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**AMERICAN ROCK MUSIC AS A MEDIUM OF
REBELLION**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as "American Rock Music as a Medium of Rebellion" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

23/05/2017

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ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

American Rock Music as a Medium of Rebellion

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Rock 'n' Roll came out as a consequence of a multi-dimensional cultural interaction during the 1950s in the United States. This music genre, which was mostly an African-American invention, has left a number of significant social, cultural and political traces in the 60s and the 70s America. In this context, referring to its origins and so-called impulses that it aroused, rock music was exposed to repression and censorship by conservative people in America.

American youth, who opposed repression and conservativeness, adopted rock music during the 1950s and the 60s Civil Rights Movements. However, rock music, which was brought forward as maintaining an attitude that was contradictory to the rules of traditional thoughts, was tried to be silenced by the mainstream culture at the end of the 1950s. In this context, when handled with an eclectic approach, it can be seen that rock culture has an evolution that is parallel to Foucault's power discourse and Marcuse's approach of the rejection of authority. Therefore, with the social influence that it gradually created, rock should be interpreted not only as a music genre, but also on the basis of rock culture, to which it gave rise.

Rock, which made a name for itself during the 1960s in Britain, came into existence as a more powerful scream due to the rebellious attitudes of the British musicians. By returning to America through the influence of Britain, rock music started to rise again and become a rebellious music which was peaceful, sarcastic and outspoken. However, gradually evolving, rock music has turned into a well-accepted cultural phenomenon, instead of being a fearsome

element, due to its mainstream manner. Rock music continues to maintain its rebellious attitude as well, by means of its subgenres. This study, with a cultural-eclectic approach, discusses how rock culture is used as a medium of rebellion in the United States and reflects the social effect of rock culture by presenting various related historical events as background sources.

Keywords: Rock Music, USA, Rock Culture, Rebellion, Youth, Civil Rights Movements, Cultural Revolution.



ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Bir Başkaldırı Aracı Olarak Amerikan Rock Müziği

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Rock 'n' Roll 1950'li yıllarda ABD'de çok yönlü bir kültürel etkileşimin sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Yaratıcıları büyük ölçüde zenci Amerikalılar olan bu müzik türü, 60'lar ve 70'ler Amerika'sında bir takım önemli sosyal, kültürel ve politik izler bırakmıştır. Bu bağlamda rock müzik, Amerikan toplumunda tutucu bir görüş sergileyen kesim tarafından, köklerine ve uyandırdığı sözde dürtülere atıfta bulunularak baskı ve sansüre maruz bırakılmıştır.

Baskı ve tutuculuğa karşı gelen Amerikalı gençler, 1950'ler ve 60'larda yurttaşlık hakları hareketi döneminde rock müziği benimsemiştir. Fakat geleneksel görüşe ait kurallara aykırı bir tutum izlediği öne sürülen rock müzik, 1950'lerin sonunda ana akım kültür tarafından susturulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, eklektik bir yaklaşımla ele alındığında, rock kültürünün Foucault'nun güç söylemi ve Marcuse'nin otoriteyi reddediş yaklaşımına paralel bir evrimi olduğu görülebilir. Dolayısıyla rock, zamanla oluşturduğu toplumsal etkiyle yalnızca bir müzik türü olarak değil, aynı zamanda ortaya çıkmasına da sebebiyet verdiği rock kültürü üzerinden değerlendirilmelidir.

1960'larda İngiltere'de sükse yapan rock, buradaki şarkıcıların aykırı tutumları sayesinde daha güçlü bir haykırış olarak vücut bulmuştur. İngiltere'nin etkisiyle Amerika'ya geri dönüş yapan rock müzik, burada yeniden yükselişe geçerek barışçıl, alaycı veya açık sözlü bir isyan müziği haline bürünmüştür. Fakat zamanla evrimleşen rock müzik, ana akım biçimiyle korkulan bir öge olmaktansa, kabul gören kültürel bir fenomene dönüşmüştür.

Rock m¼zik, ortaya ıkan alt t¼rleri sayesinde isyank¼r tutumunu da s¼rd¼rmeye devam etmektedir. Bu alıřma, k¼lt¼rel - eklektik bir yaklařımla, ABD'de rock k¼lt¼r¼n¼n bir bařkaldırđ unsuru olarak kullanılma biimini ele almakta ve bu baėlama paralellik g¼steren tarihsel olayları da kaynak olarak g¼stererek rock k¼lt¼r¼n¼n toplumsal etkisini yansıtılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Rock M¼zik, ABD, Rock K¼lt¼r¼, Bařkaldırđ, Genlik, Yurttaşlık Hakları Hareketi, K¼lt¼rel Devrim.



AMERICAN ROCK MUSIC AS A MEDIUM OF REBELLION

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INTRODUCTION

Rock music is seen to have opened up new possibilities for self-expression and to break down the conventions and stuffiness of everyday life. Rock was vibrant and something that authority did not like. In this account there is something inherently oppositional about rock. (Longhurst, 1995: 106)

Considering the non-violent social reactions of 20th century and onwards, art, in many forms, has been used for different social and political purposes concerning a variety of occasions in America. Due to the overloaded flow of visual and auditory works of art in the previous century, various irrepressible reactions regarding artistic creations occurred inevitably. Those works inherently addressed to a great variety of social aspects since art has multi-dimensional concepts to be received by people including direct or indirect political discourses that influenced heterogeneous strata of the society. In this respect, the power of the artistic creation could allow people to protest social qualms -not necessarily in bodily crowds- without any regard of racial, gender or class differences, owing to its universal validity of efficiency. At a global scale, examples of such attitude could be observed: Political drawings published by the newspapers, exhibitions that display pieces of protest art or music shows such as Live Aid Concerts, can be shown as the instances of artistic creations that have political and social implications in a common and broader sense. Nonetheless, as suggested by French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, “art is resistance: it resists death, slavery, infamy, shame” (qtd. in O’Sullivan, 2006: 145). Inherently, not every type of art could directly be used as a cultural protest medium to affect and support the masses constantly for years in America at a great scale. In this regard, music making exerts its authority; hence it proves to be a very suitable tool to show vivid reactions against the odds as it consists of a unity of melody, artist’s gestures, spectators and literature within. Thus, music, and precisely rock music in America, should be set apart as something revolutionary from the 1950s to the early 1980s. Being broadly an African American invention and a descendant of the blues, rock music reflected the collective consciousness of its dominating years through its artists and via nonconformist attitudes of the counterculture that embraced the music. Especially owing to its suppressed and unfavored roots, it reacted to social aspects and incidents in extraordinary ways, through resistance of many sorts. In short, it can be said that, rock music played a fundamentally different role within the American cultural

rebellion as being one of the few artistic mediums that contributed to the evolution of some pivotal moments in American history. Therefore, its historical background and meaning are crucial to be identified to establish a simple understanding of rock music as a tool of rebellion which constitutes the first chapter of this study.

Historical events in the United States, in this regard, constitute one of the bases of this study as a whole as the use of rock music evolved through political and social aspects thanks to the factual occasions that matured it. Therefore, history itself becomes a fundamental source to evaluate occurrences that show various cases of direct or indirect rebellion, within which rock music appeared as a medium for vocalization of criticism and protest. All in all, historical incidents are crucial to mention for the entirety of this study, not only for the analysis of musical background, but also to interpret how rebellion-cases showed up throughout the history.

On the other hand, since rock music emerged as a separate and undesired phenomenon being the amalgamation of previously known genres in the 1950s and started to become a part of the mainstream popular culture in the 1970s, it can be asserted that the aspects of struggle, acceptance, proliferation, and rebellion operated largely within three pivotal decades. Therefore, in order to reflect the flow of rock music's revolutionary effect in the United States, this study limits itself within a time scope between the 1950s and the 1970s, which were the highly debated years of rock culture.

Further, in order to explain the notion of rebellion in rock music, its progress of evolution and causal effects must be accommodated by and embedded in theories. Since rock music ended up provoking multi-dimensional impulses through various occasions onto a sociocultural layer, the approach to the entirety of the subject is to be eclectic for this study. Therefore, a separate chapter is reserved not only to show the relationship between art and resistance but also to display the means of subcultural opposition. In that regard, using art as a medium of criticism and resistance proves to be a vital case to exemplify the position of rock music in American history. Beneath this motivation lies the inclination of using art in the field of politics as a determinant factor for innovative and effective communication. In that context, from its birth to its development years, rock music itself came into play

as a music genre that illustrated a political and reactionary attitude (Longhurst, 1995: 14) even though the process of its emergence was intended for the sake of entertainment rather than opposition. The reasons behind this aspect varied but the opposition that rock music interiorized was unfolded principally through appropriation of it by the youth, which is implied by Hackett Fisher's words as "Denounced by the over-thirty generation, ridiculed by self-proclaimed arbiters of musical taste, deplored by guardians of sexual morality, attacked by whites who feared its breaking of racial barriers, blamed by the media for juvenile delinquency, rock 'n roll was embraced by the young" (qtd. in Altschuler, 2003: 11). In this respect, the embracement of rock music played a role that was essential to justify a rebellious attitude on a broader sense, which gave way to the making of a significant social contribution to the course of American cultural development.

However, when the term "rock music" is mentioned, it does not only mean to be a music genre by itself since it has further effects, meanings and extensions. Rock music can be considered to be more than just music in the context of social impacts. In this aspect, rock music can be extended into rock culture for a broader implication. Not only the heavier tone of music along with distortion of electro guitar, but also attitudes of viewers and artists, song lyrics, dress codes and subcultural group identities determine the complete cultural effect concerning rock music. Therefore, investigation of rock music only through musicality would be insufficient to explain its revolutionary interference in the United States. In that regard, the notion of rock culture becomes indispensable to identify. For that, the description of rock culture by Lawrence Grossberg can be considered valuable since he defines it as "the entire range of postwar, 'youth'-oriented, technologically and economically-mediated musical practices and styles" (qtd. in Miklitsch, 2006: 31), which bring the aspects of counterculture, stylistic expression and cultural developments into play. Accordingly, it is crucial to analyze rock music within the reach of the entire rock culture in order to solidify its meaning and effect.

Since rock music, through the flow of its progress, was perceived as a threatening phenomenon that caused decay in traditional social values, it faced with oppression and negative reactions on a multi-layered scale coming from the power holding mainstream culture. Many teenagers took rock music as a motivation to

unchain themselves from coercion of conformity by refusing traditional apprehensions (Frith, 1981: 26). In that context, the refusal of mainstream and traditional values manifests a sort of Marcusean approach (Kellner, 2015). Though the position of rock music expanded itself to a wider concept called rock culture, which is, to a great extent, a subcultural entity. Subculture, in that regard, is a group of people with common interests that may aim to refer to music as a tool to reflect their impulses, as suggested by Paul Willis (Hebdige, 2015: 46). Therefore, while examining the cultural impact of rock music and its reactionary use, the common tendencies of the rebellious demeanors should be taken into consideration. In that context, the reactions of the subcultural strata against the oppressor mainstream would be vital to investigate, keeping in mind that the rebellious vein of rock music has an anti-dominant affair. In that sense, for the rock culture, the display of an oppression and power relationship becomes essential to be portrayed as well, which would be a Foucauldian discourse pointing out an inevitable conflict (Foucault, 1980: 142). Nonetheless, such concepts appeal to the composition of rock music due to its acquired and given connotations in time. Since the influence of rock culture is too vast to investigate, eclectic approaches to infuse meaning to the impact of rock culture may be examined exceeding the sole power-opposition relationship. In that regard, various other aspects such as Adorno's definition of music, Simon Frith's sociocultural inferences and Gramsci's hegemony concept may also contribute to the process of comprehension of the pivotal effect of rock culture. Theoretical approaches to justify the sociocultural position of rock music, therefore, carry a great importance to validate its revolutionary impact in the United States.

Upon giving a theoretical background to the case of rebellion and rock music, the rest of the sections of this study until conclusion will be used as the field of exemplification for cases of opposition and reaction. Therefore, lots of meaningful instances from history that can be correlated with American rock culture and its way of consumption through rebellion will constitute the framework of the analysis. The cases of rebellion, in that regard, follow a chronological and evolutionary path to try to validate the eclectic approaches.

Moreover, during its revolutionary years, rock music became a mirror of the state of mind of American affairs and challenges, as being deeply an American

cultural medium. According to Robert G. Pielke, the author of *You Say You Want a Revolution – Rock Music in American Culture*, “artistic expressions are manifestations of culture” (2001: 5), meaning that rock music, as being an artistic expression as well, became an inevitable tool to externalize the cultural zeitgeist. Predictably, rock music artists, lyrics, listeners, concerts, and to some extent, tunes, expressed this cultural consciousness throughout the whole country. This truly-American manifestation attracted a big attention during 1950s and 1960s especially among the countercultures as rock music was “an antistructure to the dominant American social structure” (Chidester, 2005: 47). In those times, as widely known, the country was getting involved in a rapid change as it was the climax of the period of Civil Rights Movements, during which minorities, suppressed societies, feminists, anti-war activists, environmentalist, nonconformists and many other nonconventional groups were setting the agenda of the Cultural Revolution and rock music’s position was in parallel to such liberation seeking conducts. It would surely be controversial to claim that Civil Rights Movements triggered the birth of rock music but nonetheless, “the movement influenced the development of rock ‘n’ roll and the assimilation of black music into the white mainstream” (Kolker, 2009: 154). The attitude of rock music, therefore, can be seen as a reflecting tool for the state of mind of the rebellious American manifestation and cultural regeneration.

In that regard, Civil Rights Movements became a very determinant aspect for the evolution of rock music in order to make it an artistic medium to be noticed. The reason of this aspect lied beneath the perception that rock music was largely considered to be an African American invention, even though, for many, it was slightly an outcome of an intercultural interaction. In that aspect, since the 1950s witnessed a racial struggle for freedom and acceptance for the people of the United States and especially for the African Americans, rock music faced that same oppressive impulse of the mainstream culture eventually, as well. Therefore, in order to show a meaningful connection between oppression and rebellion, the third chapter of this study comes up with examples from history that display how rock music showed reactions towards the degrading racial barrier it experienced. Nonetheless, it was evident that “race and ethnicity” and “division of people” pretty much impacted the perception and progress of music in the United States (Starr, et al, 2006: 2).

However, since the third chapter sets the beginning of a multi-dimensional chronological algorithm, it takes the whole 1950s into its scope of analysis as a separate case. At that era, the focal concern cannot just be limited to the outcomes of Civil Rights Movements in terms of the acceptance process of rock music. Therefore, to reach to a progress that revealed a rebellious impulse in the 1960s, struggle of proliferation, conditions that hastened the popularity of rock music and cases of racial integration of the 1950s become important aspects to investigate. The technology, in that regard, gets to be a vital determinant for the rise of rock music, which will be the primary concern to justify a valid ground for the proliferation of music. As the secondary aspect, the acceptance of rock music by white Americans to a certain extent gets to be portrayed as an important motivation. African American music on the one hand, was being seen as a threatening case that influenced the youth in a bad way by the “moralists,” and on the other hand it was becoming to be “a means for the public expression of normally private sensations for white teenagers” (Frith, 1981: 19). In that regard, the American teenagers saw rock music as a mechanism to escape the dictated social mores in the 1950s, which ended up in the perception of rock music as an adolescent rebellion medium. In fact, this teenage conduct to get rid of conventionality in the 1950s could be considered as a display of Marcusean rejection of oppression (Kellner, 2015). Synchronously, the performance of rock genre by white artists such as Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis brought rock music slowly to the foreground stage. As a result, the moralist point of view degraded rock music and its acceptance by American youth and a series of censorship attempts occurred to stem the spread of rock music’s effect. A series of events that happened in the 1950s, eventually gave way to the escalation of the case, resulting in a clash between the youth and conformity seeking authority in the 1960s. All in all, the foreground of the journey in the 1950s that gave way to acceptance, rejection, integration, and proliferation of rock music, constitutes the remaining field of analysis of the third chapter of this study.

The final chapter of this study operates on a slightly wide framework. In that chapter, the illustration of rebellious character of rock culture gets portrayed on various cases which would include the time frame of the 1960s and the early 1970s. It is a well-known and inevitable occurrence that even though in the United States

rock music faced with hard times through oppression and censorship, it was already influencing the people on a worldwide scale thanks to technology. In the early 1960s, the comeback of this unwanted phenomenon to its motherland happened thanks to the reception of rock music by the British youth. Eventually the popularity of British bands in the United States brought back the rock culture impulse and the struggle between conformity and non-conformist tendencies escalated to a more mature level. As time progressed, the United States witnessed the appearance of new American rock bands, especially in the field of psychedelic subgenre, which would be the music of the counterculture. Especially with the embracement of rock music by the counterculture, the music went into a more political route; hence refusal of conformity and protest of governmental decisions that limited freedom and promoted warfare were the focal concern of the counterculture, and the demands of which were being voiced by the music (Frith, 1981: 39-57). Therefore, a brief analysis over the use of rock music within the aspect of the counterculture becomes essential. In that sense, along with social protests and youth rebellion, evolution of rock culture gets illustrated through various cases. Under the guidance of those influences, the concern of this chapter is not necessarily the rock music genre, but rather the rock culture impulse created around the rock music scene. The 1960s and the 1970s, in that aspect, are handled through separate instances along with the examples: Protest songs and reactionary attitude of the legendary artist Bob Dylan, nonconformist and sexually revolting aspect of Jim Morrison and the Doors, a challenging display of subcultural group identity through rock music festivals such as the Woodstock and various other discrete cases that exemplified a sort of resistance through the adaptation of rock culture, portray the evolutionary path of the rock music in the 1960s and 1970s.

Last but not least, investigating the divarication of rock music into further subgenres and mainstream recognition of the main branch of rock music in the late 1970s are significant to mention in order to limit the scope of this study within an era that constituted a revolutionary impact followed by a political struggle in the American social sphere. Therefore, an inevitable route to public recognition of rock music, an intrinsic evolution of rebellious identity into subgenres, interference of virtuoso, systematization in music and money-making motivation that caused a

differentiation in conventional aspects of rock music are the basic occurrences to be examined to display how rock culture became accepted publicly but on the other hand kept its rebellious identity under the names of new subgenres of music.

To sum up, rock music as a growing music genre of the 1950s, became a unique determinant in the American course of social evolution especially until the late 1970s by justifying that art could be used as a medium of communication, rebellion, protest, and politics. Nonetheless, the factors that shaped the development of music and the culture it created were many and diverse to identify but hence it was seen as an African American invention, at its early stages it faced oppression and prejudices. At later stages, when the teenagers and the counterculture youth took rock music as a tool for communication, it evolved into a direction that was socially effective. The instances of resistance and rebellion were mainly the examples of the aspects of oppression and power relationship. In that aspect, through countless examples, rock culture showed itself as a resistance and rebellion medium in the United States between the 1950s and the 1970s. Finally, it ended up as being a part of mainstream culture on the one hand, and on the other hand it continued its rebellious identity in various other motivations. All in all, within this framework, this study tries to identify the rock music and its associated culture to be one of the leading factors initiating political change in the tumultuous years following World War II in America. In that regard, it is important to examine the aspects of rebellion and resistance that appeared through the use of rock culture and its extensions in the United States between the 1950s and 1970s, by analyzing their emergence, evolution, meanings and spirit, in clash with the power-holding mainstream hegemony through various cases and examples. Therefore, rock music, for the course of this study, is not only a musical phenomenon but also a cultural movement that grew within a political and sociocultural environment.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN MUSIC

1.1. ORIGINS, MUSICAL EVOLUTION AND CAUSES OF EMERGENCE

Just like any other cultural medium, popular rock music of today evolved from something arguably different than its first state of appearance. This evolution inevitably provided rock music to get branched into different subcategories, just as rock music itself being another popular music subdivision mainly originated from the harsh sounding term “‘race music,’ a name for jazz, swing, boogie-woogie, jump blues, and rhythm ‘n’ blues” (Vannatta, 2011: 191), performed in early 1900s. Therefore, perceptions over the definition of rock music are mutable, due to the changing forms of subgenres. The reason behind that cloudiness is that, rock music is not a constant term to define a single type of homogenous tune, but rather a broader title, aiming for a generalization of similar-minded music, which is continually changing much like any other cultural phenomena. In this context, the forms of rock music are too vast to name and identify as of today. However, emergence of the early form of rock music called rock ‘n’ roll, which can be traced back to early 1950s (Wallenfeldt, 2013: 1), can be analyzed and reviewed separately, as its birth and public effect can be considered as one of the most important cornerstones of American culture.

According to academician Robert G. Pielke, defining rock music in purely musical terms is quite problematic, as “it has no unique musical quality (or combination of qualities) that allows us to distinguish it from nonrock”. He also adds that, since it is a cultural tool, “the definition of rock music” keeps changing (2001: 10-11). To narrow down the definition to the initiatory style of rock music called “rock and roll” in simplified terms, one can say that it is a music genre, which is specifically reviewed as a part of “American popular music”, evolved from a number of other forms such as “blues, rhythm and blues, country, gospel, traditional pop, jazz and folk in the mid-1950s” (Scott, 2003: 393). Rock ‘n’ roll music, however, apart from its musical means, is occasionally evaluated through its social effect within the American culture, if not universally. Taking its roots mainly from an

African American heritage, rock music can be considered as a medium to convey messages of oppressed impulses, upon receiving an evolutionary route filled with coercion and censor. Many critics of American popular culture confirm the extraordinary attitude of rock music towards mainstream consciousness. For instance, according to Anna Zuschlag, “at its core, rock symbolizes youthful struggles for a voice in popular culture and politics” (2015: 556). For the reception of rock music as a cultural response, music critic Dave Marsh says: “Little rock criticism is concerned with music, because most rock critics are less concerned with sound than sociology” (qtd. in Frith, 1981: 12). Furthermore, Editors of the book *Political Rock* Mark Pedelty and Kristine Weglarz remark that, rock is “a ritual outlet, medium of collective expression, and means of forming identity” (2013: xii). Lastly, according to sociomusicologist Simon Frith, the term “rock” rather changes the meaning of any word it precedes as “an ideological suffix”. He says: “To add ‘rock’ to a musical description (folk rock, country rock, punk rock) is to draw attention not just to a sound and a beat but also to an intention and an effect” (1981: 11). Considering that these implications are just a few of many similar other approaches, a voyage to the deeper roots of rock ‘n’ roll would be vital to clarify the predominant influences and attitude it bears within.

Rock music is certainly an invention of peoples, and naturally it did not come into play as an idea of any individual. Therefore, efforts to evaluate a title such as “the inventor of rock and roll” as a music genre in individualistic terms would be futile, vague and misleading since there would not necessarily be a sole consensus over any specific person. Furthermore, the music did not appear all of a sudden as a concrete invention that could be labeled under somebody’s authority. However, once rock ‘n’ roll is mentioned, probably many people would firstly recall Elvis Presley’s name, who is publicly known as the King of Rock ‘n’ Roll. Moreover, many might think that rock music started with Presley, which is, to a certain figurative extent, not deniable. Thus, before defining the origins of rock music, it would be pretty crucial to point out this famous controversy regarding rock, in order to eliminate any individual hegemony over it, and to have a better understanding about its roots. It is evident that Elvis Presley was one of the pioneers of rock music, but not the literal singular inventor of it. His importance regarding rock was uniquely different, as “he

was the first white artist to make this music wholly successful with white audiences, giving white audiences a familiar face to a foreign sound...” (Haas, 2013: 16). On the other hand, in collective terms, rock ‘n’ roll, as a new music, was flourishing with the contributions of African American people in early 1950s, as affirmed by music historian Piero Scaruffi (2003b: 11). Although, the effects of other music genres on rock ‘n’ roll, including white country music, cannot be denied. There were a variety of people performing jazz, country, boogie-woogie and gospel music in 1950s, and rock ‘n’ roll tunes started to appear in a slow-moving fashion around that year (Campbell, 2005: 107). In that regard, former rhythm & blues musicians such as Chuck Berry, Little Richard and Bo Diddley can be considered as some well-known pioneers of rock ‘n’ roll music (Mahon, 2008: 35).

In simplified terms, Little Richard, one of the inventors of rock ‘n’ roll, describes the music he made as follows, in the documentary named *Good Rockin’ Tonight*:

Rock’n’ roll music is black music. If it was white music, I would say it is white music. It’s nothing but rhythm and blues. That ‘r&b’ stands for real black. It is same old blues, but what we did, we took boogie-woogie that black people was playing all the time and we put the blues and the boogie-woogie together: Rock’n’ roll! (qtd. in Jones, et al, 2004b)

Taking Little Richard’s words into consideration, one should rather analyze blues, rhythm & blues, and boogie-woogie genres, in order to understand the essence of rock ‘n’ roll music, as he claims those genres to be the main roots of rock music.

Chronologically speaking, the blues would be the primary music genre to be mentioned hence it appeared earlier than rhythm & blues and boogie-woogie. Even though the exact dates of the emergence of rhythm & blues, boogie-woogie and blues are not known for certain, according to Bruce Iglauer, “the blues existed for decades as folk music, passed from person to person, before it was first recorded in 1921” (2012: xiii). Also, being a type of traditional music, it is initially considered as an invention of African Americans, originated from “unaccompanied work songs” (xii).

As being an African American invention, the blues, technically and contextually, held the characteristics of mostly non-white qualities within. Music historian Scaruffi, in his article “A History of Blues Music,” mentions that the technical capacity of blues music was different from the linear European rhythmical structure; hence blues was a polyrhythmic music with lots of improvisation. He also

emphasizes the main instruments used for playing blues, which consisted of a mixture of African American and European instruments. In this respect, banjo represented the African side and guitar and harmonica were the adopted ones from the whites (2003a). Another aspect which made the blues fundamentally different was that, this musical form originated a musical phenomenon called blue note, having not been seen or heard previously in popular music. Exposing the uniqueness of it for the conventional musical understanding, the technical definition of blue note would be as follows: “This term essentially means a note, sounded or suggested, that falls between two adjacent notes in the standard Western division of the octave into twelve equal intervals” (Evans, 2005: 212).

Apart from that, the blues belonged to a community, which depended mostly upon “oral, unlettered tradition” that went on from one generation to another by achieving a “history” through amalgamation of reality and faith (Oliver, 1997: 12). Therefore, the lyrical context of the blues portrayed the spiritual African American heritage, not only in forms of joy, but also (predominantly) in terms of sufferings. Piero Scaruffi describes the lyrical contribution of the blues as follows:

"Blues" was almost brutal in its depiction of real life. The landscape of the blues was one of prisons (Midnight Special) and dusty roads. "Love" was simply sex, not a romantic emotion. Death was a fact of life, not a step towards eternal life. On the other hand, the existential quality of the music was stronger in the blues. The blues was, first and foremost, a state of mind. No matter how direct, death and sex ultimately harked back to prisons and saloons, which in turn harked back to poverty and misery. The unbridled materialism of the blues was not self-glorification but self-pity. The blues was, fundamentally, the sense of an unavoidable fate (both individual and collective). (2003a)

Upon reviewing the position of the blues in relation to African American community in early 1900s, it should not be considered as a surprise that the first “blues” record was released after a long time from the abolition of slavery. It can be claimed that the abolition decision did not completely erase segregation at all. It was only a theoretical beginning for a long lasting process of liberty battle. Scaruffi confirms that, in the first half of 1900s, slavery did not end, but rather morphed, in terms of segregation and non-written laws. During those times, the African American community was in a struggle for acceptance within a white dominant society. Music, in this regard, was a tool for African Americans to represent their own aspects of struggle (2003a).

As it can be seen, the blues demonstrates the qualities of a technically and contextually unique musical expression in early 1900s America. All in all, the inventors of this music, the African Americans, naturally decorated their invention upon their long lasting struggles, under the shadow of the oppression of dominant power. It can be said that the blues is how the African Americans musicified their sorrows, joys and reactions in blue notes, which enabled them to make their “cry” perceptible. Considering that the rock ‘n’ roll was a close descendant of the blues, it should not be perceived as a coincidence that rock music and its subgenres had a fundamentally similar and rather an evolved reactionary attitude accordingly at different times.

The chronological approach to define the roots of rock music would next take us to boogie-woogie. Colin Davey and Frank Poloney remark that, to be able to define boogie-woogie as a music genre, one should go back to early 1900s to witness its most popular period, even though it may discretely be traced back to late 1800s. For them, it is a “faster” and “instrumental” type of blues which is predominantly performed in Chicago tenements by using only piano. They also point out that the first mentioning of the term boogie-woogie is claimed to happen in the year 1928, after a recording by Clarence ‘Pinetop’ Smith named “Pinetop’s Boogie-Woogie”. However, the meaning of the term boogie-woogie is controversial and is not clearly known, but the term “boogie” is thought to be referring to dancing, as the faster rhythm rendered it suitable for dance music, which was a “favorite pastime” activity of the African American community (2012: 88-90). To be able to play boogie-woogie, according to Dick Hyman, one should use the piano for multi-tasking, since it is an instrumental music, in which “right hand is trying to sing blues, and left hand is keeping the rhythm” (qtd. in Violin Piano, 2007). Towards 1950s, boogie-woogie was losing its popularity “as an independent genre” and slowly got blended into the tunes of rock ‘n’ roll (Jenkins, 2011: 154).

Another important heritage for rock ‘n’ roll music is rhythm & blues. One should consider that blues and rhythm & blues are two intermingled musical expressions, and therefore should be handled collectively. First of all, while addressing to the rhythm & blues music, it would be indispensable not to mention the inevitable name similarity between the blues and the rhythm & blues. Even though

the blues and the rhythm & blues are not necessarily independent from each other, Reiland Rabaka says that the rhythm & blues is a considerably evolved form of the blues music (2016: 123). Therefore, while analyzing the emergence of rhythm & blues, the period of 1940s should be evaluated. According to Piero Scaruffi, in early 1940s, a fresh type of blues music called “jump blues” emerged and developed in time, into what is called “rhythm 'n' blues”, the birth pangs of which could be heard in Louis Jordan’s successful song “Choo Choo Ch'Boogie” recorded in 1942 (2003b: 8). Reiland Rabaka furthermore adds that, the process of jump blues’ inevitable transformation into rhythm & blues brought along a modest shift in style, reflecting rather “a collective sonic scream or, quite literally, an unmitigated shout” in music (2016: 123). Technically speaking, for rhythm and blues, Eric Novod -a rock music historian, writer and musician- claims the following features as fundamental changes compared to early forms of blues:

...the electric guitar gradually became a primary instrument (piano and saxophone were also essential instruments), big bands were minimized to small groups (usually vocals, guitar, one or two saxophones, bass, piano, drums), and a strong backbeat was established with the snare drum, which emphasized the second and fourth beats in each measure (one TWO three FOUR). (2011: 785)

Eventually, these shifts in African American music had so many social factors. However, the most prominent one could be acknowledged as the migration of African Americans from the South to the North of the United States. As widely known, these Great Migrations of the African Americans took place in the first half of the 1900s (Rabaka, 2016: 65), which eventually covers the period of the rise of the popularity of African American music. These migrations were most likely intended by African Americans to keep themselves away from the heavy segregation in the South, which finally enabled them to get involved in an artistic boom of creativity. Therefore, it should not be seen as a coincidence that the occurrences such as the Harlem Renaissance, New Negro Movement and Chicago Renaissance happened in the first half of 20th century, which is also the period of the emergence of African American inventions like rhythm & blues. Upon getting slowly adjusted to the urban life and receiving the benefits of technological advancements, the African American community could alter their ways of making music. Furthermore, at the beginning of the 20th century, they could start their own “independent record labels” (Kernodle, 2011: 108). Eventually, these dramatic cultural changes caused rhythm & blues to be

slightly different than its roots. In terms of the new blood that rhythm & blues brought, music historian Arnold Shaw remarks the following, which pretty much points out the evolution in music:

If the blues was trouble music and urban blues adjustment song, then R&B was goodtime dance music. If the blues was rural song and urban blues city music, R&B was black ghetto music. If the blues was loneliness and self-expression song, and urban blues nostalgia and growing music, then R&B was group and joy music. If the country bluesman wailed and the urban bluesman sang, the rhythm and bluesman shouted. (qtd. in Govenar, 2008: 24)

The evolving musical attitude was nonetheless a response to the concurrently changing trends and needs of early 1900s for the African Americans. In that regard, for the black community, rhythm and blues became a reaction for a new beginning, an answer to a different ambience, and a feedback to “the realities of inner-city ghettos and urban migration” (Govenar, 2008: 24). However, the attempt for a public acceptance did not become an easy task for the African American community, and therefore their “joy music” went through a rough process of struggle to have a nationwide recognition. In the long run, this struggle, in its natural course, got integrated with white people’s impulse, and paved way to an inevitable popularization of rhythm & blues genre, which divaricated into rock ‘n’ roll music in time.

Since rock ‘n’ roll emerged as a new form in the 1950s; and rhythm & blues, an evolved form of jump blues, appeared around the 1940s, it can be inferred that the extension of rhythm & blues is actually rock ‘n’ roll itself. More assertively speaking, Michael Campbell claims: “For the first part of the 1950s, rock and roll was simply another term for rhythm and blues...” (2005: 172). Consequently, it can be acknowledged that, this cultural evolution took its roots mainly from the blues, and continued in rock ‘n’ roll.

A prevalent identification of the three solid influences on rock ‘n’ roll called blues, rhythm & blues and boogie-woogie can construct a basic understanding regarding the origins of rock music. However, one should consider that rock music was not only a mixture of boogie-woogie and blues, since rock music had a cultural constitution, and as such, that was inevitably vulnerable to be influenced by various sources. Effects of gospel, pop, jazz and country music can also be seen in early rock ‘n’ roll music (Mosher, 2008: 95). As time progressed, white artists started to play

rhythm & blues and eventually rock 'n' roll as well, with their own styles and cultural tendencies. Therefore, rock 'n' roll music can be positioned to have a universal impulse, rather than being labeled as an absolute display of certain races.

According to *Random House Dictionary*, the term rock 'n' roll is claimed to be firstly used by a white American radio broadcaster named Alan Freed in Cleveland, Ohio in 1951, as he came up with the title "The Rock and Roll Session" to identify a sort of "amalgamation of rhythm and blues and country music" (2011), both of which constructed the basis of his radio program. In the course of time, the term started to be used more often as Freed's program went viral on the radio. However, for some critics like Michael Campbell, rock 'n' roll phrase was not used for something different in early 1950s. It was basically just "a new label for an existing sound" (2005: 182), because, Campbell claims that, Alan Freed replaced the phrase rhythm and blues with rock 'n' roll, and presented it as a "new code" (173). Though, for the second half of 1950s, Campbell indicates an upfront divergence of rhythm & blues and rock 'n' roll, and this difference was "racial," as rock 'n' roll was rather presented by white artists and addressed to white listeners, while rhythm & blues performers were African Americans just like their audiences. Campbell considers this assessment as "accurate" up to a point, but evaluates it at the same time as "fundamentally" faulty, since many honorable rock 'n' roll performers were African Americans, including Chuck Berry, "the architect of the sound of rock and roll" (172).

Regarding the efforts to label rock 'n' roll in racial categories, some African American artists showed reactions. For instance, one of the forerunners of rhythm & blues Louis Jordan said: "Rock and roll was not a marriage of rhythm-and-blues and country and western. That's white publicity. Rock and roll was just a white imitation, and a white adaptation of Negro rhythm-and-blues" (qtd. in Aswell, 2009: 35). Another African American rhythm and blues legend Dave Bartholomew expressed likewise by saying: "We had rhythm and blues for many, many a year, and here come in a couple of white people and they call it rock and roll, and it was rhythm and blues all the time!" (qtd. in Campbell, 2005: 173). The naming rock 'n' roll, therefore, can be seen as an attempt to make rhythm and blues acceptable among the white audiences via proposing a different name for it.

Scaruffi claims that around the time of Alan Freed's naming, there were already a few musicians performing rock 'n' roll tunes, even with the term "rock" in their song names, such as Wild Bill Moore's "We're Gonna Rock, We're Gonna Roll" in 1947, and therefore, "everybody was already 'rocking'". He also remarks that the new music of the African Americans was being "exploited" by "the record industry" through white singers and bands such as Bill Haley (2003b: 11).

Nonetheless, Alan Freed's attempt to broadcast rock 'n' roll music on the radio hastened the progress of music-wise cultural integration. Intrinsically, the process of evolution of rock 'n' roll eventually ended up in its proliferation, which may be seen as one of the first signals of a multicultural convention in artistic realm in the States. Even though rock music is considered to be mainly constituted through an African American influence, its early evolution should be isolated from any racial categorization; considering that any cultural medium, once proliferated, cannot be cut off from outer effects.

The term rock 'n' roll certainly had a lexical meaning to be taken into consideration as well. Even though some would associate rock 'n' roll with dancing, hence it largely provoked moving along due to its rhythm, the euphemism it brought was slightly different. Robert G. Pielke explains the deep meaning beneath the term rock 'n' roll as follows:

The term "rock and roll" was not originally intended as a dance reference. Instead, as all of us were more or less vaguely aware, it had to do with sex – plain, raw and undisguised. Its linkage with dancing was a thinly veiled attempt to make it more acceptable to white America in the mid fifties. (2001: 13)

The Cambridge Dictionary suggests that the word "rock" means "to (cause someone or something to) move backwards and forwards or from side to side in a regular way" and the word "roll" means "to (cause something to) move somewhere by turning over and over". When these two words come together, they form a unique name for a kind of music, the definition of which most likely refers to a suggestive way of dancing via rhythm. Though, in a metaphoric meaning, it may recall having sex through rocking and rolling.

To sum up, the origins of rock music can be predicated to be lying beneath the music traditions of the African American people, which may involve various interactions including white inheritance. As suggested by Piero Scaruffi, rock music

would have countless definitions, and different histories could be cited (2003b: 4) since it is an organic cultural medium, evolved in a non-linear way. However, as for the predominant conduct, the African American people, being minorities that were segregated and oppressed for ages in the United States, could be considered as the forerunner inventors of this revolutionary and resisting cultural medium unfavored by white traditionalists, hence being seen as a threat by the mainstream white culture.

Yet, this is still not clear how rock 'n' roll came out to be known as a music genre that is referenced to resistance very often, even though it is apparent that it has a hybrid background with a heavy African American influence. Therefore, at this point, upon briefly discussing the origins of rock 'n' roll and before studying rock music's distinctive reception by different strata in the United States along with its proliferation culturally, it would be fundamental to correlate social theories with the use of rock music as a tool to show reactions against mainstream impulses. In this regard, a cultural understanding related to youth, minorities and oppressed communities should be mapped, in order to show how rock music, as a cultural tool, got to be characterized based upon its roots, and became a universal instrument, which was used, to show reactions against many odds, at times unrelated to the concerns of its forerunners.

CHAPTER TWO

POWER, SUPPRESSION & RESISTANCE

2.1. ROCK MUSIC: MANIFESTATION OF DISSATISFACTION

Resistance is an essentially defensive relationship to cultural power that is adapted by subordinate social forces in circumstances where the forms of cultural power in question arise from a source that is clearly experienced as external and other. (Bennett, 1998: 171)

Art, as being one of the most fundamental cultural aspects, can be generated for various purposes. Motivation of the artists may differ through various time frames, within particular trends, and under diverse powers. Art, in that sense, as suggested by Herbert Marcuse, “could allow for endless possibilities, and thus enable not escapism from the society and politics but, rather, opportunity for individual resistance, revolt, and liberation, through creativity and imagination” (qtd. in Boros, 2012: 123). For Marcuse, art has a political power which is “radical” and heavily stressed. He underlines that, within artistic limits, the settled actuality and the desire for salvation need deliverance through vivid “communication,” and this emancipation needs an “effort that may break the oppressive rule of the established language and images over the mind and bodies of men – language and images which have long since become a means of domination, indoctrination, and deception” (1972: 79). Marcuse basically indicates that art is an important form of communication that can challenge the oppressor discourses grounding the mainstream culture.

Throughout the history, one may encounter numerous sarcastic or directly outspoken artworks in different forms, denouncing opposed positions. Music, as being one of them, gets to have a status that can be loud and critical. For Deleuze and Parnet, “music is a politics” and it aids people to build “human relations in a sonorous matter” (2007: 164). Therefore, music can be a very effective medium for communication, which can furthermore be a manifestation for particular collective consciousness, reflecting the zeitgeist of any era it operates within. Related to this impulse, rock music can be considered as a gadget for communication that possessed the status of 1950s and 1960s American society.

In radical terms, rock music itself is more than just the tunes created through electric guitar and singing. Regarding the impact of rock music outside the musical effect, Brian Longhurst, a professor of sociology, says the following: “The development of rock ‘n’ roll in the 1950s is often presented as a kind of liberation from the dullness of American and British life of the period” (1995: 14). As it can be conveyed through the general approach by Longhurst, rock music is a sort of reactionary artistic component, even though it was not the very first musical creation in history that was protesting. In this regard, rock music arrives to a point that has to do with having a political attitude through various contexts such as melody, lyrics and posture of singers and audience. Furthermore, rock music can even just be a reaction through its sole existence, without the need of any performance, hence the fear it caused ended up in opposition, prohibition and censorship at various occasions through years. However, even though this reactionary impulse is not unique for rock music, it is very commonly recognized as one of the most compelling artistic mediums that has a rebellious character. Besides, it has become a revolutionary instrument that affected American way of life since its birth in 1950s, and caused countercultures to embrace it.

The reasons behind rebellious statuses of rock music vary, since it has multi-dimensional effect in social sphere. First thing to consider is that, rock music has its roots in African American music, and progressed as a hybrid one, introducing long suppressed, heavily intuition-adorned African American heritage. Therefore, the origins it had may be correlated with the struggle of the black community to have justice and freedom as equal citizens of the United States. Just like African Americans faced ultimate segregation and negligence, rock music encountered prejudices and fears through the suppressor mentality that censored it, labeled it as being unwanted black invention, and tried to ridicule and isolate it. Second thing to evaluate is that, rock music became internalized by 1950s and 1960s American youth that was going through an already growing opposition towards conventional ways of imposed social contract that centered traditional white Christian patriarch dominance. Related to this aspect, author Emily Smith asserts that, in 1950s and onwards, rock music is often correlated with “political activism as well as changes in social attitudes to race, sex and drug use, and was often seen as an expression of

youth revolt against adult consumerism and conformity” (2013: 221). The reason of youth’s commitment to rock music was that, it fit to their *raison d’être* through having a similar-minded unconventional structure and attitude, because it brought along an “inchoate” feeling of “dissatisfaction” regarding “political and cultural” assessments (Altschuler, 2003: 186). Because of these two aspects that intersect in 1950s, music could become a voice for liberation from any sort of oppression, especially the social one. Art, in this regard, got handled as a nonviolent resistance tool, a method that was especially used intensely during Civil Rights Movements to present a loud but tuneful political attitude. Altschuler further explains how music was used for political purposes by pointing out the following occurrences in 1960s:

The music and now the lyrics were sometimes the backdrop but often the inspiration as well for love-ins, sit-ins, demonstrations, destruction of draft cards, tuning in, turning on and taking off. Somehow, through the music and other stimulants to the soul, young people sought to bring together, “right now,” a nation divided by race and class, and by regional and local values. (2003: 186)

As it can be derived from above-mentioned aspects, it is apparent that the use of rock music in various situations as a reactionary medium contributed to so many social and political affairs. Even when it was not yet popular in the whole United States, it was in practice functionally: For instance, it speeded up the integration process of white and black communities in urban America and affected thousands of juveniles by encouraging them through alternative living. At late stages, it was used as a voice to protest for racism, Vietnam War, sexual liberty and conclusive authority of the state, during Civil Rights Movements. Nonetheless, the unconventional ways it promoted had to do with the ongoing silent rebellion of the youth against formality, causing them to react as parts of countercultures. Glenn Altschuler emphasizes the importance of the use of rock music by the youth, claiming that rock ‘n’ roll inspired them to rebel against the ultimate parental rule that limited their freedom, gave them a chance of experimentation sexually, and allowed them to observe the daily fashion of their friends about “what to wear, watch, and listen to, when to study, and where to go on Saturday night” (2003: 185). Therefore, such nonconventional attitude of the youth can be considered as crucial for the development of rock music. Though, the youth did not pick any other type of music as their anthem for civil liberation struggle, because rock ‘n’ roll was initially already an unconventional voice.

The reactions that people showed through the use of rock music had largely to do with its oppressed origins, and the rebellion it triggered can be considered as natural social occurrences, because, regardless of the time frame it bears, sooner or later, nonviolent or violent, internally or externally, resistance gets to be portrayed as an inevitable result of oppression practiced by the oppressor.

In this sense, similar to any other cultural formations, rock music gets to have ideological purposes apart from its entertainment one. These purposes are mainly imposed onto rock music through an evolutionary path. As being an artistic form, rock music could become a component of protest, a contributor to resistance, and an alternative to singularity enforced by American traditional behaviorism. All in all, a relationship pattern between the reaction showing oppressed and the imperious oppressor can be observed as the framework of the political organic context of rock music.

The reaction of the youth countercultures that embrace the motivation of rock music, more or less resemble the attitude that poses what Herbert Marcuse called the “Great Refusal,” which is defined by Douglas Kellner as the following:

The proper political response to any form of irrational repression, and indeed this seems to be at least the starting point for political activism in the contemporary era: refusal of all forms of oppression and domination, relentless criticism of all policies that impact negatively on working people and progressive social programs, and militant opposition to any and all acts of aggression against Third World countries. (2015)

Marcuse, nonetheless, sums up the impetus that the 1960s’ youth internalized during Civil Rights Movements. Through that inclination, the rock ‘n’ roll youth, including the Beat Generation and Hippies, was encouraged and their attitude was largely shaped through rock music and its displayed values. Refusal of traditionalism and acceptance of nonconventional motivation can be considered to be forming the early phase of rock music’s rebellious spirit since, as Kellner explained, Marcuse labels refusal as a “starting point” of activism. During 1950s, the heavy monitoring related to morality and the red-scare adorned conservatism, can be considered as the mainstream impulses that drowned out the new-born and therefore childish but excitement-filled urge of rock music. As a result, rock music in 1950s remained as an artistic form for a rebellious voice, which was yet experiencing its “refusal” phase in a passive way, before resisting functionally.

On the other hand, through a Foucauldian discourse, the power relationship between the oppressor and oppressed can be mapped for a clear vision to understand why at late stages rock music could become a medium for rebellion. According to Michel Foucault, dichotomy of powers is crucial to be identified, to see why resistance is inevitable through the existence of oppression. He says: “There are no relations of power without resistances.... Resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. It exists all the more by being in the same place as power” (1980: 142). Therefore, taking Foucault’s discourse into consideration, the appearance of the rebellious attitude of rock ‘n’ roll would not be considered as a coincidence, hence it faced restraints of mainstream culture, and was seen as a social conduct that should be controlled. As a reaction to all the authority, the youth started to act loudly, especially upon getting encouraged by the ongoing Civil Rights Movements in 1960s, and the reactions included music itself, as well as behaving in unconventional ways that rock ‘n’ roll promoted in 1950s. As a result, Foucault’s approach, regarding the appearance of resistance, can be correlated with the 1960s rock music, which was no longer in state of passive refusal, but rather in phase of direct resistance and rebellion (Bradby, 2003: 68).

Furthermore, Foucault describes rock music as “a cultural form which constitutes a new ‘way of life’, fashioning attitudes and responses beyond musical taste” (Simons, 2013: 96). This phenomenon can be utterly political when operated towards authority as a reactionary medium. Rock music, therefore, can be considered as an accelerator of the youth’s response towards oppression during civil rights era; hence it was a tool for communication through artistic attitude that is effective philosophically.

The reactions shown by the youth became active, nonetheless, to avoid hegemony and oppressive power. Dick Hebdige, in this regard, explains how and why the counterculture youth had a uniquely different impulse than the mainstream culture by saying the following: “when young people make their presence felt by going out of bounds, by dressing strangely, by resisting through rituals, by breaking bottles, windows, heads, by confounding surveillance, by confronting the police, by issuing challenges, by striking... bizarre poses” (qtd. in Borrie, 2007: 79). In this

context, rock music for the youth, can be seen as a ritual for resistance and a messenger that is aiding their pursuit of liberty.

Moreover, Antonio Gramsci's perception of ideological hegemony in addition to Foucault's power-resistance concept, proposes an insight regarding oppression and resistance, which were crucial for rock music's development. For Gramsci, "ruling class maintains its dominance through achieving a popular consensus mediated through the various institutions of society, including the schools, mass media, the law, religion and popular culture" (Shuker, 2001: 22). The ruling society in the States during the years of the containment, desired to maintain the codes of their own hegemony through traditional white mainstream culture's persistence. On the other hand, the youth came up with a secondary philosophy, rejecting, and furthermore inverting these codes. This clash between the hegemony owners and rebellious offspring went on as long as oppression existed. Lawrence Grossberg saw this backlash as a "counterhegemonic project by postwar youth reacting to the alienation of mass industrial society" and defined rock music as a representor of "an effort to reconstitute community" (Levinson, et al, 2015: 69). With regard to the ideological hegemony, the story of rock music, to a degree, can be an example of a progress that went through a clash of powers to obtain a cultural acceptance through a unique form of normalization. Even though rock music never truly experienced a state of hegemony over the culture, it posed a threat to the established order effectively, and partially ended up in neutralization due to getting accepted.

In terms of opposing tendencies, subcultures and their sub-branch countercultures were the most dynamic pieces of the resistance-oriented fashion, especially in 1960s in the United States. The term youth, during those containment years, was an "ideological concept," which meant middle class young people, and specifically students, who "oppose[d] the values of their parents" (Frith, 1981: 190). Especially Hippies and Beatniks were non-separable and the most well-known youth counterculture groups, which favored alternative ways of cultural practices opposing the mainstream culture. However, the formation of those subcultures was certainly not a result of the internalization of rock music by them. Nonetheless, rock music contributed to their evolution, since it was overwhelmingly rock music they embraced, which was appealing to them most due to its nonconventional and

sonorous nature. Furthermore, use of music as a vital identifier of the countercultures was a natural outcome, because “subcultures are often organized around music and its related socializing” (Lull, 1992: 27). They developed their own discourses to resist the traditional social constructions, and rock music aided them as being one of their communication devices, through which the youth could deliver their messages directly and peacefully.

Herbert Marcuse defines minorities including Hippies and blacks as unwelcome groups and “disturbing aliens to the established system,” since they tend to think, act and evaluate things differently, via which they could weaken the established “social order”. He furthermore claims that, those unfavored and threatening constructions can incite the oppressive actions fulfilled by the majority-ruled capitalist establishment (1972: 28). In a parallel manner, the countercultures, as explained by Marcuse, experienced the oppressive attitudes of the hegemony that imposed its power onto the “otherness”. Being other, in this context, can be defined as a characteristic of the youth that internalized rock music. The youth, in due time, generated its own expression against the power operated by the state through various warring manner of conducts, among which rock music remained as a peaceful contribution.

Another determinant factor for the extraordinary posture of the youth was being able to have a chance to operate actively within the fields of artistic creation. Teenagers after the Second World War experienced an extended pre-adultery period, since they had more “economic security” than previous generations, which enabled them to have more free time during which they could be busy with various cultural activities (Hall, 2014: 4). Eventually, an artistic boom of creativity became inevitable for post-war youth to practice. Rock music, for many of them, was a realm to escape the “conformity of the Cold War era” in order to “resist” its uneasy bringing for daily routine (Hall, 2014, 4).

Due to its compelling aspect, rock music of the counterculture era is further seen as “pivotal,” since it dominated the timeframe, during which a “public debate about the proper role of sexuality in human life, and the meaning of ‘sexual freedom’” was going on (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, para. 6). Countercultures took sexuality as a means of expression through its unconventional stance against imposed

morality. Also, it was a postmodern attitude praising experimentation in bodily terms, while coping with the uncertainty brought by the Cold War period. Accordingly, rock music became “the basic form of underground culture,” but this impression pervaded rock culture to have “ideologies,” as it was “valued for its political stance, its aggression, its sexuality, [and] its relationship to cultural struggle” (Frith, 1981: 168).

Moreover, rock music can be considered as being in praise of raw sexuality and frustration since it encourages audiences to move their bodies due to its original features in its heritage. Furthermore, its lyrical content contributed to sexuality based motivation, as well. In this regard, rock music developed its tunes and “disciplined” its audiences with regard to its sexuality implications as well as its frustration-filled ambience. Herbert Marcuse explains the very motivation of rock music audiences and their “hysterical” reactions by saying the following, in terms of the sexuality and aggression context:

The music moves their bodies, makes them “natural”. But their (literally) electrical excitation often assumes the features of hysteria. The aggressive force of the endlessly repeated hammering rhythm..., the squeezing dissonances, the standardized “frozen” distortions, the noise level in general- is it not the force of frustration?... This music is, in a literal sense, imitation, mimesis of effective aggression: it is, moreover, another case of catharsis: group therapy which, temporarily, removes inhibitions. Liberation remains a private affair. (1972: 115).

In addition to sexuality it praised, rock music aided to another sensitive issue, segregation, to be overcome in its own unique ways, because, integration was a strong determinant for rock music’s contribution to American culture. As widely known, rock music exceeded the traditionalist limits and made the music of black heritage to be available to masses, disregarding the racial categorization. Rock music, for the white dominant popular culture, was perceived as a “danger” with a “promise of integration,” which tried to inverse the “historically embedded racist stereotypes and structures” (Borrie, 2007: 171). Therefore, as a black-influenced type of cultural medium, rock music can be considered as a mediator for people of all heritages.

Eclectically speaking, apart from sexuality, racial issues, hegemony and power relations, rock music can be conducted through a psychological adolescent rebellion, as well. According to Baittle and Offer, after a long development stage,

children may tend to leave their parents, and this adolescent trend steers children “to prove to themselves and their parents that they are becoming independent in thought as well as in action” (Bloom, 1980: 83). As a natural outcome, the children may turn towards obtaining “autonomy,” which is blended in “rebellion” for achieving independence both physically and intellectually (Bloom, 1980: 83). This trend resembles the attitude of rock ‘n’ roll youth, opposing to parental precautions taken against them. The youth of 1960s, nonetheless, took part in a conscious struggle to challenge the previously set hegemonic codes by their ancestors upon separating from their parents symbolically and through proving themselves. As a result, adolescents of rock ‘n’ roll era “integrated this music into the context of their lifestyle, accompanied by the derogatory remarks of adults, threatened by parental bans and school disciplinary measures” (Wicke, 1990: 42).

When it comes to 1970s, there occurred a wide acceptance of rock music nationwide in the United States. One of the reasons of this ultimate mainstreamization was rock music’s divarication into various subgenres. Evolution of music did not stop, and various forms such as punk and metal appeared, which were critical of rock music’s standardization for an economic gain to serve the mainstream culture. For example, the virtuoso was a criticized concept, which supposedly modified rock music’s improvised characterization, and turned it into a systematized and westernized conduct (Macan, 1997: 21-63). On the other hand, as the society moved towards a more liberal point of view, the popularization of rock music could become easier, especially when it started to turn into a very common mainstream practice.

Ultimately, one of the most striking approaches regarding the effect of music on cultural aspects came from Theodor Adorno:

Since the mid-nineteenth century, a country’s music has become a political ideology by stressing national characteristics, appearing as a representative of the nation, and everywhere confirming the national principle... Yet music, more than any other artistic medium, expresses the national principle’s antinomies as well. (1976: 155)

Adorno basically points out how powerful music can be once conducted in political means. Especially the political discourse of rock music in 1960s specifies the dynamic, resistant and subversive nature of musical viewpoint that had a huge public effect.

With regard to rock music's nationwide acceptance, media played an important role as well, which functioned as a mediator between a state-controlled power and a young liberal impulse, or, between the oppressor and the oppressed. Mass media brought rock music and musicians directly to the houses of families, which caused families to react negatively, but on the other hand, youth to respond with amazement. The mediator nature of the media, sooner or later got neutralized through prohibitions and censorship, but as the influence of rock music expanded in the United States, "the youth culture used popular media to cultivate its sense of unity, to express its rebellious difference from adult culture and to explore the alternatives to containment culture" (Borrie, 2007: 56).

To sum up, the affect and development of rock music can be evaluated in three phases, which can be defined as the refusal in the 1950s, resistance in the late 1960s, and normalization in the late 1970s through largely being a part of mainstream popular culture. These stages of rebellion and acceptance can distinctly be seen in rock music, which is embodied as an evolving cultural communication medium since its birth to its maturation. Refusal phase shows the characteristics of what Marcuse described as the "Great Refusal," during which a struggle against ultimate morality and segregation took place due to the racial labeling of rock music. Rock music audience, along with rock music itself was under the target of state controlled morality impositions (Frith, 1981: 18-21), but the artists and youth could show limited reactions to those oppressive operations. As a result, rock music received heavy censorship, which caused it to be a setup that was on hold until mid-1960s (Holt, 2015: 1666). Along with the British Invasion era, rock music haunted back in the United States, and due to oppression it previously received, it showed an inevitable counter reaction in Foucauldian terms. However, the refusal did not end, but got stronger, and became no longer a passive evaluation, but rather an active rebellion. Thanks to the liberal encouragement given by the Civil Rights Movements, rock audience could be louder in their struggle. Upon a wide acceptance of rock music by the youth and countercultures, occurrences like refusal of parental and state hegemony, a will for being accepted, a need to prove independent capability and a desire for sexual experimentation appeared as main impulses that can be attributed to an evolving rock culture. Even though rock music was not the cause of such

attitudes, it contributed to deliverance of the message of its era through having the embodiment of an anomalous medium. In later stages, rock music could manage to be an accepted genre; hence the resistant motivations received their gifts in the United States as Civil Rights Movements partially triumphed. Having an economic purpose and the interference of the virtuoso, caused rock music to get divaricated into different subgenres, some of which continued to rebel, while the mainstream branch became a part of dominant popular culture. This ultimate mainstreamization process, or in other words, becoming an ordinary national conduct, was not a sole result of rock music's submission towards mainstream culture, but rather a struggle for reconciliation from both sides, which mainly had an economic purpose. Evolutionary attitude of rock music, in general, can be seen as a cultural struggle against hegemony and for acceptance with various paradigms.

Upon reviewing imposed ideology, purposes and attitude of rock music through sociological, philosophical and political approaches, the exemplification of those cases since rock music's birth to mid-1970 within an evolutionary progress would be essential. Therefore, a mapping of rock 'n' roll through social events, musicians, lyrics and youth's reactions within different decades would be needed to develop a better insight and association regarding the use of rock culture as a rebellion tool.

CHAPTER THREE
1950s - PRE-RESISTANCE ERA: POPULARITY, REJECTION AND
PROLIFERATION OF ROCK'N ROLL – ROAD TO RACIAL
DISSATISFACTION

3.1. ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY FOR PROLIFERATION OF ROCK MUSIC

I didn't believe when people attached in saying the purpose of rock 'n' roll was to lower the white man to the level of the negro. But, it turned out it was true. It did, I think, raise us to the level of the negro. It raised us into being more emotional, more honest, being in touch with our feelings.

Michael Ochs¹

In order to understand how rock music became a tool for rebellion and resistance, one should first look upon its process of proliferation and evolution within a racially and morally prejudiced environment. Growing popularity of rock music became possible through various determinants, but most importantly thanks to the reception of rock culture by the youth in the United States, it overcame racial and fundamentalist barriers in time and resisted the oppression it faced. Therefore, it is primarily essential to examine how rock music could reach to people's houses thanks to technology. Also, providing incidents as examples to show how the evolution of music went in the direction of embracement of the counterculture is crucial to justify the opinion of rebellion and discourse of power relations within the social construction in the United States.

After its emergence, proliferation of rock music played an essential role, and its evolution gave way to revolutionary changes in the course of American cultural development. At a great scale, following Alan Freed's attempt to publicize rock 'n' roll music; there occurred a dramatic public demand in it (Hall, 2014: 25). Of course, Alan Freed's naming and broadcasts were only a symbolic beginning, because, concurrently there were many other factors ongoing that made rock 'n' roll become quite popular.

One of the most effective contributions for the popularization of rock music was certainly the technological advancements that enabled musicians to spread their

¹ A Rock Music Historian. Epigraph from: Jones, Q., Meyrowitz, R., Solt, A. (Producers), & Friedgen, B. (Writer, Director). (2004b). *Good Rockin' Tonight* [DVD]. USA: Warner Brothers.

musical influences. Among these technological developments, the proliferation of the use of electric guitar, amplifier, vinyl and radio can be counted as the most sensational ones. In this regard, technology was used in order to spread the message of the rock music. Furthermore, the delivery of the message happened in a hastened fashion thanks to rapid developments in technology during the 1950s and the 1960s.

Radio was among the most important technological devices that enabled the growth of rock music. It was a medium which brought revolutionary opportunities to the public in terms of freedom of information. People could listen to live broadcasts via their radios with ease, and they had options to pick which signal to follow. Towards the mid-1950s, portable radio became a popular device in households offering a variety of stations.

To trigger the growth of black-oriented music, first rhythm & blues broadcasts started in the United States through the contribution of African Americans. A white owned radio station called “WDIA of Memphis, Tennessee” became “one of the first” to start a radio broadcast that was “by blacks for blacks” (Manning-Miller, 2008: 3). In WDIA, Nat D. Williams became “the first black announcer” to present radio programs, which caused the popularity of that radio to grow especially among the African American audiences (Altschuler, 2003: 13). At the same time, music-wise, African American artists’ performances were being presented to white audiences as well through the same medium, but via white presenters. For example in Ohio, in terms of the proliferation of rock music’s broadcast on the radio, Alan Freed’s efforts were significant. His broadcasted rock ‘n’ roll show, intentionally or not, hastened the integration process of different cultural impulses eventually. As explained by Robert Pielke, Alan Freed, during the first half of the 1950s, started streaming on WJW Radio in Cleveland through his radio program that played “R&B (‘race music’)” aiming for white audiences, so that people were finally able to hear “black music on white stations” (2001: 65). Thanks to radio, the music of the African American community called rhythm & blues, and at late stages, the evolved form called rock ‘n’ roll, were being brought to a wide spectrum of audiences regardless of ethnicities, classes or political view in the States. Though, the economic gain was a very determining factor for attention catching rock and rhythm & blues tunes to be broadcasted on the radio. In this regard, Carmen

Manning-Miller expresses the inside story of the African American participation in business oriented entertainment world as follows:

White entrepreneurs and entertainers routinely appropriated black cultural innovations and tailored them to appeal to a white audience. In return, African Americans were forced to compromise their artistry in order to gain entrance into a white-controlled and racially segregated entertainment industry. (2008: 1-2)

Over time, rhythm & blues and rock 'n' roll music started to dominate the radio broadcasts for entertainment purposes. As claimed by Glenn Altschuler, in the United States, there were "twenty-one" radio stations that were "all black" around the mid-1950s. Also, in a total of "thirty-nine states" there were "more than six hundred" radio stations, that broadcasted "'Negro-slanted' shows," as published on a "Buyer's Guide survey" (2003: 14). This process eventually gave way to the rise of rhythm & blues and rock 'n' roll throughout the United States. Especially among the youth, rock music was found quite appealing to their state of generational struggle for anew. Upon getting performed by white American musicians such as Bill Haley, Jerry Lee Lewis and Elvis Presley, rock 'n' roll music could be broadcasted on wider sources of radio networks all around the United States. Eventually, the use of radio proved to be efficient for the proliferation of rock music.

Another tool that made rock 'n' roll's popularity grow stronger was the record industry. Thanks to the technology of recording, towards the mid-1950s, people could obtain the music they loved in concrete vinyl forms, without waiting for radios to broadcast them. In any case, development of recording industry can be considered as a revolutionary mass communication occurrence in the early 1900s. According to Peter Wicke, this technology rapidly progressed after the Second World War. He asserts that, in 1948 and soon after that, there came out different types of vinyl such as 45 rpm records for single tracks and long-play records, in other words LPs, for full-length albums (1990: 4-5). Meanwhile, mass production of vinyl became attainable due to further developments in technology, thus reducing the prices, making them -especially single albums- affordable for the youth.

However, in the early 1900s, regardless of its genre, there was a racial discrimination in terms of labeling music in the record industry. For instance, during the early times of recording business, there came up a so-called descriptive phrase as "race records", which represented a rather more introvert publication. As explained

by Richard Ripani, it was a term to label the music produced by and for African Americans, used first time by a record company named “OKeh”. He added that, after the Second World War, due to its unfavorable “connotation”, the phrase got changed into rhythm & blues records (2006: 5), which was later followed by rock ‘n’ roll records, finally -somewhat- eliminating racial categorizations.

Apart from that, African Americans formed their own places to sell music within their own community, following the examples of black oriented radio stations. As expressed by Cheryl Baer, “black music” could only be heard through “black Jukebox” and bought from “black music stores” that were situated in zones where blacks densely resided. However, non-affiliated record companies owned by African Americans could manufacture vinyl “in their basements” to market them in cities with their cars, that were used as rooms to display records (2005: 13), which could enable white people to benefit from African American records as well. Naturally, there were social and political causes of involvement of African Americans in recording activities, even though being very limited. In that respect, one can briefly say that, rapid urbanization and the hastened struggle to gain rights and liberty of African Americans during the early 1900s, vigorously gave way to realize their self-cultural activities publicly in their semi-isolated communities. That is to say, in general, vinyl enabled people of any heritage, class or political view to bring their messages to public in terms of music. Therefore, in any case, record stores and vinyl can be evaluated as revolutionary, especially for the prevalence of rhythm & blues and rock ‘n’ roll. To emphasize the social importance of recording operations and vinyl in a deeper sense, Robert Pielke says that: “Without the LP rock would have remained essentially apolitical and would have provided no real threat to the established order” (2001: 92).

Once rhythm & blues morphed into rock ‘n’ roll both naming-wise and arguably music-wise, and adopted by white performers, it became a center of attraction for money making, considering millions of dollars-worth industry. Inherently, the recording industry owners, too, were mainly white entrepreneurs, whose purpose was making profit. During the 1950s and onwards, countless long plays and 45 rpm records of rock ‘n’ roll musicians were sold all around the United States and people could listen to these recordings whenever they wanted. Eventually,

“rock ‘n’ roll” became the earliest music genre that could be produced “in mass quantities on record” (Wicke, 1990: 4).

Another tool that hastened the proliferation process of rock music was the use of electric guitar, jukeboxes and amplifiers. At first sight, those instruments seem like they do not hold within any relevance for the proliferation, however, in an indirect fashion, they provided popularity and amazement. Especially the attention arousing invention of distortion guitars brought a new catchy sound to the music and made it louder. This new trend, combined with the rapid commercialization of music, spread the popularity of it especially among the youth.

Even though invention of the first amplified electric guitar dates back to 1931, the most striking modification appeared in 1952, when Les Paul came up with his invention Gibson guitar, which is “the first solid-body electric guitar” (Scaruffi, 2003b: 11). When combined with amplifier, electric guitar became a suitable instrument to be used in concerts and shows, which could be heard from distance with a neat sound. Along with other contributions from guitar inventors such as Leo Fender, electric guitar got shaped into a new look and volume. In course of time, due to its attractive features, convenience, and harmony with rock ‘n’ roll tunes; electric guitar became the core instrument of rock music. Hence, in any case, one cannot imagine the all-time legends of rock music such as Chuck Berry and Jimi Hendrix, without a guitar in their hands.

However, according to Starr and Waterman, popularity of electric guitar received various criticisms as well. They pointed out that, being a string instrument; electric guitar was questioned superstitiously after its emergence, due to the association of string instruments with the music of the devil in medieval times. Another connotation they mentioned of the electric guitar is that, it was open-ended to be perceived as a “phallic figure”, which gave the instrument an “aura of danger and excitement”. Furthermore, they indicated, during the 1950s, the critics on mass media underrated the electric guitar due to the simplicity of its usability. Nonetheless, they asserted an inevitable outcome that “the electric guitar became a symbol of the energetic diversity that was elbowing its way into the mainstream of American popular music during this period” (2006: 71).

Jukebox was also a very significant tool that aided rock music to become even more popular. In a variety of stores, restaurants and commercial places that serve people from every stratum, jukeboxes could be installed and used. People, who did not have radios or could not afford records, could hear the music that was played on jukeboxes. So, in public places, jukeboxes could spread the message of rock 'n' roll music, compensating radios accordingly.

Probably the most influential but at the same time the most controversial technological medium that popularized rock music was television. Period of the emergence of rock 'n' roll corresponded the time of the spread of black and white televisions. In course of time, television became the favorite leisure time activity of Americans countrywide. Though, most importantly, triumphant time of rock music witnessed the color television broadcasts. This type of visual broadcast enabled rock music to be delivered into houses in a more dynamic and extraordinary way.

Increasing attention towards rock music economically and socially, made rock 'n' roll musicians with a variety of backgrounds such as Jerry Lee Lewis, Fats Domino, Bill Haley, and most importantly Elvis Presley, appear on television shows. These musicians were treated by many, like global music icons of today. Since 1956 onwards, as expressed by Mitchell Hall, there have been series of television shows that aired rock music performances, such as *The Milton Berle Show*, *The Steve Allen Show*, *Stage Show* and *The Ed Sullivan Show* (2014: 26). Such shows dramatically caused a sort of visual awareness about the rock music among the Americans. In course of time, by exposing an increasing number of black artists on television, the media and technology boosted the integration process of white Americans with African Americans, meanwhile suffering much opposition intrinsically. Against all odds, for rock 'n' roll, television paved the way for a more diverse audience throughout the United States.

Taking all the above-mentioned information about rock music, its meaning, its origin, its reception and its proliferation process into assessment, one encounters various data to be evaluated regarding rock 'n' roll's effect in America. It can be suggested that, not only the literal meaning, but also its mainly African American roots propose an unwelcome establishment for white American conventional mindset. In course of time, rock music has been an indicator of youth impulse of

rejection and reaction towards that conventional and mainstream agenda. However, not every rock music performance or creation goes by this rebellious attitude naturally, but generally speaking, rock music connotes a unique outsider character for itself. In this regard, rock music becomes an example of a medium of art, which takes its resistant and rebellious characteristics from its roots, while not necessarily remaining loyal to that notion due to the unpredictable evolution of global artistic practices.

3.2. RECEPTION OF ROCK MUSIC: ACCEPTANCE, REJECTION & INTEGRATION

The growing popularity of rock 'n' roll naturally attracted both positive and negative reactions. As being the music of the baby boomers, rock music became an experimental medicine for the boredom of the young people, meanwhile being seen by traditionalist minds as a threat that poisoned the youth. The opposition towards rock 'n' roll was not only an obstacle to stall the inevitable spread of it, but also a cause to turn that proliferation into an anti-reactionary tool, making it even more popular among the liberty seeking youth. However, apart from the mass media, what mainly enabled rock music to become globally known, was not the opposition it faced, but the positive contributions it received by the white dominant society. In this regard, the internalization process of rock music by whites can be considered as a vital event for its proliferation. This process can be reduced to two dimensions: one of these is the acceptance of rock music by white audience, and the other is the performance of rock 'n' roll by white artists. Both of these factors posed an intermingled outcome, and they played significant roles for the proliferation of rock music, in their own unique ways.

Among white people, in the United States, rock music could become significantly prevalent due to the use of mass media. The media certainly had economic advantages for entrepreneurs, and therefore rock music could be dragged into mass media to attract more viewers. However, during its crawling years, the conveyance of rock 'n' roll's message was only limited to a few television and radio programs, until famous white musicians dominated the rock 'n' roll stage.

Sam Phillips, a famous businessman, founder of the Sun Records, and music producer of rhythm & blues, changed the flow of the popularity of rock music. According to Glenn Altschuler, in the 1940s, Sam Phillips dealt with many African American productions, and through getting experienced by his accomplishments, he noticed a negative perception towards “listening to black music” among whites. Therefore, as Altschuler said, Phillips tended to focus on white singers who could deliver a sense of African American effect music-wise, in order to receive a wider economic opportunity (2003: 26). Phillips’ friend Marion Keisker at Sun Records alleged that Phillips kept talking about his search for a talent by saying “If I could find a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel, I could make a billion dollars” (qtd. in Altschuler, 2003: 26). These famous words eventually proved Phillips right, soon after he started working with some talented white musicians such as Jerry Lee Lewis and Elvis Presley (Hall, 2014: 16-22). Especially Elvis Presley turned out to be a hit countrywide thanks to his singles. By 1956, his first full album by RCA Victor company “sold 155000 in two and a half months” (The Billboard, 1956: 27). Apparently, Elvis was what Sam Phillips was looking for: a hybrid talent, who was a middle-class white, singing with an African American impression. After Elvis Presley’s first album became very popular throughout the United States, he started to become guests at television shows as well, which made him even more prestigious. When he was on stage, his stance was delivering a sense of belonging to the white middle-class audiences, because, as Altschuler claimed, he “embodied some of the characteristics of his ‘low-down’ social class and many fellow teenagers” (2003: 30). Moreover, just like his contemporaries, “angry at a world that had excluded him, yet eager for recognition and status, Elvis could be arrogant and prideful – and also emotionally vulnerable, insecure and deferential” (Altschuler, 2003: 30). Because of these reasons, Elvis could catch the attention of countless young Americans, while presenting them rock ‘n’ roll music, which is re-embodied and much more popularized through his contribution.

Elvis Presley’s status regarding rock music culture was extremely unique for the United States, even though there were lots of other white artists that contributed to the growing popularity of rock ‘n’ roll. Basically, Elvis Presley craze took over the late 1950s, making rock music go unpredictably viral. Underlining Elvis’

significance, music writer Richie Unterberger said that: “His 1950s recordings established the basic language of rock & roll; his explosive and sexual stage presence set standards for the music’s visual image; his vocals were incredibly powerful and versatile” (qtd. in Hall, 2014: 20). Most certainly, what made Presley’s influence, and indirectly rock music got spread around the country, was not only his musical performance, but also his posture. Presley was portraying a “rockish” attitude, which was pretty much unconventional and rebellious for a musician, and this attitude mirror-imaged the adolescence conjecture of baby boomers. For these reasons, many critics confirm Elvis’ attitude being extraordinary and revolutionary for his time. For instance, according to Peter Wicke, “Elvis Presley embodied the uncertain and consuming desire of American high school teenagers in the fifties, the desire somehow to escape the oppressive ordinariness which surrounded them without having to pay the bitter price of conformity” (1990: 42). For Michael Campbell, Elvis, “with his totally uninhibited stage manner, tough-teen dress, greased pompadour and energetic singing style,... projected a rebellious attitude that many teens found overwhelmingly appealing” (2005: 175). Therefore, the youth could easily take over his public display as a contemporary example, which caused a deepened generational conflict in time, while strengthening the status of rock music among young people.

The acceptance of rock music by whites and especially the youth contributed to a vital process of integration of African-Americans and white majority in the United States. This process strengthened the notion of equality within the society. To emphasize the importance of this integration, Elvis Presley stated that “the colored folks been singing and playing it [rock ‘n’ roll] just like I’m doing now, man, for more years than I know” (qtd. in Altschuler, 2003: 30), which could be considered as a statement by whites, that is recompensing African-American contribution to America’s cultural hybridity. As rhythm & blues, and later on rock ‘n’ roll started to get the attention of white people, the audience started to become more and more interracial. Even though, during the early 1950s, there were some precautions taken to “maintain order” in performance halls through separating white and black audiences by making them sit at different places (Starr, et al, 2006: 40), rock music eventually came over this tendency of separation. During the late 1950s, in order to

dance to the music, white people watching from the balcony started to go on the dancing floor, where blacks were already dancing, violating the so-called racial codes (Jones, et al, 2004b). These instances proposed a sort of internalization of rock music among the people of the United States regardless of races. On the other hand, black musicians also took part in integration case, pioneering a cultural amalgamation to be formed. One of the founders of rock 'n' roll with an African American descent, Chuck Berry, said the following, which implies how rock music overcame segregation in its own terms:

I doubt that many Caucasian persons would come into a situation that would cause them to know the feeling a black person experiences after being reared under old time southern traditions and then finally being welcomed by an entirely unbiased and friendly audience, applauding without apparent regard for racial difference. (qtd. in Miller, 1999: 107)

As claimed by M.T Bertrand, rock music in America was seen as a harbinger of “desegregation” through having a harmonious input of different races (2000: 95-6). As a result, rock 'n' roll, in general, naturally contributed to the integration of people coming from various heritages, forming a newer and more liberated vein of cultural aspect. Consequently, the music itself can be seen as a mediator tool, overextending the racial boundaries.

On the other hand, along with the wide acceptance, there also started to occur a tendency to reject the publicity of rock music and avoid its effect, among some groups of people in the United States in the 1950s and onwards. The opposition to the proliferation of rock music can be superficially considered to be lying beneath the fear of losing hegemony over cultural dominance and the will to protect traditional values, of the American whites. This phenomenon can be correlated with Foucauldian terms about the attitude of mainstream when it receives a threat for its authority. This anti-rock attitude appeared through various paradigms such as morality defense, conservatism and segregation. Therefore, among some conservative white Americans, rock music got to be evaluated as something to be feared due to its anti-morality connotations (Frith, 1981: 19).

However, one should consider that the youth of 1950s, that embraced rock music, operated within an environment that was very different than previous eras. Baby boomers of that era witnessed not only a “nuclear apocalypse” and the conservative attitude of the containment policy, but also a series of events occurred

to bring justice and equality among every single individual, which eventually led to Civil Rights Movements (Borrie, 2007: 57). Furthermore, they could observe the high-tensioned struggle of African Americans to have a fair position within the whole society (Hall, 2014: 2). There was also a sense of “Red Scare” which brought continuous interference of the United States in global issues such as the Korean War in the 1950s. Therefore, young people that have seen the rise of rock music can be perceived as a generation that eventually had to pose a political conduct in order to adapt to the shifting environment. In that case, rock ‘n’ roll could become a fertile ground for the youth to have a say considering the opposition it attracted, while being internalized by the motivation of many juveniles.

In the 1950s, countless demanding claims of the anti-rock attitude affected the youth intensely. Morality became one of these big issues that went on for years; hence America was being portrayed as having a family structure in “solidarity,” and dominant autonomous organizations were contributing to the portrayal of strong moral values countrywide (Vaillancourt, 2011: 12). On the one hand, for moralists, the lyrical messages of rock music were very much suggestive and held sexual references that would be dangerous for public and youth. On the other hand, they did not approve some gestures and movements of the artists on the stage (especially Elvis’ pelvic gyrations), considering them as non-traditional attitudes threatening the conventional order of the family organization. Some went even further, and labeled these body movements as being non-white in a discriminative way, blaming white singers to imitate inferior African American fashions (Vaillancourt, 2011: 12-13). Therefore, morality issue as an anti-rock posture should be considered within the aspects of both sexuality and race, hence they often voiced as interrelated conditions.

In addition to above-mentioned forms of rock music opposition, there were also punitive practices performed on juveniles. As claimed by Peter Wicke, some teenagers, who adopted the rock ‘n’ roll “lifestyle,” were being punished by their parents, and furthermore receiving “disciplinary measures” at their schools, throughout the United States (1990: 42). As it can be seen, over time, the opposition started to direct at the effect that music created through the acceptance of white audience rather than the mainly non-European musical quality itself. These series of

attempts to depopularize rock music among the youth can be considered as one of the core elements to form anti-reactionary presence of rock music.

Moreover, rock 'n' roll artist's expose of "sexual performing style" was considered as a problem for middle-class American values since it was a threat for "conformist tendencies" (Bertrand, 2000: 23). For the traditional ethos, the aspect of dancing for the white mindset takes a disciplined precaution to "control body movements" through ordinary and solemn rhythm whereas the African American one invites the body to involve in an expressive "physical beat" through a vivid tune, recalling "sexuality" (Frith, 1981: 19). Therefore, conservative selectiveness regarding patrimony, triggered white traditional impulses to externalize the dancing that rock 'n' roll introduced. On the other hand, youth, as a reactionary conduct to formality, embraced the dance of rock music as "public expression of normally private sensations" (Frith, 1981: 19). Just like Herbert Marcuse asserted, sexuality became a focal context for expression of rock culture.

There were various examples of sexuality adorned demeanor of rock music in the late 1950s, provoking the sensitivity of morality mindset of traditionalists. However, two of the most important rock 'n' roll musicians, Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis can be shown as the pioneers of this opposition attracting "rockish" attitude, to present an early passive power struggle relation between mainstream culture and liberty-seeking youth rebellion. Firstly, in this respect, countrywide famous singer Jerry Lee Lewis' position can be shown as a case in history, who posed sexually immersed movements and attitude during his shows and concerts. His songs had sexually explicit lyrics and the literature they held were unwelcome in the realm of traditionalists exposing vulgarity in public. Especially his song "Great Balls of Fire" had very severe sexual references through obvious double entendres, promoting love making and sexual desires, but above all, his stage performance was very unconventional (Altschuler, 2003: 97). During his regular shows, he was considered to be very seductive, and he was playing the piano like an object of desire, sometimes "climbing on it", and "rolling his tongue" at the audience, which "quickenened the libidos of his listeners" (Altschuler, 2003: 96). Expectedly, the conservative mindset got uncomfortable with his ongoing influence countrywide, even though he was a white Southerner personality. Nonetheless, embracement of

rock music can be considered as something that made Jerry Lee Lewis eventually dangerous for juveniles.

Secondly, in the late 1950s, Elvis Presley's example, in terms of sexuality, became one of the most important ones, which struggled through oppressive practices against the attitude of rock music. As explained by Michael Hall, his concerts, as early as May 1956, became the focal concern of some local people, in towns of whom he took stage. He received various informal accusations regarding his posture on stage. For instance, a parent from Wisconsin reported Presley to the FBI, for posing to be a "danger to the security of the United States" due to his movements on stage (qtd. in Hall, 2014: 18). Despite such claims, he continued to take place in rock music concerts nationwide. However, the biggest public opposition against the content of rock music which was perceived as sexually immoral, happened through the appearance of Elvis Presley on television; hence the television brought along a sort of reinforcement related to "conservative family values and carefully controlled sexual behavior" (Hall, 2014: 2). Presley, on June 5, 1956, went on air on *The Milton Berle Show*, which was a famous television program throughout the United States, to perform a song named "Hound Dog" (Leiber, et al, 1953, Track 1), the video of which can be found in media even today as an evidence (Altschuler, 2003: 90). While performing the song, he portrayed dancing moves which would be called sexually arousing by moralists. After the show, Presley attracted a lot of negative harsh criticism by a variety of public sources all around the United States. For instance: The day after, *The New York Times* wrote that "Mr. Presley has no discernible singing ability," *The Daily News* published that his movements were "tinged with the kind of animalism that should be confined to dives and bordellos," and even as late as August 1956, a Jacksonville judge accused Elvis that he was "impairing the morals of minors" (qtd. in Hall, 2014: 18). Furthermore, from the congress of the United States, as well, there came out voices to denigrate rock music, using discriminative discourses. Democratic Party member and Congressman Emanuel Celler, made a speech to show his objection to Presley's countrywide-broadcasted performance on television and said the following: "Rock 'n' roll has its place, among the colored people. The bad taste that is exemplified by the Elvis Presley 'Hound Dog' music, with his animal gyrations which are certainly most

distasteful to me, are violative of all that I know to be in good taste" (qtd. in Miller 133). As a result of these cumulative mainstream oppositions, there occurred a mediator public effort to lessen the negative harsh criticism: On July 1, 1956, Elvis Presley was again taken to a nationally-broadcasted program called *Steve Allen Show*, to perform the same song named "Hound Dog," but this time filmed from the waist-up, dressed in a proper suit and with a real dog next to him, to portray a morally adequate ambiance that could be tolerated to be seen by families (Jones, et al, 2004b). As a reaction to this, Presley's fans started a small protest in front of the studio where he recorded the song, showing banners with slogans written on them such as "We Want the Real Elvis" and "We Want the Gyrating Elvis" (Altschuler, 2003: 90), which signaled that moralist procedures were being opposed even though the opposition was yet not loud enough. After all, because of such ongoing suppression attempts, television stations, as mediators, naturally acted cautiously to show rock music media in the late 1950s until the British Invasion era of rock music. As a result, this event became one of the most striking anecdotes in the history of the United States, regarding the censorship of rock 'n' roll songs and attitude against a heavy public reaction, which strengthened notorious perceptions and prejudices towards rock music.

Continuous reactions towards the proliferation of rock music did not cease in the mid and the late 1950s. Glenn Altschuler points out a few of the occurrences that denounced rock music to show a continuous pattern of suppression onto it: He mentions that, media, including the *Times* and the *New York Times*, kept publishing sided news, drawing attention to the tumults and unrest that rock concerts caused, usually blaming African-American youth as the cause of aggressive attitudes. He furthermore underlines that the "riotous behavior" of rock music audience got monitored by the police, and many concerts ended up in cancellation, implying a state controlled suppression inclined to authority (2003: 3-7). Moreover, hegemony of mainstream culture over the media inverted the mediator aspect of it, and state-control could practice its power onto the means of mass communication. As another example, a traditionalist organization named North Alabama White Citizens, through their Secretary Asa Carter's speech, opposed publicly to the proliferation of rock music, claiming that it was being imposed to white people even though it was an

“inferior” invention, by saying the following: “rock and roll is the basic, heavy beat music of Negroes. It appeals to the base in man [and] brings out animalism and vulgarity” (qtd. in Bertrand, 2000: 163). Social critic and journalist Vance Packard, as well, strengthened the argument of white mainstream by claiming that rock music was “cheap” and it had “whining guitarists, musical riots, put to a switchblade beat, obscene lyrics about hugging, squeezing and rocking all night long”. He furthermore, in a harsh tone, added that rock music was an outcome of “race music” with a “savage tone” which provoked the “animal instinct in teenagers” (qtd. in Altschuler, 2003: 137). Rock music, in that sense, can be considered to be seen as an indicator for the promotion of African American culture, by the traditionalist white mindset. Consequently, such unpleasing pressure on rock music, both racially and sexually, eroded its public image in the late 1950s, which revealed the anxiety of dominant culture of getting intruded by an outsider mechanism: an ultimate example of Marcuse’s “otherness” implication related to minorities, against whom a reactionary and eventual manner of authority owners gets functioned.

Meanwhile, a couple of important and revolutionary events took place in the United States in the mid and the late 1950s, concerning the “otherness” phenomena. First of them was called *Brown vs. Board of Education* in the year 1954, during the presidency of Dwight Eisenhower. This event had nothing directly to do with the use of rock music, but it was an incident with a result, which was already being enforced by rock musicians through their unifying musical attitude publicized to white audiences. According to this case, African American and white students could go to same schools and they would be able to receive same diplomas, which strengthened the integration process and indirectly changed the political development of rock music radically. However, in 1957, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus disabled nine black students to enter the school building in Little Rock and this incident became another issue to give youth further voice for equality. Eisenhower had to send army officials to make African American students of Little Rock High school enter the building and take equal education (Vaillancourt, 2011: 35). Even though this event damaged the reputation of the United States globally; it became an important milestone for Civil Rights Movements (Borrie, 2007: 9-10). In terms of the status of rock music, these hastened-integration-processes can be considered as indirectly

realized ideological purposes; hence rock music was already influencing people to disregard imaginary racial boundaries. Rock music, therefore, could be seen as an encouraging social and cultural power for people to refer regarding desegregation. It was the Little Rock case, which finally legalized desegregation in schools, and gave way to a series of other human rights decisions to be taken, which also shaped the evolution of rock music. As Civil Rights Movements progressed, equality, generational conflict, juvenile delinquency, conformity, sexuality and morality started to become big influences regarding the effect of rock music, especially when it went louder and actively rebellious in the 1960s.

Despite a partially-won battle against segregation, the morality defense in regard to communism threat did not stop, and rock music, according to the mainstream culture, continued to be one of the negative influences for the society. After all the above-mentioned notorious incidents happened, in order to prevent a possible uproar towards the anti-rock attitude, some further ultimate and traditionally protective precautions were taken. Famous rock music artists, directly or indirectly, received public censorship. Elvis got conscripted in 1958 to serve for the Vietnam War and Jerry Lee Lewis got blacklisted when public learned about the scandal of him getting married to his thirteen year old cousin (Hall, 2014: xi-xii). In 1959, Chuck Berry got arrested for moral related issues upon getting accused to travel with a fourteen year old girl, and Alan Freed got fired from the radio station he served for long, due to a scandal he was claimed to be involved (xii). After all these incidents, almost all popular rock music personalities ended up getting eliminated from the public stage this way or another. For the advantage of moralist mindset, the so-called imposed influence of rock music could be halted, but not completely erased. United States has gone through a considerably silent stage since 1959, when it received what is called British Invasion, an era when British rock bands dominated American music charts, after which new domestic bands appeared again.

Especially after the Little Rock incident, these racism blended morality pleas in terms of conformism, was naturally not embraced by liberation and comfort seeking ones, including largely the youth. Rock music, with all its loudness, could bring the youth a new type of excitement, in which they could find messages to identify themselves. However, the traditionalist worry over the influence of youth

going in an undesired way, brought along cancellation and prohibition of rock music events and gatherings. As a result, a reactionary attitude was developed by the youth to prove themselves and to maintain their independent posture opposing their parental impositions. Eventually, the negative reactions generated resistance in due course and as rock music evolved further, the forms of resistance got varied, especially when the youth started to make music themselves. Sooner or later, rock music expectedly got adopted increasingly by the youth and they protected what belonged to them, as a counter reaction. Eventually this internalization caused rock music to be much more popular among young people.

To conclude, thanks to the reception of rock music both positively and negatively by dominant white community, it started to become a cultural medium that was exposed to every individual nationwide in the United States in the mid-fifties. Intentional or not, rock 'n' roll artists -especially white Americans- could hasten the proliferation process of their music genre by being able to take place on mass media more often. Assimilating with the impulse of the youth, rock music could become a reference for many. Consequently, the popularity of rock music boosted up towards the end of the 1950s and eventually it became a cultural phenomenon that could influence millions globally, especially the ones on the old continent Europe.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE 1960s AND EARLY 1970s – RETURN OF THE REPRESSED: THE BRITISH INVASION, AMERICAN AWAKENING & DECLINE IN ROCK REBELLION

4.1. EFFECT OF BRITISH BANDS IN THE UNITED STATES REGARDING ROCK CULTURE

Towards the end of the 1950s, rock music started to get muted due to censorship, banning and externalization efforts by traditionalist. The extended reasons were varied, as they had with racial issues, sexuality and generational conflicts to do. For instance, even as early as mid-1950s, more than “fifty songs were banned in one week” for having “unacceptable lyrics” and for serving “juvenile delinquency” in a notorious way (Dunbar, 1994: 120), the number of which went up eventually towards late 1950s. Additionally, mass media avoided rock music publications, fearing strict state regulations. Meanwhile, containment policy brought along a sense of Red Scare throughout the United States, which requested family values and children to be protected against “Communist contagion,” (Borrie, 2007: 26) boosting up morality foresights. As a result of all those actions taken against youth and their communication and entertainment device called rock music, early 1960s witnessed considerably silent years. However, since this silence was due to oppression, the come-back of rock music was louder, this time with a global support of rebellious youth inclination.

Thanks to television and radio, the music started to spread around the globe, and people could listen to singers like Elvis Presley and Chuck Berry in old continents as well. Especially the British took rock music as a unique way of representation; hence they could understand the messages delivered by the lyrics. However, in the United Kingdom, there were concerns about an ongoing “Americanization” as Britain received a great deal of influence through American movies and music since the early 20th century, and the British youth started to “move like, look like, play like their American models” (Frith, 1981: 184). Therefore, the British teenagers could take rock music and build upon it in their own ways to

develop British rock music, while the United States was on a mission to degrade and mute rock culture. Because of this significant reason, a brief description of the state of British attitude remains essential in order to understand the effect it made onto the progress of American rock music and its reaction.

Rock music, eventually was being modified in the United Kingdom by their youth. However, it can be said that the attitude of rock music did not change dramatically, as the youth in Britain as well was going through a postmodern chaotic blurriness with regard to their future and desires. Furthermore, since the youth rebellion was not only an American experience, the British teenagers gave a somehow similar reaction to rock music as the American ones did in the United States. Intrinsically, the British youth had slightly common motivations. Their “issue was clearly related to the decomposition of the prewar working class” and they had an “aggressive and exclusive sense of youthful style” (Frith, 1981: 184). Working class teens naturally and expectedly acted like their American peers in many ways, and rock music became a medium for communication and resistance for them, as well.

On the other hand, the British experience was, at the same time, slightly different. According to Simon Frith, the British youth had their focus on being different at individual level while the American youth were originating distinct subcultures and communities such as Hippies. He furthermore claimed that, since the British subcultural youth were from the working class, they had a sense of class consciousness, which made them act accordingly, through having a tendency towards resistance to authority (1981: 218-9). Rock music, in this context, became a part of British youth’s cultural experiment as well. It did not matter where the youth resided and why they resisted, because rock music operated for a common general purpose for them and that purpose was being a messenger for rebellion.

Both in the United States and Britain, rock music was a part of popular culture in the early 1960s. However, it functioned in a unique way, through resisting the hegemony at a great scale, unlike other popular culture trends of that era. The youth, for that regard, was one of the most influential aspects of wide acceptance of rock music, because they were not only the next determining generation, but also the customers of mainstream that tend to spend for their cases.

The teenagers of Britain in the 1960s, who could be defined in Foucauldian terms as the resisters against power, obtained a course of being and acting differently than their older generations to pose their uniqueness. They received rock music influence from the United States, which appealed to their exclusive characteristics to prove independent spirit. As a result, they experienced over this special musical conduct and came up with a Europeanized modification of rock music. However, what they built upon their musical construction was indeed distinctively American. Therefore, the British rock music can be considered as an offspring of the American one. That is why, the British bands could visit the United States for huge stage performances, not only because they sang in English, but also what they produced was an extension of originally American made phenomena. Nonetheless, the British bands added extra attitude and value to rock music in time, which can be considered as an inevitable outcome of evolution of music and effect of slightly different cultures and classes.

Two of the most influential bands that revolutionized rock music were the Beatles and the Rolling Stones from the United Kingdom. Soon after they conquered the United Kingdom charts, they could manage to do the same in the United States. First band to appear between them was the Beatles, which was founded in 1960. It can be considered as not a coincidence that this band came from Liverpool, which was a city with a huge population of working class, considering the impulse of working class youth in Britain towards being distinctive. Even though the Beatles was generally perceived as the good guys when compared to the Rolling Stones, they, according to musicologist Charlie Gillett, “presented working class youth loose and free glad to be our, unafraid to snub pretension” (qtd. in Wicke, 1990: 75). The Rolling Stones, on the other hand made its first appearance in 1962, firstly as a blues band in the United Kingdom. They had an exclusively rebellious posture, and they were presented as “outcasts and misfits,” which made them have a different stance than the Beatles (Mayock, 2011: 67). The Beatles proved to be a very successful band and they were approved by the dominant culture because according to some critics, they adapted to the codes of the “white, conservative, ‘teen idol’ era” (Scaruffi, 2003b: 22). On the other hand, in terms of radicalism, the Rolling Stones were pioneers, and they had an attitude that was not easily acceptable by the

mainstream (23). In that regard, even though the Beatles were not “usually” posing to be harsh and rebellious, they could manage to bring rock music back in the United States due to their mainly acceptable behavior and not to mention their promising economic success. This acceptance enabled the Rolling Stones to follow the way that the Beatles opened in the United States, upon being a globally best-selling band, and proving to be an alternative for the teenage cultural revolution taking place. The British invasion proved that rock music, since it started to be practiced worldwide, eluded from being a type of music that is largely correlated with the blacks, and became a universal artistic fashion that represented exclusiveness, resistance, and independence.

Especially the front man of the Rolling Stones, Mick Jagger, was a great influence on teenagers not only because of his “sexual drive” but also through his demeanors that were outspoken and contentious (Whiteley, 1992: 88-92). His attitude can basically be considered as the reflection of the continuation of rock culture’s posture. Moreover, it can be evaluated that the accumulated anger of the youth, especially of the working class ones in the United Kingdom, got to be embodied through Mick Jagger himself. Thanks to a more assertive pose coming from overseas through British artists, the demands of the youth for liberty and justice happened to be vocalized through the stance of rock music in a more obvious manner in 1960s. Eventually, the United States youth received the cultural effects of the modification of rock music and utilized it through their own approaches.

Apart from the two British giants the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, there was another band called the Who, which added even a more aggressive display to the attitude of rock music, consequently determining the evolution of it. Therefore, in order to see the basis of American rock music’s effect in the late 1960s, a slight identification of the Who’s position is important to mention, as well. The Who, with their intentional show of anger on the stage, exemplified a rebellious teenager pose through literal actions. They brought a spirit of stage act that was rather theatrical as they smashed guitars to destroy them and discharged their anger by doing so. Connected to that aspect, the guitar player of the Who, Pete Townshend, explained this destructive act by saying that: “Our anger wasn’t all our own anger. Our anger was a reflection of the anger that we felt from people in the audience” (Jones, et al,

2004a). Townshend's words pretty much reveals the status and the motivation of the youth in the 1960s, which can furthermore be defined as the will to illustrate opposing attitudes towards conventional aspects that surrounded them. Nonetheless, the guitar smashing became like a ritual in the late 1960s for American rock musicians, which was performed even at the famous Woodstock Festival. Ultimately, this public display of anger through music got introduced to the American society and it was perceived as stimulating by their youth.

The British bands, in the 1960s, could visit the United States as heroes of musical investment, as the country was hungry for an impact that could be what Elvis once did. The Beatles and the Rolling Stones were meanwhile defining the limits of rock music and teenage angst overseas, which were seen as the new bands that could re-energize the dormant status of rock music in whole world. The Beatles, in 1964, came as the first globally known British rock band to perform in the United States, and the Rolling Stones' visit followed that incident providing an ongoing cultural British interference. The Beatles, especially, was even greeted at the John F. Kennedy airport by hundreds of people cheering for them with an expectation of an Elvis impact (Jones, et al, 2004a).

Nonetheless, the British Invasion can be considered as the haunting back of the colonial time ideological enemy, the Great Britain, but this haunting back ironically occurred through using the aspects invented by its former colony, the United States. On the other hand, this event can also be seen as a symbolic example of the return of the repressed whereas the once banned and unwanted rock music comes back after years from overseas to the United States and reappears in a new shape and yet again affects the whole cultural pattern through its notorious guidance.

Meanwhile in the United States, the baby boomers were no longer teenagers and they were starting to make their own music, which was influenced by the British bands (Starr, et al, 2006: 149). On the other hand, the counterculture was defining itself in the meantime through their unconventional posture against the mainstream culture, critic of uncertainty condition, embracement of rock music, and reactionary attitude against conformity and governmental decisions such as Vietnam War (151). The hippies, especially, were favoring experimentation over what was perceived as morality limits and the use of drugs was becoming an essential part of their lives

along with sexuality. Therefore, the 1960s witnessed the motto of “sex, drugs and rock and roll” to appear as a definer of motivations of countercultures (153).

On the other hand, the music of the adult baby boomers in the United States was being redefined through the British influence in American music. Chronologically speaking, the British experience brought along a differentiation in how music was made, and the evolution of rock music continued through new beats. Traditional pop music elements in the Beatles’ music was apparent and upon the integration of skiffle instruments into rock music, there came out a new genre in Liverpool called Mersey-beat, which triggered a further folk music integration (Scaruffi, 2003b: 22). In the United States, there appeared folk-rock musicians and bands such as Bob Dylan, The Byrds and Creedence Clearwater Revival, along with Canadian Neil Young, which experimented folk elements within rock music just like the British Mersey-beat bands (29-48). On the other hand, there came out the hippies’ most loved music type psychedelic rock (Wicke, 1990: 78), which was related to LSD parties due to its spiritual effect in long and mesmerizing instrumental guitar tunes (Scaruffi, 2003b: 37). In psychedelic concept, a few of the most important American bands and musicians in the 1960s were the Doors, Jefferson Airplane, Grateful Dead, Jimi Hendrix and King Crimson, which revolutionized the American experience onto rock music. Most of rock bands of the 1960s era, posed a highly rebellious stance, especially during Vietnam War. Nevertheless, it can intrinsically be derived from the context of psychedelia that the naming and the motivation it has, already makes the nonviolent rebellion it holds obvious and publicly announced without the need of any action to be taken separately.

The attitude of musicians was outspoken and defiant, which was mirroring their audiences’ manners. Especially the drug oriented experimentation in the 1960s made rock musicians and rock music become a “more pernicious” outlook for the public compared to the 1950s (Holt, 2015: 1666). In the United States, because of such morality threatening poses of these musicians, state-controlled cancellations and prohibitions took place regarding the concerts of rock music bands and musicians including the Doors, Chuck Berry and Jimi Hendrix. Furthermore, FBI had reports filed for musicians including the pioneer female psychedelic rock singer Janis Joplin, John Lennon of the Beatles and the front man of the Doors, Jim Morrison. For

instance, Janis Joplin's Texas show got cancelled because of "her attitude in general" by the state legislators and Jim Morrison got fined by the court due to his unacceptable action of displaying "his genitals" during a concert in Miami and upon receiving "six warrants for his arrest" for that attitude (Holt, 2015: 1666). These actions provided rock music to have a continuously rebellious position through challenging the rules and authority set by moralists. Including the power of the state, rock musicians rebelled against limitations that tried to guide them into being model citizens through the actions they displayed. However, unlike in the 1950s, they did not face ultimately collective and controlled obstacles since the society was shifting into being a more diverse one and baby boomers were now adults, holding important positions in society. Moreover, the global approach towards rock music was getting to be irresistible and rock music eventually gained the support of the 1960s American youth as well, proving to be one of the determinants of their lives' outlook and being their voice and sanctuary against injustices.

In the mid-1960s and onwards, two of the biggest impacts that rock music had in reactionary terms were the Vietnam War incident and Civil Rights Movements. Getting denser and denser in the 1950s, there was an ongoing political activism and social changes in the United States which "fed into a general critique of the capitalist establishment and bourgeois morality" (Frith, 1981: 47). In that context, the state, as the ultimate power holder received heavy opposition regarding the imposed decisions it took. For instance, Vietnam War era saw the drafting of the people who could serve for the military and this incident was not taken by the youth as a proper action (Frith, 1981: 194). As a result, the government was protested by the rebellious youth nonetheless with the use of rock music as their show off of an independent and alternative lifestyle.

4.2. THE CASE OF BOB DYLAN

A recent Nobel Literature Prize owner Robert Allen Zimmerman, better known with his persona as Bob Dylan, was one of the biggest influences in rock music history. He was a reactionary musician through his music, attitude and political implications and an example of a person that held heavy characteristics of

rock culture youth within. He did not appear primarily as a rock musician, but his attitude proved to be a rebellious one, representing the posture of the counterculture youth, since rock culture did not only consist of music itself. He is better known for his country, folk and blues songs, as well as folk-rock ones, which happened to be a milestone in his career, when he ended up using electric guitar in 1965, disappointing his loyal traditional folk music fans (Hall, 2014: 88). However, even before that, his music consisted of folk-rock and blues patterns that held counterculture impulse within, as he was influenced by previous generation of rock musicians such as Elvis Presley and Chuck Berry. His music, nonetheless, is difficult to classify, due to his preference of musical instruments, since he had harmonica and acoustic guitar as the only instruments used in his early albums until 1965, but his singing style and musical structure was very much rock music adorned (Starr, et al, 2006: 139). As a consequence, his diverse style made him a unique musician, operating among blues, rock and folk tunes, but the path he took went in the direction of a more obvious folk-rock music. Furthermore, he brought the matured lyrical scent of rock music and the tunes of folk music together by re-shaping popular music. Therefore, his lyrical contribution is seen as revolutionary, and his writings can be considered as the deliverances of “explicit messages” through art (Wicke, 1990: 26). Therefore, he was also considered as a very efficient poet, “the bard of the counterculture” (Myers, 2015: 185), proving that rock music as a phenomena was not only a distorted guitar music that provoked feelings through tunes, but also a significant written source that shed light to the courage of counterculture movement along with the mixture of mellow acoustic folk-rock and blues melodies. However, the literature he brought was so assertive and powerful, but at the same time so complex for people to understand right off the bat, which caused his songs to get banned from a radio station in Texas (Green, et al, 2014: 624). Nonetheless, Bob Dylan’s stance and lyrical contribution made people act as one, who involved in sit-ins and anti-war demonstrations (Wicke, 1990: 101). Furthermore, according to Roger McGuinn, the lead guitarist of the Byrds, lyrics of Bob Dylan shifted the sentiments of rebellion from being without a cause, “undirected” and belonging to teenagers, to a youthful and “more focused” one through fighting various exploitations and inequalities. He added that, Dylan’s music was pioneering the motivation of the ones who believed in

the revolutionary spirit that could “change the world into a better place” (qtd. in Nainby, 2013: 50). Therefore, Bob Dylan’s contribution as a whole can be considered as very pivotal for the American cultural history.

Bob Dylan was, on the other hand, an activist himself, who took part at various protests for justice regarding Civil Rights Movements and Vietnam War. For instance, in 1963, he attended the Great March in Washington for defeating discrimination against minorities and African Americans, and sided with famous black activist Martin Luther King, which set forth his rebellious attitude against injustices (Wicke, 1990: 101). In that regard, he ridiculed discrimination not only through writing songs about it, but also by attending protests.

However, his presence in such activism may not be handled separately from his musical persona, as he used the literature of acoustic folk-rock music as his main source to deliver people’s demands. He wrote, for instance, a song upon the assassination of Medgar Evers, a civil rights activist with an African American background, called “Only a Pawn In Their Game,” to criticize injustice and hate crime through music (Myers, 2015: 185). Dylan’s contribution to anti-establishment protest in terms of music was not only related to discrimination issue, as he came up with anti-war songs, as well. His acoustic folk-rock song called “Blowin’ in the Wind” became an unofficial Civil Rights Movement anthem (Wicke, 1990: 101), which was a very deep critique of the Vietnam War as well as social justice in the United States. The lyrics of the song comprised of questions and an obscure answer as follows:

*How many roads must a man walk down
Before you call him a man?
Yes, 'n' how many seas must a white dove sail
Before she sleeps in the sand?
Yes, 'n' how many times must the cannonballs fly
Before they're forever banned?
.....
Yes, 'n' how many years can some people exist
Before they're allowed to be free?
Yes, 'n' how many times can a man turn his head
Pretending he just doesn't see?
.....
Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have
Before he can hear people cry?
Yes, 'n' how many deaths will it take till he knows
That too many people have died?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind. (Dylan, 1963, Track 1)*

Through that song, Dylan disputes people's ambitions, and delivers symbolic questions to power holders in an "ambiguous" way, with a critique of war and violence. The first three questions imply respectively the "maturity" that people are expected to receive, the compelling process of having peace and sanctuary symbolized by the dove, and destruction that arms bring through the contribution of people (Starr, et al, 2006: 141). These verses can be interpreted as being referred to the American youth that are conscripted by the state to take part in Vietnam War to achieve a so-called maturity for their country, which lasted quite long with lots of casualties. However, Dylan, in this "protest song", does not give direct references for specific events through his questions, trying to avoid a clean-cut political edge, meanwhile leaving the answer open-ended (Starr, et al, 2006: 141). For the rest of the lyrics of the song, poetry continues, as Dylan makes freedom implications, most likely by referring to discrimination and injustice. He also criticizes the people in general for being indifferent and static against the ongoing unrighteousness. He concludes by bringing death into play as an inevitable outcome of war and violence, again by condemning the ones who ignore this fact. Although being ambiguous and interpretable in many ways, the phrase "Blowin' in the Wind" might be referring to the desire to stop oppression, which is the solution to all of those injustices that are surrounding people momentarily, yet waiting for them to be noticed and taken seriously (Campbell, et al, 1999: 145). Through this acoustic folk-rock music, he rebels against the wrongdoings of the society indirectly by questioning who we are and why we would surrender to mechanisms that bring us to violence, inequality and destruction. As it can be inferred from his lyrics, Dylan portrays the poetic side of folk-rock music, and his symbolic words are not easy to be directly understood, but nonetheless deeply critical and peacefully resistant.

Another important song by Bob Dylan that was commenting on the changes that occurred during the 1960s with regard to countercultures was "The Times They Are A-Changing" (Dylan, 1965, Track 1), which was released in 1964. It was not necessarily a protest song, but rather a critical one to draw attention towards social changes with regard to the youth's and minority's motivations against the authority. In that song, Dylan addresses directly to many people including "writers and critics," "senators, [and] congressman," and "mothers and fathers" (Dylan, 1965, Track 1).

He calls for a change that could be managed through their contribution, for a world that is bright and peaceful. He furthermore asks for an action to realize injustices that is settled around people regarding discrimination and violence. Dylan states that “there’s a battle outside / and it’s ragin’ / it’ll soon shake your windows / rattle your walls” (Dylan, 1965, Track 1), which might be seen as a reference to the Vietnam War, but at the same time to the struggle for civil rights, as Dylan’s ambiguous, poetic and symbolic language makes his lyrics perceived as equivocal. The lines above might be referring to the lack of justice that might affect anyone destructively, before people take action against it. One of the most striking parts of Dylan’s lyrics comes up when he calls out to parental concern as he says “Come mothers and fathers / throughout the land / and don’t criticize / what you can’t understand / your sons and daughters are beyond your command” (Dylan, 1965, Track 1). At first sight, Dylan here seems like to be meaning the conscripted youth into the army by the state that were taken to Vietnam to fight, who were no longer alongside their family. However, some critics like Anthony Varesi suggest that, an incomprehensible “teenage rebellion” is mentioned here, implying that the youth are not the same as the generation of their parents’, and the parents should be understanding this fact and “adapt with the times”. He furthermore agrees that, these lines remain open to interpretation, but nonetheless, a heavy sense of criticism is apparent in Dylan’s lines (2002: 35). Consequently, a strong emphasis on the changing currents and demands of the new generation is put forward by Dylan through this song, being only as one of the many examples of his resisting songs.

Dylan’s lyrical contribution towards counterculture movement was not limited to a few songs. He composed countless other music in country, blues and folk-rock genre that protested wrongdoings and injustice within the society through their lyrics. To name some of them, his songs “The Lonesome Death Of Hattie Carroll,” “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall” and “I Shall be Free” can be considered as some further protest songs written and performed by Bob Dylan (Nainby, 2013: 40-47). His singles and albums consisted of questioning of his time, and reflected the ambitions and desires of the youth of the United States.

Apart from the lyrics, Bob Dylan, intentionally or not, was a rebellious individual as well, who reflected the change he mentioned in his songs, and even

drew reaction by his audiences regarding his actions. He, as a folk musician, started to perform a type of rock music that is synthesized with folk, and he literally started to play “electrified instruments,” which was not welcomed by traditionalist folk music listeners (Frith, 1981: 49). However, Dylan himself integrated electrified instruments into his music, and contributed to the evolution of rock music and its character.

Furthermore, some critics assert that Bob Dylan was one of the most influential musicians in rock music history, if not the most influential alone. Piero Scaruffi suggests that Dylan “started the fire” by shaping rock music again. He used rock music very effectively as a medium of delivering messages and “communication,” and he was watched by every other rock musician as a significant figure (2003b: 27). Therefore, one can say that Dylan contributed to the evolution of rock music directly, making it even more complicated to describe as a music genre.

Dylan’s attitude, motivation and countrywide effect is described by Anthony Scaduto, who wrote Dylan’s biography as follows: “Dylan’s influence can be felt in those who are attacking the system by refusing to cooperate with it, or are mounting direct assaults against it... Marcuse, Hesse, Fanon, Sartre, Camus, Proudhon and others provided the ideology. But Dylan provided the emotional drive that brought it all home” (qtd. in Wicke, 1990: 101). Bob Dylan’s reaction in general, therefore, can be seen as embodied collective demands of the countercultures regarding the refusal of authoritarian impulses.

4.3. THE CASE OF JIM MORRISON

Another American rock music icon was James (Jim) Douglas Morrison, the front man of a worldwide famous American band called the Doors, who made a big contribution towards the development of rock music. He was not only a poet and a singer, but also an artist admired by people, who had “dark and sensual dialectics” (Scaruffi, 2003b: 42). Furthermore, Jim Morrison was seen by “the American baby boom generation” as the “personification” of their “rebellion”, and thanks to his display of ultimate sexuality and talent of writing, he was called as the “mystery poet of psychic liberation” (Davis S., 2004: 224).

However, even though Jim Morrison was a brand and an important outsider character that shaped American psychedelic rock music, he owed his significance to the band the Doors, which enabled his appearance on stage. The Doors was a revolutionary American rock band of the late 1960s, with a serious success on American charts. The band constituted of three other members: drummer John Densmore, keyboardist Ray Manzarek and the guitarist and Robby Krieger. The lyrics of the band were usually presented as being a collaborated work of the whole band.

The most prominent acts of rebellion, which were performed by the Doors and Jim Morrison, were the references they give towards drug use in their songs to praise sexual, liberal, generational and non-conformist impulses. Their song “Light My Fire” was an example with these references. The song had a notorious line with a psychedelic drug implication as follows: “girl, we couldn’t get much higher” (Morrison, et al, 1967a, Track 6), which was despised by conformists. However, this song made people witness a broadcasted public event, which displayed the rebellious attitude of the Doors. Since the Doors became a very successful band in the United States, the famous television presenter Ed Sullivan welcomed them to his program named *Ed Sullivan Show* in September 1967 to meet the public demand of the youth, and they were expected to sing their hit song “Light My Fire”. Though, because of a possible outrage that could be caused publicly, Sullivan did not want the band to sing the lines with “drug reference” (Davis S., 2004: 204) since similar censorship was previously experienced by different rock bands and watched by families. However, even though a deal was done upon censorship, Jim Morrison, with an ultimate rebellious attitude that could be expected from an anti-conformity supporter, sang the lines during the show (204). The Doors, as a result, ended up violating the imposed order, not only through their music, but also through their attitude. Ed Sullivan, after the song, did not go to shake the hand of Jim Morrison (qtd. in Murphy, 2009: 501) as he usually did with other artists, but nonetheless, the message that the Doors delivered could not be hindered to be spread out loud.

Apart from their protest of the establishment and order, the Doors represented another unvoiced struggle of the youth of the 1960s, which was the postmodern uncertainty of belonging, psychological unstableness, and boredom brought by

obscurity mood of the Cold War era. Morrison was very much influenced by the writings of people such as Friedrich Nietzsche, William Blake and Jack Kerouac, and therefore he portrayed the motifs of “guilt, foreboding, violence, and dread” in his lyrics, which were the basis of his antiestablishment worldview (qtd. in Murphy, 2009: 501). As a skilled writer of poetry, Morrison wandered around the world of dark psychology, and as a result his unconventional lines were integrated into rock music to build up a further rebellious identity. Their song “The End,” for instance, had lyrics that consisted of a couple of oedipal lines, in which killing the father and obtaining the mother was clearly asserted. This attitude was unconventional for public to hear within music lyrics, especially through a vulgar language. Even though the lyrics had just a simple leaving-behind concept, the oedipal section meant getting rid of the things that are “instilled in you and are not of yourself” by killing the father, and going “back to the essence” by obtaining the mother (Davis S., 2004: 143). Finding oneself, as one of the basic lookouts of the 1960s youth, was a vague term, but when lyrically combined with psychedelic rock music melodies, it became a discourse of psychological messages delivered to the society. However, excluding the meaning of the lyrics, an explicit sexual content was present in the mood of the song. For some critics, “sexual furor” and tension that “The End” had, made it one of the most complicated and astonishing pieces of music made within the 1960s period (Davis S., 2004: 163). As being a hit song, “The End” (Morrison, et al, 1967b, Track 11) could realize a leap forward, manifested partially the sexual liberty of the 1960s youth, pulling away from the 1950s imposed morality and censorship pressure. This courageous breakthrough of the Doors made them a challenger, outspoken, unconventional and psychologically revolting American rock band.

The Doors had many other songs that concentrated on various non-conventional topics such as psychedelia, hedonism, sense of insecurity, loneliness, nihilism and liberation. One of the most striking songs among them had a rebellious arrangement through sentences with double meaning and was called “Five to One”. It is considered to be a complete challenge of the youth towards older generations, hence the term five to one is thought to be the estimation of the “ratio of young to old in America in 1975” (Davis S., 2004: 241), even though the essential meaning is uncertain. By stating that “the old get old and the young get stronger,” and “they got

the guns, but we got the numbers” (Morrison, 1968, Track 11), the Doors came up with a message to the public which praised the position and power of the 1960s rebellious youth in opposition to both old people and authority. If “the guns” are evaluated as the mediums of law enforcers to bring order, then the power of “the people” can be considered to be celebrated by the Doors as the counterforce that resists the guns of the establishment. However, the double meaning shows up in these lines, as according to Ray Manzarek’s statement given to the *Life* magazine, “In California, a number is another name for a joint, a marijuana cigarette” (qtd. in Crenshaw, 2014), which would integrate a drug reference into the song, as well, alternatively. The song, eventually outputs that there is a change going in terms of social and cultural aspects in the United States, and the youth that pioneered this shifting need to be approved by everyone, hence the change they caused is inevitable.

Vietnam War was another event that was protested by the Doors through rock music. Their song named “Unknown Soldier” can be evaluated as an indirect response to the reception of Vietnam War by the public (Chapman, 2015: 707). Jim Morrison, who wrote the lyrics of the song, criticized the society as being indifferent towards the war, and normalizing violence as a routine event. He used the term “unknown” to imply that the soldiers who fought in Vietnam were ordinary people and no more significant beings for the public (Perone, 2001: 53) as the war was already made normal before the eyes of the society.

All in all, The Doors and their extraordinary front man Jim Morrison displayed an attitude in the 1960s that can be called rebellious and anti-conformist, until the death of Jim Morrison in 1971 at the age of 27 in Paris. Morrison was an infringer who inversed “puritan America’s sexual taboos,” as well as a mischief, that had FBI records regarding some unofficial “threats” he made about Richard Nixon during one of the Doors’ tumultuous live performances (Davis S., 2004: 293). He was also a drug and alcohol user, which was a regular and widespread tendency of the youth in the United States that embraced rock music. According to his Elektra Records biography, Morrison claimed that he loved everything “about revolt against authority” and he supported the thought of “overthrowing of established order,” which can be considered as a verbalization of the proclamation of rock music’s spirit (Davis S., 2004: 154).

4.4. THE CASE OF THE WOODSTOCK FESTIVAL

Rock music was growing bigger in the United States in the 1960s, because the baby boomers were now adults and making music themselves. Also, a wide popularity was giving way to musicians to dominate music charts and sales, which enabled them to make money out of this business. Therefore, within the limits of the popular music, lots of bands appeared globally through the vein of rock genre, and naturally, lots of bands and artists appeared, a number of which were continuing the rebellious attitude of rock music culture. Eventually, turning into a big business, rock music got accepted as a music type for the mainstream to a certain extent.

Since the appearance of Elvis Presley and British Bands like the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, music concerts have been significant events for people to gather and enjoy, and this tradition went on in the 1960s as well, but since the bands that dominated the 1960s were pretty much rebellious, their concerts were more like rituals for liberty, pacifism and resistance to conformity. Following this trend, some festivals started to be arranged, including the famous Monterey Pop Festival of the 1967. Though, the peak point was reached towards the end of 1960s, as there occurred a very significant and revolutionary cultural phenomenon in the United States, called the Woodstock Festival, at which, around half a million young people attended to enjoy rock music (Starr, et al, 2006: 165). However, the number of the people who attended the festival can only be estimated. According to producer Michael Lang, what is known is that, about 180000 tickets were sold to people at the beginning, but since the total demand was a lot more than that, the festival became a free ground for the rest of the people that came. Lang added that the demand was too high that thousands of people could not even arrive at the festival because of a heavy traffic jam (2010: 50-59).

Among the people who took place as spectators, the Hippies were probably one of the most significant groups that constituted the spirit of Woodstock Festival. They could be considered as the embodiment of the cumulative non-conventional attitude of the 1960s youth counterculture, opposing any aspects that violated freedom and liberty. They are, according to Herbert Marcuse, an essential piece of rock culture, who displayed “an aggressive non-aggressiveness” for the sake of their

generational substructure that gave way to a “transvaluation of values” (qtd. in Davis A., 2004: 47). Therefore, the Hippies can be perceived as one of the cornerstones of rebellious youth counterculture in the United States. Their contribution to the evolution of the spirit of rock culture became inevitable. However, it was the early rock ‘n’ roll youth of the 1950s, which enabled the Hippies to appear as a morphed continuation of the youth rebellion. Nonetheless, both rock culture and the Hippies existed mutually and contributed to the formation of a cultural revolution in the United States collectively that dismissed oppression, formality and conformity. Rock music and its artists, in this regard, became a motivation source for the Hippies. Consequently, the Woodstock Festival was a ritual ground for them to gather and challenge the conservative society of the United States publicly.

The Woodstock Festival did not only have the Hippies as its contributors, since rock music did not have any limits to be internalized. However, the main aspect that dominated the spirit of the festival was peaceful resistance through music and unity that reflected the identity of the 1960s counterculture youth, including various people from different backgrounds. Similarly, the artists that took place in the event had various influences and motivations as well. Rock culture, in this regard, showed itself not only within a frame of an explicit music genre, but also through attitude and posture, since some artists that took place in the event had blues and folk music background, such as Joan Baez and Arlo Guthrie. In addition to this, the diversity in Woodstock appeared in terms of races and genders as well. There were strong female artists such as Janis Joplin, Nancy Nevins and Grace Slick, who performed in front of the crowd, proving rock culture to be a synthesizer that refused the superiority of any aspects but unity. Integration, which was the base of the establishment of rock music, became a natural and inevitable condition in Woodstock, as white singers took part along with black and Latino ones such as Jimi Hendrix and Carlos Santana. These incidents revealed that rock culture in the late 1960s was already a universal, inclusive, limitless and growing phenomenon, and the Woodstock Festival became a realm to display these aspects.

On the other hand, since rock music was getting the attention of the younger generations continuously, it was enabling people and corporations to make money out of it. In a parallel manner, the music was being practiced by various people

without any homogenous motivation. Therefore, for rock music, a shift towards being a part of mainstream culture was getting to be inevitable in time, as its acceptance was expanding. This condition made big events like the Woodstock Festival achievable, thanks to people who could invest in music and concerts. Money making can be considered as a purpose of big concert events, but sponsoring an almost anti-government event like the Woodstock appears to have further motivations that are challenging and yet debatable. Therefore, in the late 1960s, promoting concerts for commonly protesting and demanding youth could be seen as a brave and political step to take, since the era was witnessing the continuation of Vietnam War and partial triumph of civil rights activism. In that regard, the Woodstock Festival, as expectedly, became a fruitful concert event for anti-war protests via the loudness of rock music and contribution of the youth community. Thanks to the promoters such as Michael Lang, John Roberts, Joel Rosenman, and Artie Kornfeld that invested for the festival under unstable circumstances and during the time of war, the Woodstock could be held as one of the biggest concert events in the history of rock music.

The Woodstock Festival was planned to take place in White Lake, New York on 15th, 16th and 17th of August 1969, but it expanded to 18th August as well. Its motto on its official promotional brochure was “3 days of peace and music” and it was officially called as “Woodstock Music & Art Fair: An Aquarian Exposition”. Since the countercultures emphasized a need for peace during the Vietnam War era, the motto of the festival made it clear that it was supportive of peace, and the call for peace was to be conducted through music, which can be considered as a peaceful rebellion and protest. This idea was pictured on the cover of the brochure as a white bird sitting on an electro-guitar handle, which was symbolically putting a stress on peace and apparently demanding it through the sound of rock music.

The Woodstock Festival displayed anti-power reactions as its dominant political messages, which eventually put music to a position of being a medium to express dissatisfaction among the youth. Some of the performances of the artists could be considered as the examples of ritual-like resistances against power. Among these examples, the songs of Joan Baez hold an uttermost importance. Baez was a protest folk singer just like Bob Dylan and she can be considered as one of the

pioneers of folk rock music. At the Woodstock Festival, she sang anti-war songs that protested Vietnam War and eventually continued her activism, because of which she had been jailed twice (Craig, 2015: 42). Along with Baez, there were other musicians and bands such as Country Joe and the Fish and Jimi Hendrix, who displayed some significant examples of anti-war protest on stage via their songs and attitudes. Related to that aspect, the Californian psychedelic rock band Country Joe and the Fish sang its song called “I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag” (McDonald J., 1967, Track 1). To portray an example of a rebellious act in Woodstock musicwise, the lyrics of that song can be looked into as they were critical of Vietnam War in a direct manner:

*Well, come on all of you, big strong men,
 Uncle Sam needs your help again.
 He's got himself in a terrible jam
 Way down yonder in Vietnam
 So put down your books and pick up a gun,
 We're gonna have a whole lotta fun.*

*Come on Wall Street, don't be slow,
 Why man, this is war au-go-go
 There's plenty good money to be made
 By supplying the Army with the tools of its trade,
 But just hope and pray that if they drop the bomb,
 They drop it on the Viet Cong.*

*Come on mothers throughout the land,
 Pack your boys off to Vietnam.
 Come on fathers, and don't hesitate
 To send your sons off before it's too late.
 And you can be the first ones in your block
 To have your boy come home in a box. (McDonald J., 1967, Track 1)*

The song focuses on the war in Vietnam and upon that aspect it criticizes the oppression of the establishment ironically by sending assertive messages about violence, conscription and money making. Nonetheless, understanding the lyrics of this rebellious song pretty much sums up the common motivation of Woodstock youth. In the first part of the song, the Uncle Sam figure, symbolically the American government is shown as someone who causes trouble in faraway lands and needs to be saved once again. In order to do so, soldiers of America are required to fight for Uncle Sam and leave rationality and peacefulness behind. The government of America is here openly criticized for setting the rules for regular people and

interfering with their lives. On the other hand, the economic aspect of the war is indicated to show what lies beneath the war affair. Thus, money making is protested through a Wall Street irony as a condition that demands violence to be realized. All of these instances, according to the song, require young people to be sent to fight in Vietnam, and Joe McDonald puts that inference in words by implying that people should have a common voice to refuse to take part in war affair. In this way, parents could prevent receiving dead bodies of their children, which is a tragic statement emphasizing the cruel side of the war. All in all, the song portrays a heavy ironic protest against the American government and its choices regarding the Vietnam War. As a result, one can say that the song called “I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag” (McDonald J., 1967, Track 1) politically reflected the Woodstock spirit and the group identity motivation of those attended the festival. Woodstock, therefore, can be seen as a sample realm for the realization of the rebellious and protesting attitude of the counterculture youth.

Along with conveying messages through music lyrics, Woodstock witnessed exclusive and artistic display of protest, as well. To give an example of that aspect, the case of Jimi Hendrix on the Woodstock stage can be examined. Jimi Hendrix, who is universally considered as one of the greatest guitar players of all time, became the person to give the latest concert of the Woodstock Festival on Monday, the early morning of 18th August 1969. For many, Hendrix’s 2 hour long performance at Woodstock became a memorable one in the history of rock music festivals, but what made it even more special was that he protested Vietnam War on stage not only through distortion of electric guitar, but also via a mini theatrical performance. Hendrix played the American National Anthem on guitar without singing it, but his adaptation of the anthem was extraordinary and different, as he was committed to distortion created by the guitar. This non-verbal protest of the war through the performance of “Star Spangled Banner” was furthermore adorned with Hendrix’s movements on stage, as he “mimicked the sound of falling bombs and anti-raid sirens” (Chapman, 2015: 707). His musical synthesis of the sound of violence and an important nationalistic value can be considered as an exclusive type of protest reflecting the peace demand of the Woodstock youth. However, the theatrical

performance of Hendrix remained as a unique and memorable peaceful protest event in the history of rock music and countercultures.

Nonetheless, the political activism on Woodstock stage was celebrated by the crowd as the youth that took place in the festival had a unique group identity, which enabled them to act as one homogenous community. Thanks to the synergy of the youth, the purposeful course of the festival to protest the establishment got self-actualized eventually. However, rebellion was peaceful and pacifism was one of the main focuses. As for the purpose of the Woodstock, Michael Lang, one of the producers of the festival said that there was a sort of indirect political exercise enacted by the artists and the crowd but the motivation overall was determined by the desire of peace. He furthermore said that the Woodstock was an opportunity for the 1960s youth to experience whether they could transform our planet to be a peaceful place they were dreaming of. Lang added, during the course of the festival, the harmony of music and peace could demonstrate that reconciliation and social tolerance was achievable and this context justified the spirit of the counterculture (2010: 53). Nonetheless, the Woodstock of 1969 became a pivotal cultural event in the history of countercultures and rock music in the United States, within the terms of passive resistance through art.

Certainly, not all the bands that attended the Woodstock Festival had been known for their political attitude. Most of the bands at the festival were delivering musical messages instead of making music for the sake of music. On the other hand, most of the bands, yet again, were rock bands. However, all those bands at the Woodstock accepted to perform for a prearranged event that was essentially political, thanks to its audience and purpose. As a matter of fact, this can be a justification of a phenomenon that rock music was already known for its rebellious nature without having a need to be furthermore rebellious through lyrics or attitude on stage. It can just be a background sound for setting that aimed for pacifism, liberation and freedom. That is to say, the image of rock music was already set in the minds of people as the music of the counterculture. Therefore, it was inevitable that the Woodstock Festival became an anti-conformist event by default, due to the nature of rock culture's rebellious impression, motivation it caused and the use of drugs it fostered. Rebellion, in that sense, did not mean to perform violence and aggression;

rather it was a sort of Marcusean refusal through not adopting the values of the establishment, power holders and conformity. Nonetheless, the youth could not escape from being criticized by the media and conformists eventually. Many saw this festival as utterly political in a notorious sense. Following this trend, some newspapers in the United States mentioned about the Woodstock Festival in a negative manner, including the *Time*, which said that “the festival was a squalid freakout, a monstrous Dionysian revel, where a mob of crazies gathered to drop acid and groove to hours of amplified cacophony” (qtd. in Altschuler, 2003: 188).

As a result of the Woodstock Festival, the whole nation of the United States witnessed that the youth could come together for a purpose under the umbrella of rock music in large masses that cannot be underestimated. This pivotal cultural event pioneered further rock music festivals throughout the world. However, the Woodstock also aided to the mainstreamization and normalization of rock music, speeding up the inevitable process of the evolution and divarication of rock culture. As being adopted by the means of popular culture, rock music branched into various categories with different purposes in time. However, the late 1960s were still challenging rock culture as it was yet a synonym for nonconformity at a great scale. In that sense, the significance of the Woodstock Festival is better described by *The Boston Globe*, one of the most effective newspapers in the United States:

The Woodstock Music and Art Festival will surely go down in history as a mass event of great and positive significance in the life of the country ... that this many young people could assemble so peaceably and with such good humor in a mile-square area ... speaks volumes about their dedication to the ideal of respect for the dignity of the individual ... in a nation beset with a crescendo of violence, this is a vibrantly hopeful sign. If violence is infectious, so, happily, is nonviolence. (qtd. in Lang, et al, 2010: 249)

4.5. VARIOUS OTHER CASES

The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed the continuation of rebellion of rock music artists and audience. The youth kept protesting situations and events that were siding with formality, conformity, ultimate morality and various conservative practices. The music that accompanied the protesting youth was still largely rock music due to its expertise and familiarity on rebellion. Whatever was sensitive for the

moralists was being criticized by the rock youth. Sexuality, equality, pacifism and anti-oppression were the focal concern of rock-adorned counterculture. Image of rock music was still subversive, but on the other hand it was slowly evolving into a mainstream impulse. Nonetheless, as an overall impression, rock music in the late 1960s in the United States had itself positioned against conventional notions of all sorts.

In terms of resistance against irrational inclinations that featured rock music, its artists, its audiences and its ideologies, there occurred various happenings in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Apart from well-known folk artists and pioneers of folk-rock such as Bob Dylan and psychedelic heroes like Jimi Hendrix, the Doors and Jim Morrison, there were many other discretely oppositional people and bands that made an impact on the society to a certain extent. To name only some of them, one can count legendary artists like Grateful Dead, Neil Young, Frank Zappa, and various British bands like Pink Floyd, Black Sabbath and the Who.

Neil Young, a Canadian born rock legend who lived in the United States for the majority of his life, became a rock music icon who could harshly and directly protest American government and presidency in the early 1970s. As stated in the text of Kirk Richardson, Neil Young was a remarkable artist with his political approach towards injustice overall, but one of the most impactful protests he exhibited through rock music came up following his song "Ohio" (Young, 1970, Track 5) which was censored by the Nixon administration due to its sharp viewpoint. It is claimed that, at the basis of Neil Young's motivation to write "Ohio" lied the killing of four students by officials that protested American intervention in Cambodia, which was the extension of Vietnam War into a new country (Richardson, 2015: 743). However, one can say that the protest against the government by Neil Young through music justified a Foucauldian stance of rebelling against power holders, in which Young represented the voice of the politically oppressed. In the song "Ohio," Neill Young looked for justice through a harsh criticism over the government of Nixon, as apparently, for Young, the murder of four young American students was a dreadful state act that cannot be justified. The lyrics of the song had the name of Richard Nixon directly in it, by putting the president in the position of being responsible of the killings of students. In the first stanza of the song, by saying "Tin Soldiers And

Nixon's Bombing / We're Finally On Our Own / This Summer I Hear The Drumming / Four Dead In Ohio” (Young, 1970, Track 5), Young basically implied that the soldiers were just puppets that delivered the violent orders of the executive to cease independent protesting voices. Neil Young, as a result of his outspoken response through rock music, symbolically got to display the cumulative reaction of anti-war sentiments against government oppression. Nonetheless, this protest against violence, the violation of the right to protest and free speech by Neil Young was one of the most important acts through art within the anti-war movement. Since the protest figures in rock songs and anti-war reactions of the rock artists were abundant during the Vietnam War, this period was described as “America’s first rock ‘n’ roll war” (Jones, et al, 2004c).

The early 1970s witnessed the continuation of war protest, but the Vietnam War was not the only incident that was condemned by the protesters. Richard Nixon, along with the famous Watergate Scandal in 1974, became the focal concern of the political agenda in the United States. Hence it turned out that the Republicans related burglars broke in the meeting room of the Democrats party illegally, Richard Nixon suffered from losing credibility before the eyes of the public. Intrinsically, Nixon got protested at a great scale and he received heavy criticism from every aspect of the society including the musicians. Lots of Anti-Nixon protest-songs were recorded during Nixon’s presidency and after his resignation, which was an expected outcome of the heavy criticism and accusations. Among all the anti-Nixon songs, one of the most well-known protests of the Watergate Scandal through the use of music came from an American rock artist named Frank Zappa. Zappa, instead of pronouncing Nixon’s name directly in his song unlike Neil Young did before, used a famous phrase of Nixon symbolically. Frank Zappa, in his called “Son of Orange County” used the phrase “I am not a crook” (Zappa, 1974, Track 8) to emphasize the corrupt side of politics in an ironic way. The song had an instrumental session with mellow melodies and very few lyrics but the purpose was to sarcastically point the finger at Richard Nixon. Zappa portrayed in the song a delusional nameless person thinking himself as a savior, but nonetheless he was a corrupt one in essence, which was symbolically the president Nixon that defended himself by saying “people have got to know whether or not their president is a crook. Well, I'm not a crook” (qtd. in

Rawson, et al, 2006: 713) in one of the press conference sessions in 1973. However, this act of protest was not made through harsh lyrics or loud music, but rather the criticism was portrayed via humor, irony and moving tunes. As claimed by Neil Slaven, upon recording the song, Frank Zappa personally and outspokenly talked about the Watergate Scandal as well, by saying that the scandal was more than an act of espionage. According to Zappa, the reality of an attempt to start a “secret police” by the president was being hid from the public, because Nixon thought to be threatened by his foes. Zappa added that, the scandal was rather a national espionage upon legal factions that were seen as foes by the president (2003: 155). This anti-government protest by Zappa through art can be considered as an extension of the political motivation of the counterculture against power-holders and injustice. In that regard, rock music became a medium for opposition for corrupt politics. It can be said that, thanks to anti-Nixon protests in general including the songs, the process of Richard Nixon’s resignation was hastened as they hindered the scandal to be removed from the political agenda of the United States.

On the other hand, according to Slaven, Frank Zappa was not only a distinct musician, but also a very unique and unusual character in the history of rock music. His music with political meanings had very heavy humor in it and he often delivered his message through unexpected and cynical behaviors as he was rather seen as an artist who had a rebellious point of view in every aspect of life (2003: 10-297). Therefore, he protested not only corruption, but also conformity and censorship, just like the rock musicians did in the 1950s. However, Zappa’s war against corruption was not limited to those of the state’s. He was also openly critical of hypocrisy in his own terms and he criticized some hippies as well for being false and ignoring the essence and point of view of being a hippie. Those “phony hippies”, who basically just followed the dress code of the hippie movement without adopting its philosophy, were cruelly criticized by Zappa in his mocking song “Who Needs the Peace Corps” to show a peaceful and humorous resistance to degeneration (Starr, et al, 2006: 154). This act of Zappa can be seen as an expansion in the position of rock music in terms of the messages it delivers. Furthermore, he had songs with sarcastic names and lyrics that had no specific context as he was destroying linearity and cohesion to build up absurdity on purpose through music to metaphorically bring a criticism on

the so-called requirement of having a direct and coherent meaning. As a result, it can be said that, apart from censorship, civil rights, racism, pacifism, conservatism, sexual freedom and corruption, the peaceful rebellion got moved into newer political aspects inevitably.

For Zappa, corruption in music expanded naturally into having a commercial purpose primarily. Protesting the record companies and musicians, Frank Zappa mentioned in one of the interviews that rock music required the direct work of the artists, not the promoters. For him, only the artists themselves could make the music “original” and “creative,” and they should force this attitude even though they would struggle to make their agents to accept it, hence the “commercial” purposes now mattered with the interference of entrepreneurs siding with mainstreamness (qtd. in Wicke, 1990: 93). This corruption protest and rebellion in attitude eventually reshaped the development of rock music in the 1970s. In that regard, one can say that, the early birth pangs of punk attitude to rebel against rebellion could be observed in the early 1970s in the vein of rock music.

Furthermore, Frank Zappa was one of the pioneers in rock music that brought a theatrical sense to it by requesting the participation of the audience. Expectedly, in that sense, Zappa got inspired by the political situation and performed some sort of unique rituals on stage to protest the agenda. For example, in one of the concerts, he called a few American marines onto stage to make them perform an act of aggression on human-sized dolls to ironically protest Vietnam War and to show the ugly side of violence (qtd. in Whiteley, 1992: 134). This unconventional and absurd ritual that Zappa delivered had extreme satirical messages within. Nonetheless, the messages to be received by the audience were not necessarily always decoded accurately and neither were they transmitted to be done so. In that regard, Zappa can be considered as an elusive misfit who brought an extraordinary way of indirect protest and rebellion onto music stage.

One of the most essential aspects of Frank Zappa’s rebellion was being against censorship which was still a case in the 1970s. Since the late 1950s, the proliferation of rock music has been a growing concern for the fundamentalists as it was thought to be a negative influence for the youth. Some songs that were perceived as dangerous by the moralists in that sense were being censored partially or banned

completely from broadcasts and this fashion expanded into the 1970s. However, in that era, sexually explicit, religiously offensive and drug oriented lyrics were of concern to the conservative Americans, rather than those with racial implications. Furthermore, some books were published and programs were arranged to support an anti-rock campaign by some religious communities that associated rock music with drug use and blasphemy. Frank Zappa was among the artists that were poisonous for the American youth according to moralists: A famous American evangelist sermon named Bob Larson wrote books to vilify rock music, upon which he criticized Frank Zappa by associating him with the Satan due to his indecorous attitude and absurd lyrics (Zuschlag, 2015: 557). However, such condition of being the very concern of moralists and conservatives can be considered as the confirmation of Zappa's misfit position opposing enforcements and conformity.

Censorship attempts and Zappa's resistance against them dominated the 1970s. Rock music and exclusively Frank Zappa faced -yet again- another authoritarian measure by the government in the year 1970. As pointed out by Jennifer Holt, Richard Nixon ordered radios and programmers to be on the alert about "lyrics" that had "drug references" and prohibit those with morally vicious themes, which eventually led Federal Communications Commission to be able to "censor" songs legally. It is mentioned that the development of this censorship case extended itself into the 1980s, as moralists, who wanted to protect their children from being exposed to notorious lyrical contents, requested further precautions from the government. Holt added that Frank Zappa stood as one of the pioneers to oppose this practice since his songs were being monitored by authorities. However, as a result of his struggle, Zappa and various other musicians could force authorities to validate a "sticker" solution that allowed albums to be released with a warning on it. Nonetheless, Holt mentioned that Zappa experienced the most extreme practice onto censorship as he had one of his instrumental albums to be released with a caution sticker ironically, which remained as a strange plot in the history of rock music and censorship (2015:1666-1667). These events eventually showed how Zappa proved to be a rock music artist that was feared, faced ultimate oppression and showed explicit resistance.

The majority of the rock performances were somehow possible, despite government precautions and moralist oppositions. One of the most important figures that made counterculture rebellion possible was Bill Graham, who was responsible for arranging rock music concerts in San Francisco repeatedly (Starr, et al, 2006: 157). His attempts can be considered as providing a realm for making disobedience possible in groups along with rock music. Graham found one of the most important concert halls in the history of rock music named the Fillmore, which was the “mecca” of the counterculture in terms of rock music (Wilk, 2009: 223). It was especially important that psychedelic bands which were often associated with drug use were able to take place on stage and their audience could attend these ritual-like meetings. Thanks to the efforts of Bill Graham, the counterculture had an opportunity to solidify its presence and display its group identity in a challenging way to the society. However, rock gatherings were still considered to be one of the focal essences of disorder and drug-use in the 1970s (Martin, et al, 1993: 112).

There came out various other rock music festivals following the popularity of the Woodstock and Monterey to establish an ongoing counterculture presence and spirit in the United States despite all the conformist oppression. Promoters who followed the motivation of Bill Graham that encouraged sponsorship, tried to arrange festivals and events in the early 1970s. A number of important festivals were organized that promoted rock music among the youth. However, censorship stroked onto the festival business as well. Fearing the use of drugs and possible violent acts that could be caused by groups of young people, a verdict was rendered by a court to prohibit a festival named Powder Ridge Rock upon the complaints received by the locals of Connecticut (Mangan, 2015: 177). This incident can be considered to legitimize one of many public attempts of precautions taken against threatening group activities, which labeled the youth officially as trouble makers and approved their outsider position.

Despite the attempts of the youth to legitimize rock music, censorship overall against rock artists and festivals were growing around the year 1970. Nonetheless, rock gatherings were usually defined through “unruly” attitude, which was an impression of “youth’s natural rebellion” about the system constituted by the community (Martin, et al, 1993: 129). The government precautions against the

contagious rock culture was getting to be rigid, upon which a legislator said that the rock ambiance encouraged “scenes which could only tend to exalt and influence ridiculous youthful styles, thus humiliating and certainly not favoring the education and formation of youthful generations” (qtd. in Martin, et al, 1993: 117). As an overall impression, one can say that, as long as there are morally dangerous acts for the aspect of power-holders, enforcements against them gets to be taken. Through a Foucauldian perspective, rebellion against power through the application of the unwanted portrays a natural reciprocal outcome (Foucault, 1980: 142). Rock music, in that regard, continued to be a medium of resistance in the 1970s, even though a systematical mainstreamization process got to be inevitable due to its evolution and interaction with external cultural aspects.

4.6. FURTHER EVOLUTION OF ROCK MUSIC IN THE 1970S: DID REBELLION OF ROCK MUSIC END OR DOES IT CONTINUE?

Rock music, towards the late 1970s, was a universal music genre. However, it was debatable whether rock music was a cultural medium to be avoided as an ideological enemy at first place or not. During the time of “‘de-contextualization’ of rock music” in mid-1970s, the dominant music was “progressive rock” and it was no longer being produced for the sake of direct political purposes, but rather for artistry and “technical innovations,” especially with the interference of the virtuoso and newer generations (Scaruffi, 2003b: 57). There were so many inputs for the evolution of rock music and this process did not happen in a sudden way. For some scholars like Simon Frith and musicologists like Charlie Gillett, triumphant years of rock music were left behind and it was slowly “dying around 1976”. Moreover it was mentioned that Frith and Gillett thought the age of rock music was “effectively dead as a mass-cultural force because for all its revolutionary energy and excitement, anger and anarchism, it has finally succumbed to those twin demons: capital and technology” (qtd. in Miklitsch, 2006: 31-32). That is to say, rock music did not really end, but it morphed into a new direction called progressive rock, which caused its character to shift slightly, making masses to perceive it as a normalized cultural phenomenon. Since the dominant form of rock music was progressive rock, the term

rock was probably no longer disturbing. On the other hand, it did not mean that rebellion that is associated with rock culture ended, rather it divaricated into a newer genre under the branch of rock music called punk, just like rock 'n' roll being an expanded form of rhythm & blues and psychedelic being an evolved form of rock 'n' roll. Rockish attitude, therefore, had newer names and the rebellion somehow continued. Nonetheless, progressive rock and punk were different musicwise. All in all, in order to understand how rock music eventually got to become an integral part of mainstream popular culture, one should examine how it declined from a rebellious state to an acceptable one. Upon reviewing Frith and Gillett's approaches, for the course of radical terms regarding rebellion and the effect of counterculture, one can say that rock music lost its revolutionary impact. At this point, it becomes crucial to define the decline in rebelliousness in the context of the term "rock" via historical incidents that triggered it and evaluate its counter arguments such as punk rock.

As time progressed into the mid-1970s, the United States welcomed a new era especially after the resignation of Richard Nixon. Eventually, the young people of the 1950s and 1960s grew older, and new generations replaced their position with a more different approach. Just as kids oppose the rooted practices of their older ones for a physical and intellectual liberation (Bloom, 1980: 83), the new generations tended to adopt their own unique approaches different from those of the 1960s. As for the rebelliousness, punk rock can be considered as the motivation of newcomer adolescent reaction. However, for the older generation, a midlife crisis got to be an inevitable outcome. Therefore, one can infer that an elite form of their generation's music named progressive rock eventually become their naturalized selection. This approach can be considered as an outcome of dropping from disobedience to nostalgia.

To define progressive rock as one of the most important aspects that reshaped rock music, one should first consider that it was the extension of psychedelic rock with a "musically demanding" structure (Hall, 2014: 159), which was almost a nonexistent quality for previous rock genres. Moreover, as Edward Macan said, the topics of the music were rarely related to dissatisfaction and political events unlike its precedents; rather they focused on "science fiction, mythology and fantasy literature". He furthermore added that the music was generally perceived as being

complicated and “elitist” hence it brought the virtuoso into play (1997: 3). Progressive rock was on the other hand seen as a type of music that was good at covering the essential purpose of making money through benefiting from the identifier term rock in its name (Wicke, 1990: 114). Because of these reasons it was a form of music appealing to “post-hippie extension of the counterculture” rather than newer generations and the people who listened to progressive rock tended to have the quality of a “taste public” for an “aesthetic” appeal instead of a pursue of being a part of “a common lifestyle or worldview” in a group (Macan, 1997: 19-29). Nonetheless, sliding from being a tune of subcultures to being music of mainstream popular culture was not an immediate case for progressive rock and represented a detachment from being a subcultural value (Macan, 1997: 153). In this regard, one can say that rebellion of the counterculture was pacified and completed its maturation by leaving its subversive motivation to new generations. In a parallel manner, rock music, the music of the counterculture, evolved along with the group it was associated with.

Moreover, at the early period of progressive rock music, it received a lot of criticism for betraying its roots through leaving scattered improvisation and favoring systematization since it was “the vital expression of a bohemian, middle-class intelligentsia” that prioritized “art for art’s sake” for high culture music (Macan, 1997: 144-169). These revolutionary changes for rock music can be correlated to a shift towards rationality from romanticism, as rock music in the 1960 was a rather romanticized concept with full of improvisations, but progressive rock period had a more organized music writing (41). Also, heavy focus on “artfulness” made progressive rock to feature “technical rather than emotional expertise” (Frith, 1981: 21). At this point, William Wordsworth’s definition of romantic impulse as “spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings” (2003: 8) can be hold up as a suitable definition for the romantic period of rock music, hence improvisation brought along the domination of “infinite and otherworldly” emotions (Macan, 1997: 41). In that regard, disobedient attitudes get better associated with an improvisation-oriented music than a systematic one. Progressive rock, in that context, partially sent the emotion-oriented and reactionary side in rock music to the background and brought mastery and musicality onto foreground.

On the other hand, one of the other most important reasons for rock music rebellion to decline was the death of figures associated with the rise of rock music and culture. Especially the cases of deaths regarding drug use were the most widespread instances among rock music artists who were making psychedelic music that is often associated with LSD use (Macan, 1997: 58). However, unexpected early deaths of rock music icons eventually affected the audience and musical continuity through similar motivation and conduct. Especially passing away of three important musicians, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin and Jim Morrison had big impacts as these incidents justified the concerns about the use of drugs in their community (Hall, 2014: 147). These events can be considered as the symbolic losses of the vanguards of the counterculture movement, as those deceased artists were among the most important ones that conveyed the messages of the counterculture to American mainstream.

One of the earliest losses of rock music was Jim Hendrix when he passed away in September 18, 1970, at the age of 27, approximately one year after his legendary protesting performance at the Woodstock Festival. The cause of his death has been controversial but it was assumed to be because of exceeded use of barbiturate and his death caused a shocking effect for the rock music audience (Hall, 2014: 137). His revolutionary contribution to rock culture was described by another African American artist Greg Tate as “Hendrix wasn’t just a racial-political heretic but a musical one as well” (qtd. in Mahon, 2008: 46).

Two other back to back losses were experienced for the rock stage in 1970 and 1971 when Janis Joplin and Jim Morrison passed away. Janis Joplin, an extremely rebellious female performer, was found death due to drug overdose in October 1970 (Hall, 2014: 129). She was the second young rock music artist adopted by the counterculture, who passed away following the death of Hendrix. Lastly, legendary rock music artist and poet Jim Morrison of the Doors passed away in 1971, which was the final track of “rock star extinctions” (Davis S, 2004: 463). The reason of his death was not clarified, but it was thought to be due to a heart attack upon alcohol or drug use (Whiteley, 1992: 103). Consequently, an era of the essential artists of the 1960s can be considered to come to an end with their deaths. Moreover, government forced “witch hunt” against rock music got a chance to be validated

through the point of view of the conformists due to its so-called association with drug use in the early 1970s (Martin, et al, 1993: 212-213); hence the stars of rock music passed away because of one of the opposed impulses of the establishment. As a result, one can say that a decline in rock music started to be rooted not only in terms of changing currents and generations, but also due to loss of its vanguards.

The latest impactful event in terms of the loss of important artists who were largely correlated with the notion of rebellion happened in 1977. On the 16th August, the person who was responsible with the growing popularity of rock 'n' roll -or in other terms, "the King of Rock 'n' Roll"- Elvis Presley passed away. However, one of the most important aftermaths of his death regarding the effect of rock music was the tribute paid to him by the president Jimmy Carter. Carter's official condolatory message was aired by radio stations upon Presley's funeral, to which hundreds of thousands of people had attended:

Elvis Presley's death deprives our country of a part of itself. He was unique and irreplaceable. More than 20 years ago, he burst upon the scene with an impact that was unprecedented and will probably never be equaled. His music and his personality, fusing the styles of white country and black rhythm and blues, permanently changed the face of American popular culture. His following was immense, and he was a symbol to people the world over of the vitality, rebelliousness, and good humor of his country. (1977: 1478)

Elvis, upon his departure, became one of the few rock music artists that received a governmental appreciation. Jimmy Carter's words, nonetheless, can be seen as a signifier that rock music in the late 1970s was already a mainstream popular culture element. Although he implied the case of rebelliousness, Carter's statements can be perceived in a way that rock music could somehow accomplish its mission in its own oppositional terms. However, Jimmy Carter was not the only person that described Presley's contribution. John Lennon, one of the members of the Beatles emphasized the significance of Presley by saying that "before Elvis, there was nothing" (qtd. in Birnbaum, 2013: 12), which was an assertive statement that celebrated Presley's attempts to make rock music popular. Likewise, composer Leonard Bernstein mentioned that Presley could officially become "the greatest cultural force" of the previous century. Bernstein added that Presley, furthermore, contributed to rock culture on multi-dimensional layers, so that it could become "a whole new social

revolution” that dominated the entire decade of his emergence (qtd. in Landrum, 2007: 63).

In addition to the death of the pioneers of rock music, the late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed tumultuous festivals which hastened rock culture’s process of metamorphosis. In terms of festivals, there were countless festivals arranged following the Woodstock due to the rising popularity of rock music in the United States. However, some of them did not happen to have a peaceful atmosphere like the Woodstock inspired and Altamont Festival happened to be one of them. As stated by Alison Perry, at Altamont Festival, there were lots of tumultuous happenings that included heavy drug use, violence and even death. Perry mentioned that the security people who were hired by one of the artists instigated violence among the viewers in order to establish a “crowd control”. She added that the act of the guards provoked people at first, but when the attitude went on, it caused wounding of one of the artists and ended up in a murder of a viewer (2009: 24). As a result, this event contributed to the negative perception of moralists regarding rock festivals’ reputation; hence the use of violence did not associate with the revolutionary and peaceful impulse of rock counterculture. Likewise, according to Professor Reebee Garofalo “the violence at Altamont served notice of the counterculture’s impending demise” (qtd. in Hall, 2014: 142), meaning that a peaceful era with a political cause has ended. Altamont Festival, all in all, displayed the feared “dangers of crowd behavior” in big gatherings and it indicated “the end of innocence for the 1960s counterculture” (Perry, 2009: 24).

Another aspect that caused a decline in communal counterculture impulse with regard to rock music was the shutdown of a subculture oriented venue the Fillmore East. Venues, in that regard, can be considered as the gathering places of rebellious youth for rock music rituals and their discontinuity can be seen as a modification in the composition of rock culture. All in all, in 1971, one of the most important concert halls for the rock culture oriented youth, Fillmore East, was announced to be closed. As explained by Gavin Wilk, the area of Fillmore East, the East Village New York, was losing its popularity since two hippies were killed there and the youth started to move out of that area in “fear of urban violence”. As a result,

the lack of audience made Fillmore East to be shutdown and it signified “the symbolic end of the hippie era” (2009: 223-224).

On the other hand, money making became an uttermost concern for the musicians and record companies and this case contributed to a quick change in music. Nonetheless, a milder rock music genre proved to be very suitable for the economic continuity. In that regard, various new musical experimentations in the 1970s brought along the emergence of progressive rock as a continuation of main rock music impulse. One of the reasons that supported the rise of progressive rock was the record industry, which, according to Mitchell Hall, was aware of the money flow in music business and therefore started acting in a “conservative” manner. Hall mentioned that, as a result, the music “matured” and ended up being “less cohesive”. Also, as the music became more popular nationwide, the record companies no longer tended to target small groups for better and global economic opportunities (2014: 150).

Consequently, the music that was to be promoted had to have certain appeal and acceptability for the public taste. The music evolved partially in that direction nonetheless. According to Rolling Stone magazine, the change in music shaped it into having no more consolidating quality and its listeners were only slightly a member of “something subversive or threatening;” let alone it was getting to be divaricated into smaller genres through having multcentral focuses (qtd. in Hall; 2014: 150). On the other hand, in order to produce a sort of appealing music to make profit, it had to be systematized in a way. Therefore, the interference of the virtuoso came into play, which was not a case in rock music history since the music depended upon improvisation in many cases. For Mitchell Hall, progressive rock musicians, at a great scale, were educated in “classical music” and they not only applied their professional expertise into rock music, but also brought a “high culture” quality to it. Moreover, they crafted thematic and conceptual records through leaving behind routine rock music patterns and implementing “multi-movement compositions” (2014: 159-168). As a result, it can be said that a music that was based upon mostly on African American rhythm & blues evolved and got to be rationalized through systematization applied by the virtuoso. This inevitable evolution ended up in

proliferation of the music into newer horizons globally, especially upon having lesser political implications.

On the other hand, the political and social agenda in the United States has been changing since Richard Nixon's resignation and after the end of Vietnam War. Along with oil and inflation crisis on the domestic sphere of the United States, people were prioritizing their concern onto financial security (McDonald C., 2010: 64). In that regard, with an end of an era upon obtaining a partial victory through civil rights movements and pacifism, rock culture put its defiant focus onto the concern of the stuffiness of daily life, economic situation and existentialism, via experimenting new subgenres in music. Subculture identity, in this case, did not deteriorate but rather shapeshifted along with new generations while the primary branch of rock music became mainstream. The unchanging resistance of subcultural identity is better explained by Božilović, as he says that the subcultures get to exist by having no future projects and their motivations appear unconsciously. However, he adds that the subcultures focus on their substantial purposes of survival that are "the escape from anonymous everydayness imbued with boredom, spiritual emptiness and impersonality" (2010: 46). In this regard, one can say that the currents on the late 1970s contributed to the motivation of subcultural identity eventually. Though, in terms of music that could be correlated with the subcultures, new subgenres emerged as an alternative to the 1960s rock music, hence mainstream would not be a subcultural tool to reflect their resistance upon.

According to Neil Eriksen, a social theoretician, the pathway of rock music went in a way that would be specified as "(1) rejection or apathy, (2) uncritical acceptance, and (3) tentative steps toward an understanding of a new cultural phenomenon" (1980: 13-35). In this algorithm, the subcultural branch of rock culture can be considered to be moved from rebellion against oppression within its particular setting to resistance against the mainstream. Rebellion, in that regard, slightly disappeared from mainstream impulse of rock music within its natural evolution process, but on the other hand reappeared in the subgenres of it under new names.

In terms of subgenres that are rebellious, just as similar to the vein of the rock music of the 1960s counterculture, punk music appeared; since the mainstream rock music of the late 1970s happened to have very little political concern. Therefore it is

essential to define punk music and its attitude briefly, in order to show how rebellion did not finish but went on through a different paradigm for the rock culture.

In this condition, rebellion aspect that is associated with rock culture could find a new form and name -punk- to itself along with the upcoming generation of young people who used it as a “weapon of mass-cult destruction” (Davis S., 2004: 463). Even though punk music did not achieve much popularity in the United States, it could continue its subcultural existence in its own underground level (Macan, 1997: 158). This time, however, according to Dylan Clark, it was a rebellion of a rebellion, since punk was a refusal of the systematization of a previously lowbrow cultural medium. Moreover, it was a “social critique” belonging to another subculture formation (2003: 223). In terms of music, on the other hand, it was fulfilling its duty as an outsider messenger, just like early forms of rock music; though, this time the rebellion was only opposing social “mores” but also denouncing “highly polished commercial rock” as a subgenre of it (Nicholson, 2005: 357).

This “back to basics’ rebellion” (Starr, et al, 2006: 207) called punk was a reflection of pure aggression not only in style but also in lyrics (Nicholson, 2005: 357). In that regard, it resembled Marcuse’s definition of music produced during the counterculture era of rock: “imitation, mimesis of effective aggression” as a “group therapy” (1972: 115). Meaning that punk, as a subgenre of rock music, brought the rebelliousness -the essential aspect of rock culture- along, even though the musical quality was an evolved form of its ascendants.

Uniqueness that punk introduced, on the other hand, were crucial to the point at which it divaricated from the essence. First of all, it was, yet again, a medium of rebellion, mostly for a certain subcultural group globally, including the United States. Though, punk came into play from a “working class-milieu” unlike progressive rock that was belonging to educated middle class. (Macan, 1997: 19-144). It protested the ultimate “authority” just like the counterculture but refused to be in connection with “middle-class values” (Starr, et al, 2006: 207). Secondly, their “rituals, accents and objects” got to be intentionally used to imply working-class features and they rendered social mores and conformist routines through their own point of views, concluding as “noise, disturbance, entropy” –an intentional reflection of “pre-categorical realities’ of bourgeois society” (Hebdige, 2015: 50).

Furthermore, punk, as a “critique of progressive rock,” was detesting the optimism brought by mainstream rock and protesting the counterculture youth for achieving very limited advancement (Macan, 1997: 180). All in all, it was generally music of people below 20 years of age, with lyrics that had rebellious “shock effect” (Frith, 1981: 125-160). On the other hand, punk campaign took over the nightclubs in East Village by bringing their “culture of rebelliousness,” which was previously hosting the famous counterculture arena Fillmore East (Wilk, 2009: 224). Because of these reasons, the rebellious attitude could find itself a room within punk instead of mainstream progressive rock easier.

As a result, one can say a sort of inevitable evolution in music happened as time progressed and the use of the phrase “rock music” came to a moderate conclusion. Though, there were lots of multi-dimensional factors that affected this process that rock music experienced. The internalized music of the 1960s counterculture sailed eventually away from its roots just like any other evolving cultural phenomenon. The replacement of counterculture youth by a newer generation, involvement of the virtuoso in rock music, death of rock music idols that were essentially rebellious in nature such as Jim Morrison, Janis Joplin and Elvis Presley, shutdown of rock music venues and realization of big money-making potential in rock business by record companies on the mainstream stage can be shown as some of the examples for the causes of rock music’s hastened divarication and evolution. However, the rebellious impulse of rock culture did not disappear and continued mainly under the name of punk rock in the late 1970s. This evolution can be seen as an expected outcome, considering the normalization approach of Neil Eriksen in terms of music. However, it cannot be asserted that the dominant branch of rock music completely ceased to be reactionary even though at a great scale mainstream rock music was an integral part of conformist popular culture. These aspects, even today, make the definition of rock music to be made very challenging. The difficulty can be considered to come from using the term rock music as a very broad identifier of a huge field of genres, including all of its children -or in other words subgenres- such as punk rock, metal, pop-rock, and progressive rock, that are to a certain extent irrelevant to each other due to various motivations they pursue. All in all, mainstreamization of rock music made it end up in a huge acceptance not only

in the Unites States but also globally even though it was not an easy process. However, thanks to its respected presence, well rooted history and progression in time, rock music, to a certain extent and under certain conditions, is still considered to be a type of music that evokes an outsider and loud attitude, albeit its presence hardly ever faces systematic attempts of mass public exclusion as in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.



CONCLUSION

It is not possible to define and analyze the effect of rock music solely through its development in terms of musicality. Therefore, rock music must rather be considered as a medium for communication that has social and cultural extensions. In that regard, the term “rock culture” would be a more precise descriptor to identify a sociocultural movement that registered a revolutionary impact among the youth in the United States. As a phenomenon, rock music was a challenger for conformist, moralist and conservative practices and it was consumed by the youth as a medium of contumacy, the cases of which could be observed in the United States through various cases and events. Accordingly, the progress of rock music went in a direction that was determined by how it was consumed. Therefore, the oppositional impulse of rock music got shaped through its consumers, who were rather the youth that refused the enforced values of previous generations. Consequently, partially owing to its outsider status, rock music developed on a subcultural level since it was embraced by the people who refused conventional way of living (Frith, 1981: 57) and this impulse remained as a concern for the American public until rock music became a part of mainstream culture and when newer generations arrived to shapeshift the oppositional impulse into various other directions.

On a global scale, once rock music is mentioned in general, it brings in our minds lots of connotations regarding rebellion, resistance, refusal, and opposition at some point. The reason of these associations of ideas would not be seen as surprising if the factors that took place in the evolution of rock music are contemplated upon. Nonetheless, from its birth to its maturation and onwards, rock music became one of the most important cultural phenomena in the American historical development that contributed to countless aspects of conflicts including generational, sexual, racial, moral, and conformity issues through its sole presence and ways of being consumed. Even though from the 1950s to the late 1970s rock music was perceived as a source of moral decay and degeneration by many people, some others adopted it as an opportunity for self-expression and as a consolidating power for freedom and liberation.

However, rock music was more than just the tunes not only for the American cultural perspective but also on a global scale. Therefore, the social effects it caused should rather be handled on a broad cultural layer. At this point the trends, attitudes, group identities, and ways of thinking can be considered as an extension of the effect of rock music, which can rather be called rock culture in general (Miklitsch, 2006: 31). Nonetheless, “Rock’s cultural significance is as a form of music, while rock ideology is not articulated in musical terms.... it is a musical means, not a musical end” (Frith, 1981: 14).

The connotation of rebellion that could be observed within the rock culture, however, could be relied on various eclectic perspectives. In that regard, rock culture can be seen as a powerhouse for the tendencies of refusal of common values since it was an unfavored communication medium adopted by the adolescences of the 1950s (Frith, 1981: 195). As the teenagers grew up in the 1960s, they produced their own type of an evolved form of rock music, which reflected their ideas of protest, rebellion, pacifism, opposition, and nonconformity (Starr, et al, 2006: 57), as a total reaction to power holding mainstream aspects. Rock culture, in that regard, was at war against conservative, extreme moralist, conventional, and conformist perspectives all through its period of struggle for acceptance. The youth, therefore, played an essential role for the evolution of rock culture. Accordingly, subcultures, being the communities consisted of the youth that embraced rock culture through having specific oppositional group identities, established the essential display of attitudes that were attributed to rock music. These aspects of opposition and reaction were the basic examples of intrinsic occurrences of power/resistance dichotomy within a long range of aspects including Marcusean refusal approach, Foucauldian resistance concept, forms of adolescent rebellion and subcultural opposition.

From its emergence to its maturation, rock music went through a very diverse journey with lots of obstacles. Racial prejudice was the very early American mainstream impulse against rock music. As a type of music that was evolved from mostly an African American heritage, rock music was eventually seen by some people as a medium that could spread the black influence among the white teenagers (Frith, 1981: 19). As a result, it was put forth as something unwanted for the mainstream American culture. Therefore, rock music struggled in its early stages to

be accepted on a nationwide scale. At this point, embracement of this music of cultural integration by white teenagers played a role that was essential for the progress of it. The music, meanwhile, by taking its roots from a suppressed heritage, hosted so many impulses that could give teenagers more room to express themselves within the social sphere. Most important aspects that were internalized by the teenagers were sexual freedom and opposition to conventionality which were encouraged by the sole existence of rock music. As a result, a clash of powers between American youth and moralists emerged, based upon the story of rock music. Nonetheless, in the late 1950s the refusal of conventional aspects by teenagers could be partially veiled thanks to censorship and oppression procedures (Holt, 2015:1665-1667), but rock music could manage to bring not only the integration of races but also the adolescent rebellion in the pursue of a separate identity, to the American musical and cultural stage in its own terms (Starr, et al, 2006: 54-57).

British influence upon the development of rock music, on the other hand, was an undeniable aspect that moved the course of rock culture into a more rebellious platform. In the early 1960s, in Europe, the effect of rock music was spreading due to technological advancements that enabled it. While the United States was having a silent period in terms of productivity due to censorship and oppression, and waiting for a “next big thing,” the British bands appeared to fulfill this demand (Hall, 2014: 36-70). Therefore, rock music developed into a bigger aspect in global terms and when the British bands grew popular on the rock music stage, they could bring back the impulse of rock culture to the United States. The American youth, accordingly took this evolved form of rock music as their new tool for communication. As time progressed, new American rock music artists emerged that used rock music as a peaceful form of protest and a display of challenge to conformity (Frith, 1981: 215-221).

Another aspect that aided to the formation of a rebellious identity for rock culture was the counterculture. Consequently, the counterculture played a crucial role for the development of rock culture in the 1960s. Counterculture, in that sense, who took “music to express their opposition” towards conformity, were the main group of youth that embraced and changed rock culture in the United States (Frith, 1981: 222-

223). Within their flow of opposition, rock music was giving voice to their demands of peace, experimentation and sexual liberty (Frith, 1981: 193-195).

Nonetheless, during the years of Civil Rights Movements and onwards, American rock culture became a very determinant cultural factor due to its growing popularity among the youth. Lots of American artists appeared on music stage that displayed various examples of resistance and protest. Some musicians were not necessarily making mainstream rock music but nonetheless portraying an attitude that would be associated with rock culture such as Bob Dylan. His protest folk rock music can be considered revolutionary in terms of pacifist effect of rock culture. Another American musician that revolutionized the course of rock culture was Jim Morrison, who brought the aspect of nonconformity to a very challenging level. There were countless other musicians that can be mentioned such as Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Frank Zappa or Neil Young, who portrayed various other ultimately-rebellious aspects of rock culture. Along with these important musicians, some important festival events gave way to subcultural gatherings that took rock music as their unifying feature. All these cases and events justified to a certain extent that rock culture, through its use by the youth as being a tool to express their unconventional demands, had a revolutionary effect in the United States.

Function of rock music, in that regard, had multi-dimensional effects depending on the motivation of its consumers and performers. Rock music was not only an aspect of refusal of conventional ways of older generations by the youth, but also a tool for pacifism, protest, activism, an expression of freedom, equality, and integration in a broader sense. Nonetheless, since the 1960s rock music has operated within various aspects of political activism, its function was meaningful and purposeful for the ones that consumed it. In that regard, Jim “Roger” McGuinn of the Byrds mentions about the function of rock music in the 1960s, at a time when social and political agenda of the United States was quite turbulent: “The whole idea that we could change the world musically with good thoughts, positive energy, good vibrations, we could write songs that would make people love each other, not hate each other; we could put an end to war and violence by just positive thinking was really a wonderfully innocent idea” (qtd. in Jones, et al, 2004d), which sums up the motivational subsistence of rock music by its consumers.

One can say that, rock music, in its own terms, achieved its attributed goals in many aspects such as integration, being a voice for protest, calling for peace and accompanying youthful opposition. However, inevitably, as time and technology progressed, rock music evolved into further subgenres in the late 1970s. Especially when the counterculture youth were no longer students, they left the youthful dominion to the upcoming generation, who were, just like the counterculture youth once was, critical of the previous generations. Accordingly, punk music appeared as the continuation of an outsider and rebellious aspect of rock culture, while the mainstream rock was becoming popular and accepted nationwide due to its evolution towards a point that is slightly isolated from rebellion and protest. Eventually, in the 1970s, the emergence of musically-educated newer artists and the aged audience of the 1960s rock music that pursued highbrow music were the factors that shifted rock culture into a broader sphere.

All in all, from the mid-1950s to the late 1970s the United States experienced the emergence, development and further evolution period of a nonconformist rock culture, which was greatly internalized by the subcultures of the youth. Music, in that context, became a medium for making a reactionary voice heard. Eventually, as Grossberg asserted, even after rock music went into direction of “becoming something else” because of the changing currents and generations (qtd. in Miklitsch, 2006: 34), the rebellious impulses it promoted did not disappear, but rather evolved into other genres under the giant umbrella of the general term rock music. This cycle of rebelliousness through musical expression, even today, is still continuing more or less, via various experimental approaches, which oppose to normalcy through a unique, undergrounded and subversive consistency.

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