To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Michael Eugene Worthington entitled "The Rock Concert: A Study in Crowd Structure and Behavior." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.

Thomas C. Hood, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

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THE ROCK CONCERT: A STUDY IN CROWD STRUCTURE AND BEHAVIOR

A Thesis

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I dedicate the thesis to my wife, Margie, who so patiently endured the entire project. May our unborn child be just like her.

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ABSTRACT

The sociological literature on crowd behavior and structure has almost exclusively dealt with the acting crowd and is virtually lacking in any systematic investigation of the expressive crowd. The literature on audiences is dated and suggests that audiences are passive and homogeneous collectivities. With the appearance of the festival seating rock concert phenomenon we now have a type of crowd or audience which does not fit in to the classical framework of crowd and audience conceptualizations. The purposes of this investigation were to determine whether the festival seating rock concert is a crowd or an audience and to raise and resolve the question of how we may analytically and conceptually treat the collectivity at the festival seating concert.

Participant observation and interviewing were combined in an effort to analyze and describe the festival seating rock concert. Observations and interviews were conducted for a period of five months covering a total of ten concerts. The setting for the study was the Knoxville Civic Coliseum.

It was found that current perspectives on audiences and crowds are of only partial value in accounting for behavior at the concert event. There are manifestations of both the passive and expressive dimensions of behavior within the audience. It was suggested that the festival seating concert collectivity be analytically and conceptually treated as an audience and that traditional perspectives be modified in order to account for these different behavioral dimensions.

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CHAPTER I

THE ROCK AUDIENCE: A PROBLEM AND AN APPROACH

Pablo Casals has labeled the sounds of rock and roll as "poison put to sound," Samuel Cardinal Stritch has referred to it as "tribal rhythms," and Frank Sinatra has called it a "rancid-smelling aphrodisiac [Time, 1965:85]." With regard to its content and message, Spiro Agnew (1972) said that it encouraged youths to take drugs. Still others have claimed that rock music is subversive (Allen, 1969). Regardless of one's opinion of rock music, its sounds and messages are creating one of the biggest industries in the nation (Orth, 1973). Record sales are at an all-time high and steadily climbing.

Aside from Agnew and Allen, others have seen rock music as containing overtones of a new life style, an argument that is difficult to refute. Regarding the music of the 60's, one writer notes,

> To a generation turned off by war and turned on to drugs, rock was the catalyst of a whole new life-style. Rock changed the way youth related to authority, to learning, to sex and to government [Orth, 1973:47].

If we assume that there is a message which rock music delivers, then we must assume that, to a certain extent, it defines the mores for youth and that despite the inability to produce the lyrics to popular songs, the message still comes through (Rosenstone, 1969; Peterson, 1971). Thus, the music we call rock and roll has a kind of mystical quality which only those who are "with it" can interpret.

The sounds of rock and roll also have been compared to those of the factory, with its loud, rhythmical beat.

> It (rock music) really started in Detroit. People there compared it with factories: the sheet metal being pressed into those big, heavy cars and the drone of the huge factory. The sound seemed kind of a rebellion at the drone and a simultaneous creation of a drone somewhat more listenable . . . [Zito, 1973:455).

Along these same lines, at least one writer has pointed out that in contrast to catharsis, rock music produces only frustration.

> Rock music just stays there, its beat jumping up and down in the same place and producing in the end only the pent-up energy of frustration [Lees, 1970:110].

In spite of the way one perceives rock music and its "messages," one can hardly argue with Ralph Gleason's (1969) thesis that the lyrics of music imply a different way of looking at the world than the way in which the parents of contemporary youth look at it. We shall forever speculate on the part that rock music plays in society, particularly in youth culture but Frank Zappa's teleological statement probably comes closer than any other in its characterization of the substance of rock music:

> Rock music is a necessary element of contemporary society. It is functional. It is healthy and valid artistically. It is also educational (how to ask a girl for a date, what love is like). It has all the answers to what your mother and father won't tell you [1968:82].

Given the notion that rock music does contain some meaning, regardless of what it is, then any setting where this music is to be performed is going to be characterized by the presence of large numbers of young people. The most common setting for rock concerts today is the large, civic coliseum, a phenomenon simply due to the fact that the

coliseum is capable of accommodating a large gathering of persons and with the growing popularity of the concert the space is needed. It is here that the concert experience is best able to materialize.

This thesis is an investigation of one facet of rock music: the concert. Sociologically the thesis is an investigation of the rock concert crowd. More specifically, I shall be dealing with a type of concert which is relatively recent in appearance. This concert type is known as the "festival seating concert." In the past the concert has been characterized by the presence of a large number of mostly passive individuals sitting in chairs and engaged in listening to and watching a band perform. This is true not only of the non-rock and roll concerts but rock and roll concerts as well. The festival seating concert has added a new dimension to audience participation in the event. The fact that the only chairs in the concert hall are found in the balcony and that the floor area is a large, open space with no chairs for sitting establishes an entirely new setting, one in which the individuals present are no longer confined to a seat. In essence, the festival seating concert arrangement facilitates the participation of audience members as does the outdoor setting. For those who choose to sit or stand in the floor area there is the freedom to engage in activities other than the mere watching of performers and listening to the music. For those who elect to spend the evening in a balcony seat, the concert can be less of a participation experience.

The sociological literature on crowd and audience behavior abounds. We may not say the same, however, with respect to the literature on the

rock concert. Popular literature is also plentiful in the areas of rock music and rock concerts. But most writers have devoted too much of their efforts to a description of the bands and an evaluation of their music. We cannot fault the journalists on these points. Their readers are more interested in reading about how well or how poorly the bands performed on a given occasion than they are in reading an account of what transpired with respect to those attending. It is only if a particular concert is characterized by "unusual" behavior such as rioting that we find journalistic accounts of what happens in the audience. This too is understandable if we realize that the great majority of audience members only exhibit the traditional responses of shouting, whistling, and applauding when a number is finished. During the playing of a number audience behavior has been tradiitonally less overt than the behavior at the end of a number. Today, as we shall see, this is not the case.

The sociological literature on collective behavior, especially the crowd literature, assumes that individual or collective behavior sequences are inclusive of and continuous for all participants (McPhail and Miller, 1973:732). Crowds and audiences have been treated too often as homogeneous collectivities with respect to behavior of individuals. I shall demonstrate how this aspect of collective behavior theory is erroneous in dealing with the festival seating rock concert phenomenon.

The literature will be presented for purposes of the establishment of an analytical and conceptual framework whereby the concert event can be interpreted. Treating the event as both a crowd and an audience presents its problems. In the conclusion of this thesis an alternative to this dilemma will be proposed.

Interestingly enough, with the advent of this new concert phenomenon, we would now expect to have a return to more of a traditional type of audience situation. But the collectivity at the festival seating concert is both an audience and a crowd. What the public chooses to call it is simply a matter of individual preference. But whether we call the gathering an audience or a crowd, we can justify our choice both in a sociological sense and a popular sense. Another of the tasks of this thesis is to show how this is evidenced and to suggest an alternative.

The sociological literature on the crowd and the audience also suggests that there are different kinds of crowds and audiences based on the nature of the collectivity's objectives. Polarization, the process of contagion or something similar, the role of the leader, and the composition of the crowd have been noted as playing a part in the determination of crowd and audience activity. Given these conceptions, this thesis attempts to analytically describe their influences on the rock concert event.

What I have done in this thesis is to present an "analytic description [McCall and Simmons, 1969:3]" of the concert event. As such, I have (1) employed the concepts, propositions, and empirical generalizations of a body of scientific theory as the guides for analysis and reporting, (2) employed thorough and systematic collection, classification, and reporting of events, and (3) generated new empirical generalizations based on these data (McCall and Simmons, 1969:3). The concepts, propositions, and empirical generalizations which are employed

in this thesis are, of course, treated in the literature review. The systematic collection, classification, and reporting of events are covered in the chapter on the description of the rock audience, and generalizations will be offered in the concluding section.

We can justify the use of the analytic description on the grounds that the rock concert is largely a latent organization (McCall and Simmons, 1969:3). Many audience members themselves cannot recognize or report some of the features of the concert situation. The researcher must observe the organization directly in order to gather systematic materials with respect to them. Consequently he can classify, compare, and enumerate the information collected.

The analytic description is not a test of theory but rather an empirical application and modification of theory. It is useful in that it attempts to generate new conceptions of previously existing theory. In the case of this research several theoretical arguments will be extracted and incorporated into the analytical scheme. This tactic is essential if we are going to deal adequately with the rock concert as a crowd and audience phenomenon.

I. METHODS

The technique of research that was utilized in this thesis is that of participant observation. Because I was mainly interested in the structure of the concert collectivity and how this property is related to the behavior of those present, I chose to move throughout the crowd, observing the activity patterns of the participants. Based on my

"understanding of everyday life [Douglas, 1970]" I came to the conclusion that not everyone at the event was "participating" in the same way. Some people were apparently reacting to the setting in more overt ways than others. I realized that "social exploration [Fisher, 1972]" was the only strategy I could employ to come to grips with the situation. Had I remained on the edges of the crowd, I would have been able to see it only from a distant perspective. Thus, I elected to move throughout every possible part of the coliseum in order to view the social properties of the collectivity. I was in agreement with Weller and Quarantelli (1973) that psychological properties of crowds have for too long been in the forefront of crowd research and I wanted to stay away as much as possible from falling into this same dilemma.

Simple observation, as it soon became apparent, was not sufficient for the task at hand. I needed to complement it with the technique of interviewing if I were going to describe the setting <u>in situ</u>. Therefore, grounded in previous observations, I employed what Lofland (1971:76) calls "intensive interviewing with an interview guide." More commonly referred to as an "unstructured interview," the intensive interview with an interview guide enabled me to determine what kinds of things were occurring rather than their frequency of occurrence. In reality, some of the materials I collected were not through the use of the interview at all. Some information was gathered through casual conversation with those present. Since I was not too interested in the frequency of occurrence, with the exception of why people attend concerts, I felt that this technique was essential given the nature of the setting. Any

intensive interviewing on the spot would have annoyed people since the situation precluded any type of lengthy and detailed interview. Consequently, much of the interview materials were collected at the setting and prior to the beginning of the concert. Additionally, the intermission period proved to be a fruitful time for conversation. From the interview materials typical quotes were selected as representative of a large number of responses.

The general questions used were the following:

1. Why do you come to concerts? Who do you prefer to come with?
2. Where do you prefer to sit? Why? Are you sitting where you want to?
3. What is exciting to you about the rock concert?
4. How do you feel the police handle themselves at concerts? The coliseum employees?
5. How old are you?

If nothing else was asked of the participants, I tried to get them to respond to these questions. The conversations with the police were extremely informal and took place outside the main concert area, in the lobby.

I initially told respondents that I was a reporter working on a magazine article for a new rock magazine with offices in Atlanta. The subject of my article was to be rock concerts in the South. Later, I changed tactics and told them the truth, that I was working on a sociology paper for a class at the university. The original technique was chosen because I had some apprehensions about the reactions of crowd members. I naively assumed that people would be more responsive to a reporter than to a graduate student in sociology. My apprehensions

proved to be totally irrational. The responses by participants were just as free in both cases.

Using the "contrived observation [Webb et al., 1966]" of photography, I tried to get pictures of the crowd both before and during the concert. All areas of the coliseum were photographed, but unfortunately, only the pictures taken before the concert and during intermission developed. This type of research is most amenable to the use of photography and the technique is strongly recommended for other investigators of crowd phenomena.

People were obviously curious as to why I was taking pictures of the crowd rather than the band, those individuals who are usually photographed. When I told the subjects that I was taking pictures for a thesis in sociology, their curiosity and apprehensiveness abated. Prior to taking pictures I was fearful that I might be putting myself and the other photographer in danger. This fear was due totally to the realization that narcotics agents, among others, have been known to employ this technique in their surveillance operations. Thus, I made every effort to inform those being photographed that I was not going to release the pictures to the narcotics squad or anyone else other than the University of Tennessee library. The most fascinating aspect of the whole experience was that people apparently trusted me and as a result no resistance was met from anyone.

My role as field researcher was twofold in that when not interviewing I was a "complete participant [Gold, 1969]" and when interviewing, I assumed the role of "participant as observer [Gold, 1969]." Neither role presented significant or insurmountable problems

for this researcher. In fact, when I assumed the role of participant as observer the apprehensions surrounding this role were more the results of my definitions of the situation than the definitions held by the participants. It was I who created the mythical problems which were anticipated in the research. The concertgoers were extremely cooperative, and for this, I am grateful.

Milgram and Toch (1969) at the conclusion of their discussion of the crowd literature devote a few pages to the methods for studying crowd phenomena. They give considerable attention to the use of survey data, projective techniques, and experimental methods but in conclusion state that nothing can substitute for direct observation of crowd phenomena. As we shall see in the review of the literature, much of the discussion centers on rather abstract phenomena such as "contagion," "homogeneity," "heterogeneity," and the like. Very little of the material presented is grounded in systematic observation; in other words, the theory is not grounded (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). By presenting data which has been grounded in direct observation, I have been able to analytically describe some of these abstractions on a more concrete level.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTIONS OF THE CROWD AND THE AUDIENCE

The study of crowds in the sociological literature generally falls within the broader subject matter area known as collective behavior. As defined in one of the dictionaries of sociology, various forms of collective behavior are manifest in crowds, the spread of fads and fashions, public opinion formation, and the rise of social movements (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969:58-59). A problem arises here when we look at the definition of collective behavior as proposed by Smelser (1962). Smelser would include only those crowds which fall within his definition of collective behavior as "mobilization on the basis of belief which redefines social action (1962:8)." If we accept Smelser's delineation of collective behavior then we must rule out the rock concert crowd as well as the audience as demonstrative of a type of collective behavior since the rock concert collectivity, as we shall see, is not "mobilized," has no particular and shared ideological "belief," and is not attempting to "redefine social action." But ours is not the task in this thesis to argue whether the rock concert audience exhibits behavior which may or may not be defined as collective. We may treat the collectivity at a rock concert as a crowd, however, and we may further treat it as an audience. At the conclusion of this investigation we might be convinced that neither of these terms in and of itself is suitable for purposes of definition or classification of the rock concert phenomenon.

I. THE CROWD

In this thesis our primary concern is with the structure of the crowd and the behavior patterns of its individual members. Since this is the case we shall be looking at the stable, underlying relationships among elements of the crowd to the whole. In addition we shall be examining the overt behavior patterns of crowd members and the covert dispositions they bring with them to the event. Based on the fact that crowds and audiences share common qualities the terms will be used interchangeably since the latter is a specific case of the former (Brown, 1954:865). For purposes of literature review, however, we shall separate the two terms since the literature treats the two as separate dimensions of the same collective phenomenon.

Homogeneous or Heterogeneous

The literature essentially treats the crowd as either a homogeneous collectivity or one which is heterogeneous. Depending upon one's perspective much of the crowd's behavior can be interpreted and explained in light of the two positions.

Among the early writers who viewed the crowd as a homogeneous body was Gustave Le Bon (1960). Originally published in 1895, Le Bon's The Crowd was an attempt at delineating the recurrent elements of crowd behavior as were evidenced in the collective events of the French Revolution. Focusing more upon what Blumer (1955) calls the "acting crowd," most of Le Bon's writing is devoted to an intense description of the psychological state of the crowd. Tainting his conception of the crowd

with such key ideas as the "crowd mind" Le Bon argues that the crowd is something greater than a mere aggregate of individuals attending to a common focus. It is a unified body of persons with a distinctive mind of its own.

> Whoever be the individuals that compose it, however like or unlike their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a crowd puts them into possession of a sort of collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation. . . . The psychological crowd is a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements, which for a moment are combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly [1960:27].

Thus we have here, according to Le Bon, a disappearance of the conscious personality of individual members and a consequent intellectual inferiority to the single crowd member. The formation of the crowd mind is attributed to what Le Bon describes as a sentiment of invincible power for the individual crowd member, the spread of contagion, and its effect, suggestibility.[1]

Crediting Le Bon with describing the crowd yet inadequately explaining the crowd, Freud (1960) took a psychoanalytic perspective of crowd phenomena. Like Le Bon, Freud held that the crowd possessed a

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[1]It is irrelevant for purposes of this thesis to analyze the process whereby a crowd mind develops as Le Bon saw it. The point to be made is that Le Bon sees this phenomenon of the crowd mind as an essential element to his definition of the crowd. This brief excursus into Le Bon's definition is merely illustrative of his position. See Heine (1971:12-14, 20-21) and Allport (1968:43-56) for detailed accounts of the crowd mind notion.

group mind and that it was the group mind which held the crowd together. The individual members of the group and the leader develop libidinal (affective) ties and the libidinal relationship is based on a process known as "identification." It was the identification process which enabled individuals to find a means of relating themselves to others by finding in a leader something which they had within themselves.

Others disagree with Freud and Le Bon and say that the crowd mind phenomenon is a myth. Foremost among these proponents is Floyd Allport (1924:292-319). Disagreeing with the contention that the crowd possesses a collective mind independent of individuals, Allport states that "the individual in the crowd behaves just as he would alone, only more so [1924:295]." The individual is the raison d'être of the crowd for it is his response which both provides the motive for the collective behavior and limits its direction.

For Klapp (1972) the crowd has nothing in common of its own in spite of the fact that its members could form a consensus since they have much in common by virtue of their individual backgrounds. The crowd also is structureless and cultureless; anyone may become a member because the crowd has no requisites for entrance--the crowd will take members as they come. Crowd structure and consensus are formed on the spot. Its composition is heterogeneous and the members share nothing in common except the fact that they are in physical proximity when the crowd begins to form.

It is quite understandable why the crowd mind notion was popular for Le Bon and Freud if we realize that their historical era was

characterized by great social change and that this change process was largely viewed as threatening the established order. Today we can reflect upon those times and regard these historic movements as episodes of social betterment (Heine, 1971:13). Consequently the crowd mind notion no longer receives the prominent place in crowd theory that it once did.

Behavior Within the Crowd

What transpires once the crowd has formed? How are we able to explain the behavior of crowds once they have formed? Is the behavior of crowds better understood if we look at the crowd before it forms or once it has formed? These are the questions which have been raised throughout the literature and they are the ones to be discussed in this section.

There are three theoretical positions which attempt to account for the types of behavior we can find within the crowd setting: (1) contagion theory, (2) convergence theory, and (3) emergent norm theory. Each takes a different perspective on the crowd consequently each sees different processes at work.

Best represented by Bagehot (1869), Le Bon (1960), Tarde (1903), McDougall (1920), Allport (1924), and Blumer (1955), the contagion theorists say that contagion in a crowd setting is the spread of behavior or affect from one person to another, that one individual serves as the stimulus for the imitative actions of another. Interestingly the contagion theorists discuss the same process though some choose to label it differently.

For Allport, crowd action originates in the "drives" of the individual, the drives of sex, hunger, and protection. (Allport does not tell us how he arrives at such a conclusion). The presence of the crowd only serves to facilitate and intensify crowd action and it is through a process he calls "social facilitation" that this is able to occur.

In social facilitation an individual who perceives the sights and sounds of others making movements will respond in a similar fashion. In addition, individuals are set to react to a common object in the same manner by virtue of the similarity of human nature. Responses are augmented and released through stimulations from one another but the stimulations do not originate the responses--this lies with the individual. Those who are first to act, according to Allport, are the most suggestible and the least inhibited, therefore "the vast power of crowd facilitation may be at the disposal of the least competent [1924:300]."

In explaining the heightened reactions of the individual in the crowd, Allport touches on the notion of physical proximity. He says that the irregular grouping of persons makes it possible for each individual to be affected and receive stimuli from all persons present. In the observed presence of large numbers the individual is overwhelmed with greater submissiveness and the strength of social facilitation is increased. Moreover, seeing the excitement of his neighbors which has resulted from the original response, the crowd member's response is again intensified and the effects of social stimulation increase themselves by a kind of circular "reverberation" until a violence of response

is developed. Thus, Allport holds that the strength of excitement increases in geometrical proportion to the number of individuals present.

Blumer (1955) discusses essentially the identical phenomenon but chooses to label it differently. "Circular reaction" refers to a type of "interstimulation wherein the response of one individual reproduces the stimulation that has come from another individual and in being reflected back to this individual reinforces the stimulation [1955:170]." The circular reaction process is the most essential mechanism of collective behavior and this "milling" process facilitates contagion; individuals moving around in an aimless manner serve as stimuli for each individual and each emotionally reacts to the other. Milling crowds lead to homogeneity and an increase in the excitement level of the crowd.

The process of "circular interaction" is a key element in the excitement of crowds according to Klapp (1972:43-45). The reinforcement for crowd behavior comes from its many members, and operating within the crowd is a feedback loop which serves as reinforcement. Through generation of an image of what it wants to do and by circular interaction the crowd prepares itself for action. But if this action is to be triggered or set into motion, the crowd must release its members from their typical status obligations, allowing them to act in unrestrained and uncontrollable ways.

According to Klapp the suspension of these regular status obligations is achieved through what he calls "rapport and its resulting loss of self-awareness [1972:45]." Klapp defines rapport as an intimate, harmonious relationship and describes it as a "tendency to be totally

absorbed in collective interaction and highly suggestible to what others are doing [1972:45]." Engrossed in itself, the crowd is unaware of the outside world but its members as individuals cannot be absorbed in what others are suggesting without losing consciousness of themselves as individual members and ceasing to be concerned with their living up to individual ethical standards. As a consequence of these suspensions, the individual member gains the freedom to act in unrestrained ways which cannot be predicted from regular roles and statuses.

The convergence theorists argue that the crowd consists of individuals who are drawn together because they share common qualities which precede crowd formation. In contrast to the contagion position, the convergence theorists emphasize individual predispositions as the key to behavior within the crowd. For them (e.g., Miller and Dollard, 1941), crowd composition is the prime focus. They argue that the homogeneity of the crowd is a result of the likeness of crowd members which occurs in the process of crowd formation itself.

There appears to be some confusion in the literature as to where Allport belongs in the trichotomy being discussed. Milgram and Toch (1969) treat Allport as a contagion theorist while McPhail and Miller (1974) say that Allport subscribes to the convergence position. It does seem that Allport does belong with the convergence theorists since he states that "the people are brought together by a common interest preparing them for a certain type of action [1924:292]." But as we just saw Allport may also be viewed as a contagion theorist. As the classification scheme is now set up it appears that we can justifiably place

Allport in both categories. Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to correct this dilemma, it should receive some attention from future writers.

For emergent norm theorists (e.g., Turner and Killian, 1957; and, Turner, 1964), common standards of behavior guide the behavior of the crowd members. Borrowing from findings in the small groups literature, those who adopt an emergent norm position state that if a group of people is allowed to interact freely among themselves they will eventually develop norms; the new norms constrain the individuals thereby making norm violation highly unlikely.

The emergent norm position holds that there is no homogeneity of crowd action for the majority of the participants are uninvolved. Therefore, the apparent illusion of crowd homogeneity must be explained in terms of a consensus on appropriate action. This consensus arises in the course of crowd behavior and it is to this norm that crowd members and observers refer when characterizing the crowd, not to the actual actions of the crowd members. The emergence of the norm is a result of the perceived actions of the dominant members of the collectivity. Because it is perceived in this way, it constrains crowd members, inhibits contrary behavior, and justifies the conversion of individuals to a particular course of action (Milgram and Toch, 1959:553).

Along these same lines, Turner and Killian (1957) say that communication of mood, imagery, and conception of what is appropriate action all occur as crowd behavior develops. These are not traditional, however, but are emergent since they are novel results of the interaction

in the particular situation. The mood, imagery, and conceptions of appropriate action are, in addition, normative in character. Because more and more people come to think and feel in the same way, there grows a sense that people should share the same feelings and definitions. Pressure on the individual to conform and a sense of restraint develop in the crowd.

Thus, on the group level, there is the emergence of a norm. On the individual level there is heightened suggestibility, a tendency to respond automatically to the suggestions consistent with the mood, imagery, and conception of appropriate action that have developed and taken on a normative character.

Along with the dimensions of crowd behavior as discussed by these three theoretical positions are additional dimensions of crowd phenomena. One is the dimension of polarization. According to Milgram and Toch (1969), polarization is one index of the mental unity of a crowd. If the crowd members all face one object, the group is highly polarized; if they face in different directions the degree of polarization is low.

For Milgram and Toch, polarization of a group is related to structure and function. Polarization is likely to be higher at the center of a crowd, in many cases it may even delineate the crowd borders. It is frequently viewed as diminishing as the crowd dissolves and individuals lose interest in the focus (object of attention).

The leadership dimension is another which has received some attention in the literature though most often it has been treated in the area of social movements. For Le Bon, the leader plays an important

role in the setting into action of motives. It is he who forms the authority of the crowd and it is he to whom members of the crowd submit themselves to authority. A despot, the leader is bordering on madness and has achieved his authoritative position on the basis of his prestige.

We have previously discussed Freud's process of identification and the role of the leader in this process. In addition, Freud saw crowd members as regressing to a state of childlike dependence upon the leader. In addition to identifying with the leader, the crowd members identify with one another since they share a common leader. If the leader ceases to function as leader, the group will no longer exist unless a substitute leader is found.

Crowd Types

The most extensive discussion of crowd types is found in Blumer (1955). In his classic article Blumer describes four types of crowds: (1) casual, (2) conventionalized, (3) acting, and (4) expressive.

The casual crowd is the kind which we find on the street watching a performer in a store window. It has a momentary existence, a very loose organization, and very little unity. Members come and go, giving only brief attention to the object of attention. The primary mechanisms of crowd formation are present but are reduced in scope and weak in operation.

Spectators at a baseball game are exemplary of the conventionalized crowd. Similar in behavior to the casual crowd, the behavior of conventionalized crowd members differs in that it is expressed in established and regularized ways. The regularized activity is the distinguishing feature of the conventionalized crowd type.

The acting crowd is agressive and is best represented by the lynch mob. Its distinctive characteristic is the possession of an objective toward which members direct their activity. This is the crowd type which Le Bon and Freud were concerned with and as such has been stereotyped as suggestible, emotional, irrational, spontaneous, and destructive (Couch, 1968).

The active crowd can assume several dimensions according to Turner and Killian (1957). For these writers the objective of the active crowd is either a direct or indirect action upon an external object, an object which is not part of the crowd. Thus, the acting crowd is working toward a group objective, an objective which the individual could not reach alone; the crowd is solidaristic. If the object of action for the solidaristic crowd is a specific one, then it is characterized as a solidaristic-focused-acting crowd. If the object of action is many specific objects of a general class then it is a solidaristic-volatile-acting crowd.

The final crowd type for Blumer is the expressive or dancing crowd. Its distinguishing characteristic is that instead of directing their activity toward an objective, its members exert physical movement solely as a form of release. The expressive crowd is introverted and as such has no specific goal or objective. Behavior consists largely of unrestrained physical movements which serve the function of tension release. The only way for the expressive crowd to release its tension is through excited physical movement.

This expressive behavior tends to become rhythmical and with sufficient repetition and sufficient rapport it appears that the people

are acting in unison. Because we may witness the rhythmical movements as a collective dance we may designate the expressive crowd as the "dancing" crowd. It is through the rhythmical expression of tension that the expressive crowd exhibits unity.

Catharsis and rapport are important experiences for the individual in the expressive crowd. Possessed by impulsive feelings which are the results of stimulations received from others with whom he is in rapport, the individual has less self-control and is swept away by an unknown source. The conditions of catharsis and rapport are the ones which make the experience one of ecstacy.

Turner and Killian again complement Blumer's crowd types with the solidaristic and individualistic dimensions to the expressive crowd. The solidaristic-expressive crowd defines its objective in interaction and the mood and appropriate expressive behavior are induced. An illustration of this type is the highly emotional religious service. The individualistic-expressive crowd is individualistic in that the crowd objective might have been achieved individually. It is expressive in that the objective of the crowd is the enhancement of some subjective mood of its members and not the changing of the external situation. Individuals are exposed to the same situation and perceive the event in much the same way, thereby experiencing the same mood almost simultaneously. The crowd has established a permissive atmosphere.

Very little has been written on the structure of the crowd and the shapes it can assume. Milgram and Toch (1969) have implied that this dearth of information may be a result of observers viewing the crowd

from the same plane while the most advantageous position is directly overhead. From an overhead view we can see an occasional crowd "ring," a shape in which the common focus is the center and individuals are in a circular arrangement around it. Milgram and Roch also hypothesize that "those who are most intensely motivated to carry out the crowd's purposes will be disproportionately represented at the crowd's structural core [1969:520]."

Brown (1954) has noted that collectivities vary in size and as such may be characterized as having three values: "room size," "public hall size," and collectivities that are "too large to congregate." The room size collectivity is most often labeled a group, the public hall collectivity, a crowd, a mob, or audience, and the too large to congregate collectivity, a public, an electorate, a class, or the masses.

II. THE AUDIENCE

The audience is a special type of crowd, one which is polarized (attending to a common focus) and congregates in order to be affected and directed, not in order to act. "Audiences are those crowds that stop with polarization or with formalized overt action [Brown, 1954:865]."

Like the traditional view of the crowd, the audience has been characterized as homogeneous in composition. Not only is this the case but the audience has been historically viewed as passive. LaPiere's types of audiences, viz., the popular lecture, motion picture, and theater audiences attest to this position. But such characterizations

do not entirely encompass all audience types. The literature is archaic and needs to be updated in light of the fact that new audience dimensions have been generated.

The Traditional View

The traditional view of the audience is best represented by Woolbert (1916) and LaPiere (1938). Both writers made significant contributions to the sutdy of audience behavior but their analyses are somewhat dated and therefore should be viewed as in need of modification.

For Woolbert the audience is characterized by a phenomenon he calls "polarization."

> The essential condition is an attitude on the part of a listener that causes him to set off the speaker as not of his "situation." To make an audience, there must be "polarization," the setting opposite of two objects. This it is that makes of a group an audience [1916:38].

Woolbert goes on to say that the typical audience is structured so that the speaker and the auditors face in different directions, their minds are of a different bent, and they are moving in opposing channels. In spite of the fact that they may be of "one mind" with regard to certain issues, the very nature of the situation places the speaker and auditors at different poles.

The audience's apprehension of itself, for Woolbert, is an important factor. Most audiences gather under conditions that are determinable and the individual members bring with them a "set of mind" which is influential in determining their behavior when polarization begins. The most important conditions can be labeled under the general heading of disposition. The two types of disposition are (1) the

general set of the persons who comprise the audience, and (2) a specific set that is pertinent to the particular occasion (1916:39).

The two dispositions are "receptivity" and "homogeneity of interest [1916:39-40]." Essentially a subjective phenomenon, receptivity refers to the notion that individuals have come together in an expectant frame of mind; they possess respect for the speaker or performer, and they do not obstruct the speaker's control over their mental processes once he has their attention. Thus, the polarizing ability of the speaker is facilitated by the receptivity of the audience members.

Similarity of habitual act and thought are what constitute homogeneity of interest. The audience members respond to the same ideas, do things according to the same rituals, and they notice and ignore the same sights and sounds.

Among the specific set of dispositions, Woolbert includes "sophistication," "general cortical set," "preliminary tuning," and "associative tendencies [1916:40-42]." These dispositions refer to the notions that audience members have learned how to respond properly through repetition of the audience experience (sophistication): their expectations of the kind of event which they are attending are based upon the content of the event (general cortical set); the audience members' behavior is affected by the immediate surroundings once assembled (preliminary tuning): associated events which focus the attention of the group upon an object or objects will affect the congregated audience (associative tendencies). All of these dispositions prepare the minds of the audience members before the speaker begins to speak.

Woolbert goes on to say that there are three stages in the polarization process. First, the individuals interact among themselves. Here the individual is preoccupied with others around him and his attention is directed outward away from himself. Second, attention is directed toward the "focus," i.e., the speaker or the performer. All eyes are directed toward him as he takes his place but the individuals are still aware of their surroundings. Third is the complete polarization state. Akin to a hypnotized state, the speaker or performer occupies the field of attention of all present. Inhibitions that preceded polarization disappear along with the individual's attempt to appear socially proper. Since in a state of complete polarization the audience member loses all of his awareness of others, the audience member discovers a self apart from others and not a loss of self in a crowd personality.

LaPiere views the audience as a type of collectivity whereby the individuals present are attempting to secure "recreational satisfactions [1938:208]." These satisfactions are achieved through submission of oneself to leadership. Being directed and affected is an end in itself. It is through vicarious rather than direct experience that the individual derives these recreational satisfactions.

With regard to audience behavior, LaPiere says that audience behavior "serves and grows out of individual rather than collective needs [1938:209]." The true audience is temporary and is of individual value. Thus, the origin of a particular audience situation lies with the individual's need for recreation. The situation is not a socially

imperative one, and the given audience exists because its members want it to.

For LaPiere, the musician, the actor, etc., are "merchants of recreation [1938:213]." Their function is the satisfaction of the audience's need for recreation. Although the leader cannot determine the composition of his audience, the fact that his audience has come together in pursuit of a common interest in recreation enhances the leader's power over his audience members once they have assembled. The task of the leader is made easier the more selected and homogeneous the audience. The leader's overt behavior will affect the covert behavior of the audience members. Actions of the leader are purposive; that is, he acts in terms of the approval of his audience.

Thus the behavior of the audience is to a certain extent determined by the character of its leader. Operating here are two factors, according to LaPiere: the name prestige of the leader, and his skill. The prestige of the leader attracts audience members and plays a part in determining audience behavior once the audience has assembled. Leadership skill "in any audience situation consists in so affecting the feeling-states of the audience members that they secure the satisfactions for which they have come [LaPiere, 1938:219]."

LaPiere points out that nonvocal music can probably do no more than bring about dynamic changes in individuals. However, the musician can increase his music's effectiveness by dramatizing his role as a person. What is involved here is a nonverbal communication process in the form of gestures; for example, the dramatic gestures of the performer may not have a functional place in the actual music production.

The "platform presence" is often as vital to the performance as is the actual production of the musical sounds.

In general, audience members of the kind LaPiere is describing remain fairly passive, reacting covertly to stimuli, and expressing responses only when it is appropriate to do so. There are overt audience responses which generally take the forms of "periodic active reactions" (hissing, hand clapping, laughing, etc.) and "constant passive reactions" (smiles, frowns, nods, changes of position, etc.). These constitute stimuli to which the audience leader must respond.

In addition, the interaction among audience members can also affect the leader. The members of the audience become responsive to the leader because the members stimulate one another. This occurs through a process called by LaPiere "interactional amplification." In the process, the interaction builds up itself. Involved is an increase in the intensity of the interaction and a parallel increase in the intensity of the feeling-states of the individuals. Interactional amplification is very much akin to Klapp's (1972) "circular interaction," Allport's (1924) "social facilitation," Blumer's (1955) "circular reaction," and the process of contagion as discussed by Bagehot (1869), Le Bon (1960), Tarde (1903), and McDougall (1920), all of which were discussed in the review of the crowd literature. In dense audiences the individual members will feel more or less anonymous. In addition, the individual member of a closely packed audience may overtly respond to the performance in such a way that his actions will spread to others and they will react in a similar manner. It is because of these two independent

factors that members of a dense audience are more likely to become actively responsive than are members of a scattered audience.

Lang and Lang (1961) are others who have briefly touched on the audience as a collectivity. Equating the audience with the passive crowd, the Langs say that the passive crowd occupies a position between the organized group and the crowd. The audience is conventionalized at least minimally with respect to its assembling and actions; but unlike the group that is organized, the audience generally has no past and no future. Additionally, the audience has structure and division of labor since its members guide their behavior according to prescriptions: there is a leader, usually the spokesman in the case of the audience. Moreover, the audience assembles at an assigned place and certain behavior is implicitly expected of audience members. However, the audience may become something quite different when aroused to a high excitement level; it may become an active crowd. Thus, we may view the audience not only as a crowd type but as an active crowd at a stage prior to the giving way of conventional controls.

Traditional Audience Types

Woolbert's classification of audiences is arranged in terms of the tasks of various audiences. The three tasks are (1) to comprehend, (2) to act, and (3) to think. Most audiences come together to comprehend and the audience that is gathered for this purpose rarely turns into a violent collectivity. Those audiences gathered to act do so in unnatural, uncontrolled, and savage manners. It is the acting audience

which exhibits the mythical crowd mind. The thinking audience has no concern for social restraints and is generally rather homogeneous. In reality this audience type is not an audience but rather a collection of individuals pursuing their independent ways. It is from this latter type that we get dissenters and reformers.

LaPiere (1938) distinguishes three main types of audiences: the popular lecture audience, the motion picture audience, and the theater audience. Many individuals see their purpose in membership in these audiences as purely recreational while others tend to develop ideological benefits. For LaPiere these are rationalizations that audience members derive to justify their actions just as do members of a lynch mob.

LaPiere also discusses the "casual audience," the kind which we find stopped on a city sidewalk and watching the construction of a building. Polarization may be temporary since the members of the casual audience are interested in the same "focus," viz., the construction of a building. For LaPiere, much of the attraction of the focus comes from the witnessing of people peering into holes in fences.

LaPiere's casual audience is in direct contract to Young's (1930) "intentional scheduled audience." Less spontaneous, more regulated as to place and time, more definite in purpose, and more limited in the subjective effects it can create than most crowds, the intentional scheduled audience may engage in overt behavior. As Brown points out (1954:865), this overt behavior differs from expressive behavior in that it is carefully conventionalized. The opera goer learns how to be sophisticated; he learns when to applaud, and what numbers to applaud (Brown, 1954:866).

Young also describes what is known as the "information-seeking audience." He includes the audience at a church sermon as well as the audience at a scientific lecture within the category. Brown (1954:867) points out that the recreational audience and the information-seeking audience are not easily distinguishable, that a distinction in terms of the kind of attention brought to bear is inappropriate. He says that the best distinction may be made in terms of the way in which audience members classify the various occasions: the recreational audience feels as though it is on a holiday while the information-seeking audience thinks that it is doing a worthwhile thing.

A Contemporary Audience

Carloni (1970) views the audience in a more contemporary sense than do LaPiere, Woolbert, and Young since she is dealing with the rock concert gathering. The settings she investigated were coffeehouses, rock clubs, psychedelic dance concerts, festivals, free afternoon concerts, supershows, auditoriums and coliseums. Types of music included rock, blues, folk, country and soul. In terms of audience behavior Carloni offers a few generalizations which are useful for our purpose in this thesis.

In discussing the outdoor concert she says that "seldom is the audience galvanized into a single, powerful responding unit [1970:62]." Situational factors are operating which inhibit the polarization process. The band does not have the impact in the daylight that it does in a relatively dark setting such as a nightclub. The band members stand out less from their surroundings than when bathed in spotlights on the

stage. They are on the audience's level and sound does not carry as well when performing outdoors. The people in the audience are as colorful as the band members.

Within the concert hall, Carloni sees three distinctive regions from the point of view of the audience: the rowdy back region, the vast gray middle and the lively front region (1970:79). (She does not explicate the activities within these regions). On the stage, the band members generally stand toward the front and have a message to deliver to the audience.

> On stage the musician tries to put his whole self into the music and to make the music work for him--only if it turns him on can he expect to get the audience excited. It is a prized experience when the audience gets excited, stimulating the audience to greater heights, which in turn drives the audience wild and the whole performance takes off in an upward spiraling energy cycle. The performance becomes an exciting adventure for all of the participants [1970:146].

Along the same lines Carloni states

> Rhythmic stimulation is usually the vehicle for . . . activation. The more people who start moving their bodies with the beat and the more unanimous their motions are, the more effect it has on other audience members [1970:182].

Carloni also makes the point that at different kinds of concerts, audience members tune to different foci. For example, the words of the songs are more important at the folk concert than at another type of concert. However, for Carloni, the setting can prevent certain things from happening irrespective of the nature of the concert. For example, the lighting and seating arrangements can prevent formation of relationships among members of the audience. In effect, the setting can make things not happen. Somewhat contradictory is her statement that a

person who is particularly responsive to the music can emerge as a focus of attention. Carloni also implies that audience members cannot become "involved" in a setting as large as a civic auditorium or sports arena: the audience members want to experience contact (1970:329-330). Audiences almost never go wild over the music anymore since the physical barriers in a civic auditorium or sports arena restrict participation. "Gut level reactions to the music like crying out involuntarily when overwhelmed by a certain passage are on the decline [1970:337]."

Carloni divides audience members into several different categories. (1) The tennybopper is typically a fifteen year old girl or younger. Her idol is the rock musician. Her involvement with the performer is one of emotional overinvestment and fantasy. She generally sits close to the stage in order to be close to her hero but can be driven into hysteria even if she is sitting in the second balcony. (2) The committed audience member does not question whether the performer "means it" or not when he sings. The performer says things the committed audience member wants to hear. The committed audience member freely responds to the performance and is not a critic who applauds only what is good. (3) The crackpot is one who monopolizes the center of attention to the point that he interferes with the performance. Ridiculed by audience members, crackpots emerge only in audiences where there is drinking and not in audiences where drugs are being used. (4) The appreciative audience member is one who is knowledgeable and critical. This type, according to Carloni, is coming to replace the committed audience member.

With respect to rock music audiences, Carloni (1970) has come up with two general classifications. Borrowing from LaPiere (1938), Carloni describes the "revelous" audience. LaPiere had described the revelous audience as one in which the members were attempting to escape from their routine of everyday life. For the participants, their behavior was unusual in a revelous audience. According to Carloni, in the revelous audience the performance loses a good deal of its focality and becomes multifocal. The interaction between audience members is more important than the interaction between performer and audience, and communication is almost totally gestural. The revelous audience is euphoric, egalitarian, anarchistic, and playful; audience members are significantly responsive to one another, and rapport is fantastic.

> In the revelous audience the peaks flow out of the peaks in the music itself. The event is multifocal. Once revelry hits a peak audience members are on their feet, clapping along with the rhythms, giving standing ovations in the middle of a number and dancing in the aisles. They take the ball away from the performers; everyone takes part in a collective happening [Carloni, 1970:198].

The second rock audience type for Carloni is the "conversional" audience. Highly ritualistic, the performers in the conversional audience are high priests and shamans. The format is call and response and the audience is solidary, reacting in unison to the leaders. Attention first polarizes on the singer, then on leaders in the audience. Within the audience there is differentiation along the lines of group formation. The ideal type of conversional audience is the camp meeting or the church revival. Like the revelous audience, the conversional audience offers a temporary catharsis for the regular attenders.

In sum, we can note that with respect to crowds several generalizations, concepts, and propositions have emerged, not all of which are similar. Several writers, most notably Le Bon and Freud, have stated that the crowd is a homogeneous and unified collectivity of individuals. Others such as Allport and Klapp disagree with this position and hold to the view that it is the individual's response that provides the motive for crowd behavior and limits its direction.

As to the question of what transpires in the crowd setting we find three theoretical positions which attempt to account for crowd behavior. The contagion theorists, though failing to account for why individuals come together, state that the crowd members stimulate one another and that this situation reinforces itself resulting in crowd homogeneity. Convergence theory, on the other hand, attempts to account for why people come together. Those who adopt this position stress the importance of individual predispositions in accounting for crowd behavior. Finally, the emergent norm position emphasizes that crowd members develop norms which guide and restrict their behavior and consequently individuals are pressured to conform.

Polarization, or the attention to the focus, and the leader both play a part in accounting for crowd behavior. The more polarized crowd members were noted to be at the center of activity. The leader of the crowd can often aid in determining the crowd's actions by virtue of his authoritative position.

Crowds may be one of four types: casual, conventionalized, acting, or expressive. The casual crowd is the kind we find on a street corner.

The baseball game crowd is a conventionalized crowd--its behavior is expressed in conventional and established ways. The acting crowd is best represented by the lynch mob and is usually solidaristic and focused or volatile. The expressive crowd is the dancing crowd. It may be solidaristic or individualistic. These crowd types may vary in size and function.

Audiences are polarized crowds. Their members bring with them expectations of the audience event. Not only do these dispositions influence the behavior of the audience but the leader may play a part as well. In addition, the responses of the members may affect the response of the leader in the audience situation; the process of interactional amplification heightens the reactions of all.

Audiences have traditionally been treated as passive collectivities wherein the individuals express only traditional audience reactions. The rock concert audience defies the traditional characterizations of audience behavior. Polarization in the audience takes on new dimensions and individual and situational factors facilitate its operation. No longer may we see the audience as a homogeneous collectivity--it must be collapsed into regions.

The types of audiences have been labeled in terms of the tasks of the gathering: to think, to act, and to comprehend. They have also been labeled according to the content of the message--the popular lecture, the motion picture, and the theater audiences--the manner of congregation--the casual, and the intentional scheduled audiences.

Rock concert audiences have been categorized according to nature of interaction within the audience. The revelous audience and the conversional audience are examples.

With respect to categories of audience members we have four which are found at the rock performance: the teenybopper, the committed, the crackpot, and the appreciative.

CHAPTER III

AN ANALYTIC DESCRIPTION OF A TYPE OF ROCK AUDIENCE

On the basis of the review of the literature we can employ the following propositions as an analytic guide in the description of the rock concert phenomenon.

1. The crowd and audience are homogeneous bodies. Their members share something in common which creates a collective image of homogeneity.
2. The crowd and audience are heterogeneous bodies. Their members share nothing in common which creates a collective image of heterogeneity.
3. Polarization is facilitated by both individual and situational factors.
4. There is a "spread of affect" or process of contagion whereby individuals come to react in similar ways.
5. The leader plays an important part in affecting the crowd and audience members' behavior.

I. THE SETTING

The setting for the observation was the Knoxville Civic Coliseum. We may think of the entire grounds of the coliseum, including the triple level parking lot across the street from the coliseum, as the "container [Fisher, 1972]." It is the physical setting for activity. The area

with which we are more specifically concerned is what Fisher (1972) calls the "focused arena." This is where we find the center of activity and the arrangements of people.

The coliseum or focused arena is a sports type arena which is typical of most coliseums in cities the size of Knoxville (200,000 population). Within the coliseum there is a maximum floor area of 22,900 square feet. The flat floor area is 190 feet by 106 feet, plus an area of 25 feet by 106 feet below the fixed seats at one end. For rock concerts there are two entrances into the main lobby; one at the west end and the other at the east end. Once inside the main lobby there are two possible entrances into the concert area. Both of these are at balcony level with entry to the floor area being accessible only after entering at the balcony level. The 56 feet by 32 feet portable stage is at the south end of the coliseum. The balcony encompasses all four sides of the coliseum and has 4,414 fixed stadium type chairs.

At the north end of the coliseum located near the top of the ceiling are four large spotlights. Each is manned by one operator who receives instructions from the audio and light men located near the center of the coliseum floor. These lights are in continuous operation during the concert.

At floor level there are four entry areas which lead to the floor of the coliseum: two on the east side of the floor and two on the west side. Located directly opposite one another, one entry on the east and west sides opens to the floor area about halfway back to the rear of the coliseum. The other two open at the rear of the coliseum. Concession

areas are located at the two entries which open at the center of the floor. Items which may be purchased at all concession stands include popcorn, candy bars, soft drinks, and cigarettes.

Outside the concert area proper, in addition to the main lobby, are lobby areas on the east and west sides which run the length of the coliseum at balcony level. There are concession stands in each of these lobbies which offer the same items for sale as the others.

Suspended from the roof of the coliseum is a basketball type scoreboard with six dim spotlights attached. These lights shine very dimly throughout the concert and are only a small part of the total lighting scheme. The remaining lights are the four large spotlights mentioned earlier in addition to the lights on stage. Stage lights are small spotlights of different colors which are manipulated by the lighting and sound roadies.[1] All of these lights form an integral part of the show.

Generally there are at least ten uniformed policemen on duty for each concert. The number on duty is relative to the amount of trouble to be expected from the crowd. The coliseum manager is the one who decides how much trouble to expect since it is he who says how many men will be placed on duty for a particular concert. His decision is the result of two considerations: past experiences with the groups performing, and confidential reports from other coliseum managers on crowd

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[1]Roadies are young males who are responsible for the setting up of equipment and monitoring of sound and lighting during the concert. They generally number at least five.

behavior for a particular show. If a full house is expected the manager will assign to duty a force of at least twenty uniformed policemen. Regardless of the minimum number in attendance there are always ten on duty.

There are two policemen stationed at each of the main entrances. Once the concert begins the police either stand in the lobbies and engage in conversation among themselves, retreat to their private room located in the main lobby, or stand behind the roped-off area located between the sides of the stage and the walls of the coliseum. Occasionally the police will wander into the floor area in pairs but never alone. An additional standing place for the police is the back of the balcony. Here they lean upon the fence and glance out into the crowd. They never stand in one place inside the concert area for much longer than fifteen minutes.

The coliseum ticket-takers and door guards are also present. They are older men who apparently are uninterested in listening to the music. The ages of the coliseum employees ranges from early thirties to mid-forties. Each is dressed in an orange blazer and a conservative pair of slacks. Generally they will stay in the lobby since one of their functions is to guard against people from the inside opening the doors and letting in people from the outside.

The crowds attending the concert are composed almost entirely of white youths from the ages of thirteen to twenty-two. Dressed in their blue jeans and t-shirts, military jackets, flannel shirts or something similar, they file into the coliseum for approximately a one hour period

before the concert begins. Conspicuously absent are blacks. Apparently they are not attracted to concerts featuring all white performers. This seemed to be borne out even at the one concert where a respected black blues artist was performing as the "warm up group." It appears that there might be some truth in Carloni's (1970) assertion that the so-called "music axis" which unites middle class white youths with the ghetto blacks is a myth. But given the small size of the black population in Knoxville we cannot safely generalize on this point.

The bands which performed during the observation period were as follows: Chicago, Blue Oyster Cult, ZZ Top, Brownsville Station, Johnny Winter, Joe Walsh, REO Speedwagon, Dr. John, Freddie King, Wet Willie, Bob Seger, Bachman-Turner Overdrive, Bedlam, Black Sabbath, Foghat, Montrose, and Camel. Their music was essentially in the general category of hard rock, more specifically "body music [Carloni, 1970]." With a loud sound level, body music appeals directly to the body. Audience members get into the music through the beat; listening is done with the ears and the body. The usual instrumentation of the band consists of drums, bass, lead guitar, rhythm guitar, and horns, piano/organ, and harmonica occasionally. The vocal style is playful with grunts, shouts, and screams adding to the text.

II. SYMBOLIC ACTIVITIES

The doors for an 8 p.m. concert open at 6:30 which leaves a period for all kinds of activities to occur. Activities outside the coliseum and at the initial moment the lights go out are what I choose to call

"symbolic activities." These events are symbolic of that somewhat intangible phenomenon we call "crowd mood." They seem to establish part of the "atmosphere" for the concert event. Included here as illustrations of "atmosphere" are group activities outside the coliseum and the tossing of balloons, frisbees, and cool lights within the coliseum.

Providing that the weather is favorable one can find what I call "salvation squads" walking around outside the coliseum. These groups are generally small in number with six or seven participating members at the most. Dressed in the garb of their particular "religion" the members are both male and female and are from the ages of eighteen to twenty-five. The salvation squads I observed during the period of observation were the Processeans, the Hare Krishnas, and the Children of God.

The Hare Krishnas, for a small donation, were distributing a particular type of fireworks known as sparklers. Clothed in their traditional saffron gowns, they were the least forceful in their "sales pitches." Their primary interest was in receiving a small donation for a sparkler. No literature was handed out by the Krishnas that I witnessed, an unusual fact since on the street in town they are mainly engaged in distributing their literature. The concertgoers for the most part walked past the Krishna people without stopping to purchase a sparkler. Those who did stop and "buy" a sparkler would merely hand the Krishna the money, take the sparkler and continue moving toward the coliseum entrance without saying anything except a polite "thanks," the comment of both parties in the transaction.

The Processeans and Children of God were dressed in their choir robe like garments and were much more forceful than the Krishnas in the

delivery of their goods. Also comprised of both sexes, these two salvation groups would confront a concertgoer who is walking from the parking lot to the coliseum and ask questions such as "Could I have a moment?," or "Do you have a few minutes?" The vast majority of concertgoers are cordial to these people and respond to their requests with a polite "No thanks." The Processean or Child of God who succeeds in his or her efforts will say a few words about the organization's purpose while placing into the hands of the individual a four or five page pamphlet on the organization. It is understood by the concertgoer that a small donation should be made. I never saw any Processean or Child of God scoff at or refuse any amount of money no matter how small the donation.

Other than the salvation groups, one always finds the "spare change people" standing individually next to the coliseum entrance. Located closer to the entrance to the coliseum than the salvation squads, the spare-changers are from the younger segment of the crowd. Dressed in dungarees, a t-shirt or flannel shirt, these fourteen and fifteen year olds are generally disheveled in their appearance. Somewhat timid in voice, the spare-changer will ask the concertgoer if he has any spare change. The spare change is used to purchase a ticket if enough cash is accumulated. The typical visual reaction to the spare-changer is one of "get lost, kid" where the concertgoer does not even vocally respond to the request and slowly shakes his head in the "no" direction. I never observed anyone giving spare change to these people though one of the spare-changers told me he made $6.50 one night which was more than enough for the price of a $5.00 ticket.

In other parts of the country additional groups with sometimes radically different objectives have been noted. For example, during the 1972 tour of the Rolling Stones an account was written of an incident in Washington, D.C. where, although inside the concert arena, the event had political overtones (Southern, 1972:25). We might assume that the presence of such groups as the Processeans, the Children of God, and Men Struggling to Smash Sexism is indicative of the idea that the concert crowd may be possible recruits for different types of political and religious interest groups. Certainly the youthful composition of the crowd has something to do with its attraction to the interested parties.

Once inside the coliseum, we find a few activities which precede the beginning of the concert. Upon entering the main doors, the concertgoer is in a large lobby which leads to the manager's office, other offices, and to the concert area itself. The vast majority of those attending a concert pass through the lobby area, up to the ticket-taker, and into the focused arena. What additional activity that does occur in the main lobby is the purchase of tickets by those who did not get them during the advance sales period. In addition, lobby activity is characterized by what Lyn Lofland (1966) has called "waiting behavior." The patrons stand in the lobby for brief periods of time waiting for their friends to arrive whereupon they all enter the focused arena.

As the ticket-takers obtain the tickets people enter under the watchful eye of two policemen at each entrance. According to the police

they are looking for persons who are either too intoxicated or too stoned on drugs to carry themselves. This researcher saw and heard the police question a few of those entering as to whether they had any liquor. One incident involved a policeman calling a young male by name and asking him if he had any liquor on him. The young man simply opened his bush jacket as he continued to walk and never spoke a word. Nothing else was said to the youth by the policeman. On the same night, however, two young men were refused admission because they were either intoxicated or stoned--the police did not know which!

Finding a seat presents no unusual problems for the concertgoer. If one is there early enough one can find a preferable seat. One may sit where he wishes since the seats are not reserved.

As recorded music is piped through the sound system on stage, the roadies set up equipment and the concertgoers arrive. The music being played is generally a variation of the body music which will be heard later during the concert but is considerably quieter in volume. It appears to play a part in the establishment of the atmosphere but it is never the music of the group which is later to perform.

Once seated, the members of the audience engage in conversation, toss balloons and frisbees aimlessly into the air, watch the roadies set up the equipment, and watch other people in attendance. The concert at this time is characterized by numerous focal points with no primary focus yet established. We usually think of the audience as not being focused upon one isolated event until the concert begins. This notion is essentially correct but an occasional focus will emerge which will

occupy the attention of the audience members. A case in point occurred at the ZZ Top concert when two disk jockeys from the promoting radio station tossed down into the audience ZZ Top t-shirts from the horizontal ladder which runs the length of the coliseum roof. Those already seated were the ones who were most focused on the event since the other audience members were in the process of finding a place to sit.

Prior to the lights going out the entire spectacle is peaceful, much like that of a church picnic. Conversation and playful behavior are the general patterns of interaction during the period of time before the concert begins with many focal points occupying the attention of those present.

Once the lights go out, the concert crowd assumes a new form. Conversation is no longer possible once the music begins and people turn their attention to the stage. Cool lights, tubes of flourescent chemicals, are tossed from one section of the crowd to the other and the course of events begin to unfold. The smell of marihuana quickly fills the air and everyone is in a state of anticipation, expecting the evening to be filled with many forms of excitement. Though the crowd is not quite the hysterical mob we find in West (1963) the level of anticipation is just as high.

III. THE EVENT

The notion that the concert is something more than a concert, in the traditional sense of the term, certainly seems to be borne out in both the literature and in my observations. But this argument only

holds true for certain categories of individuals and not for others. Some concertgoers still see the festivity as an opportunity to sit and be entertained by a band. Others view it as a more "mystical" phenomenon.

We might see the rock concert as a sort of tribal gathering (Taylor, 1970:MA31; McLuhan, 1962) characterized by such activities as the breakdown of the barriers between audience and performer and participation in a collective happening. To see the concert in this light is to see it as a kind of festival with wild screaming and celebration at the core of concert activity. The individual concertgoer feels a sense of participation and sharing in the collective event (Taylor, 1970). Permeating the audience is an air of being together (Marcus et al., 1973:79): for the individual there is a cathartic effect and everything is cleaned out and let go (Carloni, 1970:302). The concert is seen perhaps as an excuse for a mass assemblage where the music serves only as a catalyst for other activity (Taylor, 1970:MA31) with the reactions of the audience forming a mirror "to focus, reflect, and intensify the experience [Schafer, 1972:48]."

Another way to look at the concert as an event is to see it as any other Saturday night type of activity. Access to the event is easy (Taylor, 1970). If we see the concert from this perspective we should not think of it as an event which unifies its members; but rather as one in which individuals participate for different reasons. The objective for the concertgoer is not the sharing of a particular event with other individuals; for the individual the concert is a place to go and have a good time, and be entertained by the performers in such a way

that he comes away from the concert satisfied that his evening was well-spent. If no one else were there, his expectations would be as sufficiently met as if there were twenty thousand people attending; for him, the fact that there is a crowd present makes no difference.

As defined by the concert participants themselves, the festival seating concert is an attempt to create a festival atmosphere in an indoor setting. With the freedom to move around as one pleases many of the inhibitions involved in getting out of one's seat and trampling over twenty other individuals simply to go to the concession stand have been removed. The absence of chairs in the floor area allows people to sit on the floor, stand on the floor, sit in the chairs in the balcony, sit in the aisles of the balcony, or just roam from one location to another within the coliseum. One will not noticeably bother others around him if he chooses to stand up and dance during the concert since individuals who are annoyed have the freedom to relocate if they wish. The coliseum is never so full of bodies to the point that there is no room to move--the management will not allow it since they limit to 8,200 the number of individuals who will be admitted. This could in all probability create problems for the police and the coliseum manager since some people who purchased tickets in advance may be denied admission to the concert if they arrive too late. Such was the case at the Johnny Winter concert when 21 persons were arrested in a window-breaking disturbance by people who were denied admission (Knoxville News-Sentinel, January 5, 1973). Some of those arrested had purchased tickets in advance.

Borrowing from Goffman (1959) we can note three "regions" within the coliseum, each of which is characterized by different patterns of activity: (1) the "lively front," an area similar to that mentioned by Carloni (1970:79); (2) the "quasi-active back" area; and, (3) the "sedate balcony." The first two areas are on the floor and shade into one another with no physical barriers separating them. The balcony area is of course separated by space and railing in the front. Within each area we can note distinguishing characteristics of the individuals who compose it and their overt behavior.

The lively front region is a semicircular area with a radius of about 50 feet from center stage (see Figure 1). It is composed of predominantly young audience members, those thirteen, fourteen and fifteen years of age. There are, however, some older people in this region but they are difficult to distinguish from the younger ones in terms of their behavior during the concert. The main distinction which we can make among individuals in this section is a distinction in terms of age; the behavior of these audience members is less distinguishable since all lively front participants exhibit similar overt behavior patterns. It is in this section that we find the highly polarized audience members. Milgram and Toch's (1969) contention that the most active crowd participants are found at the structural core appears to be borne out if we use physical movements and eye direction as indicators of polarization.

The behavior of members in this section may be described as rhythmical and in response to the beat of the music. Those participants

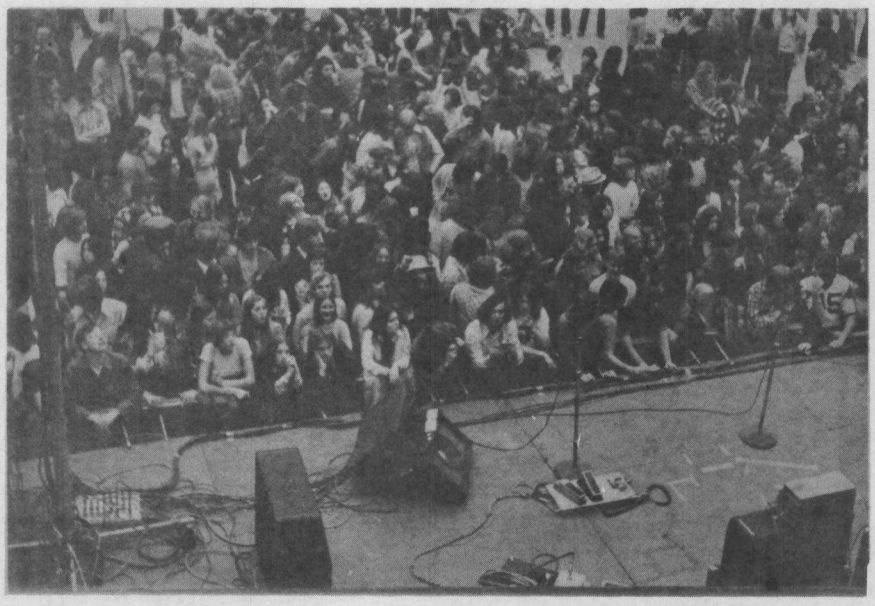

Figure 1. The lively front region--fifteen minutes before the concert begins.

in the lively front region show much more movement in the form of bouncing and shaking to the beat than do participants in any other section. It is in this region that we find what Carloni (1970) calls the "teenyboppers" and the "committed" audience members. Girls reach for the performer as he plays, offer a joint of marihuana to the band, and generally engage in what Carloni (1970) and LaPiere (1938) call "revelous" behavior, looking around at others in the crowd to see if they too are having a good time.

> I was attempting to view the crowd from the balcony behind the stage. I could see everyone's faces who were standing in front of the stage. A young girl was really getting into the music and I watched her movements closely. She was passing around a joint when I caught her eye and she shouted to me "Boogie! Boogie!" She wanted me to do what she was doing! She wanted me to dance with my body from the waist up [Field Notes, Foghat Concert].

Those in the lively front section are present at every concert. They applaud after every number and respond vocally with shouts of "Yeah!," "Alright!" It does appear that many in this section are "hypnotized" by the band; when intermission arrives, they come out of the trance. Similar accounts have come from other sources.

> Twenty thousand people, most of them clearly high on marihuana if nothing stronger, were rocking the whole building, swaying, standing on their seats, arms around each other. The musicians' behavior heightened the excitement; wild, dressed in outlandish costumes, they jumped, danced, tapped with their feet, gyrated. The crowd seemed hypnotized, in thrall [Gunther, 1973:98].

> What is undeniable about rock is its hypnotic power. It has gripped millions of young people around the world and transformed their lives (Schafer, 1972:79).

> But the effect of the audience was, to me, depressing. The utter unanimity of the response, of the arms-in-the-air gestures, of the hip rocking bounce to the heavy

> beat was sheer mass hypnosis. They all enjoyed it . . . [Graves, 1972:3].

When asked where they prefer to sit and why, the individuals in the lively front region respond with comments such as the following:

> I like to sit where I am (second row of people, front stage). I can see the band better and I can feel the energy of the whole thing [15 year old male].

> I like to sit in front of the stage but I really don't sit very long. The band really turns me on when I'm this close to them [14 year old girl].

The back region begins where the front region ends, generally somewhere in the middle of the floor area. It is less densely populated than the front region but occupies approximately the same amount of floor space. The two regions are separated by an area which is used primarily by those who are walking from one side of the coliseum to the other. There is no physical boundary here but rather an absence of bodies which allows people to move around within the coliseum. At the rear of the lively front area the people are less densely packed, a factor which facilitates the freedom of movement within the imaginary aisle. Scattered along the edges of the lively front are people sitting on the floor next to the wall. These are people who were originally in the lively front but for one reason or another have chosen to sit down. These people are found at all festival seating concerts.

In the back area we find people with characteristics similar to those in the front. Couples on a date, groups of from two to ten sitting on the floor in a circular arrangement, people lying on the floor, people standing--these can all be found in the back. In addition, there are people sitting against the wall, gazing out both into the

crowd and toward the stage. The movement of people in the back area is not of the type we find in the front. People generally sit and listen to the music and display a minimum of bodily movement; these I call the "sitters." Occasionally, one of the sitters will lean over and shout something to the one sitting next to him but this is about the extent of interaction within the group. Certainly the loudness of the music tends to inhibit verbal communication but so does the desire to sit and listen to the music. The comments of one person in the back region serve as an illustration.

> When I come to a concert, all I want to do is listen to the music. This is the best place for that. It's too loud up front and the seats in the balcony are too hard. Besides, I won't bother anybody if I get up to go the john here [18 year old male].

That we find concertgoers sitting in circles is quite unusual given the fact that the primary focal point, the stage, does not seem to occupy the attention of those who are not facing it. It is usually an hour or so after the concert begins that these circles begin to form. Varying in size from four to as many as ten, members of the circle are visibly inattentive to the stage activity. People look at each other within the circle, smile, pass around a joint of marihuana, and stare at the floor. Of course we might infer that all are at least "listening" to the music if not watching it being performed. Apparently individuals in circles know one another because everyone is present when the circles begin to form; as a group the circle members depart the lively front region and position themselves in the back region. It is quite possible that these individuals grew tired of standing and wished to relax for a while.

Some circles endure until the end of the concert and others decompose prior to its ending. Always the circle group stays together even if they return to the lively front.

The occasionally present "dancers" are the one exception to the lack of physical movement in this region. Male and female in composition, the dancers will dance in couples or in groups of as large as ten members. It is usually an hour into the concert before any dancing activity occurs. This is also true of the formation of the groups which are sitting down in the back region. When asked why he preferred to sit in the back of the coliseum, oen sixteen year old youth replied,

> Well, man, I'm kinda' tired. I would like to be up front but I have smoked (marihuana) too much. I still enjoy the concert but I can't stand up too well.

Another young girl replied,

> Me and my girlfriends like to be comfortable and have some room to move around. We're too crowded in the front and besides, it's not quite as loud back here.

Thus, there are possibly two factors which might account for the presence of the small groups of audience members sitting in the back region: some people want to sit here and some are too high to stand during the concert. There may be a third factor which would be a combination of the other two.

The kinds of audience members we find in the back region, in addition to the dancers and sitters, are those I choose to call the "immobile" and the "costume people." The immobile are those individuals who eventually end up lying on the floor, seemingly oblivious to the concert event itself. Figure 2 is a photograph which was taken during

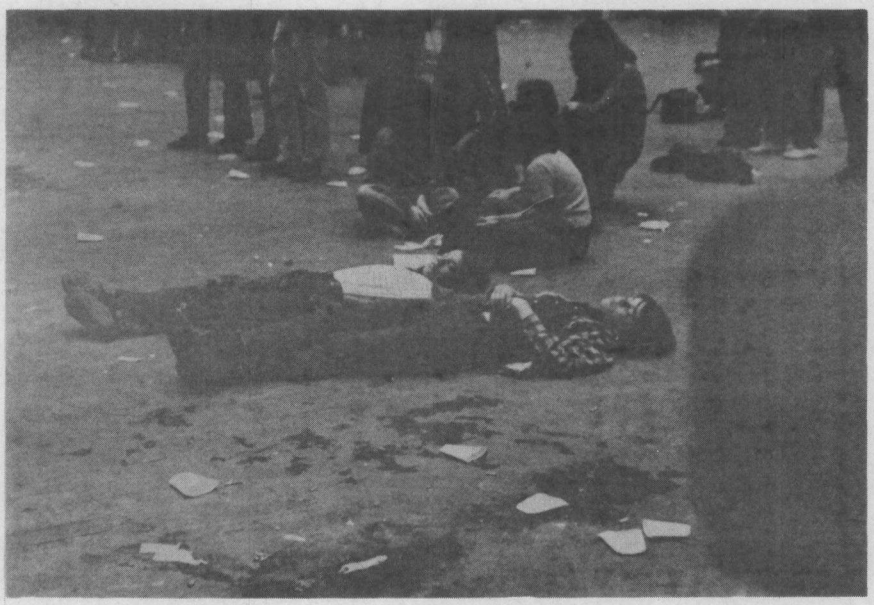

Figure 2. The "immobile."

intermission of two young men who had been lying down for at least 5 minutes after the lights came on. Once the concert started again and the second band began to play, these youths remained in their position until someone who recognized one of them came over to converse. Not restricted to members of the male sex, the immobile generally appear a few minutes into the second band's performance. This would appear to be unusual since the second band in a two band concert is always the main attraction. I only had the opportunity to speak with one immobile and this is his explanation of his condition:

> Just lay down and close your eyes, man. You'll see why I like to lay down. I can use my imagination while listening to the music. All kinds of things go on in your head that don't otherwise. Even the music is better.

The immobile are occasionally present at concerts though not always.

The costume people are those who are dressed not in the typical blue jeans and t-shirt, or flannel shirt (see Figure 3). Either male or female, and occasionally in couples, the occasionally present costume of a particular costume couple out on a date at the concert:

> He: About 5 feet 8 inches tall, a high school junior or senior.
> Clothing: Black levis, black cowboy shirt with pearl buttons--black nylon cape, kind of glossy and the collar stood up--pale green glitter in the hair and on the shoulders--brown platform shoes.
> She: Almost as tall as he, same age.
> Clothing: Black, floor-length skirt with silver threads woven into it--blouse was black and silver--she, too, had green glitter in her hair.

The costume people have been referred to as part of the glitter rock scene where performers and audience members alike dress in flashy, colorful costumes with makeup on their faces. The performers most



Figure 3. A "costume person."

often identified with glitter rock are David Bowie, Alice Cooper, Elton John, Rod Stewart, Marc Bolan, and T. Rex (Henninger, 1974:20).

It appears that the glitter and costume people want to be a part of the show. They generally do not stay in the back region too long. Moving from location to location, the costume people appear to try to make themselves seen by everyone present.

The people in the balcony are always present and are primarily older people who come more often with dates than do the people on the floor. Carloni's (1970) appreciative audience members are more likely to be found in this region. Applauding only sporadically, the balcony people do not appear to be as overtly expressive as the floor people. Very seldom do we see an individual in the balcony stand up and dance or move to the beat of the music despite the fact that their eyes are generally fixed on the stage. Part of this phenomenon might be explained in terms of the older ages of the balcony people. Secondly, the people in the balcony wish to sit there and enjoy the music more so than anything else. When asked why they sit in the balcony, many audience members responded in a way quite similar to the following:

> I like to sit in the front section of the balcony near the stage because I can see better than I can on the floor where everyone freaks out. Besides, wooden chairs are more comfortable than concrete.

> I don't like to sit near the stage because people jam the stage and you can't relax. I can see better from up here. Nobody is jumping around in front of me and blocking my view.

The people in the balcony only show overt reaction when the concert is over and they stand and applaud the band. Even then, not everyone stands.

Another audience member type which is generally found on the floor are the "walkers." These individuals have been observed walking from floor area to balcony and back during most of the concert. Generally females, the walkers move around in pairs, never staying in one location for a long period of time.

Thus, we can divide the coliseum into three areas, each of which is characterized by different kinds of activity and overt responses by the members. This kind of division was found at all concerts attended. The only variations noted were in terms of the presence or absence of certain audience types at a particular concert.

IV. POLARIZATION AND THE CROWD

The rock concert audience is largely polarized, however certain areas of the audience appear more polarized than others. In addition, certain bands appear to attract particular types of crowds. The reasons people attend concerts and the general expectations they bring with them to the event all play their part in the polarization process. Let us examine the polarization process and how it is evidenced at the concert.

The contention that certain types of bands draw particular kinds of crowds can be documented both in the popular literature and in my observations. For example, the Chicago concert crowd was a much younger, less responsive kind of crowd than the crowd at the Black Sabbath concert. Chicago's music, according to information obtained in conversations with two disk jockeys, is a middle-of-the-road, Top 40 sound which appeals to the younger teenagers, while Black Sabbath's music is a heavy metal,

rock and roll sound. Assuming that concertgoers are aware of the type of music to be performed, we may say that the two groups mentioned would attract two different types of audiences: Chicago, a younger audience with expectations of hearing a middle-of-the-road sound, and Black Sabbath, an older audience expecting to hear some heavy metal, rock and roll.

That the two crowds were different is obvious when we observe that at the Chicago concert, the great majority of audience members on the floor wanted to sit down during the concert, an indication that Chicago's music is to "listened to" rather than "moved to." When the warm up band came on stage and began to play, about a dozen people who were standing immediately in front of the stage stood up thereby obstructing the view of the people behind them. Paper cups, popcorn boxes, and other debris were thrown at those standing in an effort to get them to sit. This continued for approximately thirty minutes until a husky, male youth got up from the crowd which was sitting down, walked up to one of those standing and politely asked him to sit. His efforts were successful and when the first person sat, so did the others. Eventually the same ones stood again once Chicago came out, and once again they were subjected to the same kind of abuse. Finally, despite the fact that they outnumbered those standing, the entire floor crowd stood. The sitting of the individuals who were standing and the standing of the individuals who were sitting could be interpreted as a process of contagion. But, more realistically, the individuals who were standing probably sat because they realized that it would be impossible for them to stand for the

entire concert without being subjected to physical abuse. For those who had to stand, there probably was the realization that they would be unable to see unless they did stand.

At the Black Sabbath concert, the choice of whether to sit or stand presented no problems, for everyone on the floor stood. They stood from the time they arrived at the coliseum. The Black Sabbath crowd realized that the band's music was to "move to" and those on the floor wanted to be able to move with the music.

Journalists in other parts of the country have noted the attraction of particular crowd types to certain performers.

> The audience for the Bette Midler show . . . drew an unusually bizarre audience. . . . One critic observed, in addition to the male nun on roller skates and the Wizard of Oz characters, a man dressed in mourning in a black dress and heavy black veil covering a heavily made-up face with lipstick and shadowed eyebrows, and many young girls dressed in the costumes of the 40's [Beach, 1973].

What we have here is evidence of receptivity (Woolbert, 1916) on the part of those attending the concert; the audience members have come together in an expectant frame of mind. The audience at the Chicago concert possessed a different set of dispositions than did the audience at the Black Sabbath concert. The majority at the Chicago concert expected to sit and listen to the music while the Black Sabbath crowd anticipated a good time with dancing and revelous activity.

Although we see here an indication of receptivity on the part of the majority in attendance, we must note that not all audience members come with the same set of dispositions. Obviously, a few of the crowd members at the Chicago concert brought with them the expectation that

the concert was to be more than a listening experience. Thus, we might be able to say, if we ignore those who wanted to stand, that the crowd was homogeneous in its expectations, but we are ignoring a significant part of the crowd if we do this. Therefore, it appears that at some concerts at least, everyone in attendance does not share a set of expectations about the concert event; there is no "homogeneity of interest [Woolbert, 1916]." LaPiere (1938) might be correct in saying that the audience's behavior grows out of individual "needs," but we cannot safely say that all of the individuals in attendance have the same needs or share the same expectations.

People attend concerts for different reasons, not all of which are mutually exclusive. Some want to be overpowered by music rather than listen to it. These generally are the people down front. In the words of Edgar Winter, a leader of a popular hard rock band,

> They (the audience) don't come to listen. . . . They're not after a music experience. They want to be overpowered by loud, heavy sounds. . . . If you don't jump around and put on a flashy show, the younger ones get bored [1973:130].

Others, who generally sit on the floor, come for reasons of status; that is, they come to let others know they are "into music [Carloni, 1970: 336]." This seems to be true of outdoor festivals as well (Greenfield, 1973). In the words of one young concertgoer,

> My friends all come and I can't let them down.
> Q.: You mean you come even when you don't care for the band performing?
> A.: Yeah. I try to enjoy the show but sometimes I really can't. I don't want my friends to think I'm not with it [16 year old male].

Others, generally found in the balcony, apparently attend because the concert is a place to take a date and have a good time.

> My girl and I come every chance we get. We used to go to a lot of movies, but that got old. . . . For a few more bucks, we can go to a concert and have a better time [19 year old male].

Still others, also in the balcony, came to listen to the music and hear a live performance.

> I don't come too often, usually only when there is a band I want to hear. . . . If I like their music I want to hear them in person. The sound is much better live than on a record [18 year old girl].

The fact that people choose to sit or stand in different areas of the coliseum also plays a part in the polarization process. Despite the fact that most all of the audience members attend to the same focus, viz., the band, throughout the concert, those individuals that are located in the lively front region exhibit the polarized state more overtly, a phenomenon previously discussed. Those on the edges of the audience, in this case those leaning against the walls and those in the balcony, display their emotions less overtly. It appears that the center of activity, the area containing persons who react more physically to the music, is the most polarized area. Those at the edges display less emotion, and consequently are what we would call the "polarized without rhythm." The phenomenon of those at the edges showing less involvement also appears to be true of the acting crowd as well as the expressive crowd (Fisher, 1972:199).

Thus far, we have dealt mainly with the individual factors involved in the polarization process. Apart from these we can note situational factors which are influential in the polarization process. These situational factors exist apart from the individual audience

members yet complement them in that they both are involved in the process of polarization.

Foremost among the situational factors is the use of both the stage lighting and spotlights from overhead. The use of stage lights is a vital part of the band's performance and adds to its overall effect. The sound and lighting men located in the middle of the coliseum floor are those responsible for the manipulation of the lights. At the coliseum, the stage lights are of different colors, generally reds, pale white, and blues. If the lights are skillfully manipulated, audience members will notice the effects created by them.

> The band is not enough. They must have a good light show, too. Those lights make the whole scene kind of mysterious. . . . I don't like a whole lot of lights, but if there are just a few, I can really get turned on [17 year old female].

At some concerts, the four large spotlights in the rear of the coliseum will be swept out over the crowd creating an opportunity for the individuals to let themselves be seen and heard. At the Johnny Winter concert these spotlights were shined out over various sections of the balcony crowd for a few seconds each and the audience members responded by standing, screaming, and waving their arms in the air. That was all it took to get the balcony crowd off its seats and react to the concert scene. As mentioned earlier, this section is generally quite passive throughout the concert.

Whether the concert is outdoors or indoors also appears to play a part in the polarization process. The dense, outdoor setting sets up different foci to which individuals may respond. For example, at the outdoor Watkins Glen festival, an event which drew 60,000 persons, the

crowd was so densely packed that many individuals were unable to get close to the stage so that they had to find other activities to occupy their time such as conversation (Greenfield, 1973).

The indoor setting at the civic coliseum is never so densely packed that individuals are unable to get close to the stage. The individual member is free to participate as he wishes. There seems to be no justification, in the case of the concerts observed, that audiences cannot become "involved" in the indoor setting (Carloni, 1970:329-330).

Armstrong and Eliot's (1927) suggestion that the shape of the auditorium plays a part in influencing audience behavior seems to receive support from my observations. With a large, open-space floor area, freedom of movement is not restricted. In the balcony area with its fixed seats, movement is limited. We can find the most active individuals in the floor area. This is not to say that because they are on the floor, they are more active. But we can say that those standing and sitting on the floor are there because they wish to be and that it is because of the large, open-space area that they have the freedom to move around as they wish. Carloni (1970:177) might be correct in saying that the setting cannot <u>make</u> things happen but it does apparently facilitate the freedom of expression for the individual.

The band and its behavior also seem to influence the crowd and its attention to the focus. At the Brownsville Station concert the lead singer shouted, "We have trouble seeing you in the balcony, so let's hear from you!" As a result, the balcony crowd shouted in response to the request. Also during this same up-tempo number, the leader screamed,

"Are you having fun?" to which the audience responded with a joyous "Yeah!" For the remainder of that number the crowd moved and swayed to the music with even more intensity.

It appears that the louder, faster, and more steadily even-tempo numbers produce more excitement in the crowd than do the slow, blues numbers. For example, Johnny Winter performed only seven songs during the entire ninety minute period he was on stage. Many of the tunes were lengthy, slow blues numbers. One could sense the almost immediate crowd tranquility once these numbers began. Rhythmical body movements ceased, and some people who were standing consequently sat down during these numbers. I talked with one young concertgoer the day after the concert and he said,

> When Winter took off on the slow blues tune, the movement within the crowd relaxed. Some of the people around me who had been standing sat down on the floor. When the slow tune was over and Winter started back into the hard rock, they stood up again [19 year old male].

There is support for this idea from others who have attended rock concerts; that is, the nature of the band's music and its behavior can stir a crowd into frenzy.

> When (Mick) Jagger went into "Jumpin' Jack Flash"--a song that, as the title suggests, is about Mick himself--the houselights went up and the standing ovation became a jumping ovation. The entire audience of twenty thousand people seemed to leap into the air with their hands over their heads, and Jagger leaped with them [The New Yorker, 1972:22].

However, not all audience reactions to the band are quite so peaceful. At a recent Alice Cooper concert, members of the audience threw fireworks onto the stage and shattered an overhead light bar.

As a result, one of the band members required hospitalization in order to remove a piece of metal from his eye (Rolling Stone, 1974:20).

Not all bands draw violent crowds. Most seem to attract a generally playful, peaceful gathering contented in listening to the music and having a good time but not at the expense of others. For instance, a fight between two young concertgoers at the ZZ Top concert was a quite deviant and unpopular activity. Audience members were heard to say "Those guys have no business fighting. What ass-holes."; "We came here to have a good time. Who would want to fight?" A "deviant" acitivity such as streaking appears to be much more popular with the crowd members as witnessed by the loud cheering of audience members when a female streaker dashed through the balcony at the ZZ Top concert; the police had debris tossed at them when they attempted to arrest her.

Some bands apparently draw crowds on occasion that would not engage in violent behavior in spite of adverse conditions. A recent Three Dog Night concert in Atlanta serves as an illustration of this notion. A crowd of 38,000 people were seated in Atlanta stadium and had to watch the concert on television as the band performed near second base. The television image reached the audience before the sound! Despite this adversity, the crowd was nonviolent, behaving as if the band were performing in their own living room. Apparently the members of the audience were satisfied just to be at the concert (Wasserman, 1972).

At the festival seating concert we find that the band is the primary focus and that other events will take on the status of a secondary focus as they occur. For example, the "crackpot" as discussed by Carloni

(1970) will become the focus on occasion. It appears that an activity which violates the participants' expectations of normal concert activity, such as a streaker or a fight, will momentarily distract audience members from the primary focus.

V. THE NOTION OF CONTAGION

When we examine the rock concert we notice that not all individuals are affected and react in the same manner to the concert performance. Part of this can be explained by the different dispositions and expectations people bring with them to the concert. But Klapp (1972) and Allport (1924) would have us believe that the crowd or audience is homogeneous with respect to overt behavior. Their processes of circular interaction and social facilitation indicate that the individual concertgoer sees other individuals behaving in a certain way, likes what he sees, and , in turn, behaves similarly. This process increases itself and the entire crowd appears to be acting in unison.

While this notion may be true for the acting crowd, it is difficult to perceive the process of contagion as playing a part in explaining the audience's behavior. One would expect all members of the audience to react to the concert event in, if not identical, similar ways. But this is not the case. Those in the lively front region, if we accept the notion of contagion, should serve as stimuli to which other audience members react since they are in full view of everyone. We have already seen how persons in the back and balcony regions of the coliseum overtly react and their reactions are quite different from those of individuals

in the front. Certainly those in the balcony are restrained by the fixed seats but this factor alone does not account for their lack of expressive behavior.

The fact that individuals bring with them different definitions of the situation also accounts for the lack of similarity in audience behavior. The contagion theorists, if they apply their theory to the expressive crowd, are assuming too naive a view of the individual audience member. We cannot look at the crowd as a collection of sheep. Simply seeing one individual react to the concert in a particular way is not going to lead other people to the same reaction. Therefore, we might be correct if we reject the notion that contagion accounts for the similar actions of individuals in the expressive crowd setting.

There seems to be reason to accept the convergence theory, at least in part, and its apparent explanation of apparent crowd homogeneith but we cannot say that there is crowd homogeneity with respect to overt behavior. The only homogeneity of overt behavior can only be found within regions of the crowd structure. All individuals present are not homogeneous with respect to overt behavior. That we find different expressions of behavior in different regions is support for this contention. Certainly individuals drawn to the concert share some common qualities; qualities that precede crowd formation. Some of these are age, an interest in the live performance, and the wish to be entertained. It is more difficult to ascertain whether the crowd developed its own norms but there does seem to be at least one norm guiding the behavior of the crowd: do anything you want to as along as you do not interfere

with the others' enjoyment of the concert. Support for this argument comes from at least one other source. In discussing a free concert in Boston, Jan Landau offers the following account of an incident which "upset" the crowd when a few hundred people at stage front were blocking the view of thousands behind them:

> (The master of ceremonies) . . . pleaded with the audience to move back. . . . Soon the crowd joined in with him, imploring these people to "get off the stage, get off the stage, get off the stage." Some moved back, but most remained [Landau, 1972:138].

VI. THE PERFORMER AND HIS AUDIENCE

It has been noted that the leader plays an important part in crowd and audience behavior (Allport, 1924; Freud, 1960; Le Bon, 1960; Lang and Lang, 1961; Klapp, 1972; LaPiere, 1938). In the case of the rock concert, we may equate the band itself with the leader (LaPiere, 1938: 215) since it is he who is largely responsible for the content and composition of the focus. Unlike Becker's (1951) jazz musician, some rock musicians want to please their audiences.

The musician, in some cases, appears to be capable of increasing the effectiveness of his music by dramatizing his role as a person; his "platform presence" is frequently as vital to the performance as is the musical content itself (LaPiere, 1938:221). A group that illustrates this phenomenon probably better than any other is Alice Cooper. When Alice (also the name of the lead singer) comes onto stage with his painted face and pet boa constrictor one can expect almost anything from the audience, as evidenced in the fireworks incident cited earlier.

At the Bachman-Turner Overdrive concert I attended, the sound equipment almost totally broke down during three of their songs. The bass was the only instrument coming through the sound system. Seemingly unaware of this flaw, the band continued to play and the crowd continued to rock. Despite fifteen minutes of poor sound the crowd seemed undisturbed. These three numbers were as vigorously applauded as the other numbers which came off as planned.

Though not because of sound problems, but rather due to the poor quality of music, other bands have had to disguise their poor musical ability with a good show (Sander, 1972). The type of show used to take the form of a "destruction drama [Carloni, 1970:216]." The theme of the music was ritual death and the music became progressively louder and faster as the amplifiers were turned up to their peak. At the end of the performance nothing was left to do but destroy. Musical instruments were set afire and destroyed by smashing them into the sound equipment. Today, the volume of the music appears to be the same but the destruction is absent, probably the result of a change in audience members' tastes from destruction as the theme to the concert as a circus or holiday (Orth, 1973:47).

The activities on stage to which concertgoers attend, vary with individuals. The younger female audience members in the lively front stare at the faces of the gyrating performers. They will smile and gaze at the band members for the entire concert period. If no one particular band member is dominating the stage, the young girls will shift their eyes from one musician to the other, devoting a considerable amount of

time to each. Generally, the female audience member will select one special musician as her "idol" for the evening. She likes to watch him move.

The male audience members in the lively front seemingly differ very little from females in their overt reactions to the band. Their facial expressions connote that they too see the performer as an idol. Looking him over from head to toe, the males smile and bounce to the beat of the music. One can almost hear him say, "I wish I could be that guy on stage. He really has it together."

In the back and balcony, aside from those who are not watching, the audience members display traditional behavior as they watch the band perform. Staring at the stage and the mechanics of the performer, back and balcony people respond to the musician as though he were a speaker in a large lecture hall. They applaud when the number is finished while the facial expression remains the same, smiling very infrequently.

VII. AN EXCURSUS INTO CROWD CONTROL

Many rock concerts have been characterized by crowd violence (cf. Greenfield, 1973:276-283; Scherman, 1970; Gillett, 1970). None of the concerts I observed ended in violence. I shall not attempt to explore all of the possibilities which might account for this fact but in part, at least, we may state that the police and coliseum employees generally have a good reputation among those who attend rock concerts. The coliseum police force is present for every concert. In full uniform, the police tend to stay away from entering into the crowd, generally remaining in the lobbies, behind the roped-off area, or in the rear of the

balcony. Arrests are never made unless someone is noticed to be drinking or creating a disturbance which the police think is obstructing the concert. Arrests are never made on the charge of drug possession alone; the individual must have violated the law in some other respect before an arrest is made. Interestingly enough, marihuana smoking is tolerated by the police while the drinking of alcoholic beverages is not, the latter being explicitly against the coliseum rules.

> The cops are okay here. They have a job to do and they do it. The only ones that cause any trouble are the people themselves--the police don't [18 year old male].

> They (coliseum employees) are pretty cool. I never see them except when I give them my ticket, . . . they don't bother me and I don't bother them [17 year old male].

Not only do the concertgoers generally view the police and coliseum employees in a favorable manner, but the police and employees appear to see the concertgoers as generally peaceful people.

> If we leave them alone the crowd stays out of trouble. Most of these kids here are just out to have a good time and we realize that. Only if they get out of hand will we get involved.
> Q.: What do you mean "get out of hand?"
> A.: Well, if they get drunk or something like that.
> Q.: How about people who fight?
> A.: We let that take its course. Usually it's just two of them fighting and they are going to stop sooner or later. . . . If we stepped in it would just cause more trouble [from a conversation with a coliseum policeman].

Thus, both the crowd and the police seem to respect one another, at least to the extent that if one does not bother the other then order is maintained.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The essential question which has been addressed in this thesis is "How is the concert collectivity an audience and how is it a crowd?" From our discussion we may draw several conclusions. Though the methodology precluded the answering of certain questions presented in the literature, we have been able to categorize and describe what I think are at least some of the characteristic features of the concert event. Ideally, a triangulation of methods would have allowed me to probe some areas which are unpenetrable using participant observation and interviewing as the only research techniques. For example, an attempt could have been made to increase the size of the sample selected for interviewing if a brief questionnaire had been constructed. But given the situation as it was, any use of survey research would have probably met with some resistance since the individuals at the concert paid the price of admission to be entertained, not to participate in "scientific research." I was interested in seeing the event as it occurred and talking with people as they participated in it. For various reasons I had to use the few minutes before the concert began and the brief period of intermission as conversation time. Researchers interested in following up this paper might try to increase the sample size by finding out who was at the concert through a technique such as noting the numbers on automobile license

plates and checking with the police on ownership of the car. Consequently, an interview could be arranged with the owner of the car.

Since the musicians are a part of the concert scene some effort could be made in the future to talk with these participants about their perceptions of the event. In addition, I would suggest that future research address the question of whether a set of audience norms arises at the rock concert setting which may be based in part on previous experiences of concertgoers. We also might attempt to assess the importance of marihuana for concertgoers; that is, the question would be whether the concert would be as popular an event if the authorities began to arrest persons for the use of illegal drugs.

It was pointed out that there appears to be a relationship between the age of the concertgoer and his location within regions of the coliseum. This observation should be investigated further. Moreover, comparisons should be drawn between the rock concert gathering and other expressive collectivities such as the religious revival. All of these points are merely offered as suggestions to others. I make no claims to have covered every aspect of the concert, however, the data collected do give us some insight into the structure of the crowd, the behavior of the participants, and the meanings of the concert experience for the concertgoers.

I. CROWD STRUCTURE

The most salient feature of the concert as an event is its lack of homogeneity with respect to activities occurring within the setting.

Different patterns of activity are found within different sections of the coliseum. This appears to be a consequence of at least two factors: (1) one's choice of seating or standing location during the concert is based upon the individual's recognition of the fact that certain areas of the coliseum are characterized by their own particular patterns of activity; and, (2) the physical construction of the coliseum facilitates the occurrence of the patterns of activity.

The lively front region is a large, open-space area which allows the individual concertgoer to get close to the performers and consequently be able to move to the beat of the music. If a participant wishes to stand during the concert and move with the rhythm of the band then he chooses this region in which to establish his territory. If an individual wants to sit in a chair, listen to the band, and remove himself from the activity in the front region, then the balcony is the place for him. Those who wish to sit or stand with the convenience of a little more personal space will sit in the quasi-active back region on the floor.

It is not that the structure of the coliseum <u>makes</u> things happen but rather things happen in different regions because <u>people</u> make them happen. Individuals bring with them to the concert different dispositions and they attend concerts for different reasons. One's choice of location at the concert largely reflects his reasons for attending: those at the front wish to be close to the band and participate with their bodies; those who wish to sit and listen select the balcony; and, those who want to sit, stand, or dance with friends but not be confined

to the dense front region or balcony elect to sit in the back region of the floor.

Therefore, there appears to be no illusion of crowd homogeneity if we concentrate on the overt behavior of participants in the event. Certainly this aspect of audience and crowd theory must be modified in order to account for differences in crowd and audience structure. It is time to cease our conceptualizations of crowds and audiences as demonstrating some sort of personality which is independent of the subjective states of individuals. When we speak of homogeneity we should realize that it might exist only within certain sections of the collectivity.

II. BEHAVIOR AT CONCERTS

The related processes of contagion, suggestion, circular reaction, circular interaction, and social facilitation do not appear to account for much of the suggested crowd homogeneity simply because there is no crowd homogeneity with respect to overt behavior; there may be homogeneity within different sections of the setting. It seems that the notion of crowd homogeneity should go beyond mere similarity of physical appearance and behavior. The subjective states of individuals differ and it is a result of different expectations that we have more of a heterogeneous crowd than a homogeneous one. The only disposition that seems to be shared by most of the crowd participants is that of wanting to be entertained either by the band, the crowd, or perhaps both. If we use this as our indicator of homogeneity then we might be able to say that convergence theory is better able to explain the apparent homogeneity of

the expressive crowd than are contagion and emergent norm theory. Individuals bring with them to the concert a certain common quality, in this case, the wish to be entertained. But even convergence theory is not capable of handling the crowd as a single entity since there is no apparent homogeneity except within different sections of the coliseum. There obviously appears to be a state of rapport among the audience members but whether or not the experience is cathartic cannot be ascertained at this stage since the cathartic notion assumes that individuals were in a state of "tension" prior to the event; we have no way of knowing this.

The phenomenon of polarization is another aspect of the concert event with which we must deal. We have already discussed the individual factors involved in promoting and inhibiting the polarization of the gathering. The situational factors which seem to facilitate polarization were noted as physical construction of the coliseum, lighting manipulations, and band activities. All three, and probably others which may have gone unnoticed, appear to increase the likelihood that individuals will react to a common focus or stimulus. Since the primary focus may change at times, the crowd will polarize on whatever occurs which distracts from the main focus. Examples noted were streaking and fighting.

The band also appears to have some effect upon the behavior of the crowd. Its "stage presence" often leads to an interaction between performer and audience. We noted that when the band encourages the expression of hand clapping, foot stomping, and shouting that the audience always responds. Since all of the bands observed, with the exception of

Chicago were hard-rock bands which played "body music," it is difficult to determine what effect the real "show" or "glitter" types of performers would have on the audience. The best this researcher could do was rely on secondary sources in his interpretation of this phenomenon. However, we did point out that certain bands attract a particular kind of audience and based on this we could speculate and say that the show or glitter bands would draw a crowd that is essentially different in composition from the type of crowd we observed.

A factor which contributes to the permissive atmosphere or emotionality of the concert is the tolerant attitude on the part of the coliseum employees and the police. It appears that the audience members and the police share a mutual feeling of tolerance, if not one of respect. No confrontations between police and crowd occurred during the period of observation. Several crowd members expressed the belief that the police did not bother the crowd to the extent that a riot would ensue. The police, in turn, appear to let behavior which in other settings would be defined as illegal go "unnoticed." They seem to realize that any provocation on their part would lead only to large-scale disturbances, an event which they did not want to materialize. We must be careful in drawing any conclusions with regard to the police and coliseum employees since the interview sample was very small. But based on observation, it does appear that the police are extremely tolerant of some illegal activities such as marihuana smoking, activities that in other situations would lead to almost certain arrest if noticed.

In sum, when we attempt to label the collectivity at the rock concert as a type of crowd we are presented with several problems.

The gathering is not a casual crowd because its members do not come and go, giving but fleeting attention to the focus. Moreover, it is not an acting crowd since its objective is not the change in some external situation. It is quite possible that the collectivity could transform into an acting crowd under the proper conditions; riotous behavior has been noted to occur at similar events.

The crowd at the rock concert approximates an expressive crowd since many of the participants express excitement in physical movements throughout the event. But this is true only of the lively front region and part of the back region. The balcony region is for the most part quite passive and is essentially a conventionalized crowd, for the behavior of persons in the balcony is expressed in established and regularized ways.

It is the conclusion of this thesis that the entire problem of classification of the rock concert collectivity in terms of crowd dimensions appears to be of no value since the gathering at the concert is an audience: it is a polarized crowd that has come together to be affected and not to act. Thus, we cannot continue to use both crowd and audience theory to explain, interpret, and understand the concert phenomenon. It is my contention that audience theory be modified in order to account for the expressive dimension which can be found at rock concerts and other similar phenomena such as participatory theater. We must realize that individuals participate in audience settings for different reasons, all of which seem to be affective in character, and that in the case of the rock concert the only homogeneity we can find

is within regions of the setting. Certainly most audience types are passive collectivities where individuals merely come together to listen to a speaker or performer. But the rock concert audience is not of this variety in toto; passivity is merely one dimension to audience behavior. It appears then that the interaction process view of action (Cohen, 1966) applies in the case of the rock concert audience. The situational component in the interaction process consists largely of feedback from other actors and the way in which the action develops is dependent upon who watches the action, their definitions of the situation, and their responses to it (Chaney, 1972:38).

The suggestion offered then by this research is that we add the expressive dimension to the audience concept in order that we might account for variations in behavior within the audience. At the same time we must realize that passivity is also present within the audience. Therefore, the concept of audience, in the case of the rock concert at least, must account for variations in behavior within regions of the setting. We should keep the concept audience since its definition as a polarized collectivity that has come together to be affected is a workable one. However, we now must realize that the concept "multiple audience" is best able to describe the audience which was investigated in this research. If we use the individualistic-solidaristic, active-expressive dimensions found in the crowd literature we leave a considerable amount of variation in audience behavior unaccounted for. The concept multiple audience would refer to those polarized collectivities which are characterized by at least the passive and expressive

dimensions of behavior. Further research might uncover additional dimensions.

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APPENDIX

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

The observations in this thesis were conducted at several different locations within the coliseum setting thus enabling me to determine the various patterns of activity which were noted: (1) the main lobby allowed me to see individuals as they arrived; (2) the balcony level was advantageous for observation purposes in that I could not only see the participants in this section but I could view the floor area both from the rear and sides of the coliseum and from behind the stage; (3) the floor area also was observed from the floor level and within the two regions of the audience. Due to the fact that concertgoers were free to move around within the setting I was able to explore the coliseum from these different locations with a minimum of difficulty.

Interviews were conducted with forty persons and responses were written down at the setting. The quotes which were selected in the text of the thesis were representative of typical responses from the concertgoers.

At the outset, observational field notes also were taken at the setting. A change was initiated when I realized that darkness forced me to seek sufficient lighting in the concession areas and corridors. Subsequently, I compiled my notes upon returning home from the concert. At the end of the five month observational period field notes were divided into preconcert and concert categories. Similarities and differences between concerts were noted and categorized according to shared properties.

On one occasion Dr. Donald Clelland accompanied me to the setting and came up with parallel observations and nothing contradictory. This was the only time a team approach was utilized.

VITA

Michael Eugene Worthington was born in Newport News, Virginia, on January 8, 1947. He attended elementary schools in that city and was graduated from Homer L. Ferguson High School in 1964. The following Fall he entered East Carolina University and after one year entered the United States Army. From 1966 to 1969 he was a member of the Continental Army Command Band at Fort Monroe, Virginia. Upon completion of military duty he returned to East Carolina University and in 1972 received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology.

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