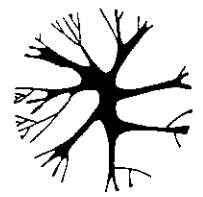


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Youth and Rock Music

In 1954 the nineteen-year-old Elvis Presley suddenly caught the enthusiasm of millions of teenagers with a new form of pop music called rock 'n' roll. Five years later, sociologist James Coleman, in a massive survey of American adolescents, confirmed that pop music — especially rock 'n' roll — was the major form of entertainment of young people. Research continues to show that around the world teenage interest in rock music influences the television programmes they watch, the magazines they read, the cafes, youth clubs and dances they go to, and the 'necessary tools' they seek to own (transistor radios, record players, tape recorders, guitars). Even home entertainment means largely music making or listening to music. Today, pop music accounts for about 85-90 percent of record sales, and 75 percent of pop sales are to 12-20 years olds.

In the popular imagination and in much youth research, rock music is considered a major influence on the values of young people and the symbol of the new youth cultures. Some see these youth cultures as a threat to traditional values; others see them as ushering in an Age of Aquarius. Another major question is whether the music industry is manipulating youth and destroying local, spontaneous music traditions.

This issue reviews research on the pop music industry, how teenagers use pop music and how pop music influences youth cultures in various parts of the world.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Making 'Youth' an International Industry

Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo. *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977.

Young people — artists and audiences — created rock music as their own language. Big business, in the view of Chapple and Garofalo, built rock into mass popular culture. The authors provide a detailed historical analysis of how U.S. media corporations, new communications technology and teenage affluence combined to transform the 'folk' music of the rural U.S. South into an immensely lucrative youth culture industry in the U.S. and the world.

In 1950 the U.S. record companies had total annual sales of only \$189 million, compared with \$600 million in 1960, \$1,700 million in 1970 and \$3,700 million in 1979. In the late 1940s the music industry was already an integral part of five or six media corporations such as RCA, CBS and Warner. In comparison with the huge potential profits of television, income from the record divisions were small, and executives were content to aim at a safe adult, middle-class market with 'tin-pan-alley' tunes and the sweet, listless sounds of Sinatra and Vaughn Monroe.

Teenagers did not have a special music played by their own teenage musicians and danced to in exclusively teenage meeting places. A kind of elite 'campus fraternity' youth culture had been developing since the 1920s and there was a wide following of jazz. But this was music made by adults for everybody.

Teenagers Discover an Exciting Rhythm

In the early 1940s the war industries attracted blacks from the rural South, who brought with them their taste for 'country blues'. As black radio stations sprang up in northern cities, they began broadcasting various forms of more urban, heavy-beat blues, including a blues with a dancing rhythm that came to be known as 'Rhythm and Blues' (R & B). White teenagers, tiring of Rosemary Clooney and Frankie Lane, increasingly turned the dial to black radio stations, and in 1951-1952 they suddenly began buying up R & B records. White radio stations noticed the trend, and disc jockeys such as Alan Freed in Cleveland, who claimed to have invented the term 'rock 'n' roll' (partly to avoid the association of blues with a black minority), began to introduce R & B records for white teenage audiences.

During the 1940s radio was also spreading a taste for white 'hillbilly' music with a 'western swing' to it. Country music singers such as Bill Haley began to experiment with a combination of R & B called 'rockabilly' in the late 1940s. The major record producers took little notice of this development. But after the war hundreds of small, independent recording studios and record companies were established. Some of these, like Sam Phillips, owner of Sun Records in Memphis, Tennessee, began looking for white

country singers who had a feel for black R & B in order to develop a rhythm and the white star image attractive to the white teenage market. Phillips discovered and developed Mississippi-born Elvis Presley, but then 'sold' him to RCA, the major that promoted Presley into a legend.

In 1955 Bill Haley's hit song, 'Rock Around the Clock' was featured in the movie, 'Blackboard Jungle', which tied teen rebellion to rock 'n' roll. A second movie a year later, 'Rock Around the Clock', featuring Haley's band, caused riots in New Jersey and London. Teenagers had begun to discover a new language.

The Impact of New Media Technology

A major factor in the growth of rock as the basis of the pop music industry was the shift of the national audience to TV and the transformation of radio into primarily a music medium. In the early 1950s Todd Storz introduced the Top 40 format in his Omaha, Nebraska station: a combination of endlessly rotated mainstream pop singles, repeated station identification, high-powered advertising, brief hourly news headlines, plus lots of weird sound effects and promotional gimmicks. The Top 40 formula drove out most of the innovative DJs and the more original R & B music, but it was designed to make or break new records. Record companies quickly organised the creation of stars, selection of music and marketing around the Top 40 pattern.

Initially most major record companies (except RCA and Decca) resisted rock 'n' roll for various reasons: personal repugnance of executives; long-standing contracts with mainstream pop artists; pressure from religious leaders against explicit sexual content; some public prejudice against 'negro' music; and, above all, doubt that there was long-term big money in it. When suddenly in 1958 all the first generation rock 'n' roll stars disappeared from the scene — Presley went into the army, Little Richard into the ministry, etc. — the majors were happy to support fads such as calypso, clean folk music and a softened rock ('Philadelphia Schlock' to true rock believers) popularised by Dick Clark's national teenage TV programme, 'American Bandstand'.

In 1964, however, The Beatles revived hard rock in its greatest boom, and pop music became truly big money around the world. At first the majors often did not know how to deal with the new independent style of radical rock artists such as The Grateful Dead, and they worked through independent producers. But in the merger movement of the American economy in the late 1960s most of the independents were bought up and 'rationally' integrated into the great leisure industry conglomerates, such as CBS, RCA and Warner. Most of these corporations already had an international media marketing structure, and they taught non-English speaking countries of the world to like American and British rock stars, using the same techniques with radio stations, rock concerts, etc. that were developed in the U.S.

Questioning the Assumptions About Music and Youth

The most extensive study of the role of pop music in the development of youth culture has been carried out in Britain. This is due in part to the British tradition of media studies which focusses less on the *effects* of media (for example, the U.S. concern with media as a *cause* of delinquency) and more on how various groups take images from the media to construct their own cultural worlds.

Is There a Common Youth Consciousness?

Graham Murdock. *Adolescent Culture and the Mass Media*. Unpublished Report by the Centre for Mass Communication Research, Leicester, England 1982. Murdock points out that the idea of 'adolescence' as a stormy age span between the innocence of childhood and the conformity of adults is a peculiarly Western idea dating from Rousseau and others

Rock Goes Middle-Class and Intellectual

Presley and other early rock 'n' roll stars were country boys whose music appealed largely to working-class teenagers in America and Britain. Rock music became such big business in the late 1960s and 1970s in part because it was the voice of more affluent youths on university campuses and others active in the world-wide ideological political movement of the 1968 generation. In the U.S. the link between pop music and the Underground, hippie movement began in the San Francisco Bay area, but it had its roots in the political protest music of Woodie Guthrie, Pete Seeger and others in the 1940s and 1950s. Rock groups such as The Rolling Stones came from a British youth culture that aspired to sophistication; this reinforced the tendency to make rock lyrics a philosophical, utopian political message to be *listened to* by a more educated leisure class. In the early 1970s British working-class 'Skinheads' brought a revival of the old Presley rock 'n' roll that they could *dance to*.

Rock Becomes Mass, Mainstream Culture

By the 1970s rock variations offered something for everybody — campus dons, religious charismatics, teeny-boppers — and pop music became an *environment* for every life activity. The pop music industry was fully integrated into the corporate structure of international capitalism, and in 1972 the total revenues in the U.S. from records/tapes, radio ads, concert production, radio and recording equipment and musical instruments was \$7,376 billion — almost equal to TV ad revenue for the same year.

Many rock critics and scholars deplore the fact that rock and more basic R & B are no longer a spontaneous, popular, communal expression. Although rock stars are not directly censored, if they want their songs to be a hit they must adapt to mass marketing techniques. The rock press such as *Rolling Stone* remains politically liberal, but it is conscious that it is supported by advertising which sells youth culture. As rock becomes the basis of the daily programming of national networks, it is increasingly background 'Muzak' for housewives fixing lunch. Rock is no longer a symbol of protest, but another consumer style.

As Chapple and Garofalo note, the blacks who created the musical genre have been the big losers. Many blacks sold rights to songs for a pittance. Record companies routinely took lyrics and music originated by black artists and promoted these same songs through white 'cover' stars to reach a bigger, more lucrative market. Women, too, have found it extremely difficult to gain acceptance as artists or executives in the music industry, and rock music has a male, 'macho' image. As rock has become mass youth culture and big business, it has taken on the prejudices of the society that supports it.

Also, researchers at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham and elsewhere have been fascinated by the series of spectacular British youth subcultures: the 'Teds' in the 1950s, the 'Mods' in the 1960s and the 'Punks' in the 1970s. The debate among British researchers has generated a critical re-examination of many earlier studies on youth and music.

In the late 1700s. In tracing the development of the concept of 'youth culture' through the popular press imagery and social-psychological theories of the 19th and early 20th centuries,

Murdock picks out several debatable assumptions.

The notion that a combination of secondary schools, mass media and leisure industries has created a self-contained youth world opposed to adult society started in the 1920s but dates especially from the 1950s. Conservative versions see this youth culture as a threat to family and community values, a cause of violence and delinquency, a threat to the work ethic and a factor in the erosion of traditional party commitments. A politically radical version, despairing of the revolutionary fervor of organised labour, sees the new movements as the basis of social change and the revitalization of values such as expressivity and communalism. Murdock suggests that both versions overestimate the power of the media and overlook the fact that the immediate life situation of *age* and *class* is the major source of youth values. A more sophisticated approach

would examine how youth of different ages and classes appropriate media images to interpret their life contexts differently.

A second set of assertions argues that there is a new common generational consciousness that overcomes conflicts of social class, ethnicity or religion and creates an international youth culture the same around the world. Murdock emphasises that the so-called classless youth culture is often a fiction invented by mass advertising. In his own research, Murdock found that teenagers of different class and income backgrounds not only have unequal access to leisure goods, but that styles of music and clothes become powerful symbols of inequality, accentuating social division and conflict. Research must analyse the subtle interplay of both *age* and *class* in the formation of values.

How Rock Music Influences Youth: Five Approaches

Simon Frith. *The Sociology of Rock*. London: Constable and Company, 1978; *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.

British rock critic and sociologist of music. Simon Frith, shows that the widely varying explanations of pop music in youth cultures all start with a different concept of 'youth'. Each theory then has a different analysis of how music influences youth culture and *why* pop music is an important leisure activity among virtually all young people.

1. Youth as Transition to Adulthood

Functionalist approaches suggest that in primitive societies 'youth' does not exist except as a brief puberty rite to mark change to adulthood. Industrial societies require a long social training and professional apprenticeship between the time when the young have left the family of origin but have not yet established their own independent family. During the 'youth' period society permits and encourages young people to work through emotional upheavals, test new adult roles, be rebellious in a limited way and question the society they are expected to re-create. But ironically it is also a period of powerlessness and marginality. Adult-controlled schools and youth organisations are expected to support and direct this difficult transition. In addition, youth need independent peer group structure not only to experiment with adult leadership and competitive roles but also to defend their autonomy, status and self-esteem against their powerlessness as non-adults.

In this contradictory situation, music has two basic functions in peer groups: it is a symbol of in-group status and a means of defining its own identity in relation to out-groups, both adults and other types of peer groups. Music becomes part of an often elaborately nuanced style and code of clothes, language and meeting places that distinguish, for example, Skinheads from Mods. Functionalists detect a great variety of social and psychological 'needs' that music satisfies such as the need for 'mood control' in the erratic emotional period of adolescence. Functionalism sees the period of youth as part of the socialising mechanism for maintaining the integration and equilibrium of modern industrial societies.

Like Murdock, Frith criticises this explanation because it implies that all adolescents go through the same kind of transition period and that all have the same needs. It also implies that music has the same meaning and function regardless of family income, job opportunities and social status. Functionalism also fails to appreciate the intrinsic enjoyment of music and does not distinguish music from other "identity" symbols such as sports.

2. Youth as the New Style of Consumer Economy

Youth researchers in the 1950s and 1960s interpreted the new youth culture as part of an age of affluence following a long period of depression and war. Parents, teachers and political leaders were determined that youth in the welfare state would have every advantage. The sensuality, abandon and adventuresomeness of rock

'n' roll caught on in part because youth in the 1950s had more money, more time for leisure and were living in a more secure world which left room for a little wildness and risk. However, the leisure industries, popular media and advertising detected in the new teenage affluence a major new market and deliberately created a teenage identity in terms of a distinctive consumer style, especially among working-class youth. Record companies and fan magazines promoted rock 'n' roll as the celebration of a new hedonism, a commitment to enjoying life, a rejection of dull adult routines and the acting out of adolescent 'storm and stress'. Presley and other rock stars were the new models of working class youth. In this explanation, youth is not simply a functional preparation for hard adult responsibilities, but a time for enjoying leisure and the symbol of a new leisure world of perpetual youth.

Frith questions whether teenagers are all that manipulated. He finds them quite aware and pragmatic about the business promotion of rock music. Moreover, the development of music attractive to young people has initially been the work of small independent producers or informal groups of young musicians who stage their own concerts and even produce their own records. Large leisure industries enter only after music becomes popular. It is also questionable whether consumer styles dictate identity and values. Rock for most youth is simply the enjoyable background for other leisure activities.

3. Youth as a Threat to the Industrial Work Ethic

In the 1950s books in America such as *Blackboard Jungle* and the popular press in Britain describing the Teddyboy gangs built up an image of teenagers as increasingly violent and delinquent. Rock 'n' roll was often brought into these descriptions as inciting youth to wild sensuality and revolt against adult society. Academics added to this with their depictions of the teenage 'culture of violence'. Underlying this was a deeper fear that the younger generation was ushering in a hedonistic style of leisure use that threatened the work ethic and the whole structure of Western political economy.

Much of this was superficial sensationalism. But Frith points out a more insidious over-simplification. Many of these descriptions of the 'culture of violence' implied that the difference between the successful working-class teenager, the 'college boy', interested in work and the unsuccessful delinquent 'corner boy' was simply a matter of free choice and conscious values. In fact the responsible or irresponsible use of leisure time — and the way youth approach music in free time — depends on what kind of job or career opportunities are open to young people of different social backgrounds and how much money they have. It also depends on the leisure opportunities that are available to or allowed for girls and boys.

Young unskilled workers can miss a day's work more easily and

are more free for casual self-indulgence. Skilled apprentices go out less and take fewer risks in leisure time. Working-class girls are the least free and the most confined to the 'house' in leisure time because one wrong step ruins their chances for marriage. Working-class culture defines marriage as the work career for girls, and the meetings of young girls in homes to play records or the careful ritual of going to dances is all oriented toward finding a husband and starting their own homes.

Frith suggests that the belief that leisure is guided simply by choice is influenced in part by capitalist ideology, that is, people work in order to be free in their leisure time. Leisure is the time when people have the freedom to express their value choices without the constraints imposed by work in factories and bureaucracies.

Frith argues that in fact leisure is subordinated to the interests of the managerial class. Workers are allowed leisure to refresh themselves physically and mentally so that they will be fit and willing to work the next day and to provide a market for the consumption of commodities produced. Managers of capital learned that happy workers would be more efficient and that shorter working hours provided more time for leisure spending. Leisure choices are limited by everything from closing hours of pubs to housing policies so that leisure does not affect workers' discipline or willingness to work. There is also a continuous effort in mass media policies and other public agencies to drain the power and originality of rock music or confine its meaning to the fleeting moments of relaxation. Consumption is promoted by freezing the rock audience into a series of market tastes.

Frith would agree that rock does have a ragged, rebellious edge articulating many deep resentments against dull routines of uninteresting work or the lack of an opportunity for a fulfilling career in life. But the tension is generated by the inequalities and contradictions in the world of work, not necessarily by the music itself.

4. Youth as a Separate Subculture

The description of the exotic life styles of British teenage peer groups — the Teds, the Mods, the Punks — suggested that this was more than just a transitional rite of growing up. The faster post-war British consumer society was creating much higher aspirations in assembly line workers, clerks and other relatively unskilled youth. Groups such as the mods fulfilled their aspirations by fashioning an imaginary world of the high life in leisure time which gave them at least subjective self-esteem and status. The Punks have elevated their sense of alienation into a positive value. Different kinds of rock music, each with its particular lyrics, beat, rock stars and fan magazines, have transformed random negative reactions into distinct subcultures integrated around deliberate values.

In his own research, Frith found that rock music is an important form of entertainment for virtually all kids, but that music is important *in itself* for only a few who feel deeply marginal to their surroundings. Most kids tend to pass through groups, change identities with the trappings of rock culture and play their roles for fun. Even in the more spectacular subcultures music may not be such a central interest as it is for the real fanatics of jazz, blues,

soul or other music freaks and scholars. These music lovers fill their lives with the artifacts of music and make this not just the accompaniment of leisure but the *purpose of leisure*.

5. Youth as Counter Culture

In the 1950s the working-class peer groups that enjoyed Presley were content to defend their local neighbourhood turf and their own internal cultural space. However, in the 1960s, resistance to the Vietnam War, the 1968 Paris confrontation and other events politicised middle-class youth and attracted them to the ideals of the bohemian and political Underground. Youth rose as a missionary movement to *transform* society. Rock music became a major expression of the hippy desire to liberate society from the hypocrisy of sexual repression and an economic system that depended on war industries. The counter-culture insisted that rock musicians be part of the community for which they made music in opposition to the commercialisation of rock music.

Frith argues that for the great majority of youth rock music has never been the conscious language of a counter-culture. In 1972 he conducted a study of the meaning of rock music for a sample of 14 to 18-year-olds in a northern industrial town of England. *All* listened to rock music as a normal part of their daily lives, and they were familiar with the latest titles and styles of rock records. However, most were 'quite' rather than 'very' interested in rock music. Moreover, teenagers of different age, sex and future social class aspirations used music in different ways and found different meanings in it.

Those about 14-15 years old had the maximum identification with peer groups and their symbols in music and clothes, but in two or three years they had moved from group identification to more individual taste in music. Those who came from working-class backgrounds and anticipated leaving school at the end of fifth form for largely manual jobs tended to emphasise beat and sound rather than the content of lyrics. They went to youth clubs and discos rather than to concerts.

Those who anticipated going to university (mostly from middle-class background) had developed a taste for more progressive ideological rock. These identified more consciously with the clothes and other symbols of teenage culture. As they grew older they dropped these exterior trappings, but continued to be interested in progressive rather than commercial rock, listened to records for the meaning of lyrics, bought albums (a series of songs with a message) rather than singles, went to performance-based concerts and were individualistic in their tastes. Many prided themselves in throwing off the unreasonable ideas and conventional ways of an older generation.

It was clear that music was a fully conscious counter-culture only for those few who found this a symbol for rejecting their given class culture, whether middle-class youth rejecting conventional 'success' or working-class rejecting the street. These few 'rebels' tended to be culturally adventurous.

Nevertheless, for all young people, Frith contends, rock is *fun* with an adventuresome, sensual spirit. "The industry may or may not be able to control rock's use, but it will not be able to determine all its meaning — the problems of capitalist community and leisure are not so easily resolved".

Youth and Rock Music Have Changed Western Culture

Bernice Martin. *A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981.

In the view of Bernice Martin, the 1960s youth movements and rock music spread the expressive revolution of the bohemian artistic community and the radical political Underground into the respectable working and middle classes. The utopian ideals of the 1960s counter-culture perhaps could not work except in some new form of totalitarian society. But there has been a permanent change

at least in the willingness to tolerate a far greater range of expressive sensual life styles in everything from sexuality to religion.

Martin traces the beginnings of the 1960s counter-culture back to the Romantic movement of late 18th and 19th centuries and specifically to the transformation of the role of the artist from artisanal skills of adornment to the bohemian iconoclast who

celebrates the freedom of subjective sense experience and struggles against the mobilization of life in terms of rationalistic, means-end planning. During the 19th and 20th centuries artists steadily championed a new cultural sensibility away from classical form and order toward expressionism and surrealism in painting, music and the novel.

In the 1940s and 1950s the political wing of the bohemian tradition, popularly known as the Underground, began to translate the anti-structure symbols of the arts into the social ideals of utopian communalism. Underground leaders, such as Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rich in the U.S. or Richard Neville in Britain, owe much more to Salvador Dali and Andy Warhol than to Marx and Lenin. Publications of the Underground press such as *Village Voice* evolved from their bohemian origins to become a rock music press, and *Rolling Stone* mixes rock music with a political vision.

The Idealist, Weberian Interpretation of Youth Culture

Bernice Martin holds that ideas, norms and values influence the course of cultural history and the structure of society. Her position contrasts with interpretations of Murdock and Frith who argue that the political-economic power structure (the material condition) influences cultural values. This reflects the idealist-Marxist debate going on in British social science.

Thus, Martin analyses the contemporary expressive revolution as one case of the perennial tension between two contrary cultural tendencies: the human need to define reality 'scientifically' in limited cause-effect relationships so that it can be controlled for specific societal goals and the contrary urge for the profound sensual taste of the fullness of reality — natural beauty, loving affection, abandon to hedonistic delight and zero-structure communal life. Most societies develop a balance between the two tendencies by limiting the ecstatic to 'ritual moments' or to the defined roles of religious prophets and artists. But there are constant adventuresome movements beyond the 'threshold' of framed mysticism (what Victor Turner calls 'liminal experiences') to make spontaneous expressiveness the norm of human life.

Bernice Martin suggests that until the late 1960s mainstream culture in both the working and middle classes of Western industrial societies was characterised by ritual order punctuated by framed and licensed hedonism: the lavish spending of Christmas holidays, the weekend nights at the pub, or limited gambling in lotteries and bingo.

'Insanity is Hereditary — You Get It From Your Kids'

The loosening of this structured existence entered primarily through adolescent youth cultures in the 1950s and 1960s. Western society was increasingly defining adolescence as a period of 'framed liminality': socially sanctioned spontaneity and exploration, a little wildness and rebellion, and the discovery of permissive sexuality. However, with the greater affluence and hence independence of

adolescents from 1950 on, youth began to elaborate more explicit symbols of anti-structure. This was most noticeable in the 1950s among youth of a manual labour class who expressed their questioning of structure in group 'activities' of physical excitement, heavy spending and ritual vandalism violating norms of respectability. The trend progressed in the 1960s with the Mods, youth working in urban service and consumer industries, who explicitly borrowed from the bohemian and Underground community the ideals of expanded inner consciousness (with the help of drugs), challenging bureaucratic capitalism and extolling a return to the natural.

In the view of Bernice Martin, rock music has been the main cultural medium through which young people have explored and expressed the *symbolism* (much more than the social reality!) of ecstatic consciousness and anti-structure. Rock is play, dancing, poetic lyrics, sensory stimulation and provides a distinct world that adults do not like or cannot understand. Its origins are the more primitive rhythms of poor, rural American blacks. The hallmark is the regular hypnotic beat, noise levels that blur meaning, the ambiguity and double entendre of lyrics, improvisation and exploration of new sounds and new musical technology, the surrealism of lights and costumes, the emphasis on raw sexuality, especially the narcissistic male sexuality of rock stars.

Martin emphasises that youth culture and rock are janus-faced, simultaneously sacralising the liminal symbolism of disorder but also reinforcing deeper cultural continuities of community, traditional sexual roles and unity with nature that underlie American, British and other cultures. The initial public reaction was shock, but, with each moral panic, adults in mainstream culture accommodated expanded 'expressiveness' and recognized in it deeper perennial culture values as well as the revelation of their hypocrisy.

Priests and Educators Join the Movement

The final step in legitimating the expressive revolution was carried out by what Martin calls the 'caring', service professions: educators, clergy and welfare workers. All three were in direct contact with youth or other movements in the 1960s. All deal with controlling and directing the liminal: educators with adolescents; clergymen with ultimate, infinite reality; and welfare workers with the marginal outcasts of society. All three professions questioned deeply whether their primary role was to provide the discipline for a capitalist industrial society or, instead, to support the individual self-expression of the person and to legitimate alternative subcultures of the non-commercial and the powerless in society.

By the 1980s, Martin notes with some approval, the expressive had retreated back to the frame of ritual, the arts and leisure time. Whereas Frith would argue that it was 'pushed back' by the power structure of capitalism, Martin contends that it 'collapsed' back because of the internal value contradictions of pure utopianism.

The Global Homogenisation of Pop Music

Roger Wallis and Krister Malm. *Big Sounds From Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries*. London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1984.

By 1978 five multinational record corporations — CBS, WEA (Warner-Electra-Atlantic), RCA (all USA); EMI (UK), Polygram (Germany and Holland) — controlled 60 percent of world record sales. The authors report here the detailed information gathered by the MISC project (Music Industry in Small Countries) on the efforts of smaller countries to defend and promote indigenous popular music in six regions of the world: Jamaica and Trinidad in the Caribbean, Tunisia in the Arab World, Tanzania and Kenya in Africa, the Nordic countries (Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway), Chile in South America and Wales. The book describes

multinational strategy, copyright problems, local government policy, the role of broadcasting and the influence of new technologies. Wallis and Malm find that that rock genres form the basis of pop music in virtually all of the regions, but that during the 1970s vigorous national variations have developed. Reggae in Jamaica, the *canción nueva* in Chile and Swahili Jazz in East Africa are only a few of the examples.

Music, the Language of Nationalistic Movements

A taste for rock music began spreading in the 1960s with

international student travel, tourism, migrations of people from developing countries in search of work, expatriate enclaves, travel of elites from new nations — and, of course, commercial marketing. For many rock was already a style of protest, especially among the more affluent urban youth who could afford the records or musical instruments or among semi-professional local musicians who were competing to establish themselves with an attractive new sound. Most of the national pop music variations have arisen as the expression of some combination of aggressive socio-political youth movements, anti-colonialistic movements, ethnic revitalization with occasionally some overtones of religious revitalization (e.g. Reggae among Rastafarians). New kinds of music and lyrics begin in informal, quasi-political meetings or in concert-like celebrations of youth. Initially, radio resisted the new pop music because of the commitment of state broadcasting corporations and colonial elites to 'good music' in the Western high culture tradition. Consequently, most of the movements chose the disc and cassette recordings for broader distribution. In most countries this led to the development of local, independent recording studios and small record companies.

Protest is Money for Multinationals

By the 1970s the multinational music corporations had already developed a fine-tuned strategy for spotting new market trends and had learned how to accommodate the music of youth and minorities even when it condemned the international capitalist establishment itself. CBS started a policy of either opening subsidiaries or buying up local independents throughout the world to gamble on the possibility of finding new music and talent for local and international markets. Polygram controls more indirectly through financing for local independents. There is a continual new crop of small local independents who promote new music or new musical talent, but most are eventually bought up, become small multinationals or go bankrupt.

Perspectives: Bringing Music Back In

The research on youth and music suggests that the changes in attitudes and values of young people have come out of deeper social changes in Western society over two centuries but especially in the last 40 years. Rock music has been a catalyst, articulation and popularisation of emerging cultural world views. But the research generally has not opened to us the *subjective experience* of young people creating a new music and a new culture. Analysts such as Frith and Greil Marcus, who are also music critics, have come closest to what young people are trying to say when they insist that rock music is exhilarating, adventuresome, questioning.

The social analysis helps us see that music can have very different meanings for young people of different ages, social classes and national backgrounds. The meaning for the music industry can also be quite different from that of small producers or the musicians themselves. We also understand the external commercial and political pressures to reduce music to a 'meaning-less' mass product and to impose restraints on the spontaneous communal creation and enjoyment of rock music.

But often research tells us much more about the mind of the social analyst than what young people feel, imagine, think in the composing, playing, listening or dancing. As far back as Adorno's hostile critique of pop music as mass culture in the 1930s, much research has tended to build a thick, cold wall between the joyous aesthetic experience of music and the elaborate structure of social analysis. James Carey and others of the humanistic school of communication research suggest that media studies must start with the categories of subjective meaning held by those who are making

The Role of Government

Governments have long been patrons of the arts, but only in the 1970s have political leaders in small countries become aware that some of the most important aspects of the growth of indigenous culture are expressed in popular music. Industrial countries such as Sweden have moved to provide public support in the form of space for performances, grants to pop music groups, sponsorship of festivals, recognition of pop in music education and inclusion of pop music in broadcasting. Developing countries realise that pop music is also part of their economic development. They are defending local artists and local independent companies with conditions on multinational investment, special financing to local companies and stronger copyright laws.

Cultural Imperialism in Pop Music

Wallis and Malm show that the influence of multinationals is far more complex than earlier studies of cultural imperialism have indicated. At a first level, *cultural interchange* and borrowing on equal terms can be a stimulus to local music. A second pattern, *cultural domination*, often carried out through education (e.g. the missionary schools of Asia and Africa) can be much more destructive. *Cultural imperialism* adds an economic, marketing dimension to cultural domination and forces local music to become a commercial product in order to compete. The fourth pattern is *transculturation* in which multinationals create a synthetic, artificial music out of many local elements thus forming something new like disco music. This is not the authentic expression of any national or ethnic group, and marketing is carried out in worldwide campaigns. However, some combinations of transcultural structure of music flow have been catalysts for generating new local music and have provided a greater variety of options for local musicians. The introduction of very expensive digital and laser recording technologies may make it more difficult for local independents to compete. In any event, the key factor is the emergence of new socio-political movements seeking a new voice in music.

cultural history. Research should lead us into the interior of major moments of cultural creation: the development of images, symbols and values in a particular cultural history; the communal and personal experience of producing new music or other forms of expression; and the use of this expression to build a more satisfying, plausible interpretation of reality.

Bernice Martin notes that when Richard Meltzer, in his book, *Aesthetics of Rock*¹, attempts to give a verbal equivalent of the experience of and response to rock music, the style is a cross between Dada and phenomenology. Aesthetics and autobiography provide the tools of formal analysis closest to subjective experience. Cultural history, ethnography (participant observation), literary criticism and hermeneutics are a second short step away. This approach helps us to understand more deeply the experience of alienation and oppression as well as the liberating experience of music which the social analysis attempts to explain. It will also enrich our understanding of young people's attempts to create their own cultural history.

Robert A. White
Issue Editor

1. Greil Marcus; *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music*. New York, E.P. Dutton, 1975; London: Omnibus Press, 1977.
2. Richard Meltzer. *The Aesthetics of Rock*. Something Else Press: New York, 1970.

Current Research on Youth and the Media

The 'Youth Cultures and Popular Music' Project of the Programme for International Comparative Study of Communication and Cultural Change

This project is examining whether the international distribution of popular music is causing the homogenisation of culture among youth, how such a process works, and under what national circumstances it flourishes or is discouraged. The project will gather data in all major cultural regions of the world.

Project coordinators are **Deanna Robinson** (Dept. of Speech, U. of Oregon, Eugene Oregon, 97403, USA) in association with **Marlene Cuthbert** (U. of West Indies, Kingston 7, JAMAICA), **Lawrence Grossberg** (Inst. of Communication Research, U. of Illinois, Champaign, IL 61820, USA), **John Murray** (The Boys Town Center, Boys Town, Nebraska 68010, USA) and **Gerald W. Fry** (Director of International Studies, U. of Oregon).

Gathering regional data for the project are **Susanna Agardy** (Australian Broadcasting Tribunal Research Branch, P.O. Box 1308, N. Sydney, NSW 2060, AUSTRALIA); **Nelly de Camargo** (Dept. of Communication and Arts, U. of São Paulo, BRAZIL); **James P. Winter** (Dept. of Communication Studies, U. of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario N9B 3P4, CANADA); **Genevieve Humbert** (Ctr. de Recherches sur L'Adolescent dans la Société, CRAS U. de Strasbourg II, 1, place de l'Université, F-67000 Strasbourg, FRANCE); **Peter Wicke** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 108 Berlin, Am Kupfergraben 5, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC); **Ray Brown** and **Alison Eubank** (Centre for Television Research, U. of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT), **Malory Wober** (Independent Broadcasting Authority, 70 Brompton Rd, London SW3 1EY) in GREAT BRITAIN;

Fouli Papageorgiou (73 Jean Moreas, Halandriou, Athens, GREECE); **Usha Vyasulu Reddi** (Dept. of Communications, Osmania Univ., Hyderabad 500 007, A.P., INDIA); **Hanna Adoni** (Communications Inst., Hebrew Univ., Mt Scopus, Jerusalem 91905, ISRAEL); **Paul Rutten** (Faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen, Katholieke Universiteit, Postbus 9108, 6500 HK Nijmegen, THE NETHERLANDS); **Luke Uka Uche** (Dept. of Mass Communication, U. of Lagos, Lagos, NIGERIA); **Keith Roe** (Media panel Project, Lunds Universitet, Sociologiska Institutionen Magistratsvagen 55N, S-222 44 Lund, SWEDEN); **Heinz Bonfadelli** (Publizistisches Seminar der Universität Zürich, Postfach 201, CH-8035 Zürich, SWITZERLAND); **Georgette Wang** (Graduate School of Journalism, National Chengchi University, Taipei, TAIWAN); **Elizabeth Buck** (East-West Communications Inst., 1777 East-West Rd., Honolulu, HA 96848), **James Lull** (Radio-TV-Film Pgm, San Jose State Univ., Washington Sq, San Jose, CA 95192); and **Larry Shore** (P.O. 1481, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY) all USA; and **Gerhard Maletzke** (Süddeutscher Rundfunk Stuttgart, Postfach 837, D-7000, Stuttgart 1, WEST GERMANY).

Participants in the project presented preliminary summaries of their research at a meeting in Racine, WI, USA sponsored jointly by the World Association of Christian Communication, the Centre of the Study of Communication and Culture and the Dept. of Speech, U. of Oregon. The project invites additional participants from other parts of the world.

AUSTRIA

Kurt Blaukopf (Director, MEDIACULT, Metternichgasse 12, A-1030 Vienna) is studying the impact of the electronic media on cultural patterns of behaviour of youth and others, "The Mutation of Cultural Communication under the Impact of the Electronic Media". **MEDIACULT** is the International Institute for Audiovisual Communication and Cultural Development. Blaukopf is also the editor of the series "Musik und Gesellschaft [Music and Society]".

Irmgard Bontinck (Inst. für Musiksoziologie und musikpädagogische Forschung, Postfach 146, A-1037 Vienna) is concentrating on the new patterns of musical behaviour of youth.

CANADA

Mike Brake (School of Social Work, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ont. K1S 5B6) is completing *Comparative Youth Culture* (Britain and North America), Routledge and Kegan Paul, and "Black Youth, Subcultures and the British Crisis" in *Crime and Social Justice*, both forthcoming.

CHILE

CENECA (Centro de Indagación y Expresión Cultural y Artística, Santa Beatriz 160, Santiago) has an extensive programme of research and publication on popular music, popular theatre, media education and youth.

Fernando Reyes Matta (ILET, Casilla 16637 — Correo 9, Santiago) and **Nicolás Casullo** (ILET, Buenos Aires) are coordinating a research programme on youth and popular music, the youth models presented by the mass media, and how youth can become more involved in the decisions regarding youth-related content of the mass media.

FRANCE

CNDP (Centre national de documentation pédagogique). *Les dossiers du petit écran*. (Paris: CNDP). Report on the function of TV in the lives of French young people.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Broadcasting and Youth Group (National Youth Bureau, 17-23 Albion St. Leicester LE1 6GD) promotes contact between youth, youth workers and broadcasters. It also encourages broadcasting to meet young people's needs and demands. **Neville Cheetham** recently studied the relationships between youth, youth workers and local radio stations.

Michael Clarke (Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT) has written *Students in the Press, 1955-1975* (forthcoming, publisher pending) about press coverage of student affairs in Britain.

Simon Frith (Univ. of Warwick, Coventry CU4 7AL) and **Howard Home** are preparing a book analysing the influence of the art colleges in Britain in the development of rock musicians. Frith is chairman of the UK branch of the International Association of Popular Music.

Independent Broadcasting Authority (70 Brompton Rd, London SW3 1EY). *Television and Teenagers: A survey of Appreciation among 10-19 year olds* (1980) shows that TV is used almost exclusively for entertainment with news and information programmes little appreciated or watched. *Television and Teenagers' Political Awareness* (1980) **J M Wober**, showed TV news is unlikely to interest youth without an initial concern, but contributes to those with such an interest.

ISRAEL

Akiba A. Cohen (The Communications Inst., The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem 91905) is studying the perception of social conflicts by adolescents in social reality and television news.

NORWAY

Anita Werner (Inst. for Mass Communication Research, Univ. of Oslo, Blindern, P.O. Box 1093, Oslo 3) is interested in the long-term changes in the ratio between mass media use and other activities among adolescents.

SENEGAL

Boubakar Ly (Dept. of Philosophy, Université de Dakar, Dakar-Fann) studies the relationship of youth to culture and the media in the context of their relation to tradition, parents and the rural exodus.

SWEDEN

Benny Henriksson (Dir. of Research, Statens Ungdomsråd, 11651 Stockholm, Krukmakargatan 19) is heading a State Youth Council Project, The Marginalization and Participation of Young People, for the 1985 International Youth Year, entitled "Participation, Development, Peace". In early 1984 youth researchers from 2-3 countries per continent will attend seminars to form an integrated, worldwide picture of youth movements and to identify remedies for the marginalization of which media are a factor.

Karl Erik Rosengren (Massmedieforskning, Göteborgs Univ., Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, Box 5048, 402 21 Göteborg) has directed the 5-year Media Panel Project, a longitudinal study of 1,000 parents and their children, with the last of 26 reports out this fall in English. **Keith Roe** (address above) is studying youth video use. "Mass Media and Adolescent Schooling: Conflict or Co-Existence" (Forthcoming), and "Teenagers in The New Media World."

UNITED STATES

Lawrence Grossberg (address above) is continuing research on the political expression of youth in popular music. His book, *Cultural Theory and Popular Music*, will appear in August, 1984 and he is an editor, along with **Iain Chambers** and **Dick Hebdige**, of the forthcoming *British Rock 'n' Roll*.

James Lull (address above). His forthcoming book situates music as communication in an ethnographic analysis of the link between mass symbol systems and interpersonal communication.

WEST GERMANY

Jürgen Hüther (Hochschule der Bundeswehr, Werner-Heisenberg-Weg 39, D-8014 Neubiberg) is studying how the mass media are represented in school books and how media education contributes to political socialization: *Medienpädagogik als politische Sozialisation*, Grafenau: 1982, with **R. Terlinden**. **Bernd Schorb** (Inst. Jugend Film Fernsehen, Waltherstrasse 23, D-8000 Munich 2) directs research on the various aspects of the relation of youth to the mass media: media education, politics, vocational training, socialization. The JFF publishes occasional papers on its research, a central filmography of all films shown in Germany, and *medien + erziehung* six times a year on the JFF projects.

YUGOSLAVIA

Furio Radin (Inst for Social Research, Zagreb Univ, Tomislavov trg 21, P.O. Box 280, YU-41000) deals with the social psychology and sociology of youth, and with their behaviour in crises. With **A. Fulgosi** wrote *Life-styles of Secondary School Pupils in Zagreb*. (CDD SSOH 1982).

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