

JUST LIKE HENDRIX

WHITENESS AND THE ONLINE CRITICAL AND CONSUMER RECEPTION
OF ROCK MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES 2003-2013



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Just Like Hendrix: Whiteness and the Online Critical and Consumer Reception of Rock Music in the United States, 2003-2013.

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Abstract

Both numerically and symbolically, rock music has a white audience, edging out non-whites from participating. Music genres often reflect ethno-racial groups, but why this is so and how this works has remained largely unstudied. Professional and consumer reviewing practices are a prime location for the formation of rock music's symbolic boundaries. Hence, based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of 385 rock album reviews, this article investigates (i) to what extent ethno-racial boundaries are (re)produced or contested in the critical reception of rock music in the United States between 2003 and 2013, and (ii) to what extent (semi-)professional reviewers and consumer-reviewers differ from each other regarding ethno-racial classifications in their reception of rock music. I find that albums by non-white artists receive lower evaluations than those by white artists, particularly when reviewed by lay critics. Although both types of reviewers often ignore talking about race – echoing a color-blind ideology – (semi-)professional critics are more explicit and color-conscious regarding non-white participation in rock music. Furthermore, five different mechanisms are used by reviewers as a part of ethno-racial boundary work: (i) ethno-racial comparisons, (ii) inter-genre comparisons, (iii) positive ethno-racial marking, (iv) negative ethno-racial marking and (v) minimization.

Keywords

whiteness, rock music, reception, boundary work, music criticism

Introduction

'I dress like a white boy but that's okay, it don't matter, my skin stays black everyday'

Whole Wheat Bread, 'The Dirty South' (Minority Rules, 2005)

With this sentence, the vocalist of the American punk-rock band Whole Wheat Bread addresses the commonly experienced struggle that non-white rock musicians go through when participating in the predominantly white rock music genre. Popular music is a primary location for social differentiation (Fiske, 1998), particularly in the lives of adolescents (Bennett, 2000). Music

genres such as rock or hip-hop do not only reflect ethno-racial groups, but are often structured along ethno-racial lines (Roy, 2004; Roy & Dowd, 2010). Ever since the 1950s, rock music (originally a predominantly black music genre) has been steadily appropriated by whites, edging out non-whites from participating (Peterson, 1990; Taylor, 1997). As such, the genre is shaped by ethno-racial ‘symbolic boundaries:’ conceptual distinctions that social actors attach to other people, objects and – in this case – music, to bring order to social reality (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). These symbolic conceptualizations can result in objectified social boundaries, which are formative for every-day inequality and segregation along ethno-racial lines (Omi & Winant, 1986). Rock music hence is linked with ‘white’ cultural traits: ‘whiteness.’ Although it is evident that whiteness is (re)produced within rock music production and consumption (e.g., Bannister, 2006; Lipsitz, 1990; Mahon, 2004), it remains unclear how and why these symbolic boundaries are created and sustained in the reception of rock music. Even though Whole Wheat Bread’s musicians cross rock music’s symbolic boundaries by dressing “like a white boy,” they remain the odd-ones-out in the genre by being socially ‘marked’ (Waugh, 1982) due to their blackness.

Rock music is one of the prime musical genres within popular music, particularly in the United States, where it originated and which still functions as a global center of rock music production and reception (Lindberg et al, 2005). The rock genre ties performers, audiences, industries, critics and media together (Lena & Peterson, 2008), who collectively contribute to the formation of rock music’s symbolic boundaries. Critics in particular are an important source for the canonization of rock music, distinguishing between what is rock and what is not. By doing so, critics make use of ethno-racial classification practices when discussing non-white participation in a ‘white’ genre (cf. Berkers et al, 2013; Chong, 2011). Interestingly, it remains unclear if and how album evaluations are affected by the artists’ ethno-racial background. Furthermore, since the early 2000s, critical reception of rock music has partly shifted over to regular consumers (lay critics), as the Internet facilitates the possibility for consumers to review cultural products as well (Verboord, 2010). How do consumer reviews differ from reviews written by (semi-)professional rock critics? To what extent are these lay critics more open to changing the ethno-racial status quo in rock music or, contradictory, are they – being unreflexive fans first – more persistent than the more objectively arguing and reflexive critics in upholding rock’s ethno-racial boundaries?

This study focusses on the critical reception of rock music in the United States between

2003 and 2013, by comparing white with non-white artists on the one hand, and comparing reviews by (semi-)professional rock music critics with those written by consumers or lay critics on the other. Hence, the central question for this paper is two-fold: (i) to what extent are ethno-racial boundaries (re)produced or contested in the critical reception of rock music in the United States between 2003 and 2013, and (ii) to what extent do (semi-)professional reviewers and consumer-reviewers differ from each other regarding ethno-racial classifications in their reception of rock music?

By conducting both a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of rock album reviews (N=385) written for American music and consumer websites between 2003 and 2013, I investigate how US reviewers evaluate and discuss albums by white and non-white rock artists respectively. The analyses focus on social marking: (i) the presence of ethno-racial markers e.g., “Black rock singer”; (ii) the extent to which such markers crowd out aesthetic classifications, e.g. focusing on ethno-racial similarities and non-ability traits instead of aesthetic differences; and (iii) the way in which ethno-racial markers affect the rating of the album, as unmarked artists are arguably rated as superior. The content analyses reveal how both critics and consumers of rock music use ideological discourse and discursive strategies in five distinctive ways to construct (or deconstruct) whiteness in rock music.

After mapping the wider theoretical background on symbolic and social boundaries, social marking, and whiteness, I will turn to the advent of rock music and how the genre became whitewashed in the first place. This is followed by a short discussion on reviewing practices and two frames reviewers can employ when reviewing rock music by non-white artists. Subsequently the data and methods are explained, followed by the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses. The findings are summarized in a conclusion, which also contains suggestions for further research.

Hidden & Unmarked: Whiteness in the United States

In everyday interactions, social actors both consciously and unconsciously categorize people, objects and practices. These classifications result in the construction of symbolic boundaries, which function as conceptual distinctions to organize and understand social reality (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). The collective recognition of symbolic boundaries leads to social boundaries, which are “objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities” (ibid: 168). In

other words, despite the socially constructed nature of symbolic boundaries, social boundaries result in real and substantial effects in people's lives (Roy, 2004). To differentiate between groups, social markers such as religious denomination, hairstyle, educational background, fashion taste, musical preference, and food consumption are employed to 'mark' cultural sameness or difference, fabricating a sense of group membership. Of all possible social markers, race, ethnicity and gender historically function as the most inflexible and constant aspect for boundary formation (Brekhus et al, 2010; Hall, 1988; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Ridgeway, 2011).

Race and ethnicity are rigid social markers simply because "one of the first things we notice about people when we meet them (along with their sex) is their race" (Omi & Winant, 1986: 62). In the United States in particular, race serves as a central axis for social interactions and is hence central for attributing difference to social groups and other stratification practices (Doane, 1997; Omi & Winant, 1986; Prager, 1982). Although both race and ethnicity are ambiguous and thorny concepts, a theoretical distinction can be made. By "placing natural marks (skin pigmentation) onto social marks (culture)" (Brekhus et al, 2010: 65), race is socially constructed as "a system for classifying people who are believed to share common descent, based on perceived innate physical similarities" (Morning et al, 2013: 265). Using these physical similarities in the construction of ethno-racial boundaries, blackness (or non-whiteness) is assigned by the 'one-drop rule', where the slightest trace of non-white ancestry marks one (at least in a legal sense) non-white or black (Davis, 1991). In comparison, ethnicity is established on perceived cultural similarities, as members of a similar ethnic group "entertain a subjective belief in their common decent because of similarities of physical type of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration" (Weber, 1978: 389). Symbolic boundaries being constructed frames by which actors structure the world, "ethnicity is fundamentally not a thing *in* the world, but a perspective *on* the world" (Brubaker et al 2004: 31 [emphasis in original]).

Turning away from Jim Crow-era racism of the pre-1960s, the American Civil Right Acts of 1964 eliminated most forms of blatant racism and white supremacy organizations from the United States. The election of Barack Obama – America's first non-white president – was commonly but erroneously believed to herald a post-racial United States where race and ethnicity would lose their social consequences (c.f., Bobo, 2011; Dawson & Bobo, 2009). White

privilege, the location of structural advantage that whites enjoy in Western societies due to a history of both numerical and symbolical domination (and ignoring the relevance of this), was believed to have disappeared together with most blatant forms of racism and ideas of white supremacy (Hughey, 2012). Fundamental for the idea of a post-racial America thus is the assumption that western societies are beyond racial markers – ‘color-blind’ – which insinuates that people of any racial and/or ethnic background are responsible for their individual success in society (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Tatum, 1999). This color-blind ideology suggests that despite different histories of inequality (e.g. slavery, racism) and lopsided social opportunities, there exists an essential sameness between ethno-racial groups. Paradoxically, rather than actually turning blind towards ethno-racial categorization, color-blind ideology causes ignoring *talking* about race, rather than ignoring race itself.¹ This henceforth also ignores the institutional privileging of white over non-white people (Hughey, 2012). Color-blind ideology thus establishes a status-quo in which social inequality along ethno-racial lines persists, and where talking about it (‘race-talk’) is frowned-upon.

Importantly, discrimination due to color-blind ideology is often not deliberately or knowingly caused by whites (Hancock, 2008; Hughey, 2012; Trepagnier, 2006). White privilege causes whiteness to remain ‘unmarked’ as opposed to ‘marked’ ethno-racial groups (Brekhus, 1998). Social marking is the process by which societal asymmetries are reproduced in language (Waugh, 1982). Dominant members of society – whites – enjoy status by default and hence are left unmarked as opposed to non-whites. This effectively makes whiteness a symbolically dominant but ‘hidden’ ethnicity, as members are often unaware of the implications of not being marked (Doane, 1997). Whiteness can therefore be conceived of as a set of (classed and gendered) cultural practices that – as a result of being socially dominant – are less visible in everyday interaction than those of ethno-racial others (Frankenberg, 1993; Hughey, 2012), making it “the unspoken elephant in the room of a racialized society” (Brekhus et al, 2010: 71). Sameness among whites is located in their relations to social structures instead of non-whites’ “active, mutual identification” (Lewis, 2004: 627). A racial or ethnic identity is hence believed to be “something that other people have, [which is] not salient for them” (Tatum, 1999: 94). Only

¹ American Anthropologist Mica Pollock (2004) has quite aptly labeled this phenomenon as ‘color-muteness’ rather than ‘color-blindness,’ as social actors do *see* race (proving they are in fact not color-blind), but choose not to *talk* about it. However, the wide majority of journalistic, popular and scholarly work regarding race and racism has preferred using color-blindness to address this mechanism.

on direct encounters with a non-white other – in music for instance – “a process of racial identity development for whites begins to unfold” (ibid).

Although color-blind ideology has been dominant in the United States for the last decades, there are plenty of whites who are aware of ethno-racial marking and the effects that it has on social inequality. Presented as an oppositional ideological stance from color-blindness, this ‘color-consciousness’ ideology acknowledges social difference due to structural ethno-racial marking and is a given for non-whites in societies where whiteness is dominant (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Gurin et al, 1980; Hughey, 2012). This latter ideological outlook is also foundational for affirmative action and ‘positive’ discrimination, as the active recognition of whites’ position of structural advantage is reckoned to be compensated for. When whites turn to a more color-conscious worldview, this does not only imply that they become aware of non-white social marking but also take note of their own unmarked status and, subsequently, the structural advantage which accompanies not being socially marked (Brekhus, 1998; Hughey, 2012).

White Rock: Boundary Work, Ethno-Racial Ideology and Authentication

From elevators to pop-arena’s, from bars to supermarkets: music is everywhere in contemporary society. Popular music in particular has become a primary source of leisure and identification for audiences young and old (Bennett, 2000). Music consumption functions as a marker for social status since it grants consumers cultural capital, making it a main site for the formation of symbolic boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). Music contains a multifaceted grouping of audio and visual cues, lyrics, physical movements, and social relations (Bryson, 2002; DeNora, 1991; Dowd, 1991), which together establish an important domain where cultural hegemony is negotiated and contested (Fiske, 1998).

Musical preferences are constructed by means of genres, which are commonly understood as distinct musical styles that can be distinguished from each other. Lena & Peterson (2008) define genres as “systems of orientations, expectations, and conventions that bind together an industry, performers, critics, and fans in making what they identify as a distinctive sort of music” (698). Among these genre-specific expectations, ethno-racial boundaries can be found as race is “a social construct that takes on explicit meanings in specific social and historical contexts” (Doane, 1997: 379). Different musical genres contain both aesthetic (e.g., ‘black sound’) and authenticity demarcations (e.g., ‘real rocker’) that are hence influenced or (partly) determined by ethno-racial boundaries (Roy, 2004). On the one hand, popular music can

bring people together by repairing stereotypes, cutting across gender-, class-, and ethno-racial boundaries. On the other hand however, it can also function in the creation of boundaries between groups, particularly regarding race/ethnicity and gender, since these aspects are very visible in the act of music performances. As such, social and symbolic boundaries in music are created, shaped, and maintained by both producers and consumers of music. Previous studies have revealed how musical genres are influential for cultural and ethno-racial markers that help in-group/out-group identification. While hip-hop is generally perceived to be co-constitutive of black culture (e.g., Harrison, 2008; 2009; Pulido, 2009; Rose, 1991), country (e.g., Mann, 2008; Peterson, 1997), metal (e.g., Kahn-Harris, 2008; Weinstein, 1991), punk (e.g., Duncombe & Tremblay, 2011; Hebdige, 1979; Traber, 2001), and rock music in general (e.g., Bannister, 2006; Lipsitz, 1990) can function as carriers of white cultural markers, even though these (being white) are not constructed as actively or consciously as in hip-hop, soul, r&b and reggae.

Historically, rock music was considered to be a black genre, predominantly played and enjoyed by black people in pre-1950s America. At a time when “the work of black musicians in the blues, jazz, r&b, and what later came to be called soul genres was systematically excluded” (Peterson, 1990: 99), American record labels acted as key agents in keeping rock music black by abstaining from marketing rock music to white audiences (Dowd, 2003; Garofalo, 1994; Roy, 2004). In search for the attention of post-World War II white radio listeners, radio stations sought to push the aesthetic boundaries of their audiences by playing new and innovative music (Peterson, 1990). This bending and breaching of musical frontiers was not without regard for race however, as record companies remained reluctant to market (or even sell) black music to white people. Grounded in fears of moral decay, the common assumption was that black music such as jazz and rock ‘n’ roll granted white youngsters “too much pleasure from black expressions and that these primitive, alien expressions were dangerous to young people’s moral development” (Rose, 1991: 280). As famously stated by *Sun Studios* founder Sam Philips: “If I could find a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel, I could make a billion dollars” (cited in: Marcus, 1999: 52). While supposedly he also implied to bridge the gap between black and white listeners by this statement, white people enjoyed black rock music as well, “but they weren’t sure whether they ought to like it or not” (cited in: Ponce de Leon, 2006: 46).

An assembly of white rock ‘n’ rolls musicians such as Elvis Presley, Carl Perkins, Roy

Orbinson and Jerry Lee Lewis prepared white audiences in racially-segregated America for rock music since 1955 onwards, systematically excluding blacks from participating in rock music: the ‘Elvis-effect’ (Taylor, 1997). Even to date, record labels are reluctant to sign black rock artists, since “black rock won’t sell to whites because it is black, and it won’t sell to blacks because it is rock” (Mahon, 2004: 68), revealing how rock music has been institutionalized as white ever since. This “frozen dialectic” (Hebdige, 1978: 69-70) in music between whiteness (rock) and non-whiteness (soul, r&b, hip-hop) has lasted for over five decades, although recently there have been signs that this is melting. The combination of hip-hop (black) and rock (white) music which was popularized in the 1990s and early 2000s helped to bridge two genres which are marked along ethno-racial lines, but black rock movements such as *Afropunk* (“the other black experience”)² and the *Black Rock Coalition* (“a united front of musically and politically progressive black artists and supporters”)³ reveal that non-whites continue to be marginalized in contemporary rock music.

Critical and Consumer Rock Music Reception

Music critics have historically been – and still remain – vital in classification practices of music and assigning symbolic value to these products and their accompanying genres (DiMaggio, 1987; Janssen et al, 2008; Shrum, 1991; Van Rees, 1987). Hence, music criticism operates as a “mediator between cultural producers and participants by selecting, describing, labeling and evaluating products” (Verboord, 2010: 623). Critics assign particular meanings to musical products which in effect establish aesthetic classifications (Weisethaunet & Lindberg, 2010). As with other forms of criticism of cultural products, objective methods of classification are absent, forcing reviewers to rely on other measures or ‘tools’ (Chong, 2011). Classification practices such as determining what is authentic rock and what is not, create “islands of meaning” (Zerubavel, 1991) in which “within-category differences are minimized and between-category differences are inflated” (Brekhus et al, 2010: 64).

The Internet has led to “individualized, bottom-up practices” of cultural classification (Verboord, 2010), granting consumers the opportunity to evaluate music online. However, rock critics differ from lay- or consumer critics regarding the nature of their involvement. While critics usually maintain that purely aesthetic criteria prevail in their boundary work, the content

² <http://www.afropunk.com/>, 25-06-2013.

³ <http://blackrockcoalition.org/>, 25-06-2013.

of their reviews is also affected by race and ethnicity (Berkers et al, 2013). In doing so, music critics can canonize rock music and determine what rock exactly is (and again: what it is not), upholding whiteness and edging-out non-whites from participating. This shared understanding of rock music helps the production of rock narratives but is also hard to counter. Aesthetic categorizations are often attached to people (e.g., well-known rock stars), objects (e.g., instruments), specific spaces (e.g., cities), and eras (e.g., specific periods in the past). For lay critics these criteria are often replaced for more outspoken personal preferences, echoing fandom without the aesthetic disinterestedness that critics (are assumed to) uphold. Both lay and (semi-)professional critics discuss rock albums by discussing what are considered to be good and bad aspects of the music. Often, reviewers also grant the reader with a small background story on the artist or they situate the artist or album in a specific context in which the reviewer thinks the album is ought to be understood. These conscious and unconscious associations are formative of symbolic boundaries. Boundary work along ethno-racial lines in critical rock music reception is hence executed by the employment of specific frames, styles, and racial stories (Hewitt, 1986).

Boundary Work in Rock Reviews: Two Frames for Analysis

Combining theory on ethno-racial boundary work, rock music, and critical vis-à-vis consumer reception, it can be assumed that both types of reviewers employ discursive frames in discussing albums by non-white artists. For the critical reception of rock music, these frames function as tools for reviewers to describe, interpret and evaluate rock albums (cf. Chong, 2011). I have differentiated between these as (i) color-blind/conscious ideologies and (ii) reflexive/unreflexive positioning with regard to non-white participation in rock music.

I: Color-Blind/Color-Conscious Ideology

First, color-blind ideology suggests essential sameness between ethno-racial groups even though these group differ substantially concerning their social locations, opportunities and histories (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). This unreflexive ethno-racial ideology in rock music production and reception legitimizes whiteness as the unmarked category, as misrecognized, decontextualized, and dehistoricized cultural forms lose their original ethno-racial context (Hancock, 2008). For example, racially coded meanings in hip-hop music are habitually decoded by white American listeners as color-blind meanings, by which ‘black emancipation’ is stretched to imply ‘universal emancipation’ (Rodriguez, 2006).

Despite occurring far less often than color-blind ideology, a reflexive color-conscious ideology advocates recognition of ethno-racial difference and the existence of white privilege (Frankenberg, 1993; Gurin et al, 1980). This is the ideology that underpins the formation of action groups like Afropunk and the Black Rock Coalition. Research has revealed that blacks sometimes draw on color-conscious ideology to re-appropriate and re-historicize the black roots of rock music (Maskell, 2009), but non-white internalization of white dominant ideology occurs as well (Tatum, 1999). The question remains whether non-white rock artists such as Lenny Kravitz and Apollo Heights gain the (positive) attention of a more reflexive white rock audience when titling their albums inconspicuously as ‘Negrophilia’ (2013) or ‘White Music for Black People’ (2007) respectively. Color-consciousness in rock reception can also feel constraining for non-white artists. In an interview with *Melody Maker* in 1988, Corey Glover, the vocalist of all-black rock band Living Colour remarked that people seemed to have difficulty in going beyond seeing the band as a group of four black guys. Even though people appreciated the band, this focus on non-ability traits rather than individual skills prevented listeners from seeing that “we’re four musicians as well” (cited in Reynolds, 2007: 98).

II: Reflexive and Unreflexive Boundary Work

Seeing that a higher knowledge of (legitimate) rock music and its history should increase reflexivity on the topic, it can be expected that institutionalized professional critics reveal more reflexivity (i.e., explicit mentions of ethno-racial boundaries) towards non-white participation than more unreflexive lay critics, who are more implicit about their boundary work. (Semi-)professional reviewers in particular might thus be partly responsible for melting the frozen state of affairs between white and non-white participants in rock music. This does not necessarily imply that these reviewers also employ a color-conscious ideology: equally high (or low) evaluations by (semi-)critics of both white and non-white artists already reveals openness towards non-white participation.

Following Bourdieu (1984) however, high amounts of cultural capital in rock music also increases the chances for critics to have more musical dislikes and protecting the borders of what is considered to be legitimate rock music (Bryson, 2002; Weisethaunet & Lindberg, 2010). Rock critics are continually in the process of institutionalizing rock music, which occurs when “actors (e.g., organizations, audiences) widely agree on the superiority of certain works and when they separate those works from mundane entertainment” (Dowd, 2004: 237). It can paradoxically thus

also be assumed that (semi-)professional critics facilitate the canonization and establishment of the rock genre as symbolically white for upholding a canonized status quo.

Data & Methods

The sample consists of 385 reviews of 66 rock albums that were released between 2003 and 2013.⁴ A selection was made based on (i) the number of critical reviews that an album received (at least three on notable online music websites), (ii) whether an artist was classified within the rock genre, and (iii) whether a band could be considered white or non-white. Although only analyzing debut albums was considered as a fourth selection criterion, exploratory analysis revealed that too few new non-white rock artists have released records in the last decade that caught the attention of reviewers. Hence, debut albums were selected whenever possible, whilst balancing between debut albums of white and non-white artists (76.2% versus 56.0% of debut albums respectively). A code book was produced to systematically content analyze the reviews.

First, of each album, three (semi-)professional critical reviews and three consumer reviews were picked (always the first and oldest one) and used for analysis. Most websites offer either (semi-)professional or lay critic reviews, with a few exceptions which offer both.⁵ In a few cases (11, leaving 385 reviews for analysis. See appendix A for details), reviews were excluded from the sample because they were written a long time (more than two years) after the release of an album, which can mean that artists have already released a more recent album which historicizes the album under review. The most steady source was the online web shop amazon.com, providing a consumer review for all albums in the analysis. The most comprehensive source for critics' reviews was music reviewing website allmusic.com.

Second, half of the albums were produced by white artists, the other by non-white artists. Classification of what is non-white and what is not, was based on the one-drop rule (Davis, 1991), which implies that a band that contains at least one non-white member is considered non-white as a whole. Although reviewers might ignore one non-white band member or stress that a band is completely non-white, the quantitative analysis only took into account whether a band could be marked as white or non-white. A five-point likert scale was used to assess artist diversity along ethno-racial lines. As gender is also important in the predominantly male-centered rock scene, gender was included as a control variable.

⁴ The list of albums can be found in appendix A.

⁵ The list of sources can be found in appendix B.

Third, the consumer-driven genre labels found on the American website discogs.com and the British website last.fm were utilized to assess whether an artists is commonly considered to fall within the brackets of the rock genre. Rock subgenres such as indie, punk and metal were also sparsely included to increase musical diversity.

Fourth, for each artist, band composition at the time of recording and each band member's ethno-racial background was assessed using band biographies, pictures, *Wikipedia* entries and information given in reviews. The same was done for the reviewers, whenever this information was findable. Each review was analyzed quantitatively by assessing the size of the review (number of words), the numerical evaluation given (0-100, the commonly used 'five star system' was translated to this numerical system, one star being 20 points), and primary genre classification given (if not given, this was coded as missing). The content of the reviews was analyzed using four variables that recorded whether and in what context reviewers mention ethno-racial, national, gender, and socio-economic markers. For instance, each mention of race (e.g., 'black') was counted as one mention while subsequently assessing the context of the mention. 'Black sound' was thus labeled as an 'aesthetic' marker. Often reviewers do not attach aesthetic or authenticity labels to these markers however, in which case the mention was only counted and not assessed (e.g., 'Afro-American drummer') (Chong, 2011).

Fifth and last, artists that the reviewed artists were compared to, were also recorded and the context of this mention was coded as well (ethno-racial comparison, sound comparison, visual comparison, gender comparison, attitude comparison). Each review was read twice, where open coding was conducted to assess the content qualitatively. The quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS.

Results: Quantitative Analysis

Based on the selection criteria, 50,1% (193) of the reviews were written by critics on official music reviewing websites or online magazines, and 49.9% (191) were written by lay critics on various consumer- and user-reviewing websites (see table 1). As was expected, it was difficult to classify reviewers along ethno-racial lines as these were not mentioned on profile pages of reviewers, lay critics in particular. However, based on profile pictures, about 35.3% of the reviewers were white compared to 2.9% of non-whites. It is thus safe to say that there is a high chance that the remaining 61.8% of the reviewers was also white, as theory suggests. Most reviews were written by men (68.3%), compared to a small amount of female reviewers (9.4%).

The gender of the rest of the reviewers (22.3%) was unknown. On average, (semi-)professional reviewers tended to use more words in their reviews (498, std. dev. = 258) than consumer reviewers (360, std. dev. = 335). Lay critics tended to give albums about 10 more points than official reviewers (81.0 versus 72.2, based on a 0-100 point system), but they also disagreed more with fellow reviewers in their evaluation scores than (semi-)professional reviewers did (14.3 versus 18.8 points in deviation from average score).

Table 1: Critics and lay critics background information (N=385).

	Critics	Lay critics	Combined
Ethno-racial categories			
white	58.5% (113)	12.0% (23)	35.3% (136)
non-white	3.1% (6)	2.6% (5)	2.9% (11)
unknown	38.3% (74)	85.4% (164)	61.8% (238)
Gender			
male	82.4% (159)	54.2% (104)	68.3% (263)
female	13.0% (25)	5.7% (11)	9.4% 36
unknown	4.7% (9)	40.1% (77)	22.3% (86)
Average review size	498 (sd 258)	360 (sd 335)	430 (sd 306)
Average evaluation	72.2 (sd 14.3)	81.0 (sd 18.8)	76.6 (sd 17.3)

The sample contained 200 reviews (51.9%) of albums by non-white bands and 185 reviews (48.1%) of albums by all-white bands. Of all the non-white bands 51.0% only had one or two non-white members whereas 26.5% of the non-white bands were fully non-white i.e., were moved away furthest from the white norm in rock music. The rest of the bands (22.5%) were half or predominantly non-white. The bands in the sample were mostly fully comprised of males (70.6%) against 12 all-female bands (3.1%). 101 bands (26.2%) could be described as gender-diverse, containing both male and female musicians (although all were predominantly male as well, in line with previous studies on skewed gender dynamics in rock music participation ;Cohen, 1997). Interestingly, non-white artists also tended to show more gender diversity than white artists (30.5% against 28.1%), demonstrating that diversification along ethno-racial lines is also indicative for gender variety.

Turning to the theorized relationship between ethno-racial categorization and rock music, the comparison of mean scores revealed that albums released by non-white artists generally

received lower evaluations than albums by white artists (see table 2). Whereas white artists enjoyed a mean score of 78.6 points, non-white artists were judged with 74.8 points on average, generally receiving significantly ($p = <.05$) lower evaluations. Surprisingly, gender diversity in bands did not influence the mean evaluation in any significant way ($p = .608$). Whether an album was an artists' debut album or not also did not influence the evaluation ($p = .143$).

Table 2: Evaluation of rock albums of white and non-white artists in the United States, 2003-2013 (N=385).

	Critics	sd	Lay critics	sd	Combined	sd
Evaluation	72.2	14.3	81.0	18.8	76.6	17.3
White artists	72.6	14.3	84.4**	16.6	78.6*	16.6
Non-white artists	71.8	14.4	77.8**	20.2	74.8*	17.8

* $p <.05$, ** $p <.01$, *** $p <.001$

When observing these results, it becomes clear that the lower evaluation of non-white artists is explained ($p = <.01$) by the wider discrepancy that exists between the scores that lay critics attributed to non-white artists. This might suggest that (semi-)professional reviewers are more reflexive about ethno-racial difference than lay critics (consumers) might be correct, rather than critics (with high amounts of cultural capital) being fundamental in keeping rock music white due to continually attaching white symbolic boundaries to rock's particular aesthetic traits.

The salience of color-blind ideology is illustrated by the fact that race and/or ethnicity were rarely mentioned in reviews (see table 3), with neither aesthetic nor authenticity classifications being paired with ethno-racial markers (9.1% of reviews contain one or more mentions of race and/or ethnicity). The same counts for gender and socio-economic aspects, only nationality was often mentioned as a part of the artists' background (130 mentions in total).

Table 3: Rock album reviews containing mentions of race, ethnicity and gender, by (semi-)professional critics and lay critics in the United States, 2003-2013 (N=385).

	Critics	Lay critics	Combined
Ethno-racial marking	6.0% (23)	3.1% (12)	9.1% (35)
White artists	0.3% (1)	-	0.3% (1)
Non-white artists	5.7% (22)	3.1% (12)	8.8% (34)
Gender marking	6.8% (26)	6.2% (24)	13.0% (50)

Color-blindness hence causes reviewers to ignore ethno-racial backgrounds of artists, even though evaluation scores in reviews revealed a lower appreciation for these artists. Therefore, as can be expected, not *talking* about race in reviews does not imply that non-whiteness is not *seen* in the evaluation of artists. As the qualitative analysis demonstrates however, (semi-)professional critics in particular showed many aspects of a color-conscious ideology, underlining their more explicitness regarding ethno-racial relations compared to lay critics.

Results: Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis of album reviews revealed five different mechanisms that are utilized by reviewers as a part of boundary work: (i) ethno-racial comparisons, (ii) inter-genre comparisons, (iii) positive ethno-racial marking, (iv) negative ethno-racial marking and (v) minimization.

I: Ethno-Racial Comparisons

First, non-white artists were regularly compared along ethno-racial lines, favoring the use of group categorization over the assessment of individual skills. For example, non-white punk-rock bands were continually associated with black 1970s punk group Bad Brains, and non-white indie bands were usually mentioned alongside Bloc Party, Vampire Weekend and all-black band TV on the Radio in particular. Ignoring aesthetic differences, non-white rock guitarist Lenny Kravitz has commonly been compared with 1960s psychedelic rock star Jimi Hendrix even though, bluntly stating, the only real aesthetic comparison is that they are both black men playing rock guitar. Discussing a new album by Ben Harper, one lay critic mentioned that Harper's new album sounded rather commercial, venting the fear that "worried Ben may turn into a latter day Lenny." Similarly, one critic found the BLK JKS 2009 album 'After Robots' to sound like "Jimi Hendrix at his most experimental." It is important to note that these comparisons are commonly made based on experienced aesthetic criteria, but that these compared-with artists are predominantly non-white is suggestive of an implicit process of ethno-racial associations as well. More explicitly, one reviewer on allmusic.com paralleled aesthetic with ethno-racial classifications when remarking that:

"Combining various essential elements of black rock history from Sly & the Family Stone, Curtis Mayfield, Jimi Hendrix, Living Colour, Public Enemy, and their similarly minded N.Y.C. cohorts TV on the Radio, their [Dragons of Zynth, JS] debut fell-length, Coronation Thieves, is so full of

jarring juxtapositions and startling twists and turns as to have been under the influence of alien spawn, yet deep down inside lurks the greatest soul album of 2007."

Most white artists on the other hand were compared based on aesthetic criteria (sound and looks) or communalities in behavior and/or experience, e.g. a 'rock 'n' roll attitude' (Berkers & Eeckelaer, 2013).

II: Inter-Genre Comparisons

Second, more so than white rock artists, the rock music of non-white artists was compared to other genres such as rap, soul and world music. 'Soul' or 'soulfulness' in particular was often used as an element of classification to discuss albums by non-white artists. The Veer Union's black vocalist Earl Crispin's voice was believed to add "the soulful vocal lines" to the music, just as Bloc Party's singer Kele Okereke's "voice is actually quite soulful." Earl Greyhound's black bassist and co-vocalist Kamara Thomas was "the group's secret weapon, adding soulful harmonies while holding down the bottom in an outfit that demands a tight-fisted rhythm section." Lastly, Sevendust's vocalist Layon Witherspoon "proves himself to be one of the finest vocalists in modern rock," mainly because of his "soul drenched croon." Just as with hip-hop, soul and soulfulness are attached to an essentialized idea of blackness. In a review of (all-black) TV on the Radio's 2004 debut album, a allmusic.com critic linked the band's usage of various musical styles to their blackness in a color conscious way:

"That TV on the Radio can handle an issue like race so creatively and eloquently shouldn't come as a surprise, considering how organically the group incorporates elements of soul, jazz, spirituals, and doo wop into the mostly lily-white world of indie/experimental rock. However, the song does offer a refreshing reminder that hip-hop and urban music -- as vital as they've been recently -- are not the only kinds of music that can handle this kind of dialogue. "

Following research on cultural legitimization practices and cultural omnivores (Peterson, 1992; Van Eijck, 2000), non-white musical genres such as reggae and latin are placed in the 'world music' category, which enjoys higher acclaim than hip-hop music, which is associated with a low socio-economic status (Bryson, 1996; 2002). Recent research demonstrates however that the opposite is true for elite cultural consumers when hip-hop is appropriated away from its original context of production (Cheyne & Binder, 2010). The analysis reveals however that rock

music is commonly perceived in opposition to hip-hop, leading to negative evaluations of albums that incorporate hip-hop or rap. It could also be the case that non-white rock indeed incorporate more influences from other genres; an inter-genre cross-over which is subsequently evaluated positively (e.g., world music) or negatively (e.g., hip-hop).

On the one hand, as with soul music, the world music genre is appreciated in rock music. In a review of BLK JKS, a critic of *popmatters.com* argued that the bands' "worldly elements" have been "sorely missed in today's world of instantly accessible and easily marketable rock/pop music." Discussing the indie band Vampire Weekend's self-titled debut, ethnic elements in the group's album were attached to its non-white members: "The first sound on the first song, "Mansard Roof", comes from Rostam Batmanglij's keyboard, set to a perky, almost piping tone--the kind of sunny sound you'd hear in old west-African pop." Yeasayer's guitarist Anand Wilder – having Indian ethnic origins – was held responsible for the band's "worldly sound," channeling "both a dystopian science-fiction sensibility and deep appreciation for the natural world, employing a wide, international range of sounds. The result is a unique form of indie rock world music that resists stepping into the essentialist, ethnocentric traps consistently tripped by high-minded hipsters."

On the other hand, hip-hop is seen as at odds with rock music. Non-white punk-rock band Whole Wheat Bread was mocked for presenting the listener with hip-hop bonus tracks on the end of their album 'Minority Rules,' and WZRD was questioned by one critic whether they know how rock works:

"Most of the music is orchestrated in a "Hip-Hop fashion", and what I mean by that is that in Hip-Hop, the instruments are secondary because the music is used to decorate the lyrics since the vocals are the center of attention. But in Rock music, it's the exact opposite. Though the vocals are obviously important in typical Rock music, the instrumentation is given more emphasis."

The rap-rock association that is often made with non-white artists is not completely based on ethno-racial dynamics however. It is clear that many non-white rock artists tend to either come from a hip-hop background or still work in both genres. One artist who received harsh criticism for trying to bridge rap with rock music was hip-hopper Lil' Jon, when he released his rap-rock album entitled 'Crunk Rock' in 2010. Non-white artists with a hip-hop background are mirrored

with Jon since “artists from the hip-hop world dropping in on the alternative rock scene has not been a successful strategy” (critic on consequenceofsound.com).

III: Positive Ethno-Racial Marking

Third, color-conscious ethno-racial reflexivity was often employed to mark artists positively in a normative sense. Often only using a little amount of words, reviewers mention that it was ‘extraordinary’ or ‘interesting’ that an album was made by non-white artists. One reviewer mentioned how punk group Bad Brains has “a well-deserved legendary status, built not just on their essential albums like ‘Rock for Light’ and ‘I Against I’ paving the way for years of hardcore to come, but also for being one of the first all-black groups in the predominantly white early punk scene.” Another lay critic mentioned how Bloc Party’s vocalist Kele Okereke portrayed a “verbose subversion of stereotypes galore; A black man who is an open homosexual, radically left in his political leanings, unafraid to cite sources not often quoted as wells of inspiration amongst the black musical populace.” Again, (semi-)professional critics revealed most reflexivity however. In a burst of rock-history reflection, one critic from online magazine spin.com comments on Black Kids’ 2008 album ‘Partly Traumatic’ how:

"Morrissey and the Magnetic Fields' Stephin Merritt, [are] ambi/homosexual songwriters whose mischievous affection for taboo signifiers of whiteness has unfairly gotten them tagged as racist. Reggie and sister Ali, however, are African American; their mixed-gender bandmates are white; and together they're known as Black Kids."

Similarly, vocalist Shingai Shoniwa of The Noisettes was heralded as a breaker of rock music’s symbolic boundaries (both along ethno-racial and gender lines), which was applauded by this pitchfork.com reviewer:

“Shoniwa is a walking panoply of cultural signifiers; an axe-wielding black frontwoman of a rock group. And like so many of her white male forerunners have done, Shoniwa pays tribute to her unrecognized hero [gospel singer Rosetta Tharpe, JS] , and offers a corrective for a half-century of popular ignorance.”

Perhaps most reflexive regarding rock music’s historical whiteness was this allmusic.com reviewer who discussed The Veer Union’s 2009 album ‘Against the Grain:’

“That being said, the band's biracial lineup is a good deal more interesting than the music it creates, as frontman Crispin Earl is one of the few black vocalists to appear on the hard rock landscape in years. Earl's skin is inconsequential to his band's sound, of course, but The Veer Union nevertheless experienced a good deal of difficulty securing a record contract, with many labels allegedly balking at the prospect of promoting a biracial band to a historically white audience.”

Lastly, an amazon.com reviewer who exposed his own blackness explained how it means a lot to him that he found a fellow non-white rock/metal enthusiast in Straight Line Stitch's vocalist Alexis Brown: “I think it's wonderful an African American woman has stepped up to this kind of music. Being an African American male, we are rare to be found in this type of music, and it's even rarer to not be one of the hideous "scene kids" or Hot Topic freaks.”

IV: Negative Ethno-Racial Marking

Fourth, recognizing and marking ethno-racial differences does not immediately entail a positive evaluation of non-white participation in rock music, i.e. denying white privilege. This act of self-marking or ‘playing the race-card’ sometimes led to negative evaluations. One critic appreciated Whole Wheat Bread's effort to minimize the non-white tendency to accentuate their blackness: “one of the refreshing things about *Minority Rules*, aside from the unapologetic poppiness of the songs, is the way that the trio neither ignore their racial background nor overemphasize it.” Seemingly tired of this experienced overemphasizing of ethno-racial symbolic boundaries, another lay critic did not enjoy the Black Kids' effort to racially politicize their music: “Maybe this is largely due to the fact American Society can still be shocked by the racial exploitation in naming one's band Black Kids, something frontman Reggie Youngblood took into account when baptizing the group (curiously, he didn't take into account that the majority of his band was white.)” A cover song of AC/DC's ‘Back in Black’ on an album by the all-black rock band Living Colour was found to be uninteresting by one rateyourmusic.com lay critic: “a cover of “Back In Black (Guys, seriously, pick a less obvious cover next time okay?).” Interestingly, no cases were found where lack of rock talent was explicitly associated with non-whiteness, echoing the color-blind notion that race is not explicitly discussed in a negative sense, but is rather discussed using (implicit) artist- and or genre-comparisons.

V: Minimization

Fifth and last, reviewers tended to flag non-whiteness in an ironic sense to minimize the effect of race talk. The double consciousness of ethno-racial minority groups (ethno-racial group identification vis-à-vis identification with white society) often triggers both self-irony and irony from others (Hannerz, 1992: 132-133). Like discursive minimization strategies – down-playing the impact of racially fuelled remarks – in everyday white race-talk (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Hughey, 2012), (predominantly white) reviewers were inclined to jokingly mark artists along ethno-racial lines. This happened by inserting slur which is marked as black: “brother Cole” in God Forbid and the “gangsta rap alter ego’s” of Whole Wheat Bread. After giving a long, positive review of their album ‘Minority Rules’, a critic closed his appraisal by rhetorically asking “did I mention they *bes* black? [emphasis added].” The band was also compared with the white punk-rock group Blink 182 by calling them “Black-182.” Anticipating on whether Dragons of Zynth are able to produce a follow-up album of similar quality as their debut *Coronation of Thieves*, a white reviewer reassured that he is sure “the brothers gonna work it out.” A lay critic on amazon.com mentioned to definitely see “these brothers” of Fishbone out when the reader is able to, whereas a popmatters.com critic thought that a song on their new record conveys a feeling that would “fill any *hookah bar* in the land [emphasis added].” Ironic interpretations of non-white participation might on the one hand ‘soften the blow’ of the initial shock that whites might experience when they see non-whites make rock music, by doing so they simultaneously run the risk of reducing the chance that non-white rockers gain the ever-important rock-sincerity or authenticity.

Conclusion and Discussion

This paper has sought to investigate how whiteness is (re)produced in the critical reception of rock music by comparing how non-white rock artists are evaluated as opposed to their white naturalized counterparts. On top of that, a comparison was made between (semi-)professional critics and lay/consumer critics. By conducting a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis of reviews of rock albums released between 2003 and 2013, this paper has demonstrated how non-white artists are evaluated significantly lower than white artists, particularly by lay critics. Performing boundary work by employing ethno-racial ideologies (color-blindness vis-à-vis color-consciousness), reviewers actively mark non-whiteness as opposed to whiteness and draw symbolic boundaries along ethno-racial lines. Having a more institutionalized understanding or

rock music and its cultural canon, (semi-)professional critics are more reflexive than lay critics regarding ethno-racial dynamics, as their aesthetic evaluation is not influenced by the ethno-racial background of the artist in question. Ethno-racial reflexivity reveals how reviewers are color-conscious in that they make explicit rather than implicit associations regarding the cultural trespassing of predominantly white symbolic boundaries.

In five distinctly different ways, reviewers apply discursive strategies to discuss race and ethnicity in the whitewashed rock scene. First, non-white artists are compared with fellow non-white artists as group categorization is preferred over individual categorization based on skills. Second, non-white artists are often associated with other ethno-racially marked music such as world music and hip-hop, in which world music dictates a positive evaluation, and hip-hop a negative evaluation. Third, color-conscious reviewers actively mark non-white rock participation in a positive sense whereas, fourth, some do so in a negative sense – denying the existence of white privilege. Fifth and last, the importance of race is minimized by employing ironic discursive strategies, down-playing the significance of ethno-racial difference. These mechanisms function as possibilities for reviewers to discuss race and ethnicity implicitly rather than explicitly, keeping symbolic boundaries that differentiate between whites and non-whites intact. The more active and explicit marking of race and ethnicity by predominantly (semi-)professional critics is important in the bending and (ultimately) breaking of these boundaries, as non-white participation in rock music is increasingly normalized.

By using genre- and artists comparisons, both lay and (semi-)professional critics compare non-white artists along ethno-racial rather than aesthetic lines, making implicit associations. Non-white artists' musical cross-overs are appreciated when these added elements come from world music, r&b, soul and reggae, whereas hip-hop influences are frowned upon. Interestingly, non-white artists are commonly associated with these genres and are believed to inherently bring these aspects into rock music – maybe even when they did not do so, or at least knowingly. The artistic line non-white bands walk on is narrow however, since actively including these 'non-white elements' in rock music – playing the race card – can be negatively perceived by critics. In other words: the elements should be incorporated 'naturally' rather than forcefully, as non-whites are essentialized as naturally possessing these qualities. Since rock music is believed to be ethno-racially unmarked, listeners might look down upon ethno-racial marking – particularly self-marking by non-white artists – because it politicizes a genre which is felt not to be political:

‘everyone can join rock.’ Moving away from how non-white artists are perceived by white listeners, it is also up for inquiry whether non-white artists are aware of these mechanisms and consciously refrain from self-marking along ethno-racial lines because of fear of being rejected. The frames (color-blind/conscious ideology, and reflexive/unreflexive positioning) that reviewers use, can also be employed in the analysis of white and non-white artists and listeners, to wide-up the research towards the whole trajectory of the production and reception of rock music.

Although this article has revealed how white boundary work dictates the evaluation of non-white artists participating in rock music, further research needs to reveal how wider reception of rock music by fans and consumers is conducive of upholding or countering white cultural dominance in rock music. As most rock music is produced and marketed in and for the United States market, another field of research is the scrutiny of how whiteness is decoded within other ethno-racial constellations, particularly in countries that are considered to be in the (semi-)periphery of the cultural world system. Rather than only turning to the non-white artists and fans who are increasingly making their mark on rock music, research should particularly focus on what exactly constitutes hegemonic whiteness, this sociological non-minority “residue” (Doane, 1997: 376).

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Appendix A: Album List

Year	Artist	Album	Debut	Ethno-racial marking
2003	The Kills	Keep on your mean side	yes	white
2003	Kings of Leon	Youth and young manhood	yes	white
2003	Living Colour	Collideøscope	no	non-white
2003	The Dirtbombs	Dangerous Magical Noise*	no	non-white
2003	Hootie and the Blowfish	Hootie and the Blowfish*	no	non-white
2003	Yeah Yeah Yeahs	Fever to tell	yes	white
2004	The Killers	Hot Fuss	yes	white
2004	Arcade Fire	Funeral	yes	white
2004	Franz Ferdinand	Franz Ferdinand	yes	white
2004	TV on the Radio	Desperate youth, blood thirsty babes	yes	non-white
2004	Beauty Pill	The unsustainable lifestyle*	yes	non-white
2004	The Go! Team	Thunder, lightning, strike	yes	non-white
2005	Stiffed	Burned again*	yes	non-white
2005	Whole Wheat Bread	Minority rules	yes	non-white
2005	Bloc Party	Silent alarm	yes	non-white
2005	Wolfmother	Wolfmother	yes	white
2005	Kaiser Chiefs	Employment	yes	white
2005	The Subways	Young for eternity	yes	white
2006	Earl Greyhound	Soft targets	yes	non-white
2006	Cold War Kids	Robbers and cowards	yes	white
2006	The Raconteurs	Broken boy soldiers	yes	white
2006	Hit the lights	This is a stick-up, don't make it a murder	yes	non-white
2006	Shiny Toy Guns	We are pilots	yes	white
2006	Fishbone	Still stuck in your throat	no	non-white

2007	The Noisettes	What's the time, Mr. Wolf?*	yes	non-white
2007	Dragons of Zynth	Coronation of thieves	yes	non-white
2007	Battles	Mirrored	yes	white
2007	Baroness	Red Album	yes	white
2007	Yeastayer	All hour cymbals	yes	non-white
2008	Vampire Weekend	Vampire weekend	yes	non-white
2008	Black Kids	Partie traumatic	yes	non-white
2008	Blood Red Shoes	Box of secrets	yes	white
2008	Sevendust	Chapter VII: Hope and sorrow	no	non-white
2008	The Vines	Melodia	no	white
2008	Glasvegas	Glasvegas	yes	white
2009	The Veer Union	Against the grain	no	non-white
2009	The xx	xx	yes	non-white
2009	Alice in Chains	Black gives way to blue	no	non-white
2009	BLK JKS	After robots	yes	non-white
2009	Them Crooked Vultures	Them crooked vultures	yes	white
2009	After Midnight Project	Let's build something to break*	yes	white
2009	Halestorm	Halestorm*	yes	white
2010	Skunk Anansie	Wonderlustre*	no	non-white
2010	Kele	The boxer	yes	non-white
2010	Surfer Blood	Astro coast	yes	white
2010	Anberlin	Dark is the way, light is the place	no	white
2010	Eels	Tomorrow morning	no	white
2010	The Rocturnals	The life*	yes	non-white
2011	Foo Fighters	Wasting light	no	white
2011	Nickelback	Here and now*	no	white
2011	The Horrible Crowes	Elsie	yes	white
2011	Ben Harper	Give till it's gone	no	non-white

2011	Skindred	Union black	no	non-white
2011	Straight Line Stitch	The figh of our lives	no	non-white
2012	Bad Brains	Into the future	no	non-white
2012	2:54	2:54	yes	white
2012	WZRD	WZRD	yes	non-white
2012	Dinowalrus	Best behaviour*	no	white
2012	Jack White	Blunderbuss	yes	white
2012	God Forbid	Equilibrium	no	non-white
2013	Queens of the Stone Age	...Like clockwork	no	white
2013	Savages	Silence yourself	yes	non-white
2013	Coheed and Cambria	The afterman: descension	no	non-white
2013	Pure Love	Anthems	yes	white
2013	Jimi Hendrix	People, hell and angels	no	non-white
2013	Clutch	Earth rocker	no	white

* Missing review for this album due to outdated time of reviewing.

Appendix B: List of Sources

Website	Type of review		Total
	Critic	Lay critic	
amazon.com	-	66	66
rateyourmusic.com	-	60	60
allmusic.com	57	-	57
sputnikmusic.com*	10	40	50
pitchfork.com	37	-	37
metacritic.com	-	18	18
popmatters.com	17	-	17
rollingstone.com	14	-	14
drownedinsound.com	13	-	13
spin.com	9	-	9
consequenceofsound.net	7	-	7
itunes.com	-	7	7
absolutejunk.net	6	-	6
punknews.org*	5	1	6
newyorktimes.com	5	-	5
alternativeaddiction.com	3	-	3
metal-observer.com	3	-	3
metaholic.com	1	-	1
theindie-pendent.com	1	-	1
rocksound.tv	1	-	1
hardrockhaven.net	1	-	1
metalsucks.net	1	-	1
altsounds.com	1	-	1
punkmusic.about.com	1	-	1
	193	192	385

* These sources provide both (semi-) reviews and a possibility for lay critics to write reviews