Introduction

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The seven parts of this book are allocated to different themes, but this is not to suggest that they should be regarded as discrete entities or separate areas of research in popular musicology; rather, they occupy parts of the same field, and this is evident in the overlapping of concerns and issues that is to be found in the topics of individual chapters. They consist of recent research, and the general approach is that of *rethinking* popular musicology, its purpose, its aims and its methods. Contributors were asked to write something original, while at the same time trying to provide an instructive example of a particular way of working and thinking. The *Companion* is aimed primarily at research students and scholars who need to familiarize themselves with the work of cutting-edge researchers, rather than to study textbooks that cover tried and tested methodologies from the past (the type of book that is more useful for undergraduate students). The essays here are intended to help graduate students with research methodology and the application of relevant theoretical models appropriate to popular musicology in the twenty-first century. To select one example, David Cooper's essay (Chapter 1) seeks to demonstrate how an analysis of sources throws light on both musical and technical processes in composition for film. He evaluates Trevor Jones's score to *In the Name of the Father*, in which Jones incorporates songs by Bono, and finds in it an interesting model for the composite soundtracks found so often in early twenty-first-century Hollywood cinema.

I am sure others will lay claim to coining the term 'popular musicology', although Stan Hawkins and I knew of no previous usage when we began editing and publishing a journal with the title *Popular Musicology* at the University of Salford in 1994.[1] The journal continues as *Popular Musicology Online* <http://www.popular-musicology-online.com>. We both felt dissatisfied with the lack of musicological engagement with popular music in the early 1990s, despite the significant work being done in the sociological field of 'popular music studies'. In 1987 Simon Frith had written with irony, but not without a measure of truth: 'Popular music … is

1 The earliest usage of the term found in the RILM database is Stan Hawkins's article, 'Perspectives in Popular Musicology: Music, Lennox, and Meaning in 1990s Pop', *Popular Music* 15/1 (1996): 17–36.

taken to be good only for sociological theory.'[2] Popular musicology addresses this neglect and embraces the field of musicological study that engages with popular forms of music, especially music associated with commerce, entertainment and leisure activities. It is distinct from 'popular music studies' in that its primary concern is with criticism and analysis of the music itself, although it does not ignore social and cultural context. The time was opportune for this development, because an interest in critical musicology was growing (a Critical Musicology Group had been founded in London in 1993). Critical musicology and popular musicology share much common ground, and this overlap occurs because, by challenging the concepts of high and low art, critical musicology raises the status of popular music research. Many British critical musicologists (like Allan Moore) chose to focus on popular music. In the USA, the term 'new musicology' had come into being more or less simultaneously and provoked much vexation – especially from those who thought their work was suddenly in the process of being dismissed as 'old musicology'. Now, 'critical musicology' is gaining ground as a preferred term in America; it was, after all, an American, Joseph Kerman, who first called for a critical musicology.[3] American critical musicologists have not had the same urge to direct their attentions to the popular, and some (for example, Lawrence Kramer) have concentrated mainly on the classical tradition. Critical musicology, however, is driven by a desire to understand the meanings embedded in musical texts, whatever kinds of musical texts those may be. There are various theoretical models that popular musicologists and critical musicologists make use of, drawn from anthropology, sociology, psychoanalysis, semiotics, postcolonial studies, feminism, gender studies and queer studies. Given this diversity, it is not surprising to find that there is no party line to popular musicology; indeed, it may be thought of as a post-disciplinary field in the breadth of its theoretical formulations and its objects of study.

Popular musicology may be regarded as a branch or subset of critical musicology that has tended, for the most part, to interest itself in one particular area more than others, that of the music industry, its output and its audiences. In doing so, it has needed to be careful not to neglect those who, in reacting against the music industry and its products, nonetheless attempt to communicate with what might be termed a 'popular voice'. The music industry model, as distinct from the light entertainment or show business model began to solidify only in the 1960s. Some 1950s pop stars were rapidly absorbed into the previous model (for instance, Tommy Steele). This *Research Companion*, like most popular musicology, concentrates on the meaning of the popular within a music industry context from the 1960s to the present, and in Chapter 25 Andreas Gebesmair provides the reader with an overview of the various theoretical frameworks that have been employed by scholars in their attempts to understand the workings of that industry over the

2 Simon Frith, 'Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music' in Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (eds), *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 133–49, at p. 133.

3 Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, MA, 1985).

years, and discusses its structural features. As the General Editor for the Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series for ten years, I have found that proposals for books that concentrate on popular music prior to the 1940s are infrequent. For instance, in a list that now exceeds 55 publications, there are only two books on jazz. However, there is no convincing argument for restricting popular musicology in this way, and it is to be hoped that more investigative studies will, in future, be carried out into jazz and country, as well as into earlier popular music, such as that of the music hall, vaudeville show and cabaret.

In the Ashgate series, two areas of research have been given the most attention by contributors, and both in equal measure. One involves questions of identity, ethnicity, space and place, and the other focuses on albums, artists and particular musical genres (for example, blues, rock, heavy metal and indie). The next most popular topics are those that engage with politics or issues of gender and sexuality. After that, the interest is pretty evenly divided between screen music, technology, performance and the music business. An interest in popular music and education has been very much the province of Lucy Green.[4] Familiarity with the research pursued by scholars who have contributed to the Ashgate series has influenced the thematic structure of this *Research Companion*. The seven parts are given over to the following: film, video and multimedia; technology and studio production; gender and sexuality; identity and ethnicity; performance and gesture; reception and scenes; and the music industry and globalization.

Popular musicology may be a relatively recent domain of study, but there is already a history of theoretical models and analytical tools that it has employed. Cultural sociology dominated at first, revealing the influence of the New Left critics, writers such as Richard Hoggart, E.P. Thompson, and Raymond Williams, as well as influential theorists like Stuart Hall at the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). By the mid-1980s, however, a poststructuralist turn began to change the perception of key rock values. Dave Laing's *One Chord Wonders* (1985) was important for introducing many popular musicologists to the theoretical ideas of Michel Foucault.[5] Authenticity, in poststructuralist semiotics, was seen to rely on a number of signs brought together to construct, represent and valorize authenticity. Instead of being perceived as emanating from an honest, sincere, inner essence, it became 'authenticity' – the scare quotes directing the focus on to an assemblage of signs governed by particular conventions (moods, emotions, and as such, *re*presented). Moreover, performers with no personal commitment to authenticity were recognized as having within their semiotic power the ability to create an illusion of authenticity. There again, a performer might choose to reject notions of authenticity and, instead, deliberately

4 Lucy Green, *How Popular Musicians Learn: A Way Ahead for Music Education* (Aldershot, 2001); *Music, Informal Learning and the School: A New Classroom Pedagogy* (Aldershot, 2008).

5 Dave Laing, *One Chord Wonders: Power and Meaning in Punk Rock* (Milton Keynes, 1985).

emphasize a constructed persona – something glam rockers delighted in.[6] Arguably, Madonna's postmoderrn role-play rested on the instability and artificiality of personae created previously within glam rock. All that being said, authenticity has not disappeared from the critical agenda. Many people feel a need to *believe* in some kind of music-making – for example, in the sincerity of rock – and authentic music may be defined as the music that has the effect of making you believe in its truthfulness. If we believe in no music at all, then we can only feel fooled or dissatisfied by the emotions it arouses, for the self has been invested in a bewitching configuration of sound in which any apparent honesty of emotion is, at bottom, nothing more than a technique (even though this technique is, in most cases, not *consciously* employed as an artifice).[7] Nicola Dibben's essay (Chapter 16) focuses on the ideology of authentic emotional expression, asking how emotional authenticity is perceived and suggesting that answers may be found by exploring the aural intimacy of recordings and analysing bodily movements in live performance.

A few words are needed on areas of neglect. As already mentioned, popular musicology tends to focus on recorded music, but there is no reason why its remit should not be wider. What popular musicologists have tended to avoid like the plague is the stratum of taste often labelled 'middlebrow' (for example, lounge music and easy listening). It is into this vacuum that well-known figures like Cliff Richard disappear. There has also been an Anglo-American emphasis in the majority of studies, and the writing has been dominated by the English language (this would not be the case, for example, in Baroque musicology), although one of the notable pioneers in popular music research was Peter Wicke, Europe's first professor of popular music at the Forschungszentrum Populäre Musik, Humboldt University, Berlin.[8] I have tried to broaden the representation of scholarship in this *Companion*, and I have translated two essays myself – would that my language skills were more extensive! European scholars have so much of interest to contribute. In large part, the field has been occupied, to date, by what tends to be referred to as 'popular music studies'. Scholars from cultural and media studies have been most influential, but often have had little to say regarding musicological issues.[9] Popular musicologists seek answers to a range of questions. What are the significant events or facts of popular music history? What caused the shift in popular style between Frank Sinatra and Elvis Presley? Is there a popular music canon? Where do popular styles begin? Is everything always in a state of transition? Is it productive to trace

6 See Philip Auslander, *Performing Glam Rock: Gender and Theatricality in Popular Music* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2006).

7 This is not solely a musical problem: linguistic philosophers have so far found no means of establishing the certainty of a true utterance.

8 Peter Wicke's work became widely known following the publication of *Rock Music: Culture, Aesthetics, Sociology*, trans. Rachel Fogg (Cambridge, 1990; originally published as *Rockmusik: zur Ästhetik und Soziologie eines Massenmediums*, Leipzig: Reclam, 1987).

9 Keith Negus tells the reader frankly, for instance, that his book *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1996) 'contains little direct engagement with formal musicology' (p. 4). It is an admirable introduction to cultural theory and popular music, nonetheless.

popular idioms back centuries, as Peter Van der Merwe attempts to do?[10] As popular musicologists became interested in world music, the work of ethnomusicologists exerted increasing influence. Kevin Dawe's essay in this *Companion* examines the links between ethnomusicology and popular musicology, while exploring the output of two Greek musicians whose music bears the stamp of innovation as well as locality.

Defining the popular was to be an initial hurdle, especially given the negative connotations it had acquired when theory was dominated by the mass culture model (in which a passive mass is assumed to contentedly consume the junk food of a culture industry). Richard Middleton considers the various meanings of the term in his influential *Studying Popular Music*, the first book-length study to take on board the upheaval in cultural theory during the 1970s and 1980s.[11] For me, 'popular music' is useful for designating a *third type* of music production, distinct from rural traditions and classical traditions. In the Anglo-American sense of the term that developed in the nineteenth century, it indicated a category of commercial entertainment music (in Germany, such music was, indeed, labelled *Unterhaltungsmusik*). Once over that hurdle, further definitional problems loom up in the shape of genre and style. In popular music, a genre is best conceived of as a category, such as blues, rock and country. Style can then be reserved for discussing the musical features that characterize different cultural features within a particular genre (for instance, psychedelic rock or hard rock). However, the issue can become very murky when trying to separate styles from subgenres. Is punk a style or a rock subgenre? Franco Fabbri has been influential in his thinking on the subject of style and genre.[12]

This *Research Companion* does not cover everything, or even most things. It does not deal with copyright, nor censorship, nor illegal downloading (for instance, the closure of Napster in 2000 or the *Grey Album* of DJ Danger Mouse, aka Brian Burton), nor music and violence, nor popular music education (for example, the founding of the Institute of Popular Music at the University of Liverpool in 1988, the pioneering Rockschool examinations developed by Norton York in the 1990s, and the innovative BA degree at the University of Salford that resulted in the UK's first cohort of popular music graduates in 1994). Music technology has been a neglected area in the past – one of first major studies, published in 1997, was by

10 Peter Van der Merwe, *Origins of the Popular Style: The Antecedents of Twentieth-Century Popular Music* (Oxford, 1989). For an overview of some of the problems facing popular music historiography, see Negus, *Popular Music in Theory*, pp. 136–47.

11 Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Milton Keynes, 1990). Fifteen years on from Middleton's text, the editorial board of the journal *Popular Music* debated the adjective 'popular' and whether or not it still had meaning. 'Can We Get Rid of the "Popular" in Popular Music?', *Popular Music* 24 (2005): 133–45; reprinted in Allan F. Moore, *Critical Essays in Popular Musicology* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 35–47.

12 His early thoughts were published as 'A Theory of Musical Genres: Two Applications', in David Horn and Philip Tagg (eds), *Popular Music Perspectives* (Göteborg and Exeter, 1982), pp. 52–81. More recent thoughts are in his 'Browsing Music Spaces: Categories and the Musical Mind' [1999], in Moore, *Critical Essays in Popular Musicology*, pp. 49–62.

Paul Théberge.[13] – but its importance is now recognized, and a strong case for analysing the techniques of sound recording is made in essays in this *Companion*. Both Tim Warner (Chapter 6) and Peter Wicke (Chapter 7) consider the sound recording to be the primary medium of popular music. Electronic manipulation of sound has been employed increasingly since the mid-1950s. Wicke pays specific attention to the way sound is conceptualized and organized in the recording studio.

One of the areas of study that has faded since the 1980s is that concerned with establishing a close relationship between social class and the political and moral meanings of popular music – although class has been brought back firmly on the sociocultural agenda by Beverley Skeggs.[14] Moral issues come and go, and often continue to reach back to the 'moral panic' model.[15] Moral outrage where popular music is concerned has a lengthy history stretching from the early waltz to gangsta rap. Popular music always seems to stir greater moral indignation than film. Much more fuss is made of rappers than directors of extreme violence on film (like Quentin Tarantino). Perhaps this is owing to the common perception that popular music is the culture of young people. David Hesmondhalgh has called for the link to be severed: 'the close relationship between the study of youth and that of popular music was the result of particular historical circumstances, and the privileging of youth in studies of music is an obstacle to the developed understanding of music and society.'[16]

Areas that have been debated regularly are, as to be expected, those that involve broad concerns about popular music and society. These include questions about how manipulative the industry is and whether or not artists have compromised their ethnic identity to appeal to a wider audience. The main theoretical concerns and issues from the 1970s onwards have included debates about essentialism, human agency and economic determinism. At times there have been changes of perception about popular genres that defied prediction: few in the 1960s would have thought the rise of lesbian country music ever possible. I will rehearse some of the past concerns of popular musicologists and relate them to present concerns, especially as revealed in the work of those who have contributed essays to this *Companion*.

Having emphasized the importance of studying the music itself, I ought to begin with musical analysis. The earliest work in the analysis of pop music was done by Wilfrid Mellers, but the analytical tools he used were those honed for use

13 Paul Théberge, *Any Sound You Can Imagine: Making Music/Consuming Technology* (Hanover, NH and London, 1997).

14 Beverley Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture* (London, 2004).

15 Stanley Cohen coined the term 'moral panic' to describe the media reaction to mods and rockers in the 1960s, in *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd edn, London, 2002; originally published MacGibbon and Kee, 1972).

16 David Hesmondhalgh, 'Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes? None of the Above', *Journal of Youth Studies* 8/1 (2005): 21–40, at 38.

in the classical repertoire.[17] Andrew Chester had already developed an argument regarding extensional and intensional structures in an attempt to make the case for popular music's need to be analysed on its own terms and not those of classical music.[18] However, Chester did not demonstrate in any detail how that was to be achieved. Dai Griffiths offered a somewhat scornful overview of popular music analysis in the closing decades of the twentieth century in 'The High Analysis of Low Music' (1999).[19] Pioneers of popular music analysis in the 1980s, who made an effort to analyse this music on its own terms without an unconsidered recourse to the tools of classical analysis were Walter Everett, Philip Tagg and Alf Björnberg (each using different analytical models). Some examples of their work are reprinted in Allan Moore's *Critical Essays in Popular Musicology* (2007). A range of insightful popular music analysis appeared in the early 1990s from the likes of David Brackett, Richard Middleton, Allan Moore, Rob Walser and Stan Hawkins. In his essay for this *Companion*, Allan Moore continues the search for 'useful and usable' analytic interpretations that has occupied him for many years, and offers interpretations of several songs using theoretical models from Peircian semiotics and the much more recent field of the 'ecological' perception of music (see Chapter 22). Tim Warner's essay (Chapter 6) puts forward persuasive reasons for analysts to take more interest in analysing the way popular music recordings have been made, and examines some of the investigative procedures that are possible. These may be undertaken with the aim of revealing a recording's aesthetic characteristics, or in order to explore the impact technological processes have had on listeners. Alf Björnberg's essay (Chapter 5) explores the reception of recorded music and its related technology over the years 1950–80, looking in particular at 'hi-fi culture'.

The study of popular music reception has shifted its focus over the years from the 'masses' to teenagers to subcultures to scenes and to neo-tribes. In the writings of Theodor Adorno, which still hold inordinate and, some would say, undeserving sway over popular musicology, a child-like, passive listener is manipulated by the culture industry. In the 1970s Adorno's ideas were countered by arguments about the possibility of new meanings being made in the consumption of popular music (suggesting activity rather than passivity on the part of consumers). The industry can determine its output, but not the way its products are used or the meanings that are made of them. It became common in the 1970s and 1980s to speak of 'relative autonomy' (although the extent of this autonomy, and just how relative it was, were issues never completely resolved). The relationship between popular music and audiences is no longer the straightforward affair it was once assumed to be (especially in the old days of mass-culture theory, with its idea of the passive audience).[20] There has been some interesting work on celebrity by

17 Wilfred Mellers, *Twilight of the Gods: The Beatles in Retrospect* (London, 1973).

18 Andrew Chester, 'Second Thoughts on a Rock Aesthetic: The Band', *New Left Review* 62 (1970), 75–82; reprinted in Moore, *Critical Essays*, pp. 111–18.

19 Dai Griffiths, 'The High Analysis of Low Music', *Music Analysis* 18 (1999): 389–435; reprinted in Moore, *Critical Essays*, pp. 63–109.

20 See Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal*

Chris Rojek, and fans have been the subject of much interest since Lisa Lewis's collection of essays in 1992.[21] Spectators are now often involved in performance: camera shots of audiences are common.

Among early formulations in the late 1950s and 1960s of the concept of subculture was Howard Becker's work on 'outsiders' like jazz musicians, whom he theorized in line with the sociology of deviance.[22] Writers in the late 1970s and in the 1980s – for example, Dick Hebdige and Iain Chambers[23] – emphasized that resistant meanings were made in the consumption of popular music. There may be meanings encoded, but the listener has room for negotiation in decoding and accepting meanings, although not any meaning can be made in the consumption. Popular music has frequently been seen as an arena of hegemonic negotiation (in line with Gramsci's argument that powerful social and political groups exercise cultural hegemony, persuading rather than forcing others to accept their values). The meanings that subordinate social groups, especially young working-class males, made of popular music were to be interpreted as resistant, transgressive or evasive of the dominant culture. This was the basic cultural studies theoretical framework. The 'spectacular' subcultural styles of teds, mods and rockers, or punks were analysed as reworkings of existing cultural artefacts, arranged to yield new, subversive, oppositional or otherwise challenging meanings (for instance, a hair comb sharpened as a weapon by some mods). Three problems were soon highlighted. First, where were the young women? Angela McRobbie was the first to intervene here.[24] Second, where was the cultural interaction with family or work colleagues? Subcultures, post-Becker, seemed to be exclusively about conflict between generations, and the semiotics of fashionable clothing and of leisure spaces outside the home or workplace. Yet music is often used as background to another activity. Third, what kind of resistance can popular music offer? Is it merely symbolic? There is evidence that it may be more than this (Rock Against Racism, Live Aid).

The debate about how much impact popular music is able to achieve politically has never gone away. Stung by Tory leader David Cameron's enthusiasm for the Smiths, John Harris penned an article in the *Guardian* in March 2008 with the exclamatory title, 'Hands off Our Music!'. Harris's recollection of the 1980s is of a decade in which popular musicians were untied in anti-Tory anger. He remembers fondly the bands who came together to support Labour in the Red Wedge tours, and especially the song 'Eton Rifles', in which Paul Weller and the Jam envisaged

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Music (Hanover, NH, 1993); and Nick Abercrombie and Brian Longhurst, *Audiences: A Sociological Theory of Performance and Imagination* (London, 1998).

21 Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London, 2001); Lisa A. Lewis (ed.), *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media* (London, 1992).

22 Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, 1963).

23 Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London, 2002; originally published Methuen, 1979); Iain Chambers, *Urban Rhythms: Pop Music and Popular Culture* (London, 1985).

24 Angela McRobbie, 'Settling Accounts with Subcultures: A Feminist Critique', *Screen Education* 34 (1980): 37–49.

a class war taking place at the gates of Eton College.[25] As the comments of various letter-writers revealed a few days later, however, the relationship of pop and politics is fraught. One of them pointed out that the Jam's bass player went on to send his own son to Eton; others remarked that lyrics of the past could not always be described as adopting a left-wing position; and another raised the matter of pop's being part of a multibillion-pound entertainment industry.[26] Yet this does not diminish the politically motivated and active support given to a variety of causes by bands during the 1980s – bands such as the Housemartins, who played to raise funds for the miners' strike, and the Smiths, who performed in aid of the Liverpool councillors who had been financially penalized for their opposition to the government's 'rate-capping' policy. The argument that popular music has no impact on politics is one that ignores the crucial importance of the way music is *used* in particular social and historical contexts. Rock Against Racism in the later 1970s, for example, certainly helped to stop a growing racist movement in its tracks, even if racism is still a problem we confront today. The *then* should never be conflated with the *now*, and the maxim 'eternal vigilance' needs to be kept in mind by all who share a vision of a fair and just society.

Popular music can be articulated to particular political meanings whatever the intentions of the creators of that music might be: consider, for example, the reception in some quarters of Springsteen's 'Born in the USA' or U2's 'Sunday, Bloody Sunday'. Even genres that are not normally thought of as allied to political causes can become so: a CD of electronic dance music, a type of music generally seen as non-political, was issued some years ago with the title *Loyalist Trance Euphoria* (thus linking it to Ulster Protestant political aspirations).[27] Articulation is a useful concept for understanding how a connection may be made between production and consumption in the absence of an obvious or direct link. In fact, there may be a series of links, forming a chain between production and consumption. There may also be a contingent link that nobody predicted. Thus, the concept of articulation avoids the idea in homological interpretations that the lives people lead explain their cultural preferences in a deterministic manner, or, at best, that people are driven to seek a symbolic cultural parallel to their social existence. Of course, this may happen; but it is only one possibility of what may happen.

Indeed, the theory of homology, taken from structural anthropology, and used by Paul Willis in his *Profane Culture* of 1978, was the first to cause problems in the poststructuralist climate of the 1980s.[28] The idea of arbitrary signifiers did not square with the notion that cultural patterns replicated, albeit symbolically, the

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25 John Harris, 'Hands off Our Music!', *Guardian*, G2 supplement, 18 March 2008, pp. 4–7, at p. 6. Eton College, founded 1440, is the best known of the British independent schools, and has long been associated with the education of boys from the wealthiest and most privileged of families.

26 Letters and e-mails, *Guardian*, 22 March 2008, p. 43.

27 Numbered CD12, it was available until at least 2006 through the Orange Pages website ('The Burning Torch for Protestantism'): <www.orange-pages.tk>.

28 Paul E. Willis, *Profane Culture* (London, 1978).

social patterns of a person's life. While cultural sociologists emphasized mediation in communicating meaning, poststructuralists and semioticians focused on the importance of representation in the construction of meaning. Semiotics is not just about spotting an individual sign and deriving a meaning. Signs acquire meaning by being interrelated, or linked in a chain. An individual minor chord does not signify sadness outside of a certain context, any more than a train arriving at a station at 9:30 means it is the 9:30 train. According to the chain of signs known as a timetable, it could be the 9:00 train running half-an-hour late. Thus, the 'devil's interval', the tritone, in Robert Farnon's light orchestral piece *Jumping Bean* is perceived as funny, because the context in which it features rules out the possibility of its signifying evil or menace. Signs relate to each other in a particular context, but these signs also circulate in other contexts, often enabling unexpected connections of thought to be made. Intertextuality (Julia Kristeva's translation of Mikhail Bakhtin's term 'dialogic') acknowledges the circulation and interplay of meaning across numerous signifying practices (music, literature, film, the visual arts and so on).[29] Intertextuality does not mean simply quoting someone or something. My favourite example of intertextuality is the answer given by a young person to the question: 'How did Romeo die?' It was: 'He drowned on the Titanic.' The intertextual transposition of signs, here, occurs because Leo DiCaprio, who played Romeo in Baz Luhrman's film of Shakespeare's drama, also starred in the film *Titanic*.

Another question that emerged to challenge subcultural theory was: is everyone who is not part of a youth subculture a bland and undistinguished member of the homogeneous cultural mainstream? That possibility certainly does not square with Pierre Bourdieu's contention that culture is used by people to create social distinctions between themselves and others via judgements of taste.[30] By the turn of the century, subcultural theory was being replaced by scenes and neo-tribes as models for theorizing collective musical identities. The development of scene theory can be dated back to an influential essay Will Straw published in 1991, in which he described scenes as characterized by the 'building of musical alliances and the drawing of musical boundaries'.[31] These alliances are then maintained, as are their boundaries. Scenes are not necessarily marked primarily by class, although that might form part of the alliance, as might other characteristics (relating to gender, ethnicity and generation). Adam Krims (Chapter 21) surveys some of the literature on scenes, noting the sometimes vague definitions and meanings given to them. In advancing his own ideas, he stresses the overriding importance of the urban

29 For an informative discussion of various types of intertextual play in popular music, see Serge Lacasse, 'Intertextuality and Hypertextuality in Recorded Popular Music', in Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 35–58; reprinted in Moore, *Critical Essays*, pp. 147–70.

30 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London, 1984; originally published as *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1979).

31 Will Straw, 'Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music', *Cultural Studies* 5/3 (1991): 368–88, at 373.

context and insists that we regard urban cultural intermediaries as pivotal figures. Ian Inglis's essay (Chapter 20) offers an account of popular music fans in Britain in the late 1950s and early 1960s, presenting evidence to support an argument that this was the first British popular music scene. He adopts a flexible and dynamic model of scene theory and stresses the role of human agency – especially the part played by the committed enthusiast. He counters the usual assumption that there was a sudden shift in popular taste and reveals that it was a taste that had been forming for several years.

The 'scene' was employed as the regular model for understanding popular music reception in the early years of the twenty-first century, and it was adapted to include translocal, global and virtual scenes.[32] Soon, the idea of neo-tribes began to gain ground, influenced by Michel Maffesoli's writing; Andy Bennett was one of many who found problems with subculture and began to accept the idea of tribes and scenes as a useful alternative.[33] Tribes prove to be unstable and provisional collectivities that no longer have a particular relationship to class, but the theory is not without its problems. Unfortunately, there is always an awkward group: for example, the fans of Northern Soul whose interests failed to wane. This begs the question of whether or not a scene can remain a scene when so much that was originally important to the scene has gone (not least the Wigan Casino), and whether pensioners (which many older 'soulies' now are) can be part of a neo-tribe. Nicola Smith's essay (Chapter 23) moves beyond subcultural models to theorize the 'ageing scene' of Northern Soul. She explains how the neo-tribe model might be adapted to account for its longevity, as well as for the continuing participation of its earliest devotees. She stresses that what is important here is a 'desire for the continuation of the collective'. Northern Soul does not fit satisfactorily into either the modernist or postmodernist perspectives on subculture given by David Muggleton.[34] Neither does it fit the epoch of the hypermodern that Gilles Lipovetsky argues we are all now part of, a time characterized by more autonomous yet more fragile individuals, by fashion, novelty, ephemerality, worries and alarms and by an 'unstable, fluctuating confidence'[35] – the latter exemplified, perhaps, by the global stock-market panic of October 2008. We are certainly in a period of fragility when it comes to confidence in existing cultural–theoretical models. David Hesmondhalgh, for instance, has rejected subcultures, tribes and scenes altogether. He sees 'no possibility of a return to subculture in any adequate sociology of popular music' and claims that 'neo-tribe' is too malleable a concept, while 'scene' has been used so variously and

32 Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual* (Nashville, TN, 2004).

33 Michel Maffesoli, *The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society*, trans. Don Smith (London, 1996); Andy Bennett, 'Subcultures or Neo-Tribes? Rethinking the Relationship between Youth, Style and Musical Taste', *Sociology* 33/3 (1999): 599–617.

34 David Muggleton, *Inside Subculture: The Postmodern Meaning of Style* (Oxford, 2000).

35 Gilles Lipovetsky with Sébastien Charles, *Hypermodern Times*, trans. Andrew Brown (Cambridge, 2005; originally published as *Temps hypermodernes*, Paris: Grasset, 2004), p. 45.

imprecisely that it has lost meaning.[36] Brian Longhurst has made a case for 'spaces of elective belonging' as an alternative concept to that of scene: 'we belong to places and feel attachments to people, things and processes … Attachments and modes of belonging are lived through globalized and mediatized processes.'[37] The idea of attachments has played a significant role in the work of Antoine Hennion, whose essay in the *Companion* (Chapter 19) examines the reception of rap and techno from the perspective of what they mean those who love listening to such music (thus avoiding the objectifying accounts found in much musicology and sociology).

The attention now given to questions of space and place reveals the influence of research in cultural geography. Applied to music, such questions become: how does music construct a sense of place? Why do people of one place sometimes respond very warmly to music of a distant place (such as Wigan's enthusiasm for the soul music of Detroit)? Music can, of course, mean something different in one place compared to another. In the 1970s there was a great deal of debate about cultural imperialism, whereas in the 1990s the term 'globalization' became more common.[38] World music has gone from being a term that excited critical irritation (as a media fabrication) to a term that has been widely accepted.[39] All the same, the interpretation of world music needs to remain responsive to postcolonial critique and debates about cultural otherness.

Today, however, the single mass-marketed global product is untypical, and far more diversity than might have been expected is found in the world's marketplaces, with the onset of flexible accumulation that has replaced the Fordist model of mass production. Post-Fordism and flexible accumulation – small batches, niche markets and so on. – have posed the greatest challenge to Adorno's arguments, since, as Adam Krims points out, 'the unprecedented concentration of the music-recording industry does *not* necessarily promote an increasing homogenization of the product (form or content) and does *not* necessarily entail ever more standardized, falsely differentiated musical forms of deadening similarity'.[40] Nevertheless, these represent what Krims calls mistakes about the particulars, rather than an error in Adorno's contention that music has become commodified. The *Pop Idol* format that has been ubiquitous for several years is, for example, local in content but global in format. It was conceived in New Zealand in 1996 by Simon Fuller and has since then spawned *Australian Idol*, *Canadian Idol*, *Indonesian Idol* and many others;[41] interestingly, the only show that failed was *World Idol*. In Chapter 26 of this *Companion*, Tarja Rautiainen-Keskustalo discusses the *Pop Idol* format as a

36 Hesmondhalgh, 'Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes?', p. 38.

37 Brian Longhurst, *Cultural Change and Ordinary Life* (Maidenhead, 2007), pp. 58 and 61.

38 A key text for popular music studies was Timothy Taylor's *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (New York, 1997).

39 Philip V. Bohlman, *World Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2002).

40 Adam Krims. *Music and Urban Geography* (New York, 2007), p. 99.

41 See Su Holmes, 'Reality Goes Pop! Reality TV, Popular Music, and Narratives of Stardom in Pop Idol', *Television and New Media* 5/2 (2004): 147–72, at 149; and Charles Fairchild, *Pop Idols and Pirates: Mechanisms of Consumption and the Global Circulation of Popular Music* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 95–102.

transnational musical phenomenon and as an illustration of the interplay between global economy and local meaning. She challenges, as too simple, the idea that such formats colonize the local culture. For some global companies, however, the emphasis on local sensitivities in a global market may be more a question of promotional style than content: note that HSBC currently advertises itself a 'the world's local bank'.

The importance of branding grows rapidly after 1980. Branding aims to hold on to a particular image throughout a range of products – and a pop star is a very useful brand image. Bethany Klein writes of the disapproval felt by some fans at 'the increasingly comfortable relationships between artists and corporations' in the world of advertising. Yet there is no simple condemnation to be made, since it is clear that both popular music and advertising rely on commercial markets.[42] An appearance in an iPod commercial was key to the American success of the British duo, the Ting Tings, in the summer of 2008. Branding obscures the relationship between the musician and the product that was formerly easy to recognize in marketing and advertisements. Rautiainen-Keskustalo comments, 'the new formation of the popular does not maintain the sites (the forms of agency) that popular culture has traditionally offered to individuals (for example, popular culture as a countercultural or sub-cultural identity marker), but maintains rather different values, derived from both the ideological basis of late capitalism and the history of the popular, which are in the constant process of struggling for signification'.[43]

The 'cultural imperialism' model that focused on the corruption or degradation of existing local cultures has faded in the present century,[44] even though a mere four companies now dominate the popular music industry: EMI, Time Warner, Sony/BMG and Universal. In its place, there has been a move to examine issues of the local and global employing the model of transculturation. In this model, an artist such as Elvis Presley or Madonna is examined for an appeal across cultures (without, however, making a claim for universality of appeal). This avoids implying that millions of people have been manipulated and duped by American cultural imperialism. It recognizes that no power is capable of configuring global media into one pattern (a pattern sometimes termed a 'mediascape') while, at the same time, it acknowledges the imbalance of power between producer and consumer. Whatever room for manoeuvre a listener has, there are limits imposed on him or her by the power of the producer – even in such basic matters as what the producer chooses to make available to the listener. Rapid developments in digital technology and new

42 Bethany Klein, *As Heard on TV: Popular Music in Advertising* (Aldershot, 2008).

43 Tarja Routiainen-Keskusm 'Rocking the Economy: On the Articulations of Popular Music and the Creative Economy in Late Modern Culture', *Popular Musicology Online*, at: <http://www.popular-musicology-online.com>.

44 For a collection of essays that has moved away from arguments about American imperialist dominance, see Andreas Gebesmair and Alfred Smudits (eds), *Global Repertoires: Popular Music Within and Beyond the Transnational Music Industry* (Aldershot, 2001).

mobile media have triggered what Gerry Bloustien (Chapter 24) refers to as the 'creative knowledge economy' (fashion, games, film, television, telecommunications and so forth). She looks at how music underpins this, and speaks optimistically about 'rejuvenating the local in a global context', pointing to the important role that has been played by micro-businesses, small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), and not-for-profit organizations. Andy Bennett has suggested that the experience of popular music can be understood as occurring in a local space, but that this space can be connected to local spaces elsewhere.[45] Some theorists worry about *spaces*, which they see as controllable, and look more optimistically to *places* for evidence of autonomous assertions of identity. Adam Krims advises us not to be over-celebratory in ascribing an antagonism to the space–place relationship, where space 'represents coercive forces of social restraint' (he gives the example of the shopping mall), and place represents the way people 'reaffirm the importance of their specific and unique corners of the world'. He asks how such a distinction can be accepted when 'global forces of spatial reorganization demand that cultural products and practices be saturated with the symbolic content of place'.[46]

Debates about space and place lead us to ask what the characteristics are that define a nation, a region, a social group, or an individual. In early academic work on popular music there was often an unproblematized reference to 'black music' – as, for instance, in Simon Frith's *Sound Effects*.[47] David Hatch and Stephen Millward explained the difficulties in defining exactly who is (or was) black, and Philip Tagg bewailed the essentialism of arguments built on the idea that certain features formed a natural part of black music.[48] Paul Gilroy was originally in favour of retaining such terminology, but modifying it to embrace the black diasporic experience.[49] The difficulty is that arguments about black identity have too often rested on the fiction of race, instead of focusing on the cultural experiences and preferences that develop within social groups in particular locations. Portia Maultsby's essay (Chapter 13) presents findings drawn from in-depth ethnographic research into the way funk in the 1970s and 1980s constructed multiple layers of identity for the diverse black community of Dayton, Ohio. Despite the evidence showing that it is the way cultural features and devices are *used* that constructs identity and builds particular cultural competences, essentialism has not disappeared in journalism.

45 Andy Bennett, *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place* (Basingstoke, 2000). He provides a very useful account of arguments about space and place in the Introduction to Sheila Whiteley, Andy Bennett and Stan Hawkins (eds), *Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity* (Aldershot, 2004).

46 Krims, *Music and Urban Geography*, pp. 32 and 39.

47 Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (London, 1983).

48 David Hatch and Stephen Millward, *From Blues to Rock: An Analytical History of Pop Music* (Manchester, 1987); Philip Tagg, '"Black Music," "Afro-American Music," and "European Music"', *Popular Music* 8 (1989): 285–98, reprinted in Moore, *Critical Essays*, pp. 5–18.

49 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1993). He later attacked arguments based on race in *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge, MA, 2000).

Essentialist thinking often surfaces in opinions implying that certain cultural skills are biologically determined: 'The Latin American feel flows through their DNA' claimed the reviewer of a CD by young Venezuelan musicians in August 2008.[50] It needs to be stressed constantly that musical preferences are related to cultural and not biological factors. Music should no more be mapped directly on to ethnicity than on to social class, or you end up tying yourself in explanatory knots when encountering a middle-class Asian who enjoys both Bhangra and rap. Anjali Gera Roy, warns, in Chapter 14, about the simplistic view of Bhangra as signifier of South-Asian ethnocultural identity. New diasporic identities come into play here, as they have often done before: in the Al Jolson film *The Jazz Singer* (1927), the father of Jakie Rabinowitz cannot comprehend the Americanized musical taste of his son: '*you* from five generations of Cantors!'

What do we mean when we speak of a community? Is it a localized group, like a parish community? Is it a group of people defined by their ethnicity, class, occupation or sexuality, such as a Chinese community, working-class community, farming community or gay community? Is there an Internet community (as we often hear) or merely a lot of people using the Internet?[51] The word has been stretched almost to breaking-point. So, too, has the term 'hybridity'. Reggae is often seen as an example of hybridity. Rap is made up of stylistic elements associated with musicians from a range of ethnic backgrounds (African-American, Latino and white), so it also offers itself up to the label 'hybrid'. What is the difference between a mixture, or fusion, and a hybrid? In the work of Homi Bhabha and Robert Young, hybridity is used to indicate the political charge that is generated when cultural practices that have been brought together in hybrid form are denied any of the sense of uniqueness or purity they formerly may have been assumed to possess.[52] However, in the writings of many others, hybridity has become almost synonymous with the term it replaced: syncretism (in which disparate cultural elements are reconciled).

Gender, just like ethnicity, has often been interpreted as something natural. This is the implication of older arguments about some forms of rock *expressing* male machismo; but this music and its performance can also be analysed as a configuration of signs that *connote* machismo. Suzi Quatro was already challenging the stereotypical masculinity of rock in the early 1970s, and Riot Grrrl in the 1990s showed how an assertive femininity could be encoded in rock. Theories of sexuality followed a similar trajectory. They began with a focus on the gay eroticism of disco,[53] but were later followed by poststructuralist explorations of sexuality, initially much

50 Philip Clark, review of *Fiesta*, DG 477 7457GH, *Gramophone* (August 2008): 64.

51 Andy Bennett raised this issue at an IASPM UK conference in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, July 2002.

52 Homi K. Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders' in *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), pp. 102–22; Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London, 1995).

53 See Richard Dyer, 'In Defense of Disco' [1979] in Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (eds), *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word* (London, 1990), pp. 410–18.

influenced by Foucault.[54] Queer theory began to develop in the 1990s, although it remains an unsettled question how far any one musical style can be queered. Despite k. d. lang's queering of country in the late 1980s, she subsequently moved away from that style to some extent. There is also the problem that if you break too many conventions, a style becomes lost or unrecognizable. To communicate meaning, you need to relate to style codes in some way.

Theorizing about the way the body (the larynx, tongue, teeth and lips) can be registered in the singing voice,took its departure initially from Roland Barthes and his use of Julia Kristeva's distinction between phenotext and genotext (where, to simplify, the former is perceived cognitively and the latter sensed physiologically) to distinguish between phenosong and genosong.[55] The shift to a consideration of performance and performativity has been a significant development from the 1990s onwards. A big influence was, and still is, Judith Butler, who argued in *Gender Trouble* (1990) for a theory of performativity in relation to the production of gender identity, claiming that this identity is produced through 'a stylized repetition of acts', which are performative rather than expressive.[56] Performativity is performance repeated over and over, so that it appears natural; it is not a performance in which you are consciously acting out a role. It is not a matter of 'I am *X*, so I do *Y*', but of 'I do *Y*, so I am *X*'. Sheila Whiteley, who has been engaged with questions of gendered identity for most of her academic career, offers further thoughts in Chapter 10 of this *Companion*, drawing upon Butler's theoretical model of performativity and gender construction. Some confusion was caused by Butler's simplified reference to drag as an example of performing gender. Her argument is much more nuanced than that suggests, although it is remarkable how closely at times she approaches Erving Goffman's ideas on performing the self in everyday life.[57] Philip Auslander, in Chapter 15, makes use of Goffman's frame analysis in exploring role-playing and the physical and gestural dimensions of performance. He considers how the visual dimension of performance affects the audience's musical experience and notes provocatively that 'the real person is the dimension of performance to which the audience has the least access'. In Chapter 18 Jacqueline Warwick speaks of the

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54 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth, 1990; originally published New York: Pantheon, 1978; originally published in French as *Histoire de la sexualité*, Paris: Gallimard, 1976).

55 Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, trans. Margaret Waller (New York, 1984; originally published as *La Révolution du langage poétique*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1974); Roland Barthes, 'The Grain of the Voice', in Stephen Heath (ed.), *Image-Music-Text* (London, 1977), pp. 179–89. Geno-song offers another way of describing the problem raised by Wittgenstein concerning expression in music (see later in this Introduction).

56 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London, 1999; originally published 1990), p. 179.

57 Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London, 1990; originally published University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, Monograph. no. 2, 1956); *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Boston, revd edn 1986; originally published London: Penguin, 1974).

'different masks of rock authenticity' and examines the anxiety caused when belief in an innate masculinity is threatened by imitations of 'rock authenticity'.

Stan Hawkins (Chapter 17) and Susan Fast (Chapter 8) also ask questions about how we interpret vocality, and what issues of subjectivity and identity are involved. Fast's topic is the gendered and racialized conventions of back-up singing in rock music (and how they relate to the soloist's identity). Hawkins concentrates on the style and function of the pop voice and how we link these two aspects of performance. His investigation proceeds by way of a close analysis of Prince's 'Chelsea Rodgers' (2007), in a sustained attempt to pin down the disco-funk style. Hawkins makes the point that disco 'was never meant to be performed live', which makes one wonder if, perhaps, the authenticity argument regarding liveness is designed to exclude genres like disco. Liveness plays a crucial role in John Richardson's essay (Chapter 4), which takes up the matter of visual authentication. He chooses to focus on KT Tunstall, a 'nu-folk' performer committed to live performance, in order to explore the complexities of the meaning of 'live' in the context of her use of digital looping technology to simulate multitracking (albeit achieved in 'real time' via a looping pedal). He also considers the gender issues raised by her 'mastery' of electronic technology.

The body or, to be more accurate, discourses of the body have acquired much more importance in popular musicology of the twenty-first century, and dance research has continued to grow as well (Sarah Thornton's 1995 study of dance culture was trail-blazing[58]). Music and queerness has become a whole field in itself,[59] but there are still bare patches to cultivate. The relationship between camp and queerness is one. Freya Jarman-Ivens offers, in Chapter 9, one of the first attempts to sketch out a musicology of camp, teasing out particular musical gestures that might invite camp interpretation. Masculinity did not receive as much attention as did femininity at first, but now it certainly does. Jason Lee Oakes's essay (Chapter 11) asks how popular music can help us understand what masculinity means and examines some of the recent ways in which this subject has been theorized.

The study of screen music has overlapped considerably with popular musicology. Roy Prendergast was highlighting the neglect of film music back in the 1970s, and Claudia Gorbman set the ball rolling for film music theory with her semiotic analyses in *Unheard Melodies* (1987), at the same time as Ann Kaplan was producing critical work on music video.[60] The critical tools of the 1980s, resting on the significance of the distinction between underscore and source music (expressed, not entirely without oversimplification, as a contrast between non-diegetic and

58 Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* (Cambridge, 1995).

59 An enormous influence here was Butler's *Gender Trouble*. An informative book on popular music and queerness is Sheila Whiteley and Jennifer Rycenga (eds), *Queering the Popular Pitch* (London, 2006).

60 Roy M. Prendergast, *Film Music: A Neglected Art* (New York, 2nd edn 1992); Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington, IN and London, 1987); E. Ann Kaplan, *Rocking Around the Clock: Music Television, Postmodernism, and Consumer Culture* (London, 1987).

diegetic music) were soon enriched by a host of new terminology from Michel Chion – raising questions such as 'is this music empathetic non-diegetic, or anempathetic non-diegetic?'[61] In Chapter 2 Anahid Kassabian provides an overview of the rise of film music studies, before offering a theoretical and methodological guide to research in the wider field of music, sound and the moving image. In studying music video, a frequent problem has been to decide whether the image or the music dominates. George Martin remarked in a lecture given at the University of Salford in 1998, 'in the 1960s, we listened with our ears; today we listen with our eyes'. Early academic work on video concentrated on the image but, in the 1990s, Andrew Goodwin raised the stakes for music.[62] Carol Vernallis responded to Goodwin's call for more study of the music in music video by analysing Madonna's 'Cherish' and making the case for that video's having created its meanings 'within the flow of the song'.[63] In the twenty-first century consideration needs to be given also to websites such as YouTube.

Television has been largely ignored in popular musicology, despite the fact that during 1954–55 a TV series signature tune, 'The Ballad of Davy Crocket' (Blackburn/Bruns) became the fastest-selling song in the history of the record industry (more than 20 versions were released).[64] Miguel Mera (Chapter 3) points to the neglect of television music and argues that study in this area 'raises new questions for screen music studies generally'. He shows how the transformations of a current affairs programme's theme tune over a period of nearly 30 years can be related to social, cultural and political changes. He also speaks of the 'democratization of the compositional process as mediated through technology', with reference to the production company Mcasso.

The final matters I want to consider in this Introduction concern taste and aesthetics. There was often a tendency in the 1970s and 1980s to map taste on to social class, and this is something Bourdieu does, too, in *Distinction* (1979). Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital and the *habitus* (the way a person lives, behaves and feels comfortable in particular social situations as a consequence of educational and family background) proved especially influential. It remained a puzzle, however, how a working-class person might break free of the constraints of his or her cultural capital and *habitus*. This raises the subject of human agency – a subject that has been much explored by Anthony Giddens, who defines it as 'the stream of actual or contemplated causal interventions of corporeal beings in the ongoing process of

61 It is very common to see 'diegetic' and 'diegesis' written incorrectly as 'diagetic' and 'diagesis'. The terms are taken from the Greek for narration: διήγησις.

62 Andrew Goodwin, *Dancing in the Distraction Factory: Music Television and Popular Culture* (London, 1993; originally published Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

63 Carol Vernallis, 'The Aesthetics of Music Video: An Analysis of Madonna's "Cherish"', *Popular Music* 17 (1998): 153–85; reprinted in Moore, *Critical Essays*, pp. 443–75, at p. 459.

64 Joseph Murrells, *Million Selling Records from the 1900s to the 1980s: An Illustrated Directory* (London, 1984), p. 89.

events-in-the-world'.[65] More recently, an interest in the idea of social capital (never much expanded upon by Bourdieu) has deepened and prompted research into social networks, relations and contacts. Bourdieu's concept of the 'field' as an area of social and cultural production and practice has also been influential.[66] Different fields exist with different kinds of rules and values, but within each field there are partitions (in the artistic field one genre has a different status from another, for example).

The development of an omnivorous taste in culture, following a general collapse of the hierarchy of high and low art, was first theorized in the work of Richard Peterson and Albert Simkus, who argued that knowing about and consuming a wide range of cultural forms had become a new kind of high status marker in the 1990s.[67] Consequently, the 'univore' was likely to be at the bottom of the taste hierarchy. None of this means that everything is regarded as of equal value; indeed, *how* you consume (for instance, ironically) is as important as *what* you consume.[68] Incidentally, omnivorous taste offers evidence of the crumbling link between youth and pop (although some pop is undoubtedly aimed at, and appeals successfully to, a youth market). Aesthetic judgement has a habit of creeping into arguments as self-evident or correct – even in the work of sociologists. Negus remarks that Lennon's 'Imagine' has 'a rather lazy easy-listening quality'.[69] Bourdieu has claimed that bourgeois aesthetics can be summed up as driven by disgust at the 'facile'.[70] But this inclination to reprimand composers and listeners for laziness is a characteristic of a particular aesthetic disposition – one that believes culture should be hard work – and has a history stretching back to the rise of 'light music' in Vienna in the 1830s. This term was a translation of the German *leichte Musik*, and since 'light' in German means 'easy', it quickly antagonized the serious-minded.[71]

Ludwig Wittgenstein argued that aesthetic questions are conceptual and cannot be answered by empirical methods; what is needed, instead, is comparative study of artworks and an analysis of connections between genres and styles. He believed it was wrongheaded to imagine, for instance, that beauty might exist as an essential property of an artwork. He maintained that, instead of seeking inner essences, we need to investigate the *use* to which critical vocabulary is put. To describe this use,

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65 Anthony Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies* (Cambridge, 2nd edn 1993; originally published London: Hutchinson, 1976), p. 81.

66 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (Cambridge, 1993).

67 Richard Peterson and Albert Simkus, 'How Musical Taste Groups Mark Occupational Status Groups' in Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier (eds), *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 152–86.

68 See Richard A. Peterson and Roger M. Kern, 'Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore', *American Sociological Review* 61 (1996): 900–907.

69 Negus, *Popular Music in Theory*, p. 194.

70 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 486.

71 I discuss this topic at various places in my book *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna* (New York, 2008).

or 'to describe what you mean by a cultured taste', he insists that 'you have to describe a culture' and to be aware that an 'entirely different game is played in different ages'.[72] We might argue, therefore, that authenticity, for example, has a meaning within a particular context, but that there are no essential properties in the adjective 'authentic'. Wittgenstein, in his later work, stressed that words did not merely name properties and that the meaning of words existed in the use to which they were put. In poststructuralist theory words are concepts, too. As Jacques Lacan pointed out, toilet doors might look identical, but will be conceptualized differently depending on whether they are marked male or female (we would not think of the door itself as a property labelled male or female).[73] Yet, if we had no experience of what might lie behind such doors, we could not interpret the signs correctly. Poststructuralists often took a hostile stance towards empiricism, none more so than Jacques Derrida, who, scorning its hypothetical propositions drawn from finite quantities of information 'subjected to the proof of experience' and ever ready for revision, accused it of being 'the matrix of all faults menacing a discourse which continues … to consider itself scientific'.[74] The work of Sarah Thornton and Sara Cohen, however, shows that empirical work (especially the gathering of quantitative and qualitative data) can lead to valuable insights, and such research also reveals the errors that can be made when cultural formations are studied only as texts, ignoring the need for fieldwork. Antoine Hennion's essay (Chapter 19) asserts the value of empirical methodology in reaching a better understanding of how music 'presents itself' to the listener. It was empirical research, also, that led to the omnivore thesis concerning cultural taste. Ethnomusicologists, of course, find fieldwork absolutely necessary to their research. An area of neglect in the twentieth century was the study of music consumption in the context of everyday social interaction. This has been a concern in the work of both Tia DeNora and Dan Laughey.[75] Another area that Björnberg, Warner and Wicke reveal to be calling out for empirical investigation is that of listener response to different kinds of studio technological processes used on sound recordings.

I return, in my concluding paragraph, to the issue of why a popular musicology is needed, and I will give an example of how a problem of interpretation can occur when the music itself is not taken into account. Keith Negus takes issue with Sheila Whiteley's account of the psychedelic coding of 'Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds' and its hallucinogenic connotations.[76] His counterargument rests on an

72 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Lectures and Conversations on Aesthetics, Psychology, and Religious Belief*, ed. Cyril Barrett (Berkeley, 2007; originally published Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), p. 8.

73 Jacques Lacan, *Ecrits: A Selection* (London, 1977), p. 151.

74 Jacques Derrida, 'Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences' ('La Structure, le signe et le jeu dans le discours des sciences humaines', 1966), in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (London, 1978, originally published as *L'Ecriture et la différence*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1967), pp. 351–70, at p. 364.

75 Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge, 2000); Dan Laughey, *Music and Youth Culture* (Edinburgh, 2006).

76 See Negus, *Popular Music in Theory*, pp. 157–58; and Whiteley, *The Space Between the Notes*

interpretation of the lyrics alone, and this leads him to suggest that the song could easily be associated with Lennon's interest in the word-play of Edward Lear and Lewis Carroll. Yet Whiteley draws her conclusions from an analysis of the way the music works *together with* the lyrics, and she makes a persuasive case about how these words may be understood in the context of particular musical signifiers. Her thoughts on the psychedelic coding of music are drawn from musical analysis of semiotic devices for representing drug-induced trips in other songs of the period. Scholars in cultural and media studies have also thrown down a more general challenge to popular musicologists to define stylistically genres such as ragtime, blues, gospel, rock 'n' roll, or to accept that they all overlap so much with other styles that this is an impossibility. Lawrence Grossberg has claimed, 'rock cannot be defined in musical terms'[77] – a statement implying that there is a degree of futility in characterizing rock musically. He believes it has no really distinctive musical features that cannot be found elsewhere. Yet, as long ago as 1975, Ronald Byrnside made a strong argument for considering rock a new style.[78] Popular musicologists will never be satisfied with discussion of genres or styles that avoid reference to musical detail, and are therefore driven to make a case for the importance and relevance of musical terminology and analysis. Crucial to popular musicology is the desire to understand popular music qua music.[79]

(London, 1992), pp. 43–44. Naphtali Wagner also proposes a psychedelic reading of the music of 'Lucy' and even produces a 'psychedelic Shenkerian graph', in 'Psychedelic Classicism and Classical Psychedelia', in Olivier Julien (ed.), *Sgt. Pepper and the Beatles: It Was Forty Years Ago Today* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 75–90, at pp. 84–89.

77 Lawrence Grossberg, *We Gotta Get out of This Place* (London, 1992), p. 131.

78 'The Formation of a Musical Style: Early Rock', in Charles Hamm, Bruno Nettl, and Ronald Byrnside (eds), *Contemporary Music and Music Cultures* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1975), pp. 159–92; reprinted in Moore, *Critical Essays*, pp. 217–50 (see, especially, pp. 239–45).

79 Allan F. Moore, *Rock – The Primary Text: Developing a Musicology of Rock* (Aldershot, 2nd edn 2001; originally published Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993) was a determined attempt to put music in the primary position.