 8 for an example of postcard flyers handed out to advertise rock gigs in San Francisco in 1967). Initially, these posters were made on a very local scale, but the psychedelic style of poster art became very popular and the main artists were soon regularly hired to add artwork to mainstream magazines, advertising campaigns and album covers.

Thornton describes the specialist music press as "niche media", which she argues "construct subcultures as much as document them", and there is, of course, the "national media", which Thornton argues "develop youth movements as much as they distort them".[20] In the case of America in the 1960s, this concept of the national press is less relevant than in the UK in the 1990s as more localised mainstream newspapers would also have this function, as would mainstream lifestyle and news magazines, thus the term

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[16] Quoted in Ibid., p.224.
[17] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.116.
[18] Ibid, pp.116–7.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

'mainstream' might be more suitable for my case. Thornton describes how in current youth culture ideologies, the belief is that subcultures develop under the force of their own energy and grow into movements which are only "belatedly digested by the media."[21] This belief was certainly also prevalent in the case of the 1960s counterculture, as the following example from 1968 demonstrates. Jeff Nuttall, an English underground poet, looking back on Monterey recalled:

> ... a shift between 1966 and 1967 from poetry and art and jazz and anti-nuclear politics to just sex and drugs, the arrival of capitalism. The market saw that these revolutionaries could be put in a safe pen and given their consumer goods. What we misjudged was the power and complexity of the [mainstream] media, which dismantled the whole thing. It bought it up. And this happened in 67, just as it seemed that we'd won.[22]

Of course, this view is again reflecting the arguments of co-option by the media that Frank discussed.[23] However, it does imply that the writer realises that the festival organisers invited the media to be there, and the fact that the festival was such a success in terms of record deals gained by local bands and the increased awareness of the counterculture could be seen as a triumph ("seemed that we'd won") but the power of the media to "digest" the counterculture was underestimated. This in itself ignores the fact that, especially in the case of rock music, which is what was showcased at Monterey, media of various kinds are an integral part of the production and consumption of the music and were used within the counterculture, including film, recording equipment, light shows, posters, fanzines and flyers.[24]

Thornton argues that instead of the media coming belatedly and digesting a subculture, the media and other cultural industries are there from the start, central to the process of subcultural formation. The case of the 1960s is perhaps rather more complicated than this, as although the mainstream media was used in some cases in Britain to build up profiles for bands, such as Andrew Loog Oldham's use of the press to establish the *Rolling Stones* as the bad-boy opposites of the Beatles, the other forms of media that Thornton discusses, such as local micro-media and music media, arose from within the

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[21] Ibid., p.117.
[22] Jeff Nuttall, cited in Hoskyns, *Hotel California*, pp.19–20.
[23] See discussion of Frank, *Conquest of Cool* in chapter six for more details, pp.19–23.
[24] See Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, Black Swan Books, London, 1990 (originally 1968) for a detailed account of the use of multi-media equipment by Ken Kesey's Pranksters, for example.

subculture itself as it developed. The mainstream media, too, were largely unaware of the hippie counterculture before Monterey in America. For clubbers in Britain in the 1990s, the underground was defined against the mass media which posed a threat in that it may "release their knowledges to others."[25] However, at first, the hippies wanted their knowledge to be released to others – they wished to use the mass media, hence the organisation of films of the festivals that became increasingly common after Monterey. Thornton argues finally that the media are crucial to the maintenance of subcultures because the underground's subcultural capitals have "built-in obsolescence so that it can maintain its status not only of the young, but of the 'hip'."[26] She argues that this is why the media are crucial: "they are the main disseminators of these fleeting capitals."[27] They are a "series of institutional networks crucial to the creation, classification and distribution of cultural knowledge."[28]

This idea of the importance of scarcity and changes in capital which need to be disseminated relates to Featherstone's arguments about the importance of scarcity of items with high cultural capital. In order that one's group be distinctive from others, it needs to share tastes, particularly, in this case, musical taste. However, if that taste becomes associated with other, less desirable, groups, then that taste must shift, in order to keep the number of people appreciating 'high' culture to a minimum. For Thornton's clubbers, it is the mainstream audience that are undesirable, and if the mainstream gains too much insider knowledge, the scene must change in order to become esoteric once more. 1960s rock is interesting, in this respect, because "rock" was so ill-defined. The relationship between rock and all three levels of media that Thornton describes is more one of negotiating what rock might be, and in particular exploring its relation to the counterculture rather than acting as "disseminator of fleeting capitals". However, there are similarities in the constant shift in what may or may not be considered authentic in rock with the play of subcultural capitals that Thornton describes. In the 1960s, it is not until the media has developed at the niche level in the form of a national music press in America that arguments emerge about authenticity, and about which local scenes were authentic and which were commercial constructions, as we saw in the case of Monterey with the clash between Los Angeles and San Franciscan conceptions of authenticity. In this case, the media did not act to disseminate rapidly-changing taste, instead it spread subcultural ideas of taste beyond the immediate locality from which they had emerged,

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[25] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p.117.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., p.118.

allowing these local scenes to define themselves against other local scene-based tastes at a national level. The end result of these disputes between scenes over the nature of authenticity in rock were finally decided when one particular magazine became the primary vehicle for disseminating rock cultural taste across America in the form of *Rolling Stone* magazine, as will be discussed later.

Of course, along with disseminating rock cultural taste as decided within the rock scene in the form of articles on the nature of rock, the rock press could be used by the record industry to disseminate their idea of what rock was in the form of direct advertising to the public. It was thought in 1967 that the main effective form of rock promotion was through radio play, as stated by Warner's Stan Coryn, who argued that ad copy and print reviews did not sell records directly. This is backed up by the fact that positive reviews in magazines do not seem to influence record sales positively, and there have been many bad reviews of records that sell millions of copies.[29] This did not, however, prevent direct print advertising from being used extensively in the rock press almost from its inception, implying it was seen as a worthwhile investment. Print adverts for rock first appeared in the underground press, in particular in the dedicated music magazines *Crawdaddy!* and *Rolling Stone*, and later appeared in mainstream lifestyle magazines such as *Esquire* and *Time* magazine.

This move into lifestyle magazines reflects the increasing understanding of the counterculture as a lifestyle, and also suggests that although radio DJs were the main gatekeepers enabling people to *hear* rock, it was beginning to be seen that magazines were important gatekeepers in terms of the idea of what rock was in terms of a lifestyle, not just as a form of music. In this way, writers in rock magazines became key rock cultural intermediaries for both the spread of the rock lifestyle to a wider audience and for the record industries trying to include their music as part of that lifestyle. The inclusion of record adverts in a range of magazines that would reach both the rock scene directly and the wider public reflected a broader shift in marketing techniques that occurred during 1967 as the industry became aware of developments in the rock market. Prior to Monterey, adverts for rock bands in *Billboard* magazine had begun to progress somewhat from the standard format of a simple portrait of the band, and predictions about their hit making potential, with some attempts at incorporating some of the San Franciscan psychedelic lettering style and zanier band portraits introduced (see Fig. 9 for an example.)

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[29] See Frith, *Sound Effects*, pp.173–4 and Steven Chapple and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock 'n Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Record Industry*, Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1977, p.167.

After Monterey, the psychedelic aspects of advertising became more pronounced, and the claims for the future of records less overtly commercial. See for example, the advert for The Youngblood's 'Get Together', in which all the lettering (including that of the label, RCA Victor), is psychedelic in style and discussions of record sales have been replaced with euphemisms about spreading "love vibrations" (See Fig. 10.)

This shift in style in the adverts in *Billboard* in 1967 is particularly interesting as the adverts contained in it were mainly designed to be seen within the trade, not by the broader public. This reflects perhaps the changes in the kind of person working in the record industry outlined by Holzman above, and the increasing links between the industry and the rock scene in the form of rock cultural intermediaries. It also reinforces the importance of the role of *Billboard* in defining what the genre of rock was. In the few academic discussions of the relationship of rock and the print media, the American trade press, *Billboard*, *Variety* and *CashBox*, are considered to have had considerable impact on rock sales.[30] In the 1960s, *Billboard* was one of the most influential due to its publication of weekly charts displaying the position of a record in the charts, and its movement both within and across charts from week to week. It also used a star system to indicate most promising newcomer, fastest chart riser and so on. These charts, although supposedly still open to manipulation by payola from record companies, or by personnel at the record shops that are consulted on their sales during the 1960s, were widely regarded as a good measure of a song's popularity and were very influential on the decisions of programme directors at radio stations, therefore affecting some of the main gatekeepers of the record industry.[31]

However, it is arguable that *Billboard* had an even more influential role in the pervasive spread of the need for authenticity or at least the appearance of authenticity in rock music across the industry. Instead of functioning simply as an internal industry sales mechanism, allowing the marketing departments to reach the gatekeepers that they needed, *Billboard*'s shifts in the design of adverts and the inclusion of reports not just on record sales, but on what sales and production techniques were effective, arguably provided a conduit for ideas about the nature of rock and, crucially, the conditions needed for its production and to ensure its consumption to permeate throughout the industry. As the entrepreneurial approach to innovation started to appear in various labels not just in

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[30] See for example Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*, p.127 or Chapple and Garofalo, *Rock' n' roll is Here to Pay*, pp.154–156.
[31] Chapple and Garofalo, *Rock n' Roll is Here to Pay*, pp.154–156.

studio production and the role of the producer, but also in management, radio and the print press, the ideology of allowing agency to key record company personnel at the input and output boundaries of the business became the accepted approach to rock music.

Development of more innovative marketing techniques that would be more likely to appeal to the rock scene and that could bypass the dependence on Top 40 radio gatekeepers can also be seen developing after Monterey. As discussed in the case of the Beach Boys, the standard methods to heavily promote an album were to place full page advertisements in the trade press, as well as arrange for personal appearances of the band or artist providing promotional spots for various radio stations. One or two singles off an album would then be released in plain sleeves prior to the release of the album, which would have a standardised portrait cover as discussed in chapter six. The new difference in approach after Monterey can be seen in Columbia's complex promotional efforts for Moby Grape, a San Franciscan band signed by Clive Davis at the festival. The band were given an "unprecedented simultaneous release of five singles and one album"[32], which Columbia considered to demonstrate both their faith in the group's appeal and the breadth of the group's repertoire. Packaging was used to enhance the release further, with the singles being in five different coloured sleeves, the album having colour photos of the band on front and back, a poster being included, and the use of a special logo on all promotional material and packaging, as well as on the record itself. Full-page advertisements were also placed in teen magazines and national newspapers.[33] These promotional devices would have been thought to appeal directly to the consumer who would be attracted to the unusual use of colour in singles packaging. The poster could be used both in-store and as an incentive to buy the album, picking up on the new trend of poster art coming out of the San Francisco scene. Retailers would therefore be tempted to stock this new artist because of the records' potential appeal to purchasers. The band were also introduced to:

> key West Coast press and radio representatives by Columbia representatives from both coasts at a special party and concert at the Avalon Ballroom, showcase for San Francisco's rock n' roll talent. More than 1,500 attended the event, with other coast groups joining in.[34]

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[32] 'Columbia Gives Moby Grape a Whale of a Buildup', *Billboard*, 17/6/1967, cited Hirsch, *The Structure of the Pop music Industry*, p.35.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

Live appearances were often used to promote bands, but usually they would release the record first, and then would tour to support it. (It was Elvis Presley who first broke this mould, appearing at a live performance aimed at showcasing talent for the benefit of gaining a record deal, not to reach the wider public.) However, following Monterey and the discovery of the San Francisco scene, live performance was becoming increasingly important as a promotional tool. In the case of Moby Grape, performing live at the Avalon Ballroom would have been expected behaviour for a San Francisco band and would have been key to prove their authenticity to the audience present, who valued live performance over recordings as a site of authenticity.

Once it became standard practice to include adverts for rock in publications directed at the public, the style of adverts developed further, replacing mention of the predicted success of a record, with countercultural references, psychedelic artwork and 'artistic' photos of the bands. These attempts to emulate countercultural stylistic conventions were often derided in the very magazines, such as *Rolling Stone*, which carried these adverts, with some adverts being listed as fake attempts at countercultural co-option. Frank raised the example of the Columbia campaign that misjudged its use of countercultural language with its slogan, "But the Man Can't Bust Our Music" as an example of co-option of the critique of co-option.[35] This advert was picked out by Ralph Gleason for particular scorn in a 1969 article for *The Drama Review* in which he explored the irony that rock music is "a multi-million dollar proposition"[36] and yet carries countercultural messages which will change young people's view of the world. He believes that the advert shows that "in order to make money, corporate American enterprise will, in a kind of autolysis, allow its own destruction to be preached via product that is profitable."[37] Gleason had previously criticised Columbia's advertising methods in *Rolling Stone* itself in 1968.[38] Columbia's attempts to reach the counterculture were often criticised, and their attempts were not always very successful in terms of generating record sales. The Moby Grape campaign mentioned above only resulted in one of the five singles reaching the *Billboard* Top 100 singles chart (at 68).

Clive Davies of Columbia is often blamed for the commercialisation of music that was perceived to have taken place after Monterey. For example, Denny Bruce who was part of an early incarnation of Frank Zappa's The Mothers of Invention and later became a

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[35] Frank *Conquest of Cool*, p. 16 See discussion of Frank in chapter six for more details, pp.23–24.
[36] Ralph J. Gleason, 'The Greater Sound' in *The Drama Review: TDR*, Vol. 13, No.4, Politics and Performance. (Summer 1969), pp.160–166, p.160.
[37] Ibid., p.165.
[38] Frank *Conquest of Cool*, p. 16 See discussion of Frank in chapter six for more details, pp.23–24.

producer, said that "Before Monterey, the music business was still making it up as it went along...When Clive Davis took over he — and the whole New York business mentality — really ruined it."[39] For the Angelenos such as Bruce, it was the New York business connection that was particularly damaging. But for the San Franciscans, of whom Gleason was one, it was the fact that Clive Davies was connected to Lou Adler, who symbolised Los Angeles commercial inauthentic rock, that made him a particular figure of hatred. This perception that Clive Davies and Columbia were co-opting rock for commercial gain may have been part of the reason why the inventive Moby Grape campaign was a failure.

Despite this, Columbia advertisements were regularly shown in *Rolling Stone* and *Crawdaddy!*. In fact, Columbia's relationship with *Rolling Stone* was very intimate from the magazine's inception, as CBS not only bought advertising space in *Rolling Stone*, but helped with distribution and administration as the magazine was being established. According to Frith, Clive Davis's explanation for the denigration of Columbia's adverts by *Rolling Stone* was "to protect itself against the charges of 'selling out'" from its "allegedly anti-establishment readership."[40] It is true to say that the fact that the magazines were dependent on the money of the record industry in this way for their survival was not critiqued in the underground press itself, which also benefitted from industry advertising.

Other record companies did not come in for such denigration for their adverts. In particular Warner Bros.'s adverts were much better tolerated by the counterculture. These adverts were self-deprecating in style, and often lampooned hype methods used by other companies.[41] The fact that Warner's adverts were not directly criticised may also have been related of course to Warner's relative authenticity in the rock scene, created through their willingness to sign the Grateful Dead and later Jimi Hendrix before Monterey expanded the rock market. The difference in the perceptions of Columbia and Warner/Reprise in the rock press is interesting because it suggests that within the counterculture's overall antagonistic attitude to the record industry, there were labels that were considered to be more authentic than others. Both Columbia and Warner Bros. intended to make huge profits from rock, but Warner Bros. was perceived as doing this much less whereas Columbia were regularly criticised for it. It seems that this must largely be due to Warner's astute use of cultural intermediaries from early on in the

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[39] Quoted in Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, p.153.
[40] Frith, *Sound Effects*, p.171.
[41] Goodman, *Mansion on the Hill*, pp.78–79.

development of rock culture allowing them to adapt their sales techniques to match rock's ideologies of authenticity and therefore getting their advertising past the new gatekeepers of rock culture — the rock critics.

The Emergent Rock Press

In the few discussions available of the rock press, it can be seen that rock critics and their articles and reviews did have an influence on sales in a way that print advertising may not have done, functioning in other, more subtle, ways to influence sales, and that this has been recognised by the record industry from relatively early in the development of a dedicated rock press. Rock critic Robert Goldstein, then reviewing pop music for the *Village Voice*, described his surprise at being approached in 1969 by his agent, saying that:

> a large music publisher would pay me $25,000 for three presentations on the state of popular music. It was understood that I would favor this company's artists in my reviews. I was shocked, but also puzzled. It never occurred to me that my writing carried any real commercial weight... .[42]

The role of the specialist music press in the development of rock is not often discussed in detail, with only Simon Frith giving an overview of rock writing's history, which he claims can be traced from being part of the Underground press movement linked to the counterculture, through the establishment of *Crawdaddy!* to *Rolling Stone* magazine.[43] Frith argues that the development of the ideology of authenticity in rock linking rock to lifestyle and cultural struggle was due to rock's inclusion, prior to the foundation of *Crawdaddy!*, in the Underground Press newspapers, which were mainly concerned with countercultural developments. However, as discussed in chapter six, a survey of the Underground Press in the years 1966–1968 showed little interest in rock music, with few reports but several adverts.[44] Frith then argues this attitude is carried to a more mainstream audience through the early specialist music press such as *Crawdaddy!* and *Creem* that also linked rock to the counterculture. However, it seems more likely that the Underground press later included more rock coverage once the ideology linking authentic rock to lifestyle had become prevalent through dedicated rock magazines such as

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[42] Richard Goldstein, quoted in Chapple and Garofalo, *Rock n' Roll is Here to Pay*, p.167.
[43] Simon Frith, *Sound Effects*, pp.168–169.
[44] Underground Press archive, UCLA.

Crawdaddy! and *Rolling Stone* and in the mainstream press. In other words, the ideologies of authenticity that grew around rock and related it to the counterculture did not emerge from the counterculture, as reflected in the underground press, as Frith suggests. Instead, it came from the rock scene itself, in particular from the Californian rock fans who saw their music as key to the countercultural project, not just one small aspect of it as it was when discussed in the underground press. Once these views were spread through the rock press, and perhaps even the mainstream press, the rest of the countercultural press also reflected them. Whether or not the underground press ever thought of rock as a serious part of the counterculture movement is also debatable, not least because, as Frith suggests, rock music "soon became important as the most fertile source of underground income – whether the money came from record company advertisements or musician's benefits."[45] Indeed, Jim Fouratt, a Columbia executive, "went so far as to brag that he was responsible for funding the underground press"[46] which suggests that it was perhaps rock's money rather than its countercultural relevance that was the motivation behind its later inclusion in the underground press.

Frith takes his point about dependence on record industry money further in his discussion of *Rolling Stone*. As with most accounts of *Rolling Stone*, he mainly focuses on its development from 1970 onwards, when it was firmly established as the most successful rock magazine in America. However, in terms of assessing the role of the rock press as potential gatekeepers for the industry in the 1960s, and in the way it acted as a vehicle for rock cultural intermediaries in the form of rock critics, I would like to investigate the relationship between the nascent rock press and the record companies in more detail.

Crawdaddy!, was started by Paul Williams, a college student (soon to be a drop-out) in February, 1966. The first issue was five double-sided pages long and was broadly based on *Billboard* in style, reviewing singles and, despite stating in the editorial that the magazine's intention is not to predict how much singles will sell, predicting if they would be successful. From the start, *Crawdaddy!* was clearly aware of its potential use to the record industry. This can be seen in the fact that about three quarters of its first print run of 400 copies were sent out for free to record companies and radio stations, in an attempt to gain material and advertising.[47] The use of the magazine to the record industry as a rock cultural intermediary was also made explicit in *Crawdaddy!*'s first editorial, which declares that "Crawdaddy will feature neither pin-ups nor news-briefs; the specialty of

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[45] Frith, *Sound Effects*, p.168.
[46] Goodman, *Mansion on the Hill*, p.78.
[47] Ibid., p.11.

this magazine is intelligent writing about pop music..." It goes on to suggest that *Crawdaddy!* is the only available alternative to trade and teen magazines. It continues, saying:

> This is not a service magazine. We fully expect and intend to be of great use to the trade: by pushing new 45's that might have otherwise been overlooked, by aiding radio stations in deciding on their playlists, by giving manufacturers some indication of response to a record other than sales, by providing buyers with critiques of new LPs so that they'll have some idea of what they're getting before they buy, and, most important, by offering rock and roll artists some sort of critical response to their work. We are not a service magazine.[48]

This description of *Crawdaddy!*'s potential functions is then followed by an assertion that what they will do whilst providing the above services is not try to predict how much a record will sell, or to write "puff pieces"[49] to please bands and their fans, but rather to provide well-written, thought-provoking articles that will "appeal to people interested in rock and roll, both professionally and casually."[50] This is then followed by a plea for a response from the record trade, asking for advertising and subscriptions "in order to begin offset printing and national distribution." More important, seeking recognition of a reciprocal relationship between magazine and record company, *Crawdaddy!* asks for material: "We will need promotional copies of 45's and LPs from all manufacturers for our reviews to be meaningful. We will need response from you in the form of letters and publishable material in order to believe that there is a purpose in continuing in this project.... Most of all, naturally, we need money."[51] Williams goes on to reiterate that he will accept advertising, and that he will send *Crawdaddy!* out free to any record company, advertiser, contributor or letter writer who responds.

The editorial also makes it clear that the magazine is designed to reflect what rock fans are interested in, what the rock audience thinks of the music that the record company is producing. It is in this way that the rock cultural intermediary can both effect what music is made by providing the industry with criticism of its musical products from the audience that it is targeting as well as providing the record industry with a means to reach that audience more directly through advertising.

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[48] Paul Williams, 'Editorial', *Crawdaddy!* Issue 1, February, 1966, p.1.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

There were no responses to Williams' pleas for advertising or promotional records until issue four, released to coincide with the Newport Folk Festival in 1966. Jac Holzman of Elektra records read the fanzine and agreed to put an advert in the next issue. Advertising slowly increased from this point, with local shops and Chess records adding their adverts to the magazine from issue six onwards. This slow response can be explained by the fact that, although Williams' editorial makes it clear that he believes there is an audience that would respond to record company advertising, the audience that he is acting as advocate for had yet to reach the record industry's attention. This audience were either college age students, or were beginning to drop out and join the counterculture. It was not really until Monterey that it became clear to the industry that a large audience of this kind existed, and this may have been part of the reason for the lack of response from the record industry. It is also possible that the record industry were slow to realise the advantages in directing print advertising not just to the DJ gatekeepers through the trade press, but also directly to the audience they were trying to reach.

There was, however, immediate positive response from the bands that Williams reviewed. Paul Simon rang him in response to his first issue review of the Simon and Garfunkel album 'Sounds of Silence', saying it was "the first serious thing that's been written about what we're doing."[52] Bob Dylan invited Williams to hang out backstage with him after reading the second issue, and apparently spread glowing reports of him along to his musician friends.[53] This encouraged Williams to continue the magazine despite the lack of record industry interest. Despite his description in many places as a hippie idealist, Williams was convinced of the use that a magazine such as his would provide to people both within the trade of rock and outside of it. He was clearly aware of his own rock cultural intermediary role.

Crawdaddy!'s importance is usually overshadowed by the huge success of *Rolling Stone* magazine, although *Rolling Stone* was partly inspired by *Crawdaddy!*, but carried out on a larger more professional scale. Jann Wenner, co-founder and editor of *Rolling Stone,* had started out as an early rock cultural intermediary, writing for a small audience on the Berkeley campus newspaper, the *Daily Californian*, using his contacts within the burgeoning San Francisco scene to provide him with inside information on who the biggest bands were, what Ken Kesey was doing next, where to buy psychedelic paraphernalia and which gigs to attend. In other words, he used it both to spread news of

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[52] Goodman, *Mansion on the Hill*, p.11.
[53] Ibid.

the local version of the countercultural lifestyle and to link this explicitly to the music, as did Ralph Gleason, his mentor, working at the *San Francisco Daily Chronicle*.[54]

However, Wenner and some other young followers of the counter-culture movement had decided that it was not the lifestyle that mattered the most, but rather the music and furthermore, after the success of Monterey in 1967, had realised that it was the music in which most people outside the counterculture were interested. The only magazine focussing on the music itself was *Crawdaddy!*, but its distribution was low, and it was set up with minimal financing. Wenner wanted to set up a magazine to operate at the national level, a lifestyle magazine that focussed on music.[55] From the start, therefore, *Rolling Stone* was set up to make money, more so than *Crawdaddy!* and to do this, it needed revenue from investors, subscriptions, and, crucially, advertising. Having started up with some backing from private investors, Wenner arranged to have *Rolling Stone* look and feel from the outset like a serious magazine/newspaper, unlike *Crawdaddy!*, which was fiercely homemade in appearance. *Rolling Stone* was professionally typeset and designed from issue one, and it also featured advertising from local poster shops, the Fillmore, rock radio stations, and record labels, including three independents, Chess, Buddah and even Atlantic, who took out a full page advertisement for Sonny Bono's latest album in the first issue.[56] In gaining this advertising so early on, it is possible that *Rolling Stone* had the advantage of *Crawdaddy!*'s example, which by this time featured regular adverts from Elektra, Chess and Columbia, and also carried adverts for rock radio stations, San Francisco venues and local shops.[57]

The record industry was clearly beginning to realise the benefit of being associated with the counterculture more directly than it had prior to Monterey, another indication of the extension of the idea of agency being important across the record industry. This selection of advertisements, appearing in the first issue, already give an indication of the importance of lifestyle to the *Rolling Stone* ethos, one which was also reflected in the articles included, which included interviews with Donovan, news about bands working on new albums, photos of the Beatles' wives in the latest exotic clothing from English boutiques and John Lennon in a movie role, a few album and singles reviews, an article comparing Jimi Hendrix's and Eric Clapton's guitar styles and their expansion of rock

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[54] Draper, *Rolling Stone Magazine*, pp.47–48.
[55] Ibid., pp.58–63.
[56] Ibid., p.67.
[57] See *Crawdaddy!*, Issue 11, October 1967.

beyond the blues, and two more political articles – an attack by Gleason on racism on television and an article investigating the financial background to Monterey Pop Festival. In other words, *Rolling Stone* embodied a mixture of elements related to, but not necessarily focussed on, the music of rock. This approach was also reinforced in the editorial for the first issue:

> *Rolling Stone* is not just about music, but also about the things and attitudes that the music embraces. We've been working quite hard on it and we hope you can dig it. To describe it any further would be difficult without sounding like bullshit, and bullshit is like gathering moss.[58]

The uniqueness of the role that Paul Williams started, and Jann Wenner and others continued, was that they were not highly differentiated from the bands that they were writing about; they were not 'squares in suits', but rather were of the same generation, able to understand the ideas and transmit them across the nation.

As soon as it was big enough, *Rolling Stone* certainly had no qualms about advertising itself to the music industry as an advertising medium as early as 1970, as spelled out in an advertising kit:

> Young people spend a *lot* of money on music; rock record sales now total $700 million annually ... and half of that is spent by *Rolling Stone* readers ... *Rolling Stone*'s editorial coverage presents hi-fi as the normal and necessary part of our reader's lives they tell us it is. Not like the men's magazines where it is regarded as just another luxury to be collected and displayed or the general magazines where hi-fi is either held in awe or else is just one more household commodity. Because music is vital to the readers of *Rolling Stone* so is high fidelity.[59]

By this stage, the various institutions through which the record industry could reach the rock consumer were well established and understood in their usefulness in the form of the rock press, FM radio, television specials and films, and the rock cultural intermediary had become a key figure in the workings of the rock industry.

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[58] Jann Wenner, 'Editorial', *Rolling Stone* Vol.1, No.1, Nov 9, 1967, p.2.
[59] Quoted from *Fusion*, 1970, in Chapple and Garofalo, *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay*, p.163.

The Authenticity of Liveness

The final aspect of rock cultural intermediaries that arose after Monterey was their involvement in the final development of an ideology of authenticity of rock from the idea of creative use of studio manipulation as a site of authenticity to one focussing instead on the importance of live performance. Although most of the arguments about Monterey and the nature of rock that happened at the time were focussing on the more general art versus commerce model of authenticity, it was after Monterey that live performance became a key part of proving that a band were authentic, and as the rock press developed, discussions of the relative merits of live performance and studio manipulations were common. As *Rolling Stone* magazine was based in San Francisco, where live performance was a crucial element of the scene, it is not surprising that the idea that live performance was crucial to a band's authenticity should become more widespread as *Rolling Stone*'s distribution widened.

As described in the previous chapter, the ideology of authenticity emphasising the Romantic nature of the rock artist that emerged in the mid 60s included consideration of the creative freedom and originality expressed in the recording studio. This was initially closely related to the Los Angeles emphasis on studio experimentation, and was intensified by the release of *Sgt Pepper* and the decision of the Beatles to stop touring. However, the San Franciscan rock scene found this problematic from the start, as seen in the *Billboard* San Francisco Spotlight pull-out discussed above, where there were predictions that there would be a shift towards recordings made without manipulations in a live context, which would allow the San Franciscan bands to reach a broader audience whilst maintaining their emphasis on live performance.

After the launch of San Francisco based *Rolling Stone* at the end of 1967, the importance of live performance is often discussed, and a backlash can be seen against studio manipulations in new rock recordings. This is encapsulated in a series of articles by Jon Landau in 1968, who argues that it is time for an end to "all the pretentious, non-musical, boring, insignificant, self-conscious and worthless stuff that has been tolerated during the past year" in the wake of the release of Sgt Pepper, and instead calls for a return to rock as "body music" and for an authentic live quality in rock band's recordings and performances.[60]

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[60] See, for example, Jon Landau, 'Rock and …' and 'Rolling Stones Comeback', *Rolling Stone* Vol.2, No.5, August 10th, 1968.

The authenticity of different types of live performance was also discussed in other publications, with *Crawdaddy!* discussing the authenticity of flamboyant stage performances, holding up San Franciscan style performances as providing a new and exciting type of authenticity in live performance.[61] This is perhaps an indication of the influence of *Rolling Stone* magazine (which eventually purloined several *Crawdaddy!* writers) which quickly became the main rock newspaper in the states, with a well established distribution system and a large sphere of influence across the country that, at least at this time, other rock magazines did not have. Thus, *Rolling Stone*'s San Franciscan based idea that the most authentic rock was that based around live performance, and in particular inclusive yet spectacular live performance became widespread, and, as discussed in my typology of rock authenticity in the introduction, according to Belz and Willis, dominated the view of rock authenticity by the end of the decade.

The shift from an LA-based conception of authenticity that included studio manipulation as a key factor to an SF-based conception of authenticity emphasising live performance had a big impact on the careers of rock bands working at the time that the shift was being negotiated. To explore this impact, I shall return for the last time to the Beach Boys, and compare their experience after Monterey to that of Jimi Hendrix. Both artists were affected by the change in emphasis in authenticity, but in opposite ways. As mentioned above, Jimi Hendrix's appearance at Monterey re-introduced him to America as an authentic rock star, combining the various markers of authenticity that allowed him to be understood both as an authentic, original Romantic artist and as an authentic live performer. Monterey was also important in the assessment of the authenticity of the Beach Boys, who had agreed to appear at Monterey in the earliest stages of its organisation, but later pulled out, a decision which ultimately led to the demise of their career as leaders of the rock scene.

Questions had already started about the ability of the Beach Boys to replicate Wilson's studio work in a live setting after the release of *Pet Sounds*, but it was the complexity of 'Good Vibrations', released in October 1966 that caused reviewers to start commenting on this aspect of the band. British reviewers of the band's live appearances started commenting on The Beach Boy's strangely mixed audience, which now consisted of "teenage ravers from US camp bases ... liberally mixed with an incongruous assortment

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[61]See Michael Rosenbaum, 'Jimi Hendrix and Live Things', *Crawdaddy!*, Issue 15, May 1968.

of middle-aged devotees."[62] This mixed audience seems to be symptomatic of the changing status of the Beach Boys, with some of their fans being fans from the time that they were seen as a surf band, and others newly attracted by their increasing rock status and new sound. The difficulties of reproducing the sounds of the latest single, 'Good Vibrations', were commented on negatively by magazines such as *Melody Maker* as follows:

> ...On their well-established numbers like 'Fun, Fun, Fun', 'I Get Around', 'Barbara Ann' and 'Sloop John B.' they produced that characteristic Beach Boys sound ... But when it came to the more recent numbers like 'God Only Knows' and 'Good Vibrations' the interpretations sounded a little thin compared with the recorded versions. Even Mike Love's use of an oscillator [an electro-theremin], which the group have been employing on stage over the past five months, didn't completely fill the gaps.[63]

The other issue with the live performances that was repeatedly raised was the lack of an interesting live act, that is of a performing persona. As Ray Coleman wrote:

> ...Could [The Beach Boys] recreate in the flesh the brilliant inventiveness of Brian Wilson at the recording sessions? They just about made it. Carl Wilson's sweet voice braved 'God Only Knows' and it sounded pretty authentic... But then nobody expected them to sound as good 'live' as on record. And this was where they fell down. Their stage act was nil.... It just isn't enough for five imageless Americans to stand and sing. They made no attempt to project personality unless it lay in their fresh, California sun outfits of blue and white striped shirts and pure white trousers...[64]

This last review highlights the importance of individuality and personality that was beginning to emerge as part of the move towards Romantic authenticity in the rock scene. The Beach Boys still maintained their authentic surfer looks whilst asking the audience to accept them as Romantic artists. It was perhaps for this reason that Brian Wilson, who as composer, arranger and producer had more of an individual role in the group, was increasingly singled out for Romantic artist treatment, as part of the "Brian is a genius"

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[62] Wendy Varnals, writing for the *Disc & Echo* on 25th October, 1966, quoted in Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, p.155
[63] *Melody Maker*, Oct 25th, 1966, quoted in Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, p.155
[64] Ray Coleman writing for the *Disc & Echo* Nov 6th, 1966, quoted in Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, pp.159–160

campaign, for example, whereas the other members of The Beach Boys maintained a fairly anonymous band profile. The emphasis on Wilson as composer and creator for the group also increasingly left them open to accusations of being inauthentic professional musicians, no longer performing music that they were in any way connected to (surfers trying to reproduce artistic pop on stage) and therefore the antithesis of the increasing emphasis on Romantic authenticity – of being true to oneself. This uncertainty about the authenticity of the Beach Boys was again probably due to their being a long established act trying to change their style and musical direction without institutional support. The way that Jimi Hendrix was handled when he arrived in the UK at around this time shows the advantage that being a new acts emerging as the rock genre was being defined had – he was immediately able to be established as an original Romantic artist, with a unique look, a unique multi-racial band, his own songs and his own distinctive playing style, guided by rock cultural intermediaries who understood the rock scene they were introducing him to.

As 1967 wore on, the much-anticipated new studio album, *Smile* failed to appear as Wilson struggled to create order from all the 'feels' he had recorded over the preceding months. A second Best of... album was released shortly after Monterey in July 1967 due to demands from Capitol to fill the gap between releases, which served only to reinforce the Beach Boys' old surf image at the critical time that they were trying to leave it behind.[65] Eventually, Wilson and Capitol gave up on *Smile* altogether, and it was officially dropped as the Beach Boys next album, although elements of it were retained to incorporate into the next album, *Smiley Smile*, released September 1967.[66] Unfortunately, the week before Monterey, The Beatles released their new, groundbreaking studio album, *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Heart Club Band*, and the world music press announced that The Beatles, not the Beach Boys, had won the production race. This development started to have a negative effect on the perception of Wilson as a Romantic genius, based as it was on his supposed un-matched genius in the studio.

The negative perception of the band was increased due to their failure to appear at Monterey Festival where they had been supposed to headline one of the evenings. The Beach Boys' failure to appear was attributed to their fear that they could not reproduce their studio sound on stage, and an admission that without Wilson producing new, complex music for them, they were just a group of surfers playing at being Romantic artists. This was arguably the defining moment that denied the Beach Boys any chance of

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[65] The Beach Boys, *Best of the Beach Boys Vol. 2*, Capitol T2706.
[66] The Beach Boys, *Smiley Smile*, Brother Records T9001.

achieving rock authenticity, as opposed to rock and roll authenticity based on their perception as surfers. A media backlash began against the Beach Boys, with articles comparing them unfavourably to the Beatles, with whom they had only a few months earlier been considered equals, and also to the live performers unveiled at Monterey. The 'Brian is a genius' campaign was dismissed as empty publicity and as rock's popularity grew and it's increasing emphasis on live, Romantic authenticity developed, the Beach Boys were left behind.[67] This also had a negative effect on Wilson himself, who began to withdraw from the band altogether at this point, leaving other band members to take over some of the writing and production duties. Their fortunes were reversed only in the early 1970s when they turned from their studio based music to become one of the first nostalgia bands, predominantly playing their pre-1965 music to an aging but appreciative audience. It was not until the relaunch of Brian Wilson's career in the 1990s that he has been fully integrated into a rock narrative of Romantic genius, complete with the added elements of mental illness and being unappreciated by his record label and band mates as he carried out a quiet revolution in how rock was made.

The effect on Jimi Hendrix of the rise of the importance of live performance to rock authenticity after Monterey was initially much more positive. Pete Johnson wrote in his review of Monterey for the *Los Angeles Times* that "[by the end of the set] the Jimi Hendrix Experience owned the future and the audience knew it in an instant. When Jimi left the stage he graduated from rumour to legend."[68] Other reviews of his performance were not as positive, for example *Billboard* described it as:

> ...more experience than music, pop or otherwise. Accompanied by overmodulated electronic feedback squeals and bombastic drumming, the Hendrix performance is quite a crowd rouser but its sensationalism is not music and ...his chicken-choke handling of the guitar doesn't indicate a strong talent either.[69]

However, good or bad, almost all the reviews of Monterey discussed the Experience's set, and it launched Jimi as an authentic American rock star. The initial Jimi Hendrix Experience singles released in the US prior to Monterey were disappointments, with 'Hey Joe' failing to reach the *Billboard* Top 100 chart.[70] This was perhaps because Reprise

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[67] See Badman, *The Beach Boys Diary*, pp.184–208.
[68] Quoted in Cross, *Room full of Mirrors*, pp194–195.
[69] From Philip Elwood, 'Fest a California Dream-In', *Billboard*, July 8th, 1967.
[70] The Jimi Hendrix Experience, 'Hey Joe'/'51st Anniversary', Reprise 0572, released US May 1967.

were unsure how to effectively market Hendrix in the US – the adverts in *Billboard* for the single predict that Jimi is "destined to become 67's foremost soul exponent!"[71], implying that Hendrix's race was encouraging marketing to aim him at the still-segregated black audience, rather than the burgeoning white-dominated rock scene. The Experience's first album, *Are You Experienced*, which was doing well in the UK charts after its May 1967 release, was only released in the US after the success of the Monterey appearance, in August 1967.[72] The proven success of Hendrix with the rock crowd had apparently had an impact on the marketing of the album - *Are You Experienced* was given a new psychedelic cover photo tapping into the countercultural style now broadly associated with rock music. (See Figs. 11 and 12 for comparison of the US and UK cover art.)

The change in marketing and the interest generated by reviews of Monterey and the band's follow up dates, initially in San Francisco and then, controversially, on tour with the Monkees, paid off, and *Are You Experienced* became the fastest selling album in Reprise's history.[73] Meanwhile, Hendrix had returned to the recording studio in Britain to make the follow up album, *Axis: Bold as Love*.[74] Although Hendrix had been involved in the recording process of *Are You Experienced*, as well as writing most of the material, with the new album, he became much more actively involved with the recording and mixing process. Hendrix saw his work in the studio and his live act as separate, arguing that in the recorded version of his songs "we just try to take you somewhere as far as the record can go" and that in live performance, the band were offering "another side of [the songs]."[75]

Hendrix continued to tour in Britain whilst waiting for the release of *Axis*, but Jeffrey, his financial manager, believed that touring in the US, where venues were larger was more lucrative, so in January 1968, when the album was released, the band relocated to New York.[76] The Jimi Hendrix Experience then toured extensively across America for the next six months, leaving little time for Hendrix's increasingly ambitious studio work.

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[71] Full page advert for 'Hey Joe', *Billboard*, May 6th, 1967.
[72] The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Are You Experienced?*, Track Records 612 001, released UK. This was released in the US as The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Are You Experienced?*, Reprise Records, RS 6261. The US version included the band's three singles, omitted from the UK release; 'Hey Joe', 'Purple Haze' and 'Wind Cries Mary', but omitted the tracks 'Red House', 'Remember' and 'You See Me' which had appeared on the UK version.
[73] For details of these tour dates, see McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, pp.93–97.
[74] The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Axis: Bold As Love*. Reprise Records RS 6281, released US and UK January 1968.
[75] Hendrix quoted in McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, p.118.
[76] McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, p.125.

This move to New York on the basis of the financial advantages of touring reflected wider repercussions across the organisation of the US record industry as the importance of live authenticity in American rock grew after Monterey. There was a shift away from studio wizardry in the work of some bands, welcomed in *Rolling Stone*, and a new emphasis on touring, as discussed by Willis.[77] Touring was increasingly self-promoted and organised, allowing the artist to retain a much larger slice of the profits and control the merchandise such as posters and tour books that were sold at these events. The money generated in this way could then be used to finance the increasingly complex and long recording process.

There was another advantage to the record companies in the new emphasis on live events. Bands could now appear at high profile events such as festivals, providing them with vital public exposure away from the all powerful Top 40 DJs. The emphasis on liveness in local scenes and festivals also provided the industry both with a constant source of new talent from which to pick new bands to sign and allowed them to help bands maintain themselves as authentic in the eyes of the rock scene despite working within the record industry.

Toynbee discusses this aspect of live performance and its function in the record industry today. He describes a situation in which the use of media both allows bands to take greater control of their own career in terms of being allowed greater artistic freedom and organising media events and live performances themselves, and allows the record company greater control of marketing as they learn how to use the media effectively.[78] This pattern can be seen as rock emerges in the late 1960s, developing from a range of disparate local music scenes, which are then packaged as a new genre, rock, both by the record industry and by the media that emerged from those scenes, which in turn was increasingly used by the record companies and band's managers to reach a wide audience directly. Toynbee argues that the record industry is dependent on local music scenes for new acts in order to allow it to adjust to changing demand for music, and goes on to explore these scenes as sites where music making can happen free from full commodification, arguing that although money is made in local venues, this is not the only motivation for bands appearing there – some do it for the love of it, others for esteem, and some because they expect in the future to enter the music industry proper.[79]

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[77] For Rolling Stone articles lauding the shift away from wizardry, see Jon Landau, 'Rock and …' and 'Rolling Stones Comeback'. Willis, 'Freedom and Crowds', pp.156–157. For more discussion of this, see Introduction, pp. 16–17.
[78] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music*, p. 24.
[79] Ibid., p. 25–32.

As discussed in chapter four, this view falls into the usual authentic ideology of art versus commerce in relation to music-making. However, it does have interesting parallels to the arguments put forward by the San Franciscan scene suggesting that the purpose of rock is to act as part of a community, not to work within the confines of the record industry and that live performance is a site where this can happen free from the bounds of commerce.

The importance of Toynbee's discussion for my purposes is that he argues that the musicians' and fans' belief that the existence of a community of live performance outside the remit of the record industry is crucial for a band to escape becoming a sell-out has had a direct effect on the industry itself. He argues that the industry has deferred to the community idea and encourages it due to the demands of this ideology of authenticity – "subcultural credibility and therefore market share depend on evidence about the site of production being made available. Music-making must be seen to go on outside the industry at some moment before the imperatives of exchange take over."[80] This acquiescence to the demands of the ideologies of authenticity, not just of the importance of live performance, but also of the belief that creative freedom is necessary to allow art to be made within a commercial framework was crucial to the record industry's ability to use rock to make themselves a profit.

However, in the 1960s, the need to prove one's authenticity in live performance could also have a more negative effect on the creative potential of bands, which can be seen in the development of the career of Jimi Hendrix. As stated above, Hendrix's management's adoption of self-promoted touring in the US was a method of generating money for the band, used to finance Hendrix's increasingly ambitious studio projects. As discussed above, Hendrix saw his touring and recording activities as complementary, with the live version of a song revealing different aspects from that on the recording. However, as 1968 went on, he seems to have altered his attitude, seeing the touring as a means to pay for his (very expensive) recording projects, and becoming increasingly frustrated about the touring that was taking him away from the recording studio.[81] He also became frustrated by the audience's demands that he play his greatest hits, such as 'Purple Haze', live, and complained that the audience had come to see his guitar acrobatics, not to listen to his music. By 1969, Hendrix was keen to move away from rock to work in the studio with more avant-garde musicians – his frustration with the role that he had to play is clear in the statement he made in an interview for *Rolling Stone*: "I

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[80] Ibid., p.28.
[81] McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, p.187.

don't want to be a clown anymore. I don't want to be a 'rock & roll star'"[82], which became part of the article's tagline.

This demand from the audience and media that Hendrix perform using the methods that he had done to establish himself as a leading exponent of the new emphasis on live performance demonstrates the power and pitfalls of the shifting ideologies of authenticity that surrounded rock in the 1960s. Auslander's argument that live performance is used today to authenticate the records of musicians, laid out in the typography of authenticity in my introduction, is perhaps relevant here. He argues that the purpose of live performance is to prove that the band really can play what is on the record (something that prevented the Beach Boys from being authenticated as rock stars as seen above).[83] If this is one of the reasons for the emphasis on live performance, then, no matter how often the artist argues that their recorded output and their live performances are separate and complementary, the fans will demand that they play their best known (recorded) songs in order to authenticate them. This seems to have been the case for Jimi Hendrix. Despite the fact that as time went on he seems to have wanted a role more akin to an entrepreneur producer, creating his music in the studio the way that Brian Wilson had done, the way that he had initially authenticated himself and his music as rock meant that he had to continue playing spectacular live renditions of his well known songs in order to keep the public funding his recorded work. Like the Beach Boys, the means to transfer from one type of authenticity, in this case from an SF-type live authenticity to an LA studio based authenticity, appear to have been beyond him in his lifetime. Although this did not have a negative effect in terms of chart successes on his career, as it did for the Beach Boys, the fact that ideologies of authenticity had direct effects on the musical activities Hendrix and the Beach Boys could undertake demonstrates the power of the ideology of authenticity in relation to rock by the end of the 1960s.

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[82] Hendrix quoted in Sheila Weller, 'Jimi Hendrix: I Don't Want to be a Clown Any More', *Rolling Stone*, No. 46, Nov 15, 1969.
[83] See discussion of Auslander, *Liveness*, Introduction pp.14–15.

Conclusion

Through the course of this thesis, I have looked at what authenticity in relation to music might be, and have traced its evolution from the nineteenth century to the current day, focussing on the development of an ideology of authenticity in relation to rock. My research suggests that the development of rock in the 1960s was an important moment in the attribution of authenticity to recorded popular music, and crucially, the moment that ideologies of authenticity became key to the creation and reception of a popular music genre.

As discussed in my typology of authenticity, the case of early rock music is particularly paradoxical and complicated in terms of authenticity because it combines two different forms of ideologies of authenticity, one based on the art versus commerce dichotomy traceable back to the nineteenth century, the other based on live versus recorded music, a dichotomy which, as discussed in chapter two, emerged as the record became the primary commercial source of music in the rock n' roll era. Previous writers on authenticity in rock, such as Frith, Moore and Gracyk discussed in my introduction have tended to focus on the art versus commerce dichotomy, describing rock as constructing itself as a Romantic art, or as a folk music. My explorations of the development of authenticity in the nineteenth century suggest that categorising a type of music as art or as folk were both essentially part of the Romantic method of authenticating music. Essentially, if music was to be authentic, it should not be 'popular', with all its connotations of mechanisation and commercialisation, an argument commonly made about rock in more recent times.

Although several theorists who write on authenticity have recognised the live versus recorded dichotomy in popular music derived from rock, they usually argue either that the live performance functions to authenticate the recorded work (in the case of Auslander discussed in the introduction) or that live performance is seen as more authentic than recordings (in the case of Thornton and Frith, discussed in chapter two), but my research suggests that for a time in the 1960s, the recording studio was seen as a prime site of authenticity in the Romantic sense of allowing creative experimentation leading to original works of art. Initially, as discussed in chapter four, only the new role of the record producer was thought of as an artist in this sense, but as the decade progressed, and bands were allowed increasing amounts of creative freedom within the industry, musicians and managers of bands began to take producer roles, and were thought of as authentic for doing so.

As discussed in my introduction, Moore mentions this development briefly in *Rock: The Primary Text*, but in Section two, I have traced this form of authenticity to the rise of the independents in the 1950s when the record became the primary object, and the emphasis when making a hit record shifted from capturing performances of already well-known or new, carefully designed hit songs, to creating hot new sounds through the combination of songs styles, performers and recording studios. My research suggests that this form of authenticity became attached to rock through developments in LA, where a combination of a developing counterculture and a long history of recording music seemed to lead to the emergence of an authenticity less directly concerned with art versus commerce. Instead, people such as Brian Wilson were happy to make 'art' in a commercial framework, and people in the local counterculture scene perceived this as authentic.

However, as the 1960s progressed, although the idea of creative use of recorded technology as authentic continued to some extent, and indeed was used by the industry to persuade bands that they would not be co-opted by the Establishment if they signed a record deal, it started to be overshadowed by the rise of the idea of liveness as a more important marker of authenticity. Following the arguments of Belz and Willis discussed in my typology of authenticity, I have traced the origins of this form of authenticity to San Francisco, where it seems that the lack of an established recording culture, historical antipathy to LA, and the development of a music scene closely entwined with the counterculture based around extended spectacular live performances combined to create an emphasis on live performance as a sign of authenticity. These two forms of authenticity were not mutually exclusive, but by the end of the decade, as discussed in chapter eight, if a band wished to become established as authentic rock stars, they needed to be able to prove their authenticity live on stage. If they could do this, they could also experiment in the studio, as Jimi Hendrix continued to do, and indeed might be praised for this, but if they could not perform live in a way recognised as authentically rock, then any studio experimentation would be dismissed as gimmickry, as happened to the Beach Boys.

Although scholars writing on rock have discussed authenticity and rock in the 1960s, as outlined in my introduction, there have been no attempts to assess why it arose at that time, how it might have operated, and what effects this may have had on rock as a genre. This is perhaps because it is only relatively recently that authenticity in music has been understood as something ascribed and constructed, as discussed in chapter two. The complexity of the case of early rock, a nascent genre in flux, has provided me with opportunities to explore the workings of authenticity and to chart its changes, both in discussion about rock music and in its effect on the record industry in some detail.

Several insights have been revealed by this process, the main ones being that the ideology of authenticity affected the record industry as a whole, allowing it to become more inventive in response to an unstable market both at its input and output boundaries, through the extensive use of rock cultural intermediaries, and in its internal organisation, allowing more creative freedom and innovation from musicians and producers under contract to it.

As discussed in chapter three, studies of the internal workings of the record industry in the 1960s are few, and most focus on the major labels. However, many more recent studies of the record industry refer back to practices that they believe originate in the 1960s, and histories of rock also tend to include basic overviews of the workings of the record industry at this time. By collating as many contemporary studies and histories of the rock industry in the 1960s as I could find with more recent accounts, I found that many of the recent histories of the record industry, and in particular their tendency to consider the majors and independents as the representatives of inauthentic, profit motivated companies versus authentic, artistically motivated companies, did not correspond to most of the findings of contemporary scholarly studies. Instead, they reflected journalistic accounts, often written by British authors (Gillett and Cohn are often cited) in the early 70s.[1] This highlighted for me one of the problems with trying to study the ideology of authenticity in the 1960s, alluded to by Braunstein and Doyle, who argue that the modern view of the sixties is rarely backed up by primary research as it is generally assumed that we know about them.[2] In the case of sixties rock music, not only is there an assumption that we know all about it, but the time is often harked back to as a golden era of authenticity in the Romantic sense, when creativity free from commercial constraint was briefly possible before the majors commercialised rock at the end of the decade. This view of the sixties music industry as a tale of art versus commerce seems to affect more recent theorists' discussion of the time, who judge events from that time in those terms. This, as shown in chapter four in my discussion of the entrepreneur producer, has led to a misunderstanding of the nature of key roles that developed at that time in the record industry, roles that are still important today. To counteract this tendency, section two is a re-examination of existing accounts of the record industry, assessing whether the ideology of authenticity is relevant or appropriate in discussions of this time. I conclude that, although differences between the majors and independents were less marked than is generally suggested, the independent method of allowing more

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[1] Gillett, *Sounds of the City*, Cohn, *Awopbopaloobop*.
[2] Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, 'Historicising the American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s'.

creative autonomy to personnel, which is now used to argue for them as authentic in terms of art versus commerce, did have a broad effect on the industry, causing a restructuring that allowed rock to be created with more autonomy than other forms of popular music at the time.

As discussed in section three, as the 1960s progressed, the model of creative autonomy was extended across record industry departments, and increasing numbers of external experts from the rock scene were hired or used both to persuade bands that signing to a label would not undermine their authenticity, and to sell those bands back to the rock scene from which they came, using ideologies of authenticity that were developing at the time. In this section, the theoretical underpinning of my discussion is Bourdieu's concept of the new cultural intermediary, which is often now dismissed as a confusing concept due to overuse. However, the many close parallels between what I had observed in my primary research (of which more below) and Bourdieu's account of the way that new cultural intermediaries worked meant that it provided a useful framework with which to understand how, in a framework of commerce, rock music could be sold as an authentic, non-commercial product. As in the case of the detailed workings of the record industry, there are very few accounts of the way that rock music was marketed and written about in the 1960s. My approach here was to undertake primary research, both in the UK and the US, focussing primarily on *Billboard*, *Rolling Stone* magazine, *Crawdaddy!* and the Underground Press Collection held in LA. I surveyed all of the magazines available dating from 1966-1968, comparing their approaches and attitude to rock music and also comparing the adverts contained in each. I also watched contemporary documentaries and films from the late 1960s about rock and/or the counterculture, and read all the Oppenheim papers related to the making of the *Inside Pop* documentary. These last were invaluable in forming my own impression of the development of the LA rock scene. This allowed me to understand the various authentic discourses surrounding rock as it emerged and to begin to explore how they worked in the print media. I concluded from this, and the few studies available, that, by the end of 1967, all the systems were in place that allowed rock to be bought and sold whilst retaining its authenticity. House hippies would find bands from the local counterculture and bring them into the industry to be signed. These bands would then be allowed extensive freedom in the studio to produce innovative and distinctive sounds. The new records were released in packaging that reflected the style of the counterculture, allowing them to contribute to its collection of cultural artefacts. The bands appeared live at festivals, in the films of those festivals, and on the soundtrack of countercultural films. They were written about extensively by the rock press where the acceptable levels of band's different authenticities were decided upon and

policed, thus shaping what type of band was likely to be approached next by a house hippie to be signed. All those from the counterculture involved with the record industry, except perhaps the rock press, were handsomely rewarded, but due to the expert selling done by the counterculture's own new cultural intermediaries, they could still remain safely on the right side of the authentic dichotomy of art versus commerce. With these developments, the sleight of hand of authenticity in early rock was complete.

I wished to explore the ramifications of this system of authenticating bands, and of the changes in authenticity and the record industry that I had documented using one example, the Beach Boys. The Beach Boys have only recently started to be written about by scholars, as they have begun to be added to the popular canon, and the focus is usually on the details of their music.[3] I wanted to explore the record production techniques developed in America in the sixties, which they provide an excellent example for, and also wanted to explore why they had taken so long to be taken seriously by academia, when, until 1968, they were considered to be on a par with The Beatles, and were similarly commercially successful. As my research progressed, they also seemed a key example because they were denigrated as well as praised. Discussion of authenticity often seems to be a discussion of what something is not, and following the career of a band that had changing fortunes in terms of being perceived as authentic seemed a useful tool to explore the vagaries of early rock authenticity. Although the Beach Boys failed to become authenticated as rock stars in the 1960s, their career at this time demonstrates both the importance of authenticity in the perception of what was considered rock and the difficulty of making the transition from one type of authenticity to another. It seems that the Beach Boys were so strongly perceived as being authentic surfing rock and rollers that no matter how hard they tried to develop new sounds in the studio, their image and performing persona (or lack of it) held them back from ever making the transition to being appreciated as authentic rock stars. They may well have succeeded in becoming authentic if the idea of what authenticity in rock had not continued to shift and change; The Beach Boys were excellent examples of the Los Angeles form of authenticity and made good use of rock cultural intermediaries in the construction of Wilson as an authentic Romantic artist. However, their inability to conform to the authentic expectations of the San Franciscans which needed them to perform well live was ultimately their downfall.

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[3] See, for example, Harrison, Daniel, 'After Sundown: The Beach Boys' Experimental Music' in Covach, Johnand Boone, Graeme (eds.), *Understanding Rock: Essays in Musical Analysis*, Oxford University Press, London, 1997, pp.33-57 and Lambert, Philip, *Inside the Music of Brian Wilson: The Songs, Sounds and Influences of the Beach Boys' Founding Genius*, Continuum, London, 2007.

Reflections on Methodology and Directions for Future Research

The methods used to carry out my research have been mentioned in passing above. In summary, I assessed existing academic accounts of authenticity in rock music in the 1960s against more contemporary accounts of how the industry operated and primary evidence collected from contemporary sources to try to ascertain why authenticity had become attached to rock at this time, how it operated and what its effects may have been. To do this, I had to read theoretical texts from a range of disciplines, including musicology, philosophy, sociology, economics, cultural studies and a range of journalistic accounts. The result is a thesis that considers the trajectory of records from creation to reception as a whole, exploring how the differing elements effect and interact with each other. Although there are more recent studies of the music industry that do this, for example, Hesmondhalgh's *The Culture Industries* and Negus's *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* this is the first attempt that I am aware of to undertake a detailed study of developments at one particular historical time, not focussing on any one particular band or record label's career, but using various accounts to try to create an overview of the wider operations of the commercial music production (in its broadest sense) system.[4] Once this approach has been developed further (as suggested below), it could be used as a framework to assess in more detail the way that individual acts and labels negotiated this system in the 1960s, without regarding them through the lens of authenticity, as has tended to be the case so far.

There are some problems with my reliance on secondary sources in particular in section two on production, because there is so little previous research and it is notoriously difficult to get access to industry documentation, either because companies are no longer in existence, or because they are now part of larger conglomerations who, perhaps, would not be open to having their business practices explored. Thus, section two is an area that would benefit from more research. A fruitful approach would be a study of issues of *Billboard* from across the 50s and 60s, supported by use of *Variety* and *Cashbox* (the other two more minor US trade magazines of the time). Another possibility would be to access the few archives that are available of record labels from that time. One such is that of A&M Records, whose papers are held at UCLA. I did attempt to access this archive in 2006, but it had not been catalogued properly and I was unable to access the relevant papers. I hope to access the Smithsonian Folkways archive, which contains all the details of the business dealings of the US Folkways label, active throughout the 60s, in a future

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[4] Keith Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*, Routledge, London, 1999.

research project. Such research would be beneficial in itself, as many recent record industry practices originated in the 1960s and may be better understood through further exploration. It would also allow me to explore further my thesis that it was an ideology of authenticity permeating the industry y that contributed to structural changes in the 60s. Interviews with record personnel from the time would also be beneficial, although then, as throughout my project, the possibility of nostalgia for the 60s as a more authentic time might come into play.

Section three on consumption also has scope for further development. The archival material and contemporary journalism used here is particularly rich and diverse, and seems an effective method to approach the way that rock was discussed and marketed. Again, access to record industry archives would potentially provide more detailed evidence of these approaches, as might interviews with relevant personnel. In this section, I largely focussed on how the rock cultural intermediaries from the dedicated print media helped construct rock and negotiate its developing ideologies of authenticity. However, the *Inside Pop* documentary suggests that the mainstream media were also key in determining what rock might be, at least to the wider public and, most likely, the record industry. Members of the rock scene themselves were concerned about this as seen in the discussions after Monterey of how the media had "digested" the scene (discussed in chapter eight). Further study of depictions of and reactions to rock in the mainstream media, including television and film, would offer opportunity to explore not just how the rock scene thought of itself, but also how the wider public (who were buying many of its records) perceived it, and in turn, how much this may have impacted on the way that rock was created and marketed, in terms of authenticity and otherwise. An understanding of the impact of the mainstream media on the understanding of rock, in particular the visual artefacts that we still use today as reference points for the sixties, such as the films of the festivals of the time, could shed light on why we perceived rock in the sixties as authentic the way that we do. This area of research could also be added to by interviews with a variety of people who were aware of the rock scene at the time, and of its music, but who were not necessarily involved in the counterculture or even fans of its music. This could provide a less insular view of rock that might add to our understanding of its meaning, both at the birth of the genre, and today.

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Discography

This discography includes the original release details for all albums and singles mentioned in the thesis, most of which are now available, many in remastered form, on CD. I have also listed any relevant CDs that I used to access extra materials such as radio promo spots, production sessions, and rare demos. I have whether the CD version includes any relevant extra material. I have also included details of producer and engineering credits where relevant/available.

Discographic material was collected from www.discogs.com, a database and marketplace for records (last accessed 28/3/2010), McDermott, *Setting the Record Straight*, Elliott, *Surf's Up!*, contemporary issues of *Billboard* magazine and my own record collection.

Beach Boys records released in the US and UK in the 1960s relevant to this thesis:

The Beach Boys, 'Surfin' Safari'/'409', Capitol 4777, released US, June 1962. Produced Murray Wilson.

The Beach Boys, *Surfin' Safari*, Capitol T1808, released US, October 1962. Produced Nik Venet.

The Beach Boys, 'Surfin' USA'/'Shut Down', Capitol 4932, released US, March 1963. Produced Nik Venet.

The Beach Boys, *Surfin' USA*, Capitol ST1890, released US, March 1963. Produced Nik Venet.

The Beach Boys, *The Beach Boys Today!*, Capitol T2269, released US, March 1965. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, 'California Girls'/'Let Him Run Wild', Capitol 5464, released US July 1965. Produced Brian Wilson.

Brian Wilson, 'Caroline, No'/'Summer Means New Love', Capitol 5610, released US March 1966. Released UK, Capitol CL15438, April 1966. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, 'Sloop John B.'/'You're So Good to Me', Capitol 5602, released US March, 1966. Released UK, Capitol 15441, April 1966. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, *Pet Sounds*, Capitol T2458, released US May 1966. Released UK, Capitol T2458, June 1966. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, *Best of the Beach Boys*, Capitol T2545, released US July 1966. Released UK Capitol 20856, November 1966. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, 'Wouldn't it be nice'/'God only knows' Capitol 5706, released US.

The Beach Boys, 'God Only Knows'/'Wouldn't it be Nice', Capitol 15459. Released UK, July 1966. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, 'Good Vibrations'/'Let's Go Away For Awhile' Capitol 5676, released US October 1966. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, 'Good Vibrations'/ 'Wendy', Capitol 15475, released UK October, 1966. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, 'Heroes and Villains'/ 'You're Welcome', Brother Records 1001, released US July 1967. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, *Best of the Beach Boys Vol. 2*, Capitol T2706, released US July, 1967. Produced Brian Wilson.

The Beach Boys, *Smiley Smile*, Brother Records T9001, released US September 1967. Produced The Beach Boys.

The Beach Boys, *Wild Honey*, Capitol T2859, released US December 1967. Produced The Beach Boys.

Beach Boys records used as research, re-released or released in the 2000s:

These re-released 'twofers' (two albums on one CD) feature song by song accounts of recording and productions details, as well as Brian Wilson's comments on the albums. They also include promotional photos and the original artwork for the albums. Most of them also include previously unreleased archive recordings, recording sessions, or singles that did not appear on albums. The box sets liner booklets include more detailed accounts of the Beach Boys' history, interviews and recording and production details. All the re-releases were engineered by Mark Linett, who had worked with Brian Wilson on his solo projects.

The Beach Boys Good Vibrations: 30 years of the Beach Boys 5 CD Box set, Capitol C2077778129424, 1993. This includes many previously unreleased tracks, demos, B-sides, and alternate versions as well as the Beach Boys greatest hits. Also includes a very useful bonus CD designed to give insight into the Beach Boys recording process, featuring backing track/vocal only versions of various tracks, radio spots, and tracking sessions from 1965–1967.

The Beach Boys: The Pet Sounds Sessions (produced by Brian Wilson) 4 CD Box set, Capitol 724383766222, 1996. This includes a stereo version of *Pet Sounds*, produced and engineered by Mark Linett from the original master tapes, which allows you to hear different details of the instrumental tracks. Much of the box set consists of recordings of the sessions, edited together to give "a capsule version of how the records were made". There are also vocal only and backing track only versions of most of the tracks, alternate versions of the songs, for example 'Caroline No' before the vocal was sped up, and some radio spots.

The Beach Boys, *Surfin' Safari / Surfin' USA*, Capitol 724353151720, released CD 2001.

The Beach Boys, *Surfer Girl / Shut Down Volume 2*, Capitol 724353151522, released CD 2001.

The Beach Boys, *Little Deuce Coupe / All Summer Long*, Capitol Records 724353151621, released CD 2001.

The Beach Boys, *Today! / Summer Days (And Summer Nights)*, Capitol Records 724353163921, released CD 2001.

The Beach Boys, *The Beach Boys' Party! / Stack-O-Tracks*, Capitol Records 724353164126, released CD 2001. Features the backing track for 'California Girls' before the vocals were added.

The Beach Boys, *Smiley Smile / Wild Honey*, Capitol Records 724353186227, released CD 2001. Includes recordings of the 'Good Vibrations' sessions, an alternative version of 'Heroes and Villains', the B-Side of the Good Vibrations single, 'You're Welcome' and other tracks intended for inclusion on *Smile* but previously unreleased.

The Beach Boys, *Friends / 20/20*, Capitol Records 724353163822, released CD 2001.

The Beach Boys, *Sunflower / Surf's Up*, Brother Records 724352569229, released CD, 2000.

Brian Wilson, *Brian Wilson Presents Smile*, Nonesuch Records 7559-79846-2, released CD, 2004.

Hendrix records released in his lifetime relevant to this thesis:

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, 'Hey Joe'/'Stone Free', Polydor 56139, released UK Dec 1966.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, 'Hey Joe'/'51st Anniversary', Reprise 0572, released US May 1967.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, 'Purple Haze'/'51st Anniversary', Track Records 604001, released UK March 1967.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Are You Experienced?* (UK version) Track Records 612 001, released UK May 1967. Produced by Chas Chandler. Engineered by Eddie Kramer.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Are You Experienced?* (US version which included the band's three singles, omitted from the UK release; 'Hey Joe', 'Purple Haze' and 'Wind Cries Mary', but omitted the tracks 'Red House', 'Remember' and 'You See Me' which had appeared on the UK version) Reprise Records, RS 6261, released US August 1967. Produced by Chas Chandler. Engineered by Eddie Kramer.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Axis: Bold As Love*. Reprise Records RS 6281, released January 1968. Produced by Chas Chandler. Engineered by Eddie Kramer.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Electric Ladyland*. Reprise Records 2RS 6307, released October 1968. Produced and directed by Jimi Hendrix. Additional production by Chas Chandler. Engineered by Eddie Kramer.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Smash Hits*. Reprise Records MS 2025, released July 1969. Produced by Chas Chandler & Jimi Hendrix. Engineered by Eddie Kramer.

Jimi Hendrix, *Band of Gypsys*. (Recorded live Fillmore East, 1/1/1970) Capitol Records STAO-472, released April 1970. Produced by Jimi Hendrix (under the name Heaven Research Unlimited). Engineered by Eddie Kramer. Live recording by Wally Heider & Jimmy Robinson.

Woodstock. (Recorded Live, Woodstock Festival, 8/19/1969) Cotillion Records SD 3500, released June 1970. Produced by Eric Blackstead. Engineered by Eddie Kramer, Lee Osbourne.

Hendrix records used as research, released posthumously:

The Hendrix family, through their company Experience Hendrix, have overseen the remastering and re-release of Jimi Hendrix's recordings. These re-releases have all been remastered and remixed by Eddie Kramer, Jimi Hendrix's engineer in his lifetime, and include original artwork, memorabilia such as set lists and photographs, and detailed biographies of Hendrix. They also in some cases include useful bonus tracks, which are listed here where relevant.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Are You Experienced*, MCA Records MCD 11608111608-2, released CD 1997. Includes all the tracks from the US and UK original releases outlined above combined.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Axis: Bold as Love*, MCA Records MCD11601111608-2, released CD 1997.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Electric Ladyland*, MCA 111600-2, released CD 1997.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Live at Monterey*. (Recorded live Monterey Pop Festival 18/6/1967) Geffen Records 060251745516O, released CD 2007. Original recording produced Lou Adler & John Philips. Live recording Wally Heider.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience, *Live at Berkeley*. (Recorded live Berkeley Community Theatre 30/5/1970) MCA Records B0001159-01, released vinyl 2003.

Other recordings referred to in the thesis, or used as research:

The Animals, 'House of the Rising Sun'/'Talkin' 'Bout You', MGM Records K13264, released US, August 1964. UK release, EMI Columbia DB7301, June 1964.

The Beatles, *Rubber Soul* (Mono version), Parlophone PMC1267, released UK December 1965. Simultaneous US release: Capitol T2442.

The Beatles, *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, (Stereo version) Parlophone, PCS 7027, released UK July 1967. Simultaneous US release: Capitol SMAS-2653.

Bob B. Soxx and the Blue Jeans, 'Zip-a-Dee Doo-Dah'/'Flip and Nitty', Philles Records 107, released US December 1962. Produced Phil Spector.

The Byrds, *Fifth Dimension*, Columbia CL2549, released US July, 1966.

Jefferson Airplane, 'White Rabbit'/'Plastic Fantastic Lover' single. RCA Victor 9248, released US, June 1967.

The Mamas and Papas, 'California Dreamin'/'Somebody Groovy', Dunhill 45D4020, released US, November, 1965. Produced Lou Adler.

The Youngbloods, 'Get Together'/'All My Dreams Blue' single. RCA Victor 9264, released US, August 1967.

For a useful overview of the sound of popular rock records from the late 1960s, the *Peace and Love: The Woodstock Generation* three disc compilation set, Warner Music, WSMCD168, released CD 2004, is a good place to start.

Filmography

(Data collected from my own film collection and www.imdb.com (last accessed 29/3/2010).

Beautiful Dreamer: Brian Wilson and the Story of Smile (David Leaf, LSL Productions, 2004).

Brian Wilson Presents Pet Sounds Live in London DVD (John Anderson, Sanctuary Visual Entertainment, 2003).

Brian Wilson Presents Smile DVD (John Anderson/ David Leaf, Warner Music Vision, 2005).

Gidget (Paul Wendkos, Columbia Pictures, 1959).

Gimme Shelter (Albert &David Maysles, Maysles Films, 1970).

Imagine: Brian Wilson and Smile (Alan Yentob, BBC, 2004).

Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution (David Oppenheimer, CBS, 1966).

The Jimi Hendrix Experience Live at Monterey (D.A. Pannebaker, Universal, 2007).

Jimi Hendrix Live at Woodstock (Janie Hendrix & John McDermott, Warner Bros., 2005).

Monterey Pop (D.A. Pannebaker, Leacock Pannebaker Inc., 1968).

Woodstock (Michael Wadleigh, Warner Bros. Pictures, 1970).

Woodstock Diaries (D.A. Pannebaker & Chris Hegedus, Gravity Pictures, 1994).