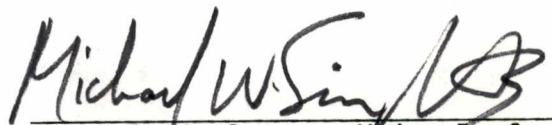


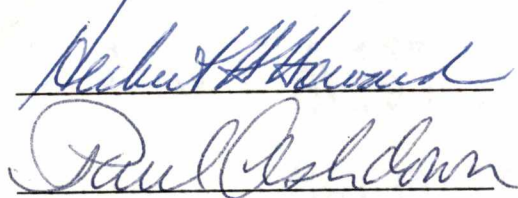
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COVERAGE IN TIME, NEWSWEEK AND THE NEW YORK TIMES
OF THE EMERGENCE OF ELVIS PRESLEY
AND THE BEATLES

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Russ Witcher

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Most important, I thank my parents for their love and support. This thesis never would have been attempted without their help.

ABSTRACT

This study compared Time, Newsweek and the New York Times' coverage of the emergence of Elvis Presley and the Beatles. The time frame for the Presley research was from the release of "Heart-break Hotel" (January 1956), the singer's first number one single on the Billboard Pop chart, to his induction into the Army in March 1958, after which he disappeared from the public eye for a period. The Beatles research covered the period from the release of "I Want to Hold Your Hand" (January 1964), their first number one record in America, until their last public performance in the United States in August 1966.

Basically, the thesis involved the study of bias. The author, serving as one coder, examined all relevant articles and recorded instances of bias, both favorable and unfavorable. A second coder judged whether the recorded instances were biased and, if so, whether they were favorable or unfavorable. The second coder was not aware of the author's judgments.

Inter-coder reliability estimates showed a Pi agreement of .80 for Time, Newsweek and the New York Times' coverage of Elvis and .72 for the Beatles' coverage.

Time and Newsweek were found to be biased unfavorably toward Presley's emergence while less negatively biased toward the Beatles' American breakthrough. As hypothesized, the New York Times' coverage

of both acts contained a lower percentage of biased statements than either of the newsweeklies.

PREFACE

Hardly a single critic had any idea of the musical base from which Elvis was working. What the uproar really revealed was the vast American ignorance of its own culture. No critic pointed out the importance of Elvis' synthesis and fusion of various American popular music styles, because it was considered inconceivable that such purely American products could be worthwhile. Few were willing to acknowledge that Elvis' dancing itself had cultural antecedents; those who did merely used the facts to point out how uncivilized America remained. The notion that Elvis was in fact the most vital cultural phenomenon of the postwar era would have been greeted with laughter and derision.

--Dave March, 1982
Elvis, pp. 100, 102

Back at the radio I caught "I Saw Her Standing There" and was instantly convinced it was the most exciting rock and roll I'd ever heard. Someone from down the hall appeared with a copy of the actual record--you could just go out and buy this stuff?

--Greil Marcus, recalling his college days when Beatlemania first hit America. "The Beatles," The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll, p. 180.

Well, I stepped inside just to look around.
They had the joint a-rockin' upside down.
I asked a little chick how it got that swing.
She said, "Search me, Dad, but it's got that thing!"

--Gene Vincent from "B-I Bickey-BI,
BO-BO-GO," a 50s rockabilly song.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Rock critic Greil Marcus called the emergence of Elvis and the Beatles the only "pop explosion(s)" that rock and roll has produced. According to Marcus, a pop explosion is:

. . . an irresistible cultural upheaval that cuts across lines of class and race, . . . and, most crucially, divides society itself by age. The surface of daily life . . . is affected with such force that deep and substantive changes in the way large numbers of people think and act take place. Pop explosions must link up with, and accelerate, broad shifts in sexual behavior, economic aspirations, and political beliefs; a pervasive sense of chaos . . . doesn't hurt.

. . . pop explosions can provide the enthusiasm, the optimism, and the group identity that make mass political participation possible; a pop explosion is more than a change in style even if it is far less than a revolution, though it can look like either one

.
Enormous energy . . . finds an object in a pop explosion, and that energy is focused on, organized by and released by a single, holistic cultural entity. This entity must itself be capable of easy, instantaneous and varied imitation and extension, in a thousand ways at once; it must embody, suggest, affirm and legitimize new possibilities on all fronts

And, at its heart, a pop explosion attaches the individual to a group. . . in essence, forms a group and creates new loyalties.¹

The view of popular culture through the 1950s was that there was a direct relationship between the "enormous popularity of pop

¹Greil Marcus, "The Beatles," The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll, Second Edition, ed. Jim Miller (New York: Random House, 1980), pp. 181-182.

culture" and the "disastrous state of the world."² Even since that time, the effects of popular culture have been seen as "virulent bacteria" that infects those that come in contact with it.³

Gans examined what he called the "critique of mass or popular culture" and found it was based on several premises that included: negative effects on the "popular culture audience" and on society itself. Popular culture's effect on society was viewed as decreasing "the level of cultural quality--or civilization--of the society."⁴ Put more specifically, this critique held that popular culture "threatens not merely to cretinize our taste but to brutalize our senses" ⁵

Kreiling noted that popular culture has been viewed by those outside its boundaries with patronizing contempt. In other words, nothing substantial nor "serious" is considered to come from such escapist or entertaining pursuits.⁶

Kreiling wrote that certain "cultural artifacts" are associated with the lifestyles of particular groups, and opposition from others

²Rolf Meyersohn, "The Sociology of Popular Culture: Looking Backwards and Forwards," Communication Research, 5 (1978), 334.

³Ibid., p. 335.

⁴Herbert J. Gans, Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 19.

⁵Ibid., p. 44.

⁶Albert Kreiling, "Toward a Cultural Studies Approach for the Sociology of Popular Culture," Communication Research, 5 (1978), 246.

toward these artifacts is in fact "hostility toward the group they represent and its style of life."⁷

Elvis Presley: His Music and Society

Stephen Tucker's essay was important to this study as it dealt specifically with questions involved in this research. Tucker examined such mainstream periodicals as Time, Life and Newsweek.⁸ He found certain dominant themes concerning reactions to Presley's emergence: Even though Elvis was perceived to be strange, his commercial success was admired.⁹ Tucker found a revulsion on the part of the media toward Elvis' regionalism. He maintained that the media viewed Elvis as being conventional with his spending money even though he was unconventional in the way that he had earned it.¹⁰ Basically, Tucker notes, the media did not know what to make of Presley. He seemed a mass of contradictions: He performed a rebellious type of music yet "remained completely devoted to his parents"; "neither smoked nor drank"; and appeared to have other qualities of the "all-American boy."¹¹

⁷Ibid., p. 244.

⁸Stephen R. Tucker, "Visions of Elvis: Changing Perceptions in National Magazines, 1956-1965," Elvis: Images and Fancies, ed. Jac L. Tharpe (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), p. 28.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 29.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 29-31.

However, if Presley were not all that bad, the media did not think that he was all that good-- "talent-wise" or otherwise. Tucker pointed out that there was much speculation on the part of the press as to just how long Presley would or could last.¹² Tucker maintained that even when the media praised Elvis, it was often tinged with sarcasm.¹³

Tucker noted that the vast majority of media coverage of Elvis dealt with mere superficialities, a scratching of the surface. Such reporting, Tucker argued, failed to examine the "underlying social anxieties" of the times that made Presley and rock and roll possible. Tucker perceptively noted that the media could write about the quantitative aspects of Presley (how much income earned per year, how many albums sold per month) but failed to appreciate the qualitative aspects of Elvis.¹⁴ Elvis was viewed as just another fad in a long line of previous fads. However, Elvis was unique; he couldn't be compared with previous performers, for no one had worked out of the social tensions that Elvis was then working (South versus North, novelty versus tradition, an integration of black and white musical styles, a rebellion against authority and yet a respect for authority). The media tried to make sense of the contradictions that Elvis possessed, but they failed to realize that these

¹²Ibid., p. 32.

¹³Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 36.

contradictions were inherent in rock and roll music¹⁵ and gave the music its power. Either persons saw or at least felt what Elvis was trying to communicate and accomplish or they didn't, and if they didn't, they couldn't effectively explain what they couldn't understand. The media were in such a dilemma.

Gans argued that popular culture had certain benefits to those that were its consumers:

Popular culture has played a useful role in the process of enabling ordinary people to become individuals, develop their identities, and find ways of achieving creativity and self-expression. Popular culture . . . has . . . helped . . . people to achieve them by providing examples and suggesting ideas.¹⁶

For its audience, popular culture somehow gratifies a set of tastes, celebrates a mystique of life, casts up the imagery and drama of a human world, and cloaks that world with an aura of reality, authority, and adventure.¹⁷

To begin to understand these contradictions, it's important to first examine the social context in which Elvis emerged "like a Pan American flash."¹⁸ If the 1950s weren't the tranquil days that are nostalgically remembered, there is at least some truth to the notion that correct "symbols of the period" are found in "Lassie and Timmy or Ozzie and Harriet or Wally and the Beaver." As Stephen

¹⁵Peter Guralnick, "Elvis Presley," The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll, Second Edition, ed. Jim Miller (New York: Random House, 1980), p. 22.

¹⁶Gans, p. 57.

¹⁷Kreiling, pp. 241-242.

¹⁸Guralnick, p. 19.

Tucker put it: "If most people could somehow find Adlai Stevenson upsetting, how then might they react to a yawping, yowling yahoo like Elvis Presley?"¹⁹

Americans of the mid-fifties became increasingly aware of a new subculture, that of the teenager, a product of postwar affluence and Depression-spawned guilt. As the Baby Boom of World War II came of age, these teenagers became a large and important body of culture consumers who, significantly, had money to spend. Still mindful of their Depression experience, parents were ready to provide their children with material comforts that older generations only dreamed of.

While the earlier heroes of the American people (Babe Ruth, Charles Lindbergh, Will Rogers) had been revered by both the young and the old, this new youth culture demanded young role models. Bored with mainstream pop music, young people began searching for and experimenting with alternative music forms . . . , especially rhythm-and-blues. White adults seldom knew the names, but an increasing number of young whites bought records in sufficient quantities to make "crossover" stars of black singers like Fats Domino, Clyde McPhatter, Lloyd Price, and the Platters.²⁰

Young people are the main carriers of innovation, at least in every changing society; and if they do not invent new cultural items, they flock to them, partly to express their separation from other age groups and their cohesion as an age group, but also because in Western society they are a leisure class, at least if they are affluent, and they require innovation, if only because they require so much cultural fare.²¹

Tucker calls it ironic that the aspects that made Elvis somewhat acceptable to adults ("good manners, deference to authority,

¹⁹Tucker, p. 28.

²⁰Bill C. Malone, "Elvis, Country Music and the South," Elvis: Images and Fancies, ed. Jac L. Tharpe (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), pp. 126-127.

²¹Gans, p. 70.

humility") were also reasons that might make him less so to teenagers.²² However, contained within that irony is the essence his rebellion toward "the stifling conformity of the time"²³ had for the youth of America.

The exclusiveness of rock 'n' roll was one of the reasons that the music was so appealing to the youth in the first place. If the adults had liked rock music, chances are that the teenagers would have rejected it. If adults could have found something appealing in Elvis, the youth would have rejected him as the symbol of their hopes and dreams. The teenagers' selfishness toward the music was simple: it was their music and the emblem of the differences between the generations.

More than anything else, it was through his music that Elvis spearheaded that rebellion. He, and those for whom his music meant the most, was ready for more than "half a dozen stately choruses of the Tennessee Waltz."²⁴

It is almost a certainty that his career would never have experienced its rapid ascent had he not unleashed his own charismatic combination of sensuality, high energy, and

²²Tucker, pp. 31-32.

²³Guralnick, p. 21.

²⁴Colin Escott and Martin Hawkins, Sun Records: The Brief History of the Legendary Record Label, Second Edition (New York: Quick Fox, 1980), pp. 12-13.

rollicking bad boyishness in tapping a brand-new audience, the youth, which was ready for the music he purveyed and which could not be confined to the traditional country music format.²⁵

Sam Phillips, who produced Elvis' records on the Memphis Sun label before he became a national success,²⁶ recognized and appreciated the musical melting pot that was Elvis Presley. As a poor, white Southerner, Elvis and his music were an integration of his environment: "white and black gospel, (country) blues, folk and country music."²⁷

> used

This "hybrid style" of music changed the "plodding rhythms" of country music into a more liberated, freer blues sound.²⁸ Presley came "from a part of the country where poor whites knew intimately and to a great extent shared the lives of poor blacks."²⁹ It was through this "pervasive contact" with blacks that Presley "absorbed the blues."³⁰ It wasn't that Elvis stole blues music from the blacks.³¹ The blues had been just as much a part of his life as country music had been.³²

²⁵Malone, p. 126.

²⁶Escott and Hawkins, p. 1.

²⁷Robert Palmer, "Big Boss Man: Working with the King," Rolling Stone, 22 September 1977, pp. 54-55.

²⁸Escott and Hawkins, pp. 12-13.

²⁹Palmer, p. 54.

³⁰Guralnick, p. 23.

³¹Dave Marsh, Elvis (New York: The New York Times Book Co., 1982), pp. 38, 47.

³²Guralnick, p. 23.

Greil Marcus wrote of Elvis' synthesis of black and white musical styles: "(H)e isn't . . . singing the blues on a country song, any more than he was really singing hillbilly on a blues."³³ He wasn't imitating "a black blues singer" any more than he was imitating a white country singer. What Elvis was doing was exhibiting the "nerve" to cross racial "borders." So, he could be heard switching "back and forth" within the same song, drawing from the influences of both, singing as if there had never been any separation between the two and creating a new whole.³⁴

In her essay, "Elvis, or the Ironies of a Southern Identity," Linda Ray Pratt noted that "it is not coincidence that rock and roll emerged almost simultaneously with the civil rights movement, that both challenged the existing authority, and that both were forces for 'integration.'"³⁵

This was what a lot of the uproar was about. Elvis was perceived by many adults to be singing black music. Adult America at that time would have found it difficult to think of anything more shocking.

³³Greil Marcus, Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music, Second Edition (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1982), p. 195.

³⁴Ibid., p. 198.

³⁵Linda Ray Pratt, "Elvis, or the Ironies of a Southern Identity," Elvis: Images and Fancies, ed. Jac L. Tharpe (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), pp. 46-47.

It was no wonder that when Elvis, earlier in his career, tried to join the Grand Ole Opry, "his style was about as welcome as that of a Pentecostal preacher in a Methodist pulpit."³⁶

Elvis came, too, from "fundamentally religious people." Gospel music was another natural part of his musical roots.³⁷ "He was raised listening to gospel music and was raised in the Pentecostal church where they have always had great feeling in their music."³⁸ Bill Malone concluded: "Elvis did his first public singing in church, and his style certainly bears the marks of this experience,"³⁹

Elvis' love of gospel music was another paradox. Here was a person who sang "the devil's music" yet retained a love for his gospel musical roots. The emotionalism of Elvis' gospel music carried over to the performances of his rock 'n' roll songs. In fact, the fervent emotion he sang with on "Hound Dog" would have been no more profane to him than the emotion evident on his gospel recordings.

In addition to the church music he had heard all his life, he listened to any and every kind of music that was available on the radio. Much of his musical experimentation was a

³⁶Van K. Brock, "Images of Elvis, the South, and America," Elvis: Images and Fancies, ed. Jac L. Tharpe (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), p. 113.

³⁷Palmer, p. 54.

³⁸Charles Wolfe, "Presley and the Gospel Tradition," Elvis: Images and Fancies, ed. Jac L. Tharpe (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), p. 146.

³⁹Malone, p. 127.

trial-and-error search for a successful commercial formula; in his Sun auditions he tried a sampling of everything he knew, from Dean Martin-style pop music to gut-bucket blues.⁴⁰

(Elvis wasn't thinking about a pop explosion at this point. He was thinking about getting enough money to buy a Cadillac.)

J. D. Sumner, who sang with Elvis, said of the fusion: "One day there won't be any more pop or country or rhythm & blues. It'll just be named American music, and Elvis Presley did as much to make it that as anyone who ever lived."⁴¹

Robert Palmer argues that Elvis' synthesis of black and white musical styles wasn't novel. What was novel was Presley "jumped and boogied" to the beat of the music, an act that even most of Elvis' "hillbilly" musical peers disapproved of.⁴²

It often has been discussed whether Elvis' movements were unconscious or by design. It matters little what caused his dancing. It only matters that his performing style was so outrageous and original that it was a source of liberation (sexually and culturally) for his followers and upsetting to his detractors.

Peter Guralnick recounts the words of Bob Luman, who saw Elvis perform before he became a national success:

This cat came out in red pants and a green coat and a pink shirt and socks, and he had this sneer on his face and he stood behind the mike for five minutes, I'll bet, before

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 128.

⁴¹Palmer, p. 55.

⁴²Ibid., p. 54.

he made a move. Then he hit his guitar a lick, and he broke two strings. . . . So there he was, these two strings dangling, and he hadn't done anything yet, and these high school girls were screaming and fainting and running up to the stage, and then he started to move his hips real slow like he had a thing for his guitar. That was Elvis Presley when he was about 19, playing Kilgore, Texas. He made chills run up my back, man, like when your hair starts grabbing at your collar. For the next nine days he played one-nighters around Kilgore, and after school every day me and my girl would get in the car and go wherever he was playing that night.⁴³

The Beatles: Conquering England

In 1963, "Beatlemania" had hit England. "Fleet Street had realized that the Beatles were more than a momentary diversion--they were a running story of guaranteed reader interest."⁴⁴ At first, the British press were content to report about the hysteria among the British youth caused by the Beatles. Upon interviewing the Beatles, however, the press found "good quotes."⁴⁵ A dominant theme toward the Beatles seemed to emerge in the British press: "the four happy-go-lucky Liverpool lads who looked absurd, but knew it, and whose salty one-line witticisms seemed to epitomize the honesty of the working classes."⁴⁶ As far as the press were concerned, the Beatles were unprecedented in the history of pop stardom as being

⁴³Guralnick, pp. 19, 21.

⁴⁴Philip Norman, Shout!: The Beatles in Their Generation (New York: Warner Books, 1981), p. 240.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 241.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 243.

"endowed with wit and intelligence." It was a refreshing change. Philip Norman wrote in his biography of the Beatles: "Whatever the prejudice engendered by their hair . . . , it vanished as soon as their voices began to speak."⁴⁷

At the 1963 Royal Command Performance, attended by such royalty as the Queen Mother and Princess Margaret, the Beatles' charm confirmed their ability to be liked by adults and the upper class. The Beatles' manager Brian Epstein, always the one to be nervous about appearances, feared that despite his previous entreaties to the Beatles to handle themselves with "decorum" before the upper-crust audience, "some ad lib would be made" on their part that would be "offensive to Royal ears."⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the Beatles behaved themselves, much to Epstein's relief, and John Lennon was even comfortable enough to announce to the well-heeled audience before their final song: "Will people in the cheaper seats clap your hands? All the rest of you, if you'll just rattle your jewelry" Their performance was a "perfect mingling of impudence and deference."⁴⁹ The British papers were "unanimous" in praise of the Beatles' appearance. The Daily Mirror wrote:

How refreshing to see these rumbustious young Beatles
take a middle-aged Royal Variety performance by the scruff

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 249-250.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 250.

of their necks and have them Beatling like teenagers.

Fact is that Beatle People are everywhere. From Wapping to Windsor. Aged seven to seventy. . . .

They're young, new. They're high-spirited, cheerful. What a change from the self-pitying moaners, crooning their lovelorn tunes from the tortured shallows of lukewarm hearts.

The Beatles are whacky. They wear their hair like a mop-- but it's WASHED, it's super clean. So is their fresh young act. They don't have to rely on off-color jokes about homos for their fun.⁵⁰

Norman argues in his biography that it would be "absurd" to think all of Britain were enamored with the Beatles: "The mania was Fleet Street's; it therefore appeared to blanket the land." For example: "In a single week after the Royal Variety Performance, the Daily Express ran five front-page stories indicative of Beatlemania"⁵¹

Epstein, for his part, had managed thus far to conceal that Lennon was married and had a baby son. (He feared such a disclosure would damage the group in the eyes of their female admirers.) The press soon discovered this, but the Beatles were so ingratiated in the hearts of their British fans at this point that such reports were harmless.⁵²

By the end of 1963 with the Beatles' English conquest complete, the London Evening Standard observed: "An examination of

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 250-251.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 251.

⁵²Ibid.

the heart of the nation at this moment would find the name 'Beatles' upon it."⁵³ The Times' music critic, William Mann, declared the songwriting team of Lennon and McCartney to be "the outstanding English composers of 1963."⁵⁴ Lennon recalled the impact of the article:

There is a guy in England called William Mann who writes in the Times who was the first intellectual reviewer of the Beatles, which got people talking about us in that intellectual way. . . .
 . . . he made us credible with intellectuals. . . . it did us a lot of good in that way because people in all the middle classes and intellectuals are all going "Ooooooh."⁵⁵

In addition, Richard Buckle of the Sunday Times wrote that Lennon and McCartney were "the greatest composers since Beethoven."⁵⁶

The Beatles' music had won the youth. Their personalities, with a bit of refinement from Brian Epstein, had won the press and royalty. In turn, the press had won for them the adult, middle class and academia. America, the birthplace of rock music, was next.

⁵³Ibid., p. 265.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 265-266.

⁵⁵Jann Wenner, Lennon Remembers: The Rolling Stone Interviews (New York: Popular Library, 1971), p. 72.

⁵⁶Hunter Davies, The Beatles, Second Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), p. 188.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Elvis, the Beatles and the Media

The author previously has conducted preliminary research concerning this topic and has formed an initial hypotheses based on the study. Coverage about Elvis in the two newsweeklies was overwhelmingly negative while the Beatles received both positive and negative bias, forming more or less balanced (if not neutral) coverage.

There are perhaps two reasons for this difference in perception. Elvis was a pioneer in rock and roll music. As a practitioner of a developing form of music, Elvis was judged not only by the basis of his talent but by the art form he chose to practice. His struggle was not limited to his establishment as an artist but included the establishment of his art as well. Sam Phillips has said: "He sings Negro songs with a white voice which borrows in mood and emphasis from the country style, modified by popular music. It's a blend of all of them."⁵⁷ Out of this musical paradox would arise the sound that would become rock and roll.

In the 1950s, a change took place in the distinctions of American culture. What used to be "highbrow ideas" of how to view

⁵⁷ Escott and Hawkins, p. 3.

the rest of the culture were "captured" by the "middlebrow" audience.⁵⁸

Rock critic Dave Marsh attacked TV host Steve Allen for having Presley appear on his show wearing a tuxedo and singing "Hound Dog" to a basset hound. Marsh called Allen an "embodiment of the patronizing middlebrow." He saw Allen as attempting to ridicule Presley's origins and thereby prove a point: "that Elvis and the hillbilly culture he symbolized had no place in American life."⁵⁹

Others agreed with Marsh's assessment of Allen's intentions toward Presley:

Steve Allen . . . made a public attempt to neutralize, calm or de-twitch Elvis Presley, the lively singer, Allen did this, one assumes, in what he personally considers the best interests of civilization. For him, it was logical. Civilization today is sharply divided into two schools which cannot stand the sight of each other. One school, Allen's, is torpid or dormant in style; it believes in underplaying, or underbidding, or waiting 'em out. The other, Presley's, is committed to the strategy of open defiance, of confusing 'em, of yelling 'em down. The hips and the Adam's apple, this school believes, must be quicker than the eye.⁶⁰

Elvis, Marsh wrote, was perceived by the "culture barons" as being an "outsider" and a "barbarian welcome to the media moguls . . . only for his novelty value--and whatever wealth he could generate."⁶¹

⁵⁸ Gans, p. 5.

⁵⁹ Marsh, pp. 102, 106.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 106.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 107.

The critics of mass culture have, . . . translated their own private evaluations into a public policy position which not only ignores other people's private evaluations but seeks to eliminate them altogether.⁶²

Gans wrote that members of high culture were biased in believing that popular culture corrupted high culture, and that bias found its origin in "a marked disdain for ordinary people and their aesthetic capacities,"⁶³

Gans maintained that high culture had a need to think of popular culture as being inferior and "of its creators as hacks."⁶⁴

Perhaps, with the advantage of reflection, it is too easy to criticize those who scoffed at Presley early in his career. After all, no one, perhaps not even Elvis himself, knew if rock 'n' roll would last. It is a typical societal reaction to be wary of cultural innovation.

Elvis, because he was an innovator, took the brunt of the criticism directed at rock music. Today, it is somewhat difficult to blame Presley's critics, for if they knew that something was happening, they did not know what it was and could not have known how long it would last.

In terms of sheer excitement and controversy, the emergence of Elvis Presley will probably not be equaled in rock 'n' roll history. Even the Beatles were less of a novelty simply because Presley had preceded them. With Elvis, however, there was no one to compare him with because no one (at least no one who was white,

⁶²Gans, p. 121.

⁶³Ibid., p. 61.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 63.

and in 1950s America, that was a significant distinction) had done anything comparable. Rock music was a genre unto itself, and Elvis was the first to achieve anything resembling lasting national notoriety. With the advent of Presley, the youth underwent a change in taste and style rather than a change in fads. The continuing popularity of rock music supports this notion. In this sense, then, Presley's mark has been one of permanence; therefore, rock 'n' roll became less revolutionary with its absorption into the mainstream of society.

The Beatles benefited from the previous establishment of rock music in American society. The genre was no longer a novelty, and the fact that it remained a part of American culture indicated a certain amount of acceptance or, at least, tolerance. By the mid-60s when the Beatles were first achieving national success, teenagers who had been exposed to Elvis' music were young adults. The nation was somewhat more fertile ground for rock and roll.

The second hypothesis to the research is more subtle but equally important to the difference in views toward the two rock acts. The Beatles presented a different image to the media than Elvis. They disarmingly and openly "admitted" their lack of talent. They joked with and charmed the press. (If the Beatles were moptops, their disclaimers on talent and threats to society as a whole at least made them "lovable moptops.")

They did not make the sexual connotations of rock music a central part of their performance as Elvis had. Anthropologist

Lionel Tiger maintained that even their hair gave them a "sexually benign" character, making them "somewhat androgynous."⁶⁵

Learning from Presley's "mistakes," the Beatles and their manager were shrewd manipulators of the media, and it showed in the coverage they received. John Lennon recalled his days as a member of the Beatles: "There was very few things that happened to Beatles that weren't really well thought out by us whether to do it or not, and what (the) reaction (would be)"⁶⁶

The role of a manager is very difficult to describe accurately. It's easy to overestimate his importance on the success of his artist's career because it's impossible to determine how much of that success is due to the artist's talent and how much comes from the manager opening avenues to showcase the talent. One observer declared:

. . . a manager doesn't trust the artist. He's always afraid the artist is going to blow it. That's why he's the manager. . . .

. . . If an artist wants to be successful economically, he has to believe in a businessman as much as the businessman says he believes in the artist.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Lionel Tiger, "Why, It Was Fun!" Rolling Stone, 16 February 1984, p. 28.

⁶⁶ Wenner, p. 92.

⁶⁷ Jerry Hopkins, "Fame and Fortune: The Life and Times of Colonel Tom Parker," Rolling Stone, 22 September 1977, p. 46.

Brian Epstein got rid of the four boys' previous "grease-and-leather" image⁶⁸ and put them into matching stage suits. Lennon once said:

Brian was trying to clean our image up. . . . He said our look wasn't right. We'd never get past the door at a good place. We just used to dress how we liked, on and off stage. He talked us into the suit scene.⁶⁹

In addition, instead of incorporating the sexual overtones of the blues tradition into their act as Elvis had done, the Beatles worked in the more "polite and circumscribed milieu of pop," which dated back to the "professional romanticists" of Tin Pan Alley tunesmiths. To be sure, musically, the Beatles were what they always had been, but based on appearances, the Beatles were much less in terms of rock and roll rebellion. As Marcus noted: "Rebellion was fine as long as tactics were restricted to wit." Marcus concluded that comparisons between the Beatles and Elvis (or any other rock star) were useless. The Beatles were the best at being the Beatles, and Elvis was the best at Elvis. There was no need to examine how well the Beatles were at being Elvis since it didn't apply.⁷⁰ To a degree, Marcus is correct. Musically, it made no difference, but it made a huge difference as to how the two were received.

⁶⁸Marcus, "The Beatles," p. 184.

⁶⁹Davies, p. 128.

⁷⁰Marcus, "The Beatles," p. 184.

The differences in those receptions seemed to stem in no small part to the differences in management. As previously noted, Epstein was concerned with good public relations with the media. Their "good words" were important. If the Beatles were, in Epstein's words, going to be "bigger than Elvis,"⁷¹ they would have to appeal to a wider audience than Elvis, and this, necessarily, included adults as well as teenagers. It wasn't exactly "selling out" but was, as a manager might put it, a matter of "selling more." Greil Marcus wrote that the Beatles' pop explosion was more than a matter of public relations.⁷² While it is true that the Beatles, as Elvis had earlier, divided "society itself by age,"⁷³ the Beatles emerged in a manner that made them somewhat more acceptable to the older generation.

Lennon said of the Beatles' early days: "It was natural we should put on our best show . . . for people like reporters, Trying to get publicity was just a game."⁷⁴

However, it was more than publicity that Epstein was interested in. He wanted to present the proper image.

On the other hand, Colonel Tom Parker, Elvis' manager, was more concerned with publicity rather than public relations. Stephen Tucker called his survey of articles the reflection of "an adult,

⁷¹Ibid., p. 177.

⁷²Ibid., p. 185.

⁷³Ibid., p. 181.

⁷⁴Davies, p. 128.

middle class response to Elvis."⁷⁵ The people that Elvis reached initially--the youth--did not read Time, Life or Newsweek. It's possible that it didn't matter to Parker what the press wrote about Presley as long as they wrote. As was noted: "The attendant publicity concerning Presley, bad as it may be in some cases, has cued national tongue-wagging beyond all imagination."⁷⁶ In an excerpted interview with TV Guide that took place in August 1956 and is included on the album Elvis Presley: A Golden Celebration,⁷⁷ Elvis is asked his response to an article that called him a "no-talent performer." He replied that he didn't "even want to think about it." The article was quoted further to Elvis as saying he couldn't sing or play the guitar. Elvis replied that this was true but "somebody likes it." That "somebody" was the youth of America who responded to Elvis' music in a way that was beyond the comprehension of adults simply because his style of music had never "happened" before. It was the youth's exclusive domain,⁷⁸ and negative media reaction only confirmed that exclusiveness.

When successful popular culture creators are attacked by professional critics for their failure to meet high

⁷⁵Tucker, p. 27.

⁷⁶Hopkins, pp. 45-46.

⁷⁷Elvis Presley: A Golden Celebration (New York: RCA Records, 1984).

⁷⁸Greil Marcus, "The Bomp: Way of Life, Not a Sideshow," Readings in Mass Communication: Concepts and Issues in the Mass Media, Third Edition, eds. Michael C. Emery and Ted Curtis Smythe (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1977), p. 261.

culture standards, these creators often reply that the only critic they respect is the audience, and if it buys their work, the judgment of the professional critics is either wrong or irrelevant.⁷⁹

Popular culture has long been used as an "emblem" of youth to distinguish themselves from their elders and set them apart as being unique.⁸⁰

Gans wrote that Time and Newsweek were written primarily for members of the upper-middle culture. He contended that this culture relied "extensively" on the opinions of critics and reviewers and that several critics for the news magazines and such newspapers as the New York Times carried out their function of reviewing films, books, art, and music by "disapproving of content which they perceive as too . . . clichéd and 'vulgar.'"⁸¹

"Upper-middle culture is distributed through the so-called class media or quality mass media. Its public reads the news-magazines,"⁸²

As for the youth culture, they prefer "film, music, and art to the print culture."⁸³

An associate of Parker's once said: "The Colonel saw what Elvis was . . . probably the first time he ever saw him."⁸⁴ Parker

⁷⁹Gans, pp. 116-117.

⁸⁰Meyersohn, p. 335.

⁸¹Gans, pp. 82-84.

⁸²Ibid., p. 84.

⁸³Ibid., p. 98.

⁸⁴Hopkins, p. 46.

himself has been quoted as saying, "When I found Elvis, . . . the boy had a million dollars worth of talent. Now he has a million dollars."⁸⁵ If it is true that Parker knew what he had in Elvis, it is probably safe to assume he knew what the media response would be to Elvis. He did nothing to change that response. He couldn't if he wanted but instead used the "national tongue-wagging" created by the media to his advantage in the form of increased record sales.⁸⁶

Jon Hartmann, who worked for Parker, said:

The Colonel doesn't sell Elvis to the public, dig? He sells Elvis to the people who sell the public, and those are the media people--the television and motion-picture personalities, the executives and businessmen who control the networks, the important radio people.⁸⁷

The press were noticeably absent from this list. It wasn't that the press would be avoided. It was just that, in the scheme of things, press coverage would follow naturally. By using the electronic media to expose Presley to a large audience, Parker would get press coverage for Elvis because the print media would respond to the large audience that had been created initially through the help of the electronic media. The Colonel had been known to "leak" to the radio and press Elvis' whereabouts so they would notify the teenagers of this information. Then, the radio and press "would go out and report on how many teenagers were there."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Escott and Hawkins, p. 9.

⁸⁶ Hopkins, pp. 45-46.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 46.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

If the newsweeklies commented negatively about Elvis, that would only confirm the repulsiveness of Presley to the adults who read the magazines and help solidify the dimensions of the pop explosion. Parker didn't try to change Elvis musically. The necessary ingredients were already there. It was just up to the Colonel to help speed the pop explosion on its way. A friend of Parker said of Elvis and the Colonel's relationship: "Elvis doesn't tell the Colonel how to run the business end and the Colonel doesn't tell Elvis how to sing. It works out pretty well."⁸⁹ Parker's words second this view: "When it comes to Elvis' music, he picks what he wants to sing. I'm not a musician, I don't know about music. . . . But when it comes to deals, that's my job."⁹⁰

Dave Marsh, who wrote a biography about Elvis, commented similarly about Parker's design: "The live shows created only a trickle of cash unless you had enough clout for national exposure-- . . . the big time: New York and Hollywood."⁹¹ Even Presley commented that Parker helped him to become "nationally known": "He has a lot of connections . . . with people who are very important wheels in the business."⁹² This isn't to say that Elvis was "some kind

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Alfred Wertheimer, Elvis '56: In the Beginning (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1979), pp. 95-96.

⁹¹ Marsh, p. 62.

⁹² Elvis Presley: A Golden Celebration.

of greasy puppet" for the Colonel. It does say that Parker was responsible for "making him a superstar so fast" (*italics added*).⁹³

In fact, Elvis and Parker have been called "a team."⁹⁴ They both saw that movies and television were the media through which to make it big.⁹⁵ (It could be argued that Elvis, at the beginning, viewed his music as merely a pathway to the more glamorous life of Hollywood.)⁹⁶ When Parker got Elvis a contract with RCA, he not only got a "giant of the record industry" but a company that had the important "connections in TV and the movies" as well.⁹⁷ Marsh wrote of Presley's use of television: "It wasn't his records that ultimately made Elvis Presley a household dream and nightmare; it was those wild-eyed performances of his records, sheer, paralyzing intensity brought straight into comfortable homes."⁹⁸

Elvis was on "The Dorsey Brothers Stage Show" six times, appearing from January through March 1956; he was on "The Milton Berle Show" in April and June of that year and appeared on "The Steve Allen Show" in July; he performed on "The Ed Sullivan Show" in September and October and again the following January.⁹⁹

⁹³Hopkins, p. 46.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Marsh, p. 76.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 62.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 76.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 94.

⁹⁹Elvis Presley: A Golden Celebration.

Elvis' performance of "Hound Dog" during his second appearance on "The Milton Berle Show" "created outrage in papers and pulpits across the land."¹⁰⁰ Marsh commented: "The biggest outcry was against the way Elvis moved. . . . He made the connection between dancing and sex all too obvious."¹⁰¹ By the time of his first appearance on "The Ed Sullivan Show," Elvis was so much of an attraction/scandal that the show "earned an 82.6 percent share of the viewing audience, an estimated 54 million people."¹⁰² Elvis reached and affected the millions watching via TV because he was such a visual performer. That was why Parker didn't need the print media that much. Elvis had to be heard and seen. Mere words couldn't help him, and they couldn't really hurt him. Ed Sullivan could see what was going on: For Elvis' third and final appearance on his show, Sullivan instructed his cameramen that because of Elvis' "suggestive movements," Presley was to be shown "from the waist up."¹⁰³

Meanwhile, John Lennon recognized the importance of the press in the early success of the Beatles. In an interview conducted in 1970 after the breakup of the Beatles, Lennon was asked by Rolling Stone editor and publisher Jann Wenner why the Beatles were a success in America. Lennon responded:

¹⁰⁰Marsh, p. 96.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 100.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁰³Ibid.

. . . we were really professional by the time we got here: we learned the whole game. When we arrived here we knew how to handle press. The British press are the toughest in the world; we could handle anything.¹⁰⁴

If Elvis and the Beatles had overwhelming talent, they also had strong managers who saw to it that the talent would be placed in the national spotlight. "He (Brian Epstein) had a flair for presenting things, he was more theatrical than business."¹⁰⁵

Nonetheless, like in the Parker-Presley relationship, Epstein wasn't the mastermind of the Beatles' success. As Lennon said: "There's another illusion that we were just puppets and that these great people like Brian Epstein . . . created the situation."¹⁰⁶

However, Lennon obviously thought Epstein's influence was instrumental to the Beatles' success and the maintenance of that success. "After Brian died, we collapsed," he said of the group's breakup.¹⁰⁷

Even though Epstein died during a period that is after the focus of this paper, it's important to note Lennon's words about his death because it reveals just how important Epstein's management was in helping the group achieve overwhelming success and a certain amount of respect from the press: "I knew that we were in trouble then. I didn't really have any misconceptions about our ability to do anything other than play music, and I was scared."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴Wenner, p. 12.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 52.

If the Beatles learned from Presley's mistakes, they also learned from his successes.¹⁰⁹ "'The Ed Sullivan Show' was the high-water mark of American mass culture, the most noticed variety show in the country, and they knew it contributed to the making of Elvis."¹¹⁰

Epstein and the Beatles saw the advantages in reaching the adult audience of the print media, but they, like Parker and Presley, knew that for the "pop explosion" or "superstardom" or "the big time" to take place, national television exposure was a necessity. During their initial "invasion" and subsequent conquest of America, which took place in February 1964,¹¹¹ "The Ed Sullivan Show" was instrumental to that success. "There is nothing now that has the reach, the centrality . . . or the ability to authenticate an artist that the Sullivan show had. It was the National Show, and the Beatles made the utmost of it."¹¹²

Greil Marcus wrote:

People looked at the faces (and the hair) of John, Paul, George and Ringo and said Yes (and who could have predicted that a few extra inches of hair would suddenly seem so right, so necessary? Brian Epstein?); they heard the Beatles sound and said Yes to that too.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹Marsh, p. 156.

¹¹⁰Paul Theroux, "Why We Loved the Beatles," Rolling Stone, 16 February 1984, p. 21.

¹¹¹Rolling Stone, 16 February 1984, p. 33.

¹¹²Tiger, p. 93.

¹¹³Marcus, "The Beatles," p. 180.

The reaction Marcus described was the youth reaction. Judging from the words in the newsweeklies, it's hard to believe that the adult response was "yes"--to either the hair or the music. What gave the Beatles a somewhat disarming appeal to the newsweeklies was their charm at handling the press. If Epstein wanted a positive response from the press, this aspect of the Beatles was important in getting that response.

From their first American press conference, the Beatles exhibited a "sparkling repartee." Examples of the Beatles' exchange with the press: "What about the movement in Detroit to stamp out the Beatles?" "We're starting a movement to stamp out Detroit." "Do you hope to take anything home with you?" "Rockefeller Center." "Don't you guys ever get a haircut?" George Harrison: "I just had one yesterday." Ringo Starr: "You should have seen him the day before."¹¹⁴

Epstein, like Parker, did nothing to change his act's music. The music he left to the Beatles,¹¹⁵ but even here, the Beatles had an advantage over Elvis as far as the adults were concerned. Adults tuning in to "The Ed Sullivan Show" heard the group sing that it "just wanted to hold your hand."¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, the adults had

¹¹⁴Nicholas Schaffner, The Beatles Forever, Second Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978), pp. 9-10.

¹¹⁵Norman, p. 176.

¹¹⁶Marcus, "The Beatles," p. 184.

watched "The Milton Berle Show" in 1956 and heard Elvis sing the "spewed out lyric ('Well, they said you was high class, well that was just a lie')." ¹¹⁷ Superficially at least, it had to make a difference.

Even dancing, which was a central part of Elvis' performance and had caused so much alarm in the minds of adults, ¹¹⁸ wasn't a part of the Beatles' act. "The Beatles deliberately didn't move like Elvis, that was our policy, because we found it stupid," Lennon commented. ". . . we did it as a conscious thing." ¹¹⁹ If the Beatles didn't move as a "conscious thing," it was probably to avoid comparisons with Elvis. Although they didn't stand still to please the adult viewing audience, it didn't hurt them with the adults, either.

Therefore, the Beatles avoided the sexual connotations that were associated with Presley's movements on stage. They stood and sang and shook their heads, and if adults found the length of their hair shocking, at least their somewhat sedate performing style was less scandalous than Presley's torso.

"While Presley could elicit class fear and confusion with his sullen anger . . . , the Beatles somehow caught a wave of classless assertion: Their infectious impudence was rarely cruel, usually direct, almost smilingly amiable." ¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Guralnick, p. 29.

¹¹⁸Marsh, p. 100.

¹¹⁹Wenner, p. 34.

¹²⁰Tiger, p. 28.

Before the Beatles landed in America, they had been "preceded by a skillfully tempting barrage of preparatory publicity."¹²¹ John Lennon: "People have got to be hyped in a way, they've got to have it presented to them in all the best ways that are possible."¹²² Of course, it was up to the Beatles to make the hype successful, but it was probably more than music that made their first appearance on "The Ed Sullivan Show" command the "largest television audience ever to watch an entertainment program" at that time.¹²³ Although they had been extremely successful in their native England with "three consecutive British Number Ones,"¹²⁴ the Beatles didn't even have a record in the Top 40 in America until that January. However, with the release of "I Want to Hold Your Hand," their record label, Capitol, invested \$50,000--"an unprecedented amount at that point in the history of music-biz hype"¹²⁵--in publicity for the group.¹²⁶

On New Year's Day the names John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison, and Ringo Starr had meant nothing to Americans, but within the month millions were already dancing and swooning in the throes of a joyous epidemic of mass

¹²¹Ibid., p. 93.

¹²²Wenner, p. 112.

¹²³Rolling Stone, p. 39.

¹²⁴Norman, p. 257.

¹²⁵Schaffner, p. 24.

¹²⁶Marcus, "The Beatles," p. 178.

insanity. By the morning of the pop group's arrival . . . , the word "Beatle," . . . was blaring from front-page headlines.¹²⁷

Like Presley before them, the Beatles "were stars born of television."¹²⁸ Their national emergence was "not simply a matter of music, but of event."¹²⁹ If that "event was a pop explosion" as Marcus maintains,¹³⁰ it was also an event of "a giant effort of the very mass media."¹³¹ The Beatles themselves, through their music, were responsible for putting the pop explosion in motion. Brian Epstein and the Beatles were responsible for starting the media event.

Twentieth-century mass communications had made it increasingly possible for people to immerse themselves in the lives of other human beings, whom they might never actually meet, yet would still feel they knew as well as their own families. The Beatles provided millions with instant heroes, best friends, even lovers. Like other living legends to emerge larger than life through the media, John, Paul, George, and Ringo held a distinct advantage over their "real" counterparts: their followers could, in their fantasies, mold them into almost anything they wished them to be, and turn them on and off at will.¹³²

In November 1963, Brian Epstein went to New York to try to arrange increased exposure in America for the Beatles.¹³³ Walter

¹²⁷ Schaffner, p. 9.

¹²⁸ Marcus, "The Beatles," p. 182.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 181.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Tiger, p. 93.

¹³² Schaffner, p. 17.

¹³³ Norman, p. 254.

Hofer, an attorney familiar with show business, was an Epstein connection with the American entertainment industry. Hofer remembered his first impressions of Epstein: "From the beginning he was full of questions. How did American TV work? How did the radio stations work?"¹³⁴

However, up until that time, Capitol, the American record label with first options on the Beatles' stateside releases,¹³⁵ had refused to issue the Beatles' records because it felt the group wouldn't "do anything in the market."¹³⁶ Subsequently, the Beatles' records had been issued on smaller, lesser-known and (more important) lesser-financed labels.¹³⁷

Epstein had come to America in part to persuade the Capitol management to "give the Beatles an American release."¹³⁸ Epstein had a "demo" of "I Want to Hold Your Hand," which Capitol agreed to release in January.¹³⁹

Next, the Beatles' manager met with Ed Sullivan himself. Sullivan was aware of the Beatles' overwhelming popularity in England. Epstein had met Sullivan earlier in England, and the New York meeting was for the purpose of negotiating possible television appearances.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 256.

¹³⁵Schaffner, p. 23.

¹³⁶Norman, p. 255.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 256.

¹³⁹Ibid., pp. 256-257.

At this meeting, Epstein "insisted" that the Beatles "receive top billing" on the show. Although Sullivan was surprised by the demand, he relented.¹⁴⁰ The money the Beatles received for their performances on the show (\$3,500 for each of two appearances and \$3,000 for a taped appearance to be shown later) was not great even for that day's standards.¹⁴¹ However, Epstein was successful in placing the group as stars of the show, a move that recalls Lennon's quote: "Brian was more theatrical than business."

While "I Want to Hold Your Hand" was speedily climbing its way to the top of the American charts, Capitol Records was "hastily" allocating its \$50,000 for a "crash publicity program" to prepare America for the Beatles' arrival.¹⁴²

Five million posters and car windscreen stickers were printed with the cryptic message "The Beatles are Coming." A four-page life story was circulated, with promotional records, to disc jockeys across the continent. Certain stations also received tapes of open-end interviews, prerecorded by the Beatles, with spaces left for the disc jockey's questions. Capital executives, like so many repentant Scrooges, were photographed in Beatle wigs.¹⁴³

When the Beatles landed at Kennedy Airport, 5,000 screaming youths were there to greet them.¹⁴⁴ The media, of course, were there to cover the hysteria. "All the evening TV news bulletins carried the Kennedy Airport scenes as the top story, though not all expressed unqualified delight."¹⁴⁵ At the rehearsal for the Sullivan show,

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 257.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 277.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 257-258.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 280.

Epstein, true to form, approached Sullivan and said: "I would like to know the exact wording of your introduction." Sullivan responded: "I would like you to get lost."¹⁴⁶

The Beatles' first appearance on the show was viewed "by an audience of seventy million, or sixty percent of all American television viewers."¹⁴⁷

The morning after the show, the New York Herald-Tribune called them "seventy-five percent publicity, twenty percent haircut and five percent lilting lament."¹⁴⁸

Although the Herald-Tribune was perhaps too cynical, the newspaper was correct in identifying the successful ingredients being employed: a well-financed operation, an audience-stimulating visual image and attention-getting music.

From New York the Beatles traveled to Washington, D. C. to give their first concert in America.¹⁴⁹ The youth had fallen easily to the Beatles. The radio stations were playing their records, and Ed Sullivan had showcased them to a huge audience. The press, having no cause to proclaim them as their own as the British press had done in a fury of nationalistic zeal, were more of a mixed bag: The Beatles were charming. They were definitely different, but they were also strange.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 282.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 283.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 287.

Once in the nation's capital, the Beatles visited the British Embassy. They agreed to do this only because Epstein felt it would be good for their image.¹⁵⁰

The Beatles' second appearance on "The Ed Sullivan Show" was aired from Miami. After being in America only a week, the Beatles had caused such a national commotion that their second Sullivan show drew an even larger audience--an estimated seventy-five million viewers.¹⁵¹

At the height of the Beatles' popularity, Epstein was successful in keeping the Beatles from being entangled in their past. On more than one occasion, he "quietly settled" the issue of a paternity suit.¹⁵²

An insider of the Beatles' organization recalled Epstein's mania with the Beatles, which might help explain the lengths to which he went to see that the group's image remained unsoiled:

To Brian, the relationship with the Beatles was something mystical--he himself used that word. He believed there was a chemistry between the five of them that no one else could understand. They weren't a business to Brian: they were a vocation, a mission in life. They were like a religion to him.¹⁵³

Whereas Parker had boasted of making Presley a millionaire, Epstein's goal was to help make the Beatles bigger than Elvis. The bottom line for Parker had always been money, and his view of media relations was that bad words were better than no words at all.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 288.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 297.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 289-290.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 314.

This isn't to imply that Epstein was in some pristine state of innocence as far as money was concerned. He was just as interested in making a buck as Parker, but image and public relations were as important to him as money, and being "bigger than Elvis" meant being more popular with more people just as much as it meant being richer.

Greil Marcus maintained that the release of the Beatles' first movie--A Hard Day's Night--in 1964 "took the Beatles across social barriers, won them an audience among the intelligentsia" ¹⁵⁴

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. wrote of the film:

The astonishment of the month is A Hard Day's Night. One approached the Beatles with apprehension, knowing only the idiotic hairdo and the melancholy wail. . . . But the Beatles . . . are the timeless essence of the adolescent effort to deal with the absurdities of an adult world. ¹⁵⁵

If Epstein had been successful at persuading the Beatles to present a "clean-cut image" at the beginning of their career, it was increasingly difficult for him to steer the group away from making controversial statements in 1966. From 1964 to 1966, the Beatles' continuing popularity had entrenched their status in American culture, and they became more independent at making decisions. ¹⁵⁶

For some months already, in fact, a large number of Americans had been scratching heads . . . and figuring that enough was enough. That vast, . . . middle class majority

¹⁵⁴ Greil Marcus, "Rock Films," The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll, Second Edition, ed. Jim Miller (New York: Random House, 1980), pp. 392-393.

¹⁵⁵ Schaffner, p. 28.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

had watched with rising bewilderment as its children fell under the influence, if not of the Beatles directly then of another British group from the dozens who poured across the Atlantic after them. America, expecting more Liverpool . . . charm, beheld, instead, the Who, wrecking motel rooms and smashing their instruments on stage; the Animals, sweating and grimacing over uncensored blues; the Rolling Stones, unrepentantly scruffy and ill-mannered, their lead singer . . . prancing and flaunting a bottom like two collar studs as he pouted a song called "Satisfaction"¹⁵⁷

An example of Epstein's "image-conscious" attitude toward his group happened just prior to the Beatles' 1966 American tour, their last series of public performances.¹⁵⁸ Datebook, "an American teenage magazine," reprinted a Lennon quote about the diminishing relevance of Christianity that included the remark: "We're more popular than Jesus Christ now."¹⁵⁹

Lennon's words were taken, particularly in the South, to be sacrilegious. Reactions included the public burning of "Beatle records and memorabilia."¹⁶⁰

Epstein, despite having a case of the flu, went to America "in order to 'clarify' Lennon's statement."¹⁶¹ (Apparently Epstein was content to be bigger than Elvis. Taking on Jesus was another matter, altogether.)

¹⁵⁷ Norman, pp. 329-330.

¹⁵⁸ Schaffner, p. 55.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 58.

Epstein, "using all his diplomatic powers, assured the American press that John had intended no sacrilege, but only wished to express 'deep concern' at the decline in spiritual values."¹⁶² Lennon himself would apologize at a press conference when the Beatles landed in Chicago to begin their tour.¹⁶³

However, acting against their manager's judgment, the Beatles denounced the Vietnam War at a New York City press conference in 1966, an opinion "not shared by 90 percent of the American population at the time."¹⁶⁴

By this time, the Beatles were through with public relations. Lennon's words summed up the situation: "Those days we were too big to touch. . . . We were so blasé, we never even read the news clippings. I didn't bother with them or read anything about us. It was a bore to read about us."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶²Norman, p. 333.

¹⁶³Schaffner, p. 58.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Wenner, p. 92.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Implementation

This research finds its basis in John Merrill's study of bias.¹⁶⁶ Merrill identified five categories of bias: attribution (someone "snapped"), adjective (someone's "warm manner of speaking"), adverbial (someone said "curtly"), outright opinion (words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs deemed biased) and photographic (What overall impression does the photograph give? What does the caption say/imply?) (More will be said about Merrill's findings later in this chapter.) Instances of bias were noted as either "positive (favorable) or negative (unfavorable)."¹⁶⁷ "Isolated words and phrases" were classified as examples of adverbial, adjectival or attribution bias.¹⁶⁸ Bias in photographs may be intentional, but since there is no way to measure intent, this study examined the "overall impressions" created by the photographs.¹⁶⁹ Because the study was concerned with the bias that appears in news stories,

¹⁶⁶ John C. Merrill, "How Time Stereotyped Three U. S. Presidents," Journalism Quarterly, 42 (1965), 563-570.

¹⁶⁷ Fred Fedler, Mike Meeske, and Joe Hall, "Time Magazine Revisited: Presidential Stereotypes Persist," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (1979), 354.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Merrill, p. 565.

only articles and photographs (not signed columns) in the newsweeklies were considered.¹⁷⁰ In addition, headlines were not included in the study. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature was used to locate appropriate articles.

The author, serving as one coder, examined all relevant articles and listed instances of what he considered to be favorable and unfavorable adjective, adverbial, opinion, attribution, or photographic bias. A second coder (coder instructions in Appendix A) studied the list and judged whether an item was (a) biased, and (b) favorable or (c) unfavorable. Clippings were available to the second coder in the event that a judgment of bias depended on context. The second coder was trained for the task by evaluating bias terms in an unrelated article.

Story length was considered only to the extent that it was determined how many words were in each article. This determination was used to offer a percentage of how often examples of bias occurred per word. The number of words for each article was determined by counting the words in the first 10 lines of each story, arriving at an average of words per line and multiplying this average by the total number of lines in the article. (Figures are given in the next chapter.)

¹⁷⁰ Fedler, Meeske, and Hall, pp. 354-355.

The time frame for the Presley research is from January 1956, the release of "Heartbreak Hotel,"¹⁷¹ Elvis' first number one single on the Billboard Pop chart,¹⁷² to his induction into the Army in March 1958,¹⁷³ at which time he disappeared from the public eye for a period. The Beatles research covers the period from the release of "I Want to Hold Your Hand" (January 1964),¹⁷⁴ their first number one record in America,¹⁷⁵ until their last public performance in the United States, which occurred in August 1966.¹⁷⁶

Time and Newsweek were selected for this study due to their being national newsweekly magazines. As an added comparison, all stories in the New York Times pertaining to Elvis and the Beatles during these periods were examined. This offered a contrast with the newsweeklies by showing how a major newspaper viewed the two rock acts. It was hypothesized that the Times would give a more straightforward account of Elvis and the Beatles by relying less on "colorful" description and using words with a more neutral connotation. The New York Times Index was used as a reference in locating

¹⁷¹Guralnick, p. 29.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁷⁴Norman, p. 257.

¹⁷⁵Marcus, "The Beatles," p. 189.

¹⁷⁶Norman, p. 334.

all appropriate news stories. All entries that gave the date, page and column of where the news story was located were examined.

Elvis and the Beatles were selected because of their overwhelming recording success in the field of popular entertainment. According to the 1984 edition of the Guinness Book of World Records although there have been no "independently audited figures" for Presley: "In view of Presley's worldwide tally of over 170 major hits on singles and over 80 top-selling albums from 1956 continuing after his death, it may be assumed that it was he who must have succeeded ("Bing") Crosby as the top-selling solo artist of all-time."¹⁷⁷ Similarly, the most successful recording group is the Beatles with "all-time" sales at the end of 1982 estimated at "over 1,004 million discs and tapes."¹⁷⁸

The national emergence of both Elvis and the Beatles covers the same length of time (two years) and offers an interesting contrast of how the same periodicals covered two phenomenally successful rock acts during different decades. This research is not intended to be a critical analysis of Elvis or the Beatles (although an account of the social background of the times in which they emerged and the musical base from which they were working were necessary for a fuller understanding) but is rather an effort to examine three

¹⁷⁷ Guinness 1984 Book of World Records, Twenty-Second Edition, ed. Norris D. McWhirter (New York: Bantam Books, 1984), p. 249.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

reactions to their initial success at a national level. The goal is to learn about the "observers" rather than "the observed."¹⁷⁹

Time magazine, since it was founded in 1923 by Henry Luce and Briton Hadden,¹⁸⁰ "has never claimed to be objective."¹⁸¹ In fact, Luce believed Time's function was to "interpret" the day's events for its readers so they "got not mere news but a proper understanding of what it really signified and what (their) . . . attitude toward it should be."¹⁸² Swanberg wrote in his biography of Luce: "None dared to sweep away the distinction between fact and comment as Luce did, or to use Time's adjectival slander or puffery."¹⁸³ Luce himself was once quoted as saying:

I am a Protestant, a Republican and a free-enterpriser, . . . , which means I am biased in favor of God, Eisenhower and the stockholders of Time Inc.--and if anybody who objects doesn't know this by now, why the hell are they still spending 35 cents for the magazine?¹⁸⁴

Merrill found in his study of Time's treatment of three American Presidents that the magazine used "colorful and subjective" language to portray individuals in the news.¹⁸⁵ He discovered that

¹⁷⁹Tucker, p. 39.

¹⁸⁰James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States, Third Edition (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1971), p. 205.

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹⁸²W. A. Swanberg, Luce and His Empire (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), pp. 141-142.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 383.

¹⁸⁵Merrill, p. 567.

the periodical was guilty of "preferential or prejudicial treatment" of its news subjects¹⁸⁶ through the use of words that were either positively or negatively affective. In this regard, then, Merrill considered Time to be biased.

More recently, Fedler, Meeske and Hall examined Time's coverage of four Presidents. In their study, the authors defined bias as "any expression of opinion or variance from neutrality."¹⁸⁷ That study also found that the magazine, through the use of language that carried either favorable or unfavorable connotations, was preferential in its news treatment of individuals. The authors concluded that Time remained subjective in its news' coverage.

With the two previous studies serving as background, this research was conducted with the knowledge that subjectivity exists in news' coverage, and the present study is concerned with identifying such bias.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 569.

¹⁸⁷Fedler, Meeske, and Hall, p. 354.

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDY

Results

Reliability estimates between coders were derived from Scott's formula:¹⁸⁸

$$P_i = \frac{P_o - P_e}{1 - P_e}$$

P_o = percentage observed agreement
 P_e = percentage agreement expected on basis of chance

This formula was used in the study to account for any agreements between coders that might have occurred through chance.

To establish P_e , the author squared and summed the percentage of positive and negative bias.

For example, in Time, Newsweek and the New York Times' coverage of Elvis Presley, 55 instances of bias were cited by the first coder. Forty-nine of these references were determined to be unfavorable, giving a percentage of negative bias of .89 (49 divided by 55). Six references were positive, accounting for a percentage of favorable bias of .11 (six divided by 55). Following the procedure mentioned above, the next step was $(.89)^2 + (.11)^2 = .80$. Thus, P_e was found to be .80.

¹⁸⁸William A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," Public Opinion Quarterly, 19 (1955), 321-25.

The Po was determined by finding the percentage agreement between the two coders. The number of agreements was divided by the number of recorded instances.

In Time, Newsweek and the New York Times' coverage of Elvis, the two coders agreed about 53 of the 55 recorded instances, establishing the Po at .96 (53 divided by 55).

It was determined beforehand that the lowest Pi needed to justify reliability was .70.

Using Scott's formula, the Pi for the two coders in the coverage of Elvis was:

$$P_i = \frac{.96 - .80}{1 - .80} = \frac{.16}{.20} = .80$$

Therefore, reliability was met in this instance.

Time, Newsweek and the New York Times' coverage of the Beatles was determined by the first coder to contain 71 instances of bias, 46 unfavorable and 25 favorable. The percentage of negative bias was .65 (46 divided by 71), and the percentage of positive bias was .35 (25 divided by 71). Therefore, $(.65)^2 + (.35)^2 = .54$ Pe.

In Time, Newsweek and the New York Times' coverage of the Beatles, the coders agreed in 62 out of the 71 instances for a Po of .87 (62 divided by 71).

Using Scott's formula, the Pi for the two coders for the Beatles' coverage was:

$$P_i = \frac{.87 - .54}{1 - .54} = \frac{.33}{.46} = .72$$

Therefore, the .70 standard needed to justify reliability was met.

Time carried four stories about the emergence of Elvis. The number of words in the magazine's coverage totaled 2,177. One of the stories examined was judged by the author to contain no bias; however, it was decided that every story would be included in the word count, regardless of whether it contained bias. (Instances of bias are listed in Appendix B.)

Thirty-five instances of bias were recorded in Time's reporting about Presley. (The second coder had disagreed about one possible instance. Any disagreement between coders was not listed in Appendix B and was not included in the calculation of percentage of biased statements.) All were determined by the two coders to be unfavorable references. By dividing the number of unfavorable references by the number of words in Time's coverage of Presley, the percentage of negative bias was found to be .016 in the Time articles (35 divided by 2,177) (see Table I below).

TABLE I
COVERAGE OF PRESLEY

Periodical	No. of Stories	No. of Biased References	No. of Words	Percentage of Biased References Per Word
<u>Time</u>	4	35	2,177	.016
<u>Newsweek</u>	4	14	1,655	.008
<u>New York Times</u>	14	4	1,791	.002

Newsweek also printed four stories about Elvis during the period under study. All four stories contained instances of bias. The total number of words was 1,655.

Of 15 instances of bias toward Presley, 14 were agreed to be unfavorable. No instances of positive bias were cited. Negative bias appeared in .008 of Newsweek's coverage of Presley (14 divided by 1,655).

The New York Times printed 14 stories about Elvis during this period with bias occurring in one of the stories. The Times published 1,791 words pertaining to Presley with bias occurring four times. Therefore, the Times was judged to be the most objective of the three in this instance, with bias appearing in .002 of the newspaper's total coverage of Presley (four divided by 1,791). All four references were agreed to be favorable toward Presley.

Time carried six stories about the Beatles, and four of these contained bias. The magazine published 2,989 words about the group.

The coders agreed on 21 of a possible 24 instances of bias, which indicated that bias occurred in .007 in Time's coverage (21 divided by 2,989). Nine instances of favorable bias were agreed to have occurred in the magazine's reporting while 12 unfavorable references to the Beatles were agreed to be present. Therefore, Time had favorable references to the Beatles in .003 (nine divided by 2,989) of its coverage and negative references accounting for .004 (12 divided by 2,989).

Newsweek printed nine stories about the emergence of the Beatles with seven stories containing bias. A total of 6,496 words were published about the group.

The coders agreed 33 of 39 times that bias occurred in Newsweek's coverage, giving a percentage of bias of .005 (33 divided by 6,496). Ten favorable examples were agreed upon while 23 unfavorable instances were found. Favorable references appeared in .002 (10 divided by 6,496) of the magazine's total coverage with negative bias occurring in .004 (23 divided by 6,496).

The New York Times had 19 stories about the Beatles, three of which contained bias. A total of 4,821 words were in the newspaper's coverage. All eight instances of bias were agreed to be unfavorable, giving a percentage of negative bias of .002 (eight divided by 4,821) (see Table II below).

TABLE II
COVERAGE OF THE BEATLES

Periodical	No. of Stories	No. of Biased References	No. of Words	Percentage of Biased References Per Word
<u>Time</u>	6	21	2,989	.007
<u>Newsweek</u>	9	33	6,496	.005
<u>New York Times</u>	19	8	4,821	.002

Again, the New York Times was found to be the most objective of the three under study due to having a lower percentage of bias occurring in its coverage of the Beatles.

As for comparisons between Time and Newsweek, although every instance of bias concerning Presley was unfavorable in both news-weeklies, the percentage of its occurrence was twice as great in Time's coverage as it was in Newsweek's.

Another significant comparison is the percentage of bias in Time's coverage of Elvis with its coverage of the Beatles. Not only did the occurrence of bias decrease from .016 to .007, but the percentage of negative bias decreased from .016 in its coverage of Presley to .004 in its Beatles' coverage.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Elvis was accused by the newsweeklies of being Southern, and they persecuted him for attempting to display that heritage. Elvis was viewed with outright condescension. Time and Newsweek made fun of his "hillbilly" (i.e., inferior) background: "his diction is poor"; "he drawls"; "Hi-luh-huh-huh-huv yew-hew" (for "I love you."); "Elvis was somewhat like a jug of corn liquor at a champagne party"; ("Ah don't waaa no uthuh luv, Baybee it's jus' yew ah'm thinkin' uuuuv.") for "I don't want no other love, Baby it's just you I'm thinking of."

Because he was a Southerner, Elvis was unfairly criticized by the northeastern media. The newsweeklies attacked him for speaking with a Southern accent (What other accent was a boy from Memphis supposed to have?) and for dancing with too much exuberance (as opposed, say, to a more traditional waltz). His accent was to the media a sign of being a hick, and his dancing was a symbol of his attachments to black culture. So, contained within the central paradox that was Elvis (that is, a fondness for the country music of the whites and the rural blues of the blacks) came subtle charges of being both a country cracker and a white boy who inexplicably found something worthwhile in acting like a black.

Presley was portrayed as a spoiled brat: "his petulant, full-lipped face"; "cavorting sullenly"; "rocking contentedly"; "Millionaire

Presley's pout"; "a modest lunch"; "living off the fat of the heads"; "need not worry that his megalomania is disappearing."

Elvis was viewed as a sexual threat: "Sexhibitionist Elvis"; "his bodily motions were embarrassingly specific."

His talent was called into question: "as if he had swallowed a jackhammer"; "(his) baritone goes raw and whining"; "his antics in his third film"; "no clues to the record's whopping success"; "lovers of . . . a less epileptic kind of minstrelsy have waited for Elvis Presley . . . to fade"; "Elvis has prepared a surprise package for the nation that is likely to be the most serious menace to Christmas since 'I Saw Mommy Kissing Santa Claus'"; "a new stomp-and-holler hit"; "He hollered songs"; "a hillbilly singer capable of impressive bodily contortions"; "a tuneless ditty called 'Hound Dog'"; "Elvis Presley gyrated . . . for a live demonstration of his spasms and songs"; "guitar-thumping . . . singer."

Presley's impact could not be avoided, but it could be ridiculed: "Presley got all shook up by his pelvic pulsations, dislodged a cap prettifying one of his teeth"; "the craze"; "turntable fad"; "those poodle-wool sideburns."

Time and Newsweek patronized Elvis. Whatever praise he received from the newsweeklies was tinged with sarcasm. Their comments about his talent and the culture he represented varied from outright attacks to smarmy, tongue-in-cheek derision. Time and Newsweek

stooped to the lowest type of reportage: name-calling.¹⁸⁹ Rather than attempting to define and explain the social parameters in which Elvis was working, Time and Newsweek were ignorant of the consequences of his success.

Meanwhile, it seems that the worst thing Time and Newsweek could write about the Beatles concerned their "long" hair: "four years' growth of hair"; "covered over with Piltdown hair"; "their waterweed hair"; "the sheepdog hairdos"; "great pudding bowls of hair"; "the four mopheads"; "their mop tops"; "the mop-topped Beatles quartet"; "the Mersey mopheads."

The Beatles also talked a bit too much: "the Beatles' foxy chitchat"; "the Beatles themselves for once maintained a public silence."

Indeed, there was some criticism of their talent, but there was some praise too, not all of it faint: "fully professional"; "their coordinated skill"; "The Beatles are . . . an institution"; "the Beatles have more showmanship than any group in years"; "the Beatles' appeal is positive, not negative"; "They also sell because they are as brilliantly original as any written today"; "a style that is wholly their own"; "simple and direct (lyrics)."

They were also lovable mop-tops: "as wholesome as choir boys"; "cute and safe."

¹⁸⁹ Werner J. Severin and James W. Tankard, Jr., Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, Uses (New York: Hastings House, 1979), pp. 116-118.

The major limitation of this study is that the second coder did not read the articles being examined. Since it was decided that the second coder would serve only as a check of the first coder's decisions about what was biased in the articles, the implications of the findings are restricted.

In addition, the process of using the number of words to determine a scale for bias is a limitation. For example, an entire sentence may be deemed an individual occurrence of bias. However, the sentence could contain several words yet it would not affect the percentage of bias any more than a single word. Also, a photograph could be determined to be biased, but there is no way that the photograph could be included in the word count.

As for future research, it would be interesting to examine these same periodicals and determine if their coverage of contemporary rock performers contains lower percentages of negative bias.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

CODER INSTRUCTIONS

It is your job to read all 126 statements and determine for each if it is biased and, if so, whether it is favorable or unfavorable. Your determination is to be based solely on the underlined portion of each statement. Portions of each statement that aren't underlined are included only to help you see the context in which the underlined portion occurred. As an added aid, all relevant articles are available for the second coder to examine.

It is possible that all 126 statements could be biased or all could be unbiased. It is also possible that there could be a mixture of both. There are no right or wrong answers.

Bias could be a word other than such neutral words as "said" or "added." For example, saying someone "snapped" would be an instance of unfavorable bias.

Bias could be words and/or phrases that describe someone or something in either a favorable or unfavorable manner. An example of favorable bias is the word "warm" occurring in the phrase "warm manner of speaking."

Bias could be words, phrases or even entire sentences that express a belief or an attitude. An example of an unfavorable bias is the sentence: "Seldom has a more popular man been fired by a more unpopular one." In its context, this statement occurred in a Time

magazine article about Truman's firing of General Douglas MacArthur and was perceived to be biased in a negative sense toward President Truman.

Bias can occur from either the overall impression created from a photograph or from the accompanying cutline beneath it. The appropriate photograph will be given to you, and you are to view it and determine if it is biased, and if so, whether the bias is favorable or unfavorable toward the individual. As for captions that accompany photos, you are to make a similar judgment based on what the cutline says or implies. For example, if a caption is said to be beneath a picture of President Johnson and reads: "Vietnam: A Presidential Nightmare," that would constitute unfavorable bias even though the photo of President Johnson might not be biased.

There are no time limits as to how long you must complete your study, and you are free to skip any statements that you are uncertain about and come back to them later. You are also free to change any decisions you have reached about any statement if you feel that it would more appropriately belong in another category.

APPENDIX B

LISTING OF BIASED STATEMENTS

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 5/14/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 53-4

Headline: "Teeners' Hero"

Attribution		Adjectival	
<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
	1. he <u>drawls</u>		1. his <u>petulant</u> , . . . face.
			2. his . . . , <u>full-lipped</u> face.
			3. a . . . , <u>tight-trousered</u> young man.

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 5/14/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 53-4

Headline: "Teeners' Hero"

Adverbial		Outright Opinion	
<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
	1. His . . . baritone goes . . . <u>whining</u> in the high notes.		1. . . . his entire body <u>takes on a frantic quiver, as if he had swallowed a jackhammer.</u>
	2. some fully grown female listeners matched the star <u>squirm</u> for squirm.		2. his diction is <u>poor</u> .

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 5/14/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 53-4

Headline: "Teeners' Hero"

Photographic	
<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
	1. <u>a picture of Elvis</u> looking stupid while singing.
	2. a caption under the same picture: an Elvis quote from one of his songs ("Hi luh-huh-huh-huv <u>yew-hew</u> " for the words "I love you.")

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 5/27/57 Performer Elvis Page No. 101

Headline: "Lonely & Shook Up"

<u>Favorable</u>	Attribution	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	Adjectival	<u>Unfavorable</u>
					1. <u>Sexhibitionist</u> Elvis Presley
					2. Elvis Presley . . . dislodged a cap <u>prettifying</u> one of his teeth.
					3. Joe Hyams . . . , was invited by to watch Elvis eat a <u>modest</u> lunch (a bowl of gravy, a bowl of mashed potatoes, nine slices of crisp bacon, a quart of milk, a big glass of tomato juice, lettuce salad, six slices of bread, four pats of butter).

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 5/27/57 Performer Elvis Page No. 101

Headline: "Lonely & Shook Up"

<u>Favorable</u>	Adverbial	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	Outright Opinion	<u>Unfavorable</u>
		1. Cavorting <u>sullenly</u> . . . Elvis Presley . . .			1. for his antics in his third film, . . .
		2. Elvis Presley got all shook up by his <u>pelvic pulsations</u>			2. Millionaire Presley's <u>pout</u>
		3. Moreover, just to keep Elvis <u>rocking contentedly</u> , M-G-M . . .			

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 5/27/57 Performer Elvis Page No. 101

Headline: "Lonely & Shook Up"

<u>Favorable</u>	Photographic	<u>Unfavorable</u>
		1. A picture of Elvis looking stupid.
		2. Caption under same picture: " <u>Presley Baring Fang for Nurse.</u> "
		3. Sub-caption of picture: " <u>No daddies with shotguns wanted.</u> "

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 11/4/57 Performer Elvis Page No. 48, 50

Headline: "The Rock is Solid"

<u>Favorable</u>	Attribution	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	Adjectival	<u>Unfavorable</u>
	1. His tour manager . . . allowed that "if there were a program of half- hour duration, Elvis might make a concession and take \$75,000."			1. those <u>rosebud</u> lips	
				2. those <u>poodle-wool</u> side- burns	
				3. Elvis--with a new <u>stomp- and-holler</u> hit, . . .	

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 11/4/57 Performer Elvis Page No. 48, 50

Headline: "The Rock is Solid"

<u>Favorable</u>	Adverbial	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	Outright Opinion	<u>Unfavorable</u>
				1. For two years, lovers of <u>peace, quiet and a less epileptic kind of min- strelsy</u> have waited for Elvis Presley and the adenoidal art form, rock 'n' roll, to fade.	
				2. no clues to the record's <u>whopping success.</u>	
				3. Elvis, . . . , continues to live off what most parents would agree is the fat of teen-agers' <u>heads.</u>	
				4. the <u>craze</u>	
				5. his fans need not worry that the old megalomania is disappearing.	
				6. Meanwhile, Elvis has pre- pared a surprise package for the nation that is likely to be the most serious menace to Christmas since "I Saw Mommy Kissing Santa Claus."	
				7. the next turntable <u>fad</u>	

Periodical Time Date 11/4/57 Performer Elvis Page No. 48,50

Headline: "The Rock is Solid"

Favorable

Photographic

Unfavorable

1. a picture of Elvis looking demented.
2. Caption under the picture: "living off the fat of the heads."
3. Caption of picture: "Golden Glottis Presley"

Periodical Newsweek Date 5/14/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 82

Headline: "Hillbilly on a Pedestal"

Favorable

Adverbial

Unfavorable

Favorable

Outright Opinion

Unfavorable

1. Elvis Presley, a hillbilly singer capable of impressive bodily contortions,
2. Elvis was somewhat like a jug of corn liquor at a champagne party.
3. He hollered songs
4. his bodily motions were embarrassingly specific.

Periodical Newsweek Date 5/14/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 82

Headline: "Hillbilly on a Pedestal"

Favorable

Photographic

Unfavorable

1. Photo of Elvis with mouth wide open and eyes shut.
2. Caption under picture: "Elvis: at Las Vegas, a clinical experiment."

Periodical Newsweek Date 8/27/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 68

Headline: "Inextinguishable"

Favorable

Attribution

Unfavorable

Favorable

Adjectival

Unfavorable

1. his latest hit, a tuneless ditty called "Hound Dog,"

Periodical Newsweek Date 10/8/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 58

Headline: "'Mud' on the Stars"

Favorable Adverbial Unfavorable Favorable Outright Opinion Unfavorable

1. Elvis Presley gyrated into
Tupelo, Miss., . . . , for
a live demonstration of his
spasms and songs.
2. Quotation from a Presley
song: ("Ah don't waaa no
uthuh luv, Baybee it's jus'
yew ah'm thinkin' uuuuv")
for "I don't want no other
love, Baby it's just you
I'm thinking of."
3. The networks showed more
taste than Ed Sullivan.

Periodical Newsweek Date 10/8/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 58

Headline: "'Mud' on the Stars"

Favorable Photographic Unfavorable

1. Caption under a photo of Elvis: "Presley:
The networks had doubts."

Periodical Newsweek Date 2/18/57 Performer Elvis Page No. 84-5

Headline: "Presley Spells Profit"

Favorable Attribution Unfavorable Favorable Adjectival Unfavorable

1. guitar-thumping . . . ,
singer

Periodical Newsweek Date 2/18/57 Performer Elvis Page No. 84-5

Headline: "Presley Spells Profit"

Favorable Adverbial Unfavorable Favorable Outright Opinion Unfavorable

1. in markets where the
audience could sop up
Elvis's on-screen effluvia.
2. the craze

Periodical N. Y. Times Date 10/29/56 Performer Elvis Page No. 33

Headline: "Presley Receives a City Polio Shot"

Attribution		Adjectival	
<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
		1. he is a <u>polite</u> , . . . young man.	
		2. he is a . . . , <u>personable</u> , . . . young man.	
		3. he is a . . . , <u>quick-witted</u> . . . young man.	
		4. he is a . . . <u>charming</u> young man.	

Periodical Time Date 2/21/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 46-7

Headline: "The Unbarbershopped Quartet"

Attribution		Adjectival	
<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
	1. they . . . <u>concede</u> that they have no real talent at all.	1. their <u>coordinated</u> skill	1. their <u>waterweed</u> hair
		2. What recommends the Beatles more than anything else is their <u>bright and highly irreverent attitude</u> toward themselves and their international magnitude.	2. covered over with <u>Piltown</u> hair.
			3. Ringo Starr, the somewhat <u>corvine</u> drummer,

Periodical Time Date 2/21/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 46-7

Headline: "The Unbarbershopped Quartet"

adverbial		Outright Opinion	
<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
1. they <u>disarmingly</u> concede that they have no real talent at all.		1. They are <u>pure and classic</u> <u>idols</u> .	1. they all <u>grope around</u> <u>under four years' growth of hair</u> .
2. <u>cheerfully</u> irreverent		2. they are as <u>wholesome</u> as <u>choir boys</u> .	2. There were two earlier Beatles, one who . . . was dropped by the Beatles' manager because he didn't have enough personality and/or hair.
		3. <u>fully professional</u>	
		4. No one seemed wholly exempt from the <u>con-ta-gion</u> .	

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 2/19/65 Performer Beatles Page No. 94

Headline: "Buying the Beatles"

Favorable Adverbial Unfavorable Favorable Outright Opinion Unfavorable

1. The Beatles are . . . an
institution. . . .

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 8/12/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 38

Headline: "According to John"

Favorable Attribution Unfavorable Favorable Adjectival Unfavorable

1. Brian Epstein, the
Beatles' . . . cagey
promoter. . . .
2. the Beatles' foxy
chitchat. . . .

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 8/12/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 38

Headline: "According to John"

Favorable Photographic Unfavorable

1. Caption under photo of manager Brian
Epstein: "Trying to quench the hell-fire."

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 9/2/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 38-9

Headline: "Is Beatlemania Dead?"

Favorable Attribution Unfavorable Favorable Adjectival Unfavorable

1. Manager Brian Epstein
concedes. . . .

Periodical _____ Time _____ Date 9/2/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 38-9

Headline: "Is Beatlemania Dead?"

Favorable Adverbial Unfavorable Favorable Outright Opinion Unfavorable

1. the Beatles' trip to
Shea Stadium by armored
truck seemed dictated
more by showmanship
than necessity.

Periodical Time Date 9/2/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 38-9

Headline: "Is Beatlemania Dead?"

Favorable

Photographic

Unfavorable

1. Caption under a photo of an armored truck carrying the Beatles to a concert: "This time, part of the advance was ulcers."

Periodical Newsweek Date 2/3/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 77

Headline: "The Beatles is Coming"

Favorable

Attribution

Unfavorable

Favorable

Adjectival

Unfavorable

1. Most ominous, the Beatles themselves will land in New York Feb. 7

Periodical Newsweek Date 2/3/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 77

Headline: "The Beatles is Coming"

Favorable

Adverbial

Unfavorable

Favorable

Outright Opinion

Unfavorable

1. the whole country was showing signs of Beatlemania.

1. The news sounded like an account of Old Testament retribution for all the rock 'n' roll America had sent to Britain

Periodical Newsweek Date 2/17/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 88

Headline: "Yeah, Yeah, Yeah"

Favorable

Attribution

Unfavorable

Favorable

Adjectival

Unfavorable

1. The poppet with the sheepdog hairdos

Periodical Newsweek Date 2/24/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 54-7

Headline: "George, Paul, Ringo, and John"

Attribution		Adjectival	
<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
		1. In his own <u>disarming</u> way, Paul	1. guitars and drums <u>slamming out a merciless beat</u>
		2. <u>cute and safe</u>	2. Their lyrics (punctuated by <u>natty</u> shouts of "yeah, yeah, yeah!")
			3. the <u>primitive</u> four-four beat of Ringo Starr's drum.

Periodical Newsweek Date 2/24/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 54-7

Headline: "George, Paul, Ringo, and John"

Adverbial		Outright Opinion	
<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
1. he says, <u>without modesty</u> ,		1. <u>the Beatles' appeal is positive, not negative.</u>	1. great <u>pudding bowls of hair.</u>
		2. <u>the Beatles have more showmanship than any group in years.</u>	2. <u>Visually they are a night-mare.</u>
		3. <u>They are a band of evangelists. And their gospel is fun.</u>	3. <u>Musically they are a near-disaster.</u>
			4. <u>guitars and drums slamming out a . . . beat that does away with secondary rhythms, harmony, and melody.</u>
			5. <u>Their lyrics are a catastrophe,</u>
			6. <u>Their lyrics are a . . . preposterous farrago of Valentine-card romantic sentiments.</u>
			7. <u>the four mopheads</u>
			8. <u>Their mop tops</u>
			9. <u>It is also hard to imagine any other field in which they could apply their talents.</u>

Periodical Newsweek Date 2/24/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 54-7

Headline: "George, Paul, Ringo, and John"

Favorable

Photographic

Unfavorable

1. Caption under a picture of the Beatles wearing leather jackets: "Dead scruffy, untidy."

Periodical Newsweek Date 3/1/65 Performer Beatles Page No. 70-1

Headline: "I Wanna Hold Your Stock"

Favorable

Attribution

Unfavorable

Favorable

Adjectival

Unfavorable

1. the mop-topped Beatles quartet.

Periodical Newsweek Date 3/1/65 Performer Beatles Page No. 70-1

Headline: "I Wanna Hold Your Stock"

Favorable

Adverbial

Unfavorable

Favorable

Outright Opinion

Unfavorable

1. Through the clamor, the Beatles themselves for once maintained a public silence.
2. Instead, with the best interests of their stockholders now in mind, they were holed up in a London studio

Periodical Newsweek Date 6/28/65 Performer Beatles Page No. 38

Headline: "Mopheads, M. B. E."

Favorable

Attribution

Unfavorable

Favorable

Adjectival

Unfavorable

1. Snapped Ringo

Periodical Newsweek Date 6/28/65 Performer Beatles Page No. 38

Headline: "Mopheads, M. B. E."

Favorable Adverbial Unfavorable Favorable Outright Opinion Unfavorable
1. The Mersey mopheads

Periodical Newsweek Date 3/21/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 102

Headline: "Bards of Pop"

Favorable Attribution Unfavorable Favorable Adjectival Unfavorable
1. Still simple and direct,
their lyrics

Periodical Newsweek Date 3/21/66 Performance Beatles Page No. 102

Headline: "Bards of Pop"

Favorable Adverbial Unfavorable Favorable Outright Opinion Unfavorable
1. They also sell because they
are as brilliantly original
as any written today,
2. a style that is wholly
their own.

Periodical Newsweek Date 3/21/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 102

Headline: "Bards of Pop"

Favorable Photographic Unfavorable
1. Caption under a picture of Lennon
and McCartney: "You name it and
it's possible we could do it."

Periodical Newsweek Date 8/22/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 94

Headline: "Blues for the Beatles"

Favorable Photographic Unfavorable
1. Caption under a picture of the
Beatles: "Lennon was contrite."

Periodical N. Y. Times Date 4/24/64 Performer Beatles Page No. 31

Headline: "End Papers"

<u>Favorable</u>	Adverbial	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	Outright Opinion	<u>Unfavorable</u>
					1. with a <u>churl's haircut</u> ,

Periodical N. Y. Times Date 6/12/65 Performer Beatles Page No. 1, 9

Headline: "Queen's Honors List Includes the Beatles"

<u>Favorable</u>	Adverbial	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	Outright Opinion	<u>Unfavorable</u>
					1. The four young men with <u>the odd haircuts</u>
					2. The appearance of the <u>Beatles on the Queen's</u> <u>honors list may shock some</u> <u>older Britons committed to</u> <u>respectability.</u>
					3. <u>the triumph could well be</u> <u>hollow in the eyes of their</u> <u>original fans--the teenagers.</u>

Periodical N. Y. Times Date 8/22/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 30

Headline: "Beatles Strike Serious Note in Press Talk"

<u>Favorable</u>	Attribution	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	Adjectival	<u>Unfavorable</u>
					1. the <u>mop-haired</u> singers
					2. all appeared <u>tired</u>

Periodical N. Y. Times Date 8/23/66 Performer Beatles Page No. 30

Headline: "Beatles Strike Serious Note in Press Talk"

<u>Favorable</u>	Adverbial	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	Outright Opinion	<u>Unfavorable</u>
					1. they all chimed in <u>sarcas-</u> <u>tically</u>

VITA

Russ Witcher was born October 13, 1959 in Lafayette, Tennessee, the son of Kenneth and Maitred Witcher. He graduated from Red Boiling Springs High School in 1977 and entered Western Kentucky University that same year. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in journalism at Western in May 1981.

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