

Rock and Roll

1. Introduction.

Midway through the 20th century, commercially-mediated, Southern-based music by black and white working-class musicians displaced Tin Pan Alley popular song to dominate national culture and lay the foundations of a new global lingua franca. 'Untrained' performers replaced the previously-dominant, professional network of composers, orchestrators, singers and studio orchestras; through the 1950s the major record labels lost nearly half their share of the popular music market to independent record labels. New cultural fusions were particularly encouraged by migrations from south to north and from country to city, as well as by new communications technologies that accelerated musical interactions and pushed music and musicians across geographical and cultural boundaries. Mass culture brought the views of marginalized groups to the mainstream, and previously separated groups discovered new identities and affinities through popular music. Such changes forced realignments of the genre categories that were in general use. The ways in which record companies separated artists and audiences by race, region and class ('race records', 'hillbilly' and 'popular', for example), hid the fact that such music had not developed from mutually exclusive sources, as genre labels have tended to reflect prevalent social, especially racial, categories more than differences of musical style. In addition, commercial success and monetary rewards have not always matched up with musical traditions and creativity: although rock and roll was primarily created by black Americans, its financial rewards have gone disproportionately to white singers and businessmen.

'Rock and roll' had been used in blues lyrics to celebrate sexuality and dancing long before its first print appearance (*Billboard*, 1946) to describe the rhythm and blues of Joe Liggins and his Honeydrippers. The phrase has been used ever since: sometimes narrowly, to describe the music made by black and white popular musicians of the late 1950s; sometimes as a means of disguising black origins or of distinguishing white-identified music from soul, funk, disco and hip hop; sometimes more broadly to label the whole range of popular styles that developed in the wake of the paradigm shift of the 1950s. Certain shared characteristics differentiated rock and roll, country music and rhythm and blues from Tin Pan Alley. Most notable were the blues influences, including forms derived from the 12-bar blues, amplified electric instruments and a rhythmic drive led by drums and bass. Yet the 32-bar verse-chorus forms of Tin Pan Alley persisted, as did a wide range of singing styles, and the new music's

characteristic rocking rhythms can be heard as far back as the late 1920s in blues recordings, especially during the piano boogie-woogie craze of the 1930s, which supplied the left-hand ostinato pattern that became one of the foundations of rock and roll guitar style. Moreover, driving straight-quaver note grooves appeared in recordings by white country musicians of the same period. Although it was called [HILLBILLY MUSIC](#) until the mid-1940s, [COUNTRY MUSIC](#) did not develop exclusively from Anglo-American folk traditions, but rather incorporated the multicultural influences of Spain, Hawaii, Africa, Italy, Switzerland, Tin Pan Alley popular song, black and white gospel music and black-American blues.

Growing reliance upon the electric guitar is in some ways an index of the shift to rock and roll, yet such central figures of the 1950s as Jerry Lee Lewis and Little Richard continued to base their ensembles around the piano, and the guitar was not a prominent feature of the 'girl group' performances of the early 1960s. New ways of drumming did most to unite the newer styles, but rock and roll still incorporated the crooning and song formats of previous popular song along with gospel, hillbilly, blues and boogie-woogie characteristics. The adoption of the pedal steel guitar in the early 1950s helped make country music sound different from other popular post-war genres, but the growing use of drums from the late 40s brought it closer to other popular styles. However important these genres were as marketing categories, they grew from shared origins in black American blues, jazz, gospel and white country music, and they reflected their technological moment in their use of electric amplification, mass mediation, magnetic tape technology that spread from Germany after World War II, and commercial distribution.

The jazz, jump blues and rhythm and blues of the 1930s and 40s established crucial conventions for later popular styles: the rhythmic energy and riff style of Count Basie's band; the honking saxophone solos and sexual energy of Wynonie Harris; the small jazz-influenced combos of Los Angeles's Central Avenue scene; the fusion of black and white styles that were heard in Louis Jordan's music; the gospel ecstasy that singers such as Sister Rosetta Tharpe, Little Richard and Ray Charles brought to secular music; T-Bone Walker's creation of an electric blues guitar style that Chuck Berry would later develop into the foundation of rock guitar playing.

There are not enough differences between songs such as Wynonie Harris's *Good Rockin' Tonight* (1948) and Big Joe Turner's *Shake, Rattle, and Roll* (1954) to justify the perception that a whole new style of music had emerged in the mid-1950s. Postwar cultural mixtures, migrations and technology brought Southern white and black working-

class music to the attention of audiences that had previously not been exposed to its techniques and sensibilities. But earlier mixings have been too little acknowledged as well, such as the black musicians who taught Hank Williams to play guitar and influenced his songwriting or the impact of country star Jimmie Rogers' yodelling on the blues howl of Howlin' Wolf. Although record companies and radio stations marketed music according to the race of the performers (presumed to match that of their audiences), white listeners increasingly sought out black music in the late 1940s. Mass culture established a common frame of reference among previously separate communities, making regional, class-based and ethnically-specific cultural forms increasingly attractive and relevant to new audiences. Country and rhythm and blues artists often recorded versions of each other's songs, and the white team of Leiber and Stoller wrote many songs for black and Chicano artists that became hits on both the pop and rhythm and blues charts. Another important interaction was that of self-taught country and blues musicians with jazz-trained studio session players. As country music incorporated jump blues influences it became [ROCKABILLY](#), just as blues had evolved into rhythm and blues by embracing influences from jazz, Tin Pan Alley and gospel; as the story is usually told, these two streams eventually united to produce rock and roll.

2. Rock and roll.

Some historians date the beginning of this era to June of 1955, when Bill Haley's *Rock around the Clock* became the number one record on *Billboard's* 'best sellers' chart and an icon of teenage rebellion. The early 1950s provide an alternative date, when white teenagers started to listen and dance to the rhythm and blues of black musicians, and the Cleveland disc jockey, Alan Freed, gained more and more white listeners for his rhythm and blues radio shows. By 1954, he was calling the music '[ROCK AND ROLL](#)', a name that distracted attention from the cultural miscegenation that was taking place. Records, jukeboxes and especially radio were particularly important for breaking down racial barriers still maintained in public spaces, and rock and roll concerts were the first integrated public events in many communities. Despite the emphasis on youth culture in rock and roll, the musics out of which it developed had been adult. Over-emphasis of teenage rebellion disguises the role of the music in breaking down racial boundaries, proposing new ideals of gender and sexuality, and promoting working-class perspectives through lyrics that criticized hierarchy and celebrated freedom, leisure and community.

Most white rock and roll performers were Southern country musicians who adapted some of the features of rhythm and blues, and many of the best (such as Jerry Lee Lewis, Elvis Presley and Carl Perkins) had grown up learning from black musicians. Bill Haley, Buddy Holly and others kept their country instrumentation but developed rhythmic swing and blues inflections under the influence of jump blues artists such as Louis Jordan. Many of the most successful black rock and roll musicians (Fats Domino and Ruth Brown, for example) were established within rhythm and blues before they were redefined as part of a new cultural and commercial movement. The whole idea of rock and roll was 'that Fats Domino had more in common with Bill Haley than he did with Wynonie Harris, that Elvis Presley had more in common with Ray Charles than he did with Ernest Tubb' (Ward, Stokes and Tucker, A1986, p.97).

Chuck Berry drew upon blues, country and the jump blues of Louis Jordan to produce some of the founding conventions of rock and roll, including lyrics that celebrated mobility, play and youth, as well as the double-string riffs that made him one of the most influential guitarists of the 20th century. His first record was a version of a country song, and he might have been categorized as a country singer if he had been white. Although tenor saxophone solos and rolling piano triplets continued to be used in rock and roll, the dominant trend was to move from horns, piano and swing rhythms to guitars and straight quaver-note grooves. Berry's *Rock and Roll Music* (1957) records a transitional moment, as some of the musicians swing the beat while others evenly subdivide it.

Black vocal groups, mostly male (the Coasters and the Drifters, for example), were among the most popular musicians of the decade, and sang romantic ballads with smooth harmonies (often based on I–VI–IV–V progressions) that extended the legacy of the gospel quartets and of popular 1940s vocal groups such as the Mills Brothers and the Ink Spots, while their up-tempo numbers displayed more overtly the rhythmic drive of rock and roll. Such groups typically placed less emphasis on instrumental backing, but singers often imitated instrumental sounds and sang non-verbal syllables that caused their music to be known as [Doo-wop](#). White groups such as Danny and the Juniors contributed to the style but succeeded on the pop charts without first having to prove themselves through rhythm and blues chart success, as was normally required of black artists. The most successful performer of this period was Elvis Presley, a white singer who learned to sing in the Pentecostal Church and by imitating the blues and country music he heard on the radio. Presley's musical talents, charisma and sexiness soon made him the most successful figure in American music. His first commercial studio

session yielded a cover of *That's all right, mama*, which had been recorded by rhythm and blues artist Arthur 'Big Boy' Crudup, paired with a version of Bill Monroe's *Blue Moon of Kentucky* – a white interpretation of a black song and a black-influenced performance of a white song. His commercial appeal, however, was still related to racial dynamics, as white audiences bought Presley's versions of rhythm and blues songs instead of those by the original black performers. Still, he took as much from country as he did from rhythm and blues, and sales of country music suffered more from the popularity of rock and roll than did the rhythm and blues market.

The success of Presley and other rockabilly-styled artists helped undermine the music industry's assumptions about race-based genres and separate audiences. At this moment 'one strain of popular music cut across racial, social, and geographic lines in a way not seen in the USA since the days of Stephen Foster' (Hamm, C1983, pp.62–3). By spreading elements of Southern working-class black and white culture to national and international audiences, Presley had a profound impact on music history.

Country music was divided by Presley's success, however, with the rockabilly singers such as Carl Perkins, Jerry Lee Lewis, Gene Vincent, the Everly Brothers, Eddie Cochran and Buddy Holly developing a style that reflected their absorption of black culture and that was distinct from the straight country singers who followed the example of Hank Williams. Country music expanded rapidly in the years after World War II and Nashville emerged as the centre of its recording business. In the 1950s, the dominant country style was [HONKY TONK MUSIC](#), but Chet Atkins developed a new, Tin Pan Alley-influenced [NASHVILLE SOUND](#), a country-pop fusion that was designed to attract larger audiences.

As white teenagers were increasingly moved by and moving like black entertainers, critics attempted to discredit rock and roll by linking it to racial conflicts, promiscuity and juvenile delinquency. With hindsight, such attacks are frequently dismissed as bigotry, misunderstanding and over-reaction, but censorship and other techniques for weakening rock and roll's impact reflect accurate perceptions of its power to challenge and disrupt accepted behaviours. At the end of the decade, Congress conducted hearings into the practice of payola, whereby disc jockeys were bribed to play particular records (see [DJ \(I\)](#)). This practice had been common since the rise of the music industry in the 1890s, and was not in fact illegal, but persecution of Alan Freed and other prominent figures was partly driven by the feeling that the music threatened social order. Meanwhile, the large record companies were regaining their control of the industry and promoting white singers,

such as Pat Boone, who could outsell black performers with [COVER](#) versions of the same songs; such adaptations served large white audiences who were attracted to rock and roll but resisted some of its cultural challenges. These events, along with the death of Buddy Holly and the disrupted careers of Presley, Chuck Berry, Little Richard and Jerry Lee Lewis (by the draft, jail, religion and scandal respectively), have been regarded by many as marking the end of the original era of rock and roll, although its musical and social precedents resonated throughout the rest of the century.

3. The 1960s.

The rock and pop of the 1960s differed from rock and roll of the 50s in several respects. Musicians embraced solid-body electric guitars, powerful amplification with deliberate distortion effects, new recording techniques and greater use of keyboard instruments, including synthesizers. The longer playing time of the 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ r.p.m. album accommodated longer song forms that often included lengthy improvisations. Many song lyrics continued to be concerned with romance, but some now also participated overtly in political protest and the search for new identities and communities. Perceptions of a generation gap sharpened as 17-year-olds became the largest age cohort in 1964, and [ROCK](#) music dominated the output of the record industry. The diversity of the decade, however, can be lost to a collective memory that emphasizes Woodstock, psychedelia, sexual freedom and transgression: the most popular musicians of the decade included not only the Beatles, Elvis Presley and Ray Charles, but also Connie Francis, Brenda Lee and Percy Faith. It was because 1960s' rock resounded in an environment that resisted many of its challenges that it proved so explosive and transformative.

Historians often characterize the early part of the decade as a lull between the interrupted careers of the first rock and roll generation and the arrival of the 'British Invasion'. Neil Sedaka, Carole King and other songwriters at the Brill Building in New York were moving popular music back towards the sentiments and production methods of Tin Pan Alley, while white 'teen idols', such as Dion, Ricky Nelson and Frankie Avalon, defused the dangerous sexuality of Presley, Little Richard and Chuck Berry. Yet the same period (1959–63) saw the rise of [SOUL MUSIC](#) in Chicago and Memphis, the development of the [MOTOWN](#) sound, and a doo-wop revival that included tremendous popularity for 'girl groups'. The Shirelles, the Crystals, the Ronnettes and the Shangri-Las were among the most successful groups, and the most influential producer of such music was Phil Spector, who merged features of Tin Pan Alley song with the energy of rhythm and blues, and used innovative studio techniques to create his 'wall of

sound'. This golden age for female and black-American artists has been unjustly maligned by rock critics, who, until the 1990s, were almost all white men whose writings marginalized these groups. The most critically respected group of the early 1960s was probably the Beach Boys, who used virtuosic vocal lines in the style of doo-wop, a rock and roll rhythm section, and adventurous recording practices to produce successful vignettes of surfing and other romanticized features of middle-class Californian culture.

Throughout the decade, country music remained marked by the influence of rock and roll, as electric instruments and drums became routinely used. The Country Music Association (founded in 1957) helped promote both the music and the industry, and the music continued to grow in popularity, with three shows devoted to it appearing on network television by the end of the decade. Some of this increased popularity came from female stars who presented a new assertive image, such as Loretta Lynn and Tammy Wynette, and from singer-songwriters who crossed over to broader audiences, such as Willie Nelson and Kris Kristofferson.

The black artists on Berry Gordy's Motown record label developed gospel-influenced, sexy but polished, elegant music that successfully crossed over to large white audiences. Its writers and producers (such as Holland, Dozier and Holland) supplied songs and arrangements to a virtuosic house band and singers that included Stevie Wonder, the Temptations, the Four Tops, Diana Ross and the Supremes, Smokey Robinson and the Miracles and Marvin Gaye. The 'southern soul' of Stax Records in Memphis produced a more gritty and blues-derived style for mostly black audiences later in the decade, using an integrated house band to back singers that included Wilson Pickett, Aretha Franklin and Otis Redding. James Brown invented [FUNK](#) and set the stage for subsequent dance music and rap by placing his rough, soulful vocals over instrumental grooves that suspended harmonic motion in favour of unprecedentedly percussive and polyrhythmic interlocking lines, including complicated, virtuosic bass lines.

Folk singers, many of whom were political activists, may have initially avoided the instrumentation and attitudes of rock and roll because of its location within commercial culture, but rock's rhythmic and timbral energy made it well suited to protest, and it became increasingly associated with protest movements, alternative lifestyles and perspectives and the breakdown of social and attitudinal barriers. Bob Dylan became arguably the most influential American musician of the 1960s by creating lyrics that pushed folk music towards a more critical, personal and self-consciously poetic tone, and his rough voice

and loose intonation established an influential model for performance. He blurred the line between rock and folk with his controversial decision to 'go electric' (1965), and brought rock and country closer together in 1968, just as the Byrds and the Band were also developing the [COUNTRY ROCK](#) fusions that would be followed by Buffalo Springfield, the Flying Burrito Brothers, the Grateful Dead, Neil Young and the Eagles. Rock criticism grew up around Dylan and the Beatles as the lyrics of both and the music of the latter provided material for complicated and serious analysis. Joan Baez, Tom Paxton and Phil Ochs were other protest singers who developed the poetic and political vocabulary of popular music and helped prepare for the boom, during the latter part of the decade, of personal, often confessional singer-songwriters such as Judy Collins, Joni Mitchell, Carole King and Paul Simon (see [SINGER-SONGWRITER](#)). For the most part, black audiences displayed little interest in [FOLK-ROCK](#) or rock, despite the strong blues influences on the latter.

British bands were formed after the models set by US rock and roll musicians on recordings and tours. The extraordinary songwriting abilities of John Lennon and Paul McCartney helped earn the Beatles an extreme level of popular and critical success, and they produced catchy and memorable songs in a great range of styles, even as they explored unusual musical forms, harmonies, studio techniques and instrumentation, as exemplified on their influential album, *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967). Their success also helped establish an expectation that bands would write their own material, and their androgynous haircuts continued the rock and roll challenge to gender norms. Their string of number one singles in the USA in 1964 paved the way for the other bands of the 'British Invasion': the Rolling Stones, Herman's Hermits, the Yardbirds, the Kinks, the Animals and others. For many, these bands revived the interrupted energy of 1950s rock and roll, and they quickly displaced girl groups (except the Supremes) and soul singers on the pop charts. Hard rock developed as American and British musicians adapted and extended the blues, following such models as Robert Johnson and Muddy Waters, and the guitar became rock's main solo instrument. Jimi Hendrix's virtuosic technique reinvented the electric guitar, and Eric Clapton's blues-style playing also inspired many followers. The Doors' brooding music and the Who's forceful 'power chords' (the interval of a 4th or 5th timbrally distorted by an amplifier to produce resultant tones) helped set crucial precedents for subsequent decades. Like the Beatles, the Rolling Stones made no secret of their debts to the black American musicians they had studied, although other bands, such as Led Zeppelin, took songwriting credit and royalties for music they had plainly copied.

Popular culture continued to be an important forum for challenges to dominant representations of identity and values in the late 1960s, reflecting the influences of civil rights struggles, global decolonization, the postwar diversity of higher education that made campuses an important site of activism, the working-class perspectives of many musicians, and a variety of disruptions of what had been taken to be 'natural' gendered and sexual behaviour. San Francisco became the main locus of the 'counter-culture' of young people who explored alternatives that were meant to increase individual freedom and collective harmony. Psychedelic light shows, artwork, and drugs such as marijuana and LSD joined extended improvisatory jams and experiments with drones (inspired by the sitar playing of Ravi Shankar and the jazz of John Coltrane and Miles Davis) as means to the transformation of consciousness. Social harmony and equality remained paramount ideals of the counter-culture, emblemized by rock festivals such as the Monterey Pop Festival during the 1967 'Summer of Love'.

The ideals of the [ART ROCK](#) and [PROGRESSIVE ROCK](#) of the late 1960s and 70s were often more elitist; taking their cue from *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, groups such as the Moody Blues, Deep Purple, Yes, Pink Floyd and Emerson, Lake and Palmer incorporated musical techniques and references from classical music and various non-Western traditions in pursuit of what they saw as greater seriousness, complexity and virtuosity. Another aesthetic development took place in the pages of such new magazines as *Hit Parader*, *Rolling Stone* and *Crawdaddy*, as writers such as Lester Bangs, Dave Marsh and Greil Marcus developed ways of arguing about the meanings and artistic significance of rock music, establishing the profession of the rock critic and furnishing influential models for subsequent criticism.

4. The 1970s.

The music industry doubled in size between 1973 and 1978, and increased the efficiency of its marketing by hardening genre categories and by relying upon more narrowly defined radio formats. These changes helped fragment the rock community and largely resegregated broadcasting, despite the continued appeal to a broad audience of such artists as Elton John, Fleetwood Mac and Stevie Wonder. FM-radio's new 'album-oriented rock' format narrowed the popular definition of 'rock', excluding music made by women and black-Americans in favour of stadium rock bands such as Led Zeppelin, REO Speedwagon, Rush and Journey. Technological developments enabled some musicians, notably Stevie Wonder, Prince and John Fogerty, to perform most or all of the instrumental

and vocal parts on their albums. In live performance, amplification of all instruments, with their balance and timbre controlled by a sound mixing specialist, became standard practice.

Protests against social injustice and violence remained a theme for rock groups such as Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, as well as the Motown artists Marvin Gaye and Stevie Wonder. Gaye's *What's going on* (1971) not only became Motown's best-selling album but also established the idea of unifying a concept album through social criticism. The singer-songwriter style of personal confession and introspection was a stronger trend, however, led by albums such as James Taylor's *Sweet Baby James* (1970), Carole King's *Tapestry* (1970) and Joni Mitchell's *Court and Spark* (1974), and work by Paul Simon, Neil Young, Jackson Browne and Billy Joel. The folk-based singers of 'women's music', such as Cris Williamson and Meg Christian, created a gentle, acoustic alternative to mainstream rock and pop, even as all-women bands like the Runaways and Fanny claimed rock's power for women. Bruce Springsteen began to make his prominent mark by combining the personal approach of the singer-songwriters, the grandeur of Spector's 'wall of sound', lyrics that spoke to working-class concerns and experiences, a hard-edged rock sound and soul-inspired passionate, gritty vocals.

The continuing influence of Tin Pan Alley-styled pop, present in the 1960s music of the Lovin' Spoonful and the Mamas and the Papas, expanded in the 1970s with the success of Elton John, Olivia Newton-John and Abba. Miles Davis brought jazz to the pop charts with his fusion of rock, funk and modal jazz in *Bitches Brew* (1969), and jazz-rock bands such as Chicago, and Blood, Sweat and Tears flourished. Jazz could also be heard in the complex harmonies of Steely Dan, and in the continuing impact of 1960s guitarists who had been influenced by saxophonist John Coltrane. Carlos Santana's mixture of blues-based guitar virtuosity with Latin rhythms spoke from and to complex cultural identities. Blues and country influences were brought together by a number of rock bands that came from the South and emphasized their regional identity, most notably Lynyrd Skynyrd, the Allman Brothers Band and ZZ Top.

Country rock grew as a genre with the Byrds, the Eagles and the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band, all following in the wake of Dylan's success, while the most prominent musicians of mainstream country included Dolly Parton, Conway Twitty, Merle Haggard, Loretta Lynn, and the only black American major country star, Charlie Pride. A group of musicians in Austin, Texas, brought country music to larger youth audiences through the 'outlaw' or 'progressive' style that was exemplified by Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings. The perspectives of marginalized peoples also entered pop music through Bob Marley,

the only Jamaican reggae musician to achieve great success in the USA. [REGGAE](#) influences, especially off-beat guitar chords and fragmented, melodic bass lines, eventually showed up all across American popular music.

The tendencies of many 1960s bands to explore greater volume, distortion and transgressive lyrics came to fruition in [HEAVY METAL](#), established in 1970 by albums by Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath and Deep Purple. Drawing upon the world views and musical techniques of much earlier blues musicians like Robert Johnson and Howlin' Wolf, these bands explored occult topics, mysticism and paranoia in their lyrics while developing heavier sounding drums, bass, distorted guitar and wailing vocals. Guitar and drum solos became increasingly virtuosic, culminating in Van Halen's eponymous first album (1978), which revealed Edward Van Halen as the most innovative and influential guitarist since Hendrix, and established the level of technique to which most metal guitarists of the 1980s would aspire. The spectacular costumes and stage sets of heavy metal contributed to its aura of power, and the experience of live concerts became particularly important for this genre, both because of the communal experiences it offered and because it was rarely played on the radio. In 1973 Led Zeppelin broke the concert attendance record held by the Beatles, and Kiss became the most successful band of the decade, with 13 platinum albums. Grand Funk Railroad, Judas Priest, AC/DC and Aerosmith confirmed these heavy metal conventions; some bands followed the lead of Deep Purple in adapting riffs, harmonies and improvisatory styles from the music of Bach and Vivaldi, although this would become much more pronounced in the 1980s. Within heavy metal, Kiss, Alice Cooper and others appeared in gender-bending 'glam' clothes and make-up, just as David Bowie and other transgressive androgynes were doing in other musical styles. Another spectacular genre, [DISCO](#) dominated the latter part of the decade; the success of this often quite erotic style was in part due to advances in birth control methods, changes in the legal status and social position of women and sexual minorities, the laxity of US drug-enforcement policy and other demographic shifts. Although it eventually crossed over into mainstream pop and achieved international success, disco began as the music of marginalized peoples, especially gay and black urban audiences. A dance-floor music, initially developed outside of the music industry, disco arose from the practices of New York and San Francisco DJs who cut and mixed records on two separate turntables, managing an uninterrupted flow of music and dancing all night. Using many of the soft soul techniques of the O'Jays and other groups on the Philadelphia International label, disco added an invariably fast (100–130 beats per minute) and heavy rhythmic pulse. It also drew upon salsa and funk,

which was built on James Brown's rhythmic innovations but was expanded technologically and psychedelically by Earth, Wind, and Fire, George Clinton and Sly and the Family Stone; the latter group presented in every performance a microcosm of a society free of racism and sexism. Disco used few polyrhythms, however, and it even moved away from the dialectical bass drum-snare drum alternation of most rock and pop in favour of a rhythmic framework of regular, quaver-note thumping. It was a singer's music, often overtly incorporating the ecstatic techniques of gospel music, and 'disco divas' such as Donna Summer were among its biggest stars. It was also a producer's music, with backing tracks often created in the studio by solo figures like Giorgio Moroder. Sometimes using open grooves and accretionary structures rather than verse-chorus form, disco songs celebrated sustained pleasure in various forms: dance, sex and communal identity.

These features helped make disco perhaps the most maligned genre of American popular music. Racism, homophobia and misogyny helped fuel a 'disco sucks' backlash at the end of the decade, alongside criticism of its studio creation and trademark beat, the characterization of dancing as mindless, comparisons with art rock's complexity and live performance and with the introspection of singer-songwriters. Although disco's biggest stars were more representative of the mainstream – the straight, white male group the Bee Gees broke all previous sales records with *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) – the genre brought together the most diverse fan base of any popular style since the rock and roll of the 1950s. From its peak in 1979, when 200 all-disco radio stations broadcast in the USA, it declined suddenly as a named genre, but its musical features remained a strong presence through subsequent decades, particularly in various forms of [DANCE MUSIC](#).

[PUNK ROCK](#) contrasted in nearly every way with disco: deliberately crude rather than polished in its musical techniques and performance styles; a guitar-driven instrumentation in place of lavish soundscapes filled with strings, horns and synthesizers; stripped-down harmonies insistently strummed, instead of lush chords and counterpoint; short, simple songs rather than extended dance grooves; ripped clothes and other signifiers of alienation from dominant conventions, all in strong contrast to disco's celebration of fantasy, attractiveness and opulence. Influenced by the 1960s cynicism of Lou Reed and the Velvet Underground, punk musicians explored calculatedly offensive topics and noisiness, downplaying virtuosity because it seemed artificial and elitist. It extended the rebellious aspects of the rock and roll tradition, only differing in its inclusion of mainstream rock among its targets. After the first American punk rockers, including the

Ramones and Iggy Pop, England followed with younger and more working-class bands, of whom the Sex Pistols and the Clash were among the most influential. Black Flag, the Dead Kennedys, the Plasmatics and others continued the harder style of punk, while others such as the Cars, Devo and Talking Heads developed [NEW WAVE](#) by subtracting some of punk's anger and adding synthesizers and irony.

5. The 1980s.

Drum machines, samplers, synthesizers, personal computers and sequencers became widely available in the 1980s, enabling musicians to create any imaginable sound, to use pre-existing music as compositional material, and to manipulate and store sounds as digital information. The worldwide spread of cassettes promoted more diversity in worldwide music production and distribution, reducing the dominance of American music from two thirds in the 1970s to one third in the 80s. The introduction of the compact disc (1983) raised the quality of audio playback and increased industry profits, since they cost no more to produce but were sold at much higher prices. Global marketing plans became essential to the growth of the music industry and, although five huge corporations gained control of two thirds of the world music markets, only one was American-owned, complicating debates over cultural imperialism.

Full-time cable television broadcasts of music videos began on MTV in 1981, increasing the popularity of bands and stars who had particular visual appeal and those whose audiences transcended narrow genre boundaries, including Madonna, Michael Jackson, Prince and Bruce Springsteen. Especially innovatory videos helped build the careers of Jackson, Madonna, and other artists such as Peter Gabriel. Despite MTV's national scope and the expense of producing videos, it played a broader range of music than most radio stations and gave some artists easier access to audiences. Michael Jackson's worldwide success with *Thriller* (1982), which sold an unprecedented 40 million copies worldwide, helped break down MTV's initially racist programming policies and revive a slumping music industry. Prince's fusions of rock and funk, particularly *Little Red Corvette* (1982) and *Purple Rain* (1984), helped break down some of radio's racially-defined boundaries at the same time that he challenged conventional gender norms. MTV's emphasis on spectacle had the effect of encouraging sexism and objectification in many videos, but several female performers, including Madonna, Tina Turner, Pat Benatar and Cyndi Lauper, effectively used the new medium to project images that were both sexy and powerful.

Despite an increasingly centralized music industry, musical sounds and experiences were diverse. Rock charity concerts such as 'Live Aid' and 'USA for Africa' publicized campaigns against injustice and raised money on their behalf. Whitney Houston, Janet Jackson, Lionel Richie and George Michael dominated the pop charts with songs about love and dance, along with the male vocal groups who developed 'new jack swing' by combining smooth vocals with [HIP HOP](#) rhythms. U2's passionate vocals and polyrhythmic accompaniments, and REM's fusion of country and punk influences, made them two of the most influential bands of the decade. Billy Joel and Paul Simon continued to extend the singer-songwriter tradition. Differing interpretations often add to the popularity of mass-mediated texts, as when Bruce Springsteen found that many listeners, including both major presidential candidates in 1984, heard only the celebratory music of his *Born in the USA*, missing the lyrics' bitter indictment of America's involvement in the Vietnam War and treatment of that war's veterans.

A revival of 'traditional' elements was prominent in country music in the 1980s, with Randy Travis, Reba McEntire, Dwight Yoakam, George Strait, and Ricky Skaggs drawing upon earlier honky tonk, rockabilly, western swing and bluegrass styles; many of the country stars of the 1970s continued their success in the 80s. Alabama, the Statler Brothers and others revived gospel influences and vocal harmonies within country music, and the film *Urban Cowboy* (1980) made 'Western' dancing and clothing more broadly fashionable for a time.

Heavy metal grew to become the dominant genre of pop at the end of the 1980s. Recordings by Iron Maiden, Def Leppard, Motörhead and others at the beginning of the decade became known as the 'New Wave of British Heavy Metal', and the catchy songs and high production values of Def Leppard in particular set important precedents. Several factors contributed to the growth of the genre: the androgynous glam metal of Mötley Crüe, Ratt and Poison; the success of Black Sabbath's singer, Ozzy Osbourne, as a solo artist; Bon Jovi's balance of pop romance and rock rebellion. It began to receive significant radio exposure, and MTV's 'Headbangers' Ball', first aired at the end of 1986, quickly became that station's most popular show. Throughout the decade, guitarists such as Randy Rhoads, Yngwie Malmsteen and Steve Vai followed Van Halen in developing ever more virtuosic techniques. The influence of classical models (especially Bach, Vivaldi and Paganini) on harmony, virtuosity, pedagogy and analysis became paramount. The 'underground' styles of [THRASH METAL](#), death metal and speed metal,

with their faster tempos, heavier distortion, ensemble virtuosity and more complicated song forms, arose primarily in the San Francisco Bay area and quickly spread, led by Slayer, Testament, Megadeth and especially Metallica.

[RAP](#), the aural component of a hip hop culture that included break dancing and graffiti writing, was perhaps the most innovative and influential musical development of the 1980s. During the previous decade, DJs at block parties and dances extended disco mixing techniques so that bits of one piece of music were superimposed on another, and this recontextualizing of musical fragments ([SAMPLING](#)) became basic to the style; manipulation of turntables as percussion instruments also provided rhythmically complicated patterns ([SCRATCHING](#)). MCs (from 'master of ceremonies') who exhorted the crowd and advertised the group of musicians became rappers, whose intricately rhymed and phrased lyrics were rhythmically declaimed against the background of the DJs' music. Rap musicians drew upon long traditions of black American signifying and Jamaican toasting even as they utilized the latest technology, often (as in scratching) in unintended ways. Recordings of these practices began to be issued in 1979 and, in the early 1980s, Kool Moe Dee, L.L. Cool J and others demonstrated the virtuosic potentials of the new style. Grandmaster Flash, with songs like *The Message* (1982), established a tradition of social critique through rap lyrics, which was extended later in the decade by the innovative and virtuosic music of Public Enemy. Female rappers such as Queen Latifah and Salt-n-Pepa positioned black women's concerns and perspectives prominently within popular culture and used rap as a forum for debate about gender. Later in the decade, Run DMC brought rap and heavy metal together by covering *Walk this way*, a song by Aerosmith; fusions of these two styles were explored by many musicians in the following decade. Ice Cube, NWA and Ice-T led [GANGSTA RAP](#), and provoked great controversy by addressing racism and ghetto life in violent terms. Complex generational and class connections made black American rappers popular with large white audiences even as they became more Afro-centric. Particularly skilled and imaginative production teams, such as the Bomb Squad, combined dozens of sampled bits of previous music into noisy urban collages, often polyrhythmic and sometimes polytonal. Extraordinarily virtuosic rappers, such as Public Enemy's Chuck D and Queen Latifah, combined the rhetorical techniques of black-American preaching with bebop's rhythmic flair as they delivered vivid and often critical lyrics.

Like heavy metal, rap was often deliberately noisy when compared to other styles, which often caused its particular forms of creativity and virtuosity to go unnoticed. Both genres were musically and lyrically

diverse and differed greatly, but rap and metal fans and musicians often found themselves grouped together and demonized by politicians and the mainstream press. The Parents' Music Resource Center, launched in 1985 by a group of politicians' wives, instigated congressional hearings about 'offensive' music, mostly metal and rap, promoted censorship campaigns against particular artists and brokered a 'voluntary' programme whereby record companies put warning stickers on certain albums, so making them unavailable in some parts of the USA. As had happened in the early days of rock and roll, such controversies betrayed fears about the reproduction of values, miscegenation, and the power of popular music to challenge and critique dominant assumptions and to present and naturalize alternatives.

6. The 1990s.

This period was marked less by technological developments than the 1980s had been. Sampling and sequencing remained important compositional techniques, although increased corporate control of popular music and related changes in copyright law made it more difficult to sample pre-existing recordings freely. CD sales surpassed those of cassettes, and the internet emerged as an important and contested site for the distribution and exchange of music. The popular MP3 compression format preserved much of the high fidelity of a CD source but reduced sound files to a tenth of their former size, making feasible the widespread transfer of music via personal computers. The music industry fought to regulate musical uploads and downloads, which they saw as a new frontier of piracy; in contrast, many fans and artists celebrated the new medium's potential to subvert corporate control of musical life.

Media conglomerates pursued mergers that enabled greater profits through synergy, as when soundtrack albums and films promote each other. The major record labels prioritized the music of a few consistent megastars, such as Michael Jackson, Janet Jackson, the Rolling Stones, Madonna, Prince, Aerosmith and pop balladeers Mariah Carey and Whitney Houston, yet their dominance of the domestic market declined somewhat as smaller labels nearly tripled their share to one fifth. Despite the emergence of new styles linked to youth culture, audiences for popular music remained generationally diverse; in 1992, only 24% of records were bought by people in their teens and younger.

A number of factors combined to end the unusual prominence of heavy metal at the turn of the decade. The rise of 'alternative' music,

especially as represented by the Seattle [GRUNGE](#) of Nirvana and other bands, blurred genre lines by retaining heavy metal's energy and distorted guitars but eschewing its overt instrumental virtuosity and spectacular stage style. The introduction of electronic point-of-sale reporting in 1991 showed that rap and country were much more popular than had been indicated by previous *Billboard* charts and other measures of sales, which had overstated the dominance of heavy metal. Besides the decline of heavy metal, the biggest musical trends of the 1990s were the movement of 'alternative' to the mainstream, the growth of 'world music' as a marketing category, another period of crossover success for country music, the popularity of film soundtrack albums and the sudden expansion of Latin pop at the end of the decade, propelled by demographic changes that were making the USA ever more culturally diverse.

Growing out of the college radio and post-punk scenes of the 1980s, and building on the increasing popularity of REM during that decade, 'alternative' emerged as a successful marketing category in 1991 when Nirvana's *Nevermind* unexpectedly sold over ten million copies, and led to national prominence a wave of grunge bands, including Soundgarden and Pearl Jam. All-female 'riot grrrl' bands such as Bikini Kill and Hole, and other punk-influenced bands such as Green Day, were also part of this alternative movement, which increasingly called its genre designation into question by outselling mainstream stars such as Michael Jackson. What united alternative musicians and fans was a generational identity characterized by disaffection and malaise: with an ongoing decline in real wages, 'Generation X' was the first cohort of Americans who could not expect to be better off than their parents. Thus, themes of downward mobility, loss of faith and an ironic, distrustful attitude towards modern life abound in alternative music. The more detached commentary of REM and Beck contrasted with the intense desire and frustration articulated by Nine Inch Nails, P J Harvey and Nirvana.

Few people anticipated the tremendous breakthrough of country music to mainstream popularity in the 1990s, with new artists such as Brooks and Dunn, Allan Jackson, and sexy, often overtly feminist female singers like Martina McBride and Shania Twain, all led by the agile voice and sincere stage presence of Garth Brooks. Along with successful performers of the previous decade like Reba McEntire, Alabama and George Strait, these country stars accounted for as many as 40% of the top-selling albums. Early in the decade, the popularity of country music seemed to owe something to the fact that it offered a less aggressive alternative to the noisy sounds of rap, heavy metal and grunge.

Gangsta rap was the decade's most controversial musical genre, with widespread debate as to whether rappers such as Ice Cube, Ice-T, Dr Dre and Tupac Shakur accurately depicted lives marked by racism and violence; critics alleged that they glorified criminality and misogyny. Such music responded to factors including the greater incidence of child poverty, infant mortality and youth unemployment among black Americans, as well as disproportionate felony convictions and prison time for blacks and whites who committed the same crimes. The large white male audiences for gangsta rap were sometimes deliberately cultivated by rappers to interrupt the familial reproduction of white racism. Rapping spread around the world, as it served various cultural needs for working through local issues of identity and making connections with a global hip hop culture 1980s styles of rap and pop ballads continued to be popular in the 90s, especially with hip hop touches introduced by such neo-doo-wop groups as Boyz II Men, En Vogue, a number of artists who worked with influential producer Kenneth 'Babyface' Edmonds, and the best-selling female group TLC. Dance music achieved great popularity with new styles, such as [JUNGLE](#) (soon renamed 'drum 'n' bass'), featuring virtuosic snare drum samples as a prominent part of the mix. It grew out of the 1980s progression through house and techno, and through new venues, such as all-night 'raves'.

At the end of the millennium, the music of the 50-year rock and roll era was still widely perceived as comprising a reasonably coherent and living paradigm, despite accreted innovations in technology and musical style. New institutionalizations of the music, in college textbooks, musicology dissertations, and the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland, treated this period inclusively and with growing seriousness. The future of the music industry, however, seemed uncertain. The growth of the internet as a medium of musical exchange, the increasingly widespread capacity for people to make their own CDs, the popularity of MP3 and other compression formats, and denunciations of and rebellions against major labels by such stars as Prince and George Michael, all raised questions about which forms and structures would shape the commercial distribution of music in the future. There is not likely to be any shortage of music; like recording itself, new technologies can help one style of music to spread throughout the world even as they stimulate creative interactions and fusions. Mass mediated popular music, even though it has depended upon exploitative commercial practices, has both registered the desires and inequities of a conflicted world and facilitated the exchange of experiences and insights among people who have been separated by geography, power and time.

(i) From rock and roll to rock.

The larger historical context for the development of pop music in Britain and Ireland is constituted by the intricate and long-running relationship between popular musics there and in the USA. Transatlantic popular music traffic had been two-way since the 19th century. Each new American style was greeted by its British adherents as a symptom of modernity or exoticism, a route to liberation from entrenched cultural habits; critics, by contrast, attacked each one as a manifestation of barbarism, commercial excess or cultural levelling down. The reception of rock and roll was no different. For critic Steve Race (*Melody Maker*, 5 May 1956) this new style was ‘the antithesis of ... good taste and musical integrity’, while its fans, according to the *Monthly Musical Record* (lxxxvi, 1956, p.203), were ‘essentially primitives, untouched by the West European culture of which they ought to be the heirs’. But Bill Haley had several hit records during 1955, culminating in the success of *Rock around the Clock* (heard also in the film *The Blackboard Jungle*), and Elvis Presley arrived in 1956 with six Top 20 hits. *Rock around the Clock* became the first single to sell a million copies in Britain, and, though most top-selling records were still in more conservative styles, the notorious if exaggerated ‘riots’ which accompanied screenings of Haley’s films, and the moral panic surrounding the association of the music with the flashy and aggressive working-class teddy boy subculture, signal the impact that rock and roll made on the popular imagination.

The foundations for rock and roll’s popularity had been laid during and immediately after the war, when the presence of American troops and their radio stations, imported American records and visiting musicians, fed a hunger for cultural change that was intensified by postwar austerity and the apparent rigidity of the British social structure. By the mid-1950s the beginnings of an increase in disposable income, especially significant for the working-class young, made the cultivation of a new leisure style possible. The BBC was slow and reluctant to broadcast rock and roll, but it could be heard easily enough on the commercial station, Radio Luxemburg. Some American stars visited, for example Bill Haley in 1957 and Jerry Lee Lewis in 1958. Over the same period revivalist jazz, built on a desire to recreate what was taken by purist enthusiasts to be the authentic jazz style of pre-1917 New Orleans, was gradually developing from the status of a cult into a substantial if short-lived commercial success. Its peak of commercial popularity, in the guise of ‘trad’ or [TRADITIONAL JAZZ](#), came at the hands of Kenny Ball and Acker Bilk during the period 1960–62. A mid-1950s offshoot of revivalist jazz was [SKIFFLE](#), a do-it-yourself, acoustic proto-folk style that drew its repertory from black and white American

folk sources, including blues. This too enjoyed brief commercial success (1956–8), largely through the recordings of Lonnie Donegan. (After their moments of visibility, both traditional jazz and skiffle continued, as largely amateur performing traditions, skiffle feeding into the 1960s British folk revival.) The growing interest in black American music indicated by the success of the jazz revival, skiffle and rock and roll led to visits from several blues singers in the late 1950s and early 60s, including Muddy Waters, Sonny Boy Williamson 'II' and John Lee Hooker. Rhythm and blues clubs also formed, where local bands laid the foundations of the 1960s British blues revival. So, by 1960, the appeal of black music in Britain was probably more broadly based than it ever had been and, more important, it was producing not only listeners but also performers.

There is no doubt that to its young fans rock and roll represented some sort of revolt: freer use of the body and of the voice were central to its appeal. But, while the British record industry soon accommodated itself to the new trend, most of the singers whom they deliberately groomed to compete with the Americans (Tommy Steele, Marty Wilde, Terry Dene, Billy Fury and Cliff Richard) were imitative at best, lacking charisma, unrelaxed in the idiom, pale copies of their principal model, Elvis Presley; often they were accompanied by session musicians. Steele became a variety entertainer and Richard a middle-of-the-road ballad singer. Nevertheless, these performers figured strongly in the late 1950s to early 60s record charts, along with white Americans groomed by their industry to supply a blander, more respectable version of rock and roll (Pat Boone, Ricky Nelson and Bobby Darin) and singers in older styles, including Shirley Bassey, Perry Como and Frankie Vaughan. Historically more important were the instrumental recordings of Cliff Richards's backing group, the Shadows, such as *Apache* (1960), which not only popularized the all-electric guitar format for pop groups (previously, rock and roll groups generally used a string bass and often included piano and saxophones) but demonstrated that, through the use of tremolo, sustain and echo, for example, it could generate sounds that were quite new. Similarly, Joe Meek (one of the first independent producers to work in Britain) pioneered the creative use of studio effects in, for instance, the 'echo-y', other-worldly sound of the Tornados' *Telstar* (1962).

Not until the emergence of the Beatles in 1962, however, was there a stylistically substantive British response to rock and roll. The Beatles were one of many hundreds of groups, located in Merseyside and other provincial urban centres, who had learned by playing skiffle, imitating the Shadows and copying American records. The Beatles were special not so much because of their performing ability but

because of their self-presentation – cool, self-mocking, witty – and because they composed much of their own material (still unusual, though shortly to be commonplace). They also added fresh musical qualities to rock and roll with a new sort of tunefulness, harmonic and subsequently structural sophistication and a native ‘folkiness’. Their success was quick and immense. After *Love Me Do* (1962), virtually every one of their single releases reached number one in the British charts; their first album, *Please please me*, was the British bestseller for six months in the year of its release (1963). With six number one hits in the USA during 1964, their records accounted for an estimated 60% of all record sales there in the first quarter of the year, and their first American tour (February 1964) was one of the most publicized events of the decade. ‘Beatlemania’, compounded of fanatical audience response and intense media publicity, spread from Britain to the rest of Europe, North America and beyond. Many other groups such as Gerry and the Pacemakers, Herman’s Hermits, Freddy and the Dreamers, the Hollies, the Swinging Blue Jeans and the Dave Clark Five also achieved success at home and abroad (see [BEAT MUSIC](#)). The phenomenon was clearly linked to the ‘cultural revolution’ of the 1960s, involving political change with a Labour government elected in 1964, changes to the class structure brought on by new employment and education patterns, the full establishment of a youth cultural sphere and the enthronement of an ideology of ‘style’ and technological modernity. The new music was heard everywhere on transistor radios, at first on pirate radio stations as much as the BBC, though in 1967 the Corporation responded to this competition by creating Radio One, a dedicated pop channel. The Beatles were irrefutably the leaders: bringing together John Lennon’s taste for rock and roll simplicity on the one hand, aesthetic experiment on the other, and Paul McCartney’s melodic inventiveness and intuitive harmonic ear, their fusion of rock and roll rhythm, blues-style and modal harmonies, vocal harmonizing and Tin Pan Alley sectional song forms was both influential and hard to match.

A parallel tendency during the period 1962–4 was represented by an emerging group of rhythm and blues bands (the Rolling Stones, the Yardbirds, the Animals, the Kinks, Them and the Who, for example) who drew not only on rock and roll but also on the ‘dirtier’ city blues of such performers as Muddy Waters and John Lee Hooker, transferring the aggression and macho sexuality typical of Chicago rhythm and blues to themes of adolescent alienation and desire (quintessentially in the Rolling Stones’ 1965 hit, *Satisfaction*). The Stones’ image was to remain defiantly iconoclastic, with lead singer Mick Jagger the first British singer to match Elvis Presley as a symbol of eroticism and revolt, but their own material developed an individual style; similarly, the Kinks absorbed elements of music hall, and the Who evolved a

theatrically violent mode of expression epitomized by the classic *My Generation* (1965).

Between 1965 and 1967 many pop groups began to break the bounds of existing pop norms, stimulated by a booming popular music market, by new technological possibilities, by aspects of the emerging 'counterculture' and by the demands of an audience now extending further into middle-class grammar school and college students. The Beatles' albums *Rubber Soul* (1965), *Revolver* (1966) and the celebrated *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967; one of the first LPs designed to be a coherent whole) display new influences (Indian, folk and classical music), new instrumentations (strings, brass and keyboards of various types), unorthodox chord progressions, unpredictable phrase-lengths and sectional relationships, and innovative usages of studio techniques (overdubbing, collage and electronically treated sound). *Sgt Pepper*, in particular, was hugely influential, setting off a trend for concept albums, laying bare the need for a new musical category (rock), forcing listeners to question their preconceptions about the differences between popular and art musics, and hence rendering inevitable a growing fragmentation of pop and its audience.

Increasing stylistic breadth is clear even within the make-up of the burgeoning countercultural rock itself. American influences included the Beach Boys' intricate studio compositions, West Coast blues-, folk- and jazz-influenced acid rock (see [PSYCHEDELIC](#), Bob Dylan and the folk-rock he inspired, blues-rock singers such as Janis Joplin, and singer-songwriters as varied as Joni Mitchell, Randy Newman and Simon and Garfunkel. British rhythm and blues reached new heights of virtuosity at the hands of Cream, whose ex-Yardbirds guitarist Eric Clapton extended the instrument's potential for fast runs, expressive bending of pitch and vocalized effects and went on to become the most celebrated rock guitar player. Black American Jimi Hendrix, who settled in Britain, fused acid rock and blues and developed an equally startling electronically mediated guitar style through novel use of wah-wah, vibrato and feedback. Such developments in the rhythm and blues lineage fed into the highly amplified heavy rock of such late 1960s bands as Deep Purple and Led Zeppelin (featuring dramatic vocal styles and exhibitionistic guitar solos) which in turn was to evolve into [HEAVY METAL](#). British rock at this time was less overtly political than its American counterpart, or rather its politics tended to be personal and hedonistic, and protest was less common than avant-garde experiment on the one hand and art-music influences on the other. Pink Floyd's extended collage forms fusing mainstream rock with electronic sound, elaborate tape effects and light shows, exemplify the first tendency. Proto-classical textures, sometimes

using orchestral instruments, through-composed sectional forms, thematic integration techniques and unorthodox harmonies can all be found in the [PROGRESSIVE ROCK](#) associated with Procol Harum, Genesis, Yes, the Electric Light Orchestra, Jethro Tull and Emerson, Lake and Palmer. A further influence in the case of some of this latter group was the 1960s British folk music revival, which at the same time was itself giving rise to a strand of [FOLK-ROCK](#), represented by, for example, Fairport Convention and, later, Steeleye Span. Irish folk, along with country, blues and jazz, was an influence on the notable ex-Them singer from Belfast, Van Morrison in, for example, *Astral Weeks* (1968).

These countercultural styles were not to the taste of all listeners. Throughout the decade many records by black American performers were popular in Britain, starting with Motown artists and then 'heavier' soul singers such as Aretha Franklin, Wilson Pickett and Otis Redding, and the funk of James Brown and others. Whatever the stylistic differences between these musicians, they tended to stay closer than progressive rock to dance rhythm, simple, repetitive formal schemes and direct vocal expression; even when not in the foreground of chart success, they furnished some of the principal repertoires for dancing, especially for underground subcultures such as the 'Northern soul' clubs of Northern England. At the same time [SKA](#), a fusion of West Indian traditional musics and American rhythm and blues, was developing in Jamaica and among British Afro-Caribbeans, and this provided a further dance-music style popular not only with black British youth but also some white groups. Moreover, simpler, mainstream white pop continued to compete against more progressive trends; indeed, the first signs of a deliberate attempt to target a pop as against a rock market can be seen in the success of 'manufactured' American group, the Monkees. Ballad singers had considerable success: for all its drug-driven 'summer of love', 1967's bestselling solo artists were balladeers Tom Jones and Engelbert Humperdinck (for both singles and albums), and the bestselling groups were the Beach Boys (with a retrospective compilation) and the Monkees.

For Further Reading:

- L. Jones:** *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York, 1963)
- C. Keil:** *Urban Blues* (Chicago, 1966)
- J. Eisen, ed.:** *The Age of Rock: Sounds of the American Cultural Revolution* (New York, 1969)
- G. Marcus, ed.:** *Rock and Roll will Stand* (Boston, 1969)
- J. Broven:** *Rhythm and Blues in New Orleans* (Gretna, LA, 1974)
- G. Marcus:** *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music* (New York, 1975, 3/1990)
- S. Chapple and R. Garofalo:** *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay* (Chicago, 1977)
- C. Hamm:** *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York, 1979)
- D. Pichaske:** *A Generation in Motion: Popular Music and Culture in the Sixties* (New York, 1979)
- J.S. Roberts:** *The Latin Tinge: the Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (New York, 1979)
- R. Palmer:** *Deep Blues* (New York, 1981)
- C. Hamm:** *Music in the New World* (New York, 1983)
- D. Marsh and others, eds.:** *The First Rock and Roll Confidential Report: Inside the Real World of Rock & Roll* (New York, 1985)
- R.G. Pielke:** *You Say You Want a Revolution: Rock Music in American Culture* (Chicago, 1986)
- D.P. Szatmary:** *Rockin' in Time: a Social History of Rock and Roll* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1987, 3/1996)
- L. Martin and K. Segrave:** *Anti-Rock: the Opposition to Rock 'n' Roll* (Hamden, CT, 1988)
- L.G. Roman:** 'Intimacy, Labor, and Class: Ideologies of Feminine Sexuality in the Punk Slam Dance', *Becoming Feminine: the Politics of Popular Culture*, ed. L.G. Roman and L.K. Christian-Smith (London, 1988), 143–84
- R. Sanjek:** *American Popular Music and its Business: the First Four Hundred Years*, iii: *From 1900 to 1984* (New York, 1988, rev. 2/1996 by D. Sanjek as *Pennies from Heaven: the American Popular Music Business in the Twentieth Century*)
- C. West:** 'On Afro-American Popular Music: From Bebop to Rap', *Prophetic Fragments* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1988), 77–87
- D. Marsh:** *The Heart of Rock and Soul: the 1001 Greatest Singles ever Made* (New York, 1989)
- B. Tucker:** "'Tell Tchaikovsky the News": Postmodernism, Popular Culture, and the Emergence of Rock 'n' Roll', *Black Music Research Journal*, ix/2 (1989), 271–95
- L.A. Lewis:** *Gender Politics and MTV: Voicing the Difference* (Philadelphia, 1990)

- G. Lipsitz:** *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis, 1990)
- R. Pratt:** *Rhythm and Resistance: Explorations in the Political Uses of Popular Music* (New York, 1990)
- S. McClary:** *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, Sexuality* (Minneapolis, 1991)
- D. Toop:** *Rap Attack 2: African Rap to Global Hip Hop* (New York, 1991)
- D. Weinstein:** *Heavy Metal: a Cultural Sociology* (New York, 1991)
- J. Dawson and S. Propes:** *What Was the First Rock 'n' Roll Record?* (Boston, 1992)
- G.G. Garr:** *She's a Rebel: the History of Women in Rock and Roll* (Seattle, 1992)
- L.A. Lewis, ed.:** *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media* (London, 1992)
- G. Tate:** *Flyboy in the Buttermilk: Essays on Contemporary America* (New York, 1992)
- B. Cross:** *It's not about a Salary ... : Rap, Race and Resistance in Los Angeles* (London, 1993)
- R. Garofalo:** 'Black Popular Music: Crossing Over or Going Under?', *Rock and Popular Music*, ed. T. Bennett and others (London, 1993), 231–48
- J. Otis:** *Upside your Head! Rhythm and Blues on Central Avenue* (Hanover, NH, 1993)
- R. Walser:** *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Hanover, NH, 1993)
- R.D.G. Kelley:** 'Kickin' Reality, Kickin' Ballistics: "Gangsta rap" and Postindustrial Los Angeles', *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York, 1994), 183–227
- G. Lipsitz:** "'Ain't Nobody Here but us Chickens": the Class Origins of Rock and Roll', *Rainbow at Midnight: Labor and Culture in the 1940s* (Urbana, IL, 1994), 303–33
- T. Rose:** *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover, NH, 1994)
- B. Shank:** *Dissonant Identities: the Rock 'n' Roll Scene in Austin, Texas* (Hanover, N.H, 1994)
- Britain Invades, America Fights Back*, The History of Rock 'n' Roll, iii, videotape, dir. A. Solt, Warner Home Video (Burbank, CA, 1995)
- Plugging In*, The History of Rock 'n' Roll, iv, videotape, dir. S. Steinberg, Warner Home Video (Burbank, CA, 1995)
- A. Sexton, ed.:** *Rap on Rap: Straight-Up Talk on Hip-Hop Culture* (New York, 1995)
- R. Walser:** 'Rhythm, Rhyme, and Rhetoric in the Music of Public Enemy', *EthM*, xxxix (1995), 193–217
- E. Weisbard with C. Marks, eds.:** *Spin Alternative Record Guide* (New York, 1995)

- R. Garofalo:** *Rockin' Out: Popular Music in the USA* (Needham Heights, MA, 1997)
- C. Small:** *Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in Afro-American Music* (Hanover, NH, 1998)
- C. Werner:** *A Change is Gonna Come: Music, Race, and the Soul of America* (New York, 1999)