

Soul Music

**The development of a genre in the
United States of America**



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A comparison of newspaper attention to classic soul music and neo soul in The New York Times and The Los Angeles Times

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Mirte

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1. Introduction

...soul remains the story of how a universal sound emerged from the black church.

Peter Guralnick, 2002

The genre of soul music emerged out of a combination of gospel music and rhythm and blues (R&B) music. Although gospel had inspired secular black music for a long period, the transformation of a Gospel song 'My Jesus Means the World to Me' into a secular 'I Got a Woman' by Ray Charles – in cooperation with Ahmet Ertegun, the owner of Atlantic Records - established 'soul music' as a distinct kind of musical genre.

'Southern Soul' is the starting point of the genre. Southern Soul is named after the geographic area where it first developed – the South of the United States – where jazz, blues and rock 'n roll also stem from. Many soul artists come from the South, among others Ray Charles. In contrast to classic soul, neo soul has no specific place of origin within the United States of America. Neo soul music finds its origin in the US and is a relatively new music genre. It is a mixture of modern R&B, hip-hop and classic soul. Artists such as Tony! Toni! Tone! and D'Angelo are considered to be the voice of this genre. Erykah Badu, Angie Stone and Lauren Hill are also some of the most popular female artists within this genre. The name 'neo soul' was introduced in the nineties by Kedar Massenburg, the president of record label Motown. Neo soul exists for about 20 years at this point and there is a whole new generation of artists that make neo soul, for example Joss Stone, Alicia Keys and John Legend.

Soul music is a genre in which from the beginning onwards, record labels have greatly influenced the development of the genre. In fact, most people relate the term 'soul music' to Motown - a production label capitalizing on the growing popularity of soul music during the 1960's that developed a characteristic style of soul music. Southern soul music, or more specifically Memphis Soul, is a style of soul music associated with the Stax record label in Memphis Tennessee whose roster included soul artists such as Otis Redding and Isaac Hayes. Several other soul subgenres such as New Orleans Soul and Philadelphia Soul developed in relation to specific music labels. In the second chapter I will pay more attention to the largest record labels that influenced the development of soul music in the 1950's and 1960's.

The growth of the soul genre has a very explicit starting point. From 1954 onwards, soul music gained in popularity, mostly in the black community (Guralnick, 2002). In the early 1960's soul music flourished and gradually also a young white public became interested

in the soul music they heard on the radio. The popularity of the genre reached its peak in 1966 when a soul record of The Supremes (You Can't Hurry Love) reached the top of the pop charts. This was a revolutionary moment because soul music now was accessible for a mass audience and had crossed over to a white audience. Changes in the racial composition of the audience for soul music, in other words, went hand in hand with the growing popularity of the genre.

Racial differences have been a prominent factor in the emergence of music genres in the United States (Roy & Dowd, 2010). Roy and Dowd (2010: 27) state that 'the racialization of music has been at the core of commercial music since its origins.' The first genre of American commercial music – the minstrel – clearly illustrates the racial aspects of commercial music since the basis for the genre was the appreciation of the white American culture and discrimination of African Americans (Lott, 1995). Even though it is one of the more shameful chapters in American history, it was the first musical stage show and the origin of popular music in the United States. By painting their faces black and ridiculing black people, the visual culture around this music genre reinforced the idea of racial differences in exaggerated stereotypes.

Racial inequalities lasted into the era of recorded music. The different racial groups were targeted by different marketing programs because blacks also were a music buying party. At first music labels also explicitly labelled the music by and for African Americans as race music, but after some time the moniker 'rhythm and blues' was introduced for 'black music' and names such as 'country & western' for music for rural, white people (Dowd 2003; Peterson 1997; Roy, 2004). Roy and Dowd (2010) also state that the alignment of a genre with racial boundaries is in part determined by well-placed individuals such as journalists.

Several studies showed that discrimination against marginal groups in society has an influence on genre formation and genre trajectories (Cantwell, 1984; Crouch, 2007; Lott, 1995). The development of soul music is also closely related to (changing) racial boundaries, oppression and discrimination. Soul music as a musical genre was initially strongly linked to the racial group of African Americans. During the Civil Rights Movement, soul music was, for example, seen as a politically charged kind of music – expressing the struggles of repressed and discriminated African Americans.

The music was considered an embodiment of change for black communities. The (crossover) success of soul grew simultaneously with social changes. The success of soul music could, for example, be related to changing attitudes towards race in the United States and the success of the Civil Rights Movement in pushing towards racial equality. Similar to

the growing acceptance and success of jazz (Peterson, 1972; Lopes, 1992), the success of soul music could also have been related to broad social changes in racial discrimination.

In the case of neo soul there is no specific relation between racial repression and the genre. Neo soul is more about honouring the classic soul message and artists. The function of the music differs from the function of the classic genre. Neo soul could be perceived as classic soul in an advanced stage.

THE GENRE TRAJECTORY OF SOUL MUSIC

Cultural genres change over time. The development of genres differs but there is a certain pattern, which is called a genre trajectory. The study of 'genre trajectories' has been a small but growing field of study within the sociology of art and culture. For example, Baumann (2001) studied the intellectualization of film or how film as a cultural genre changed from being considered as a lower form of entertainment to a legitimate form of art. Drawing upon an analysis of film reviews, Baumann describes how films became appreciated as art. Other examples include Peterson (1967) on jazz, Peterson (1997) on country music, and Lopes (1992) on jazz. Later on these studies will be explained into further detail.

The main theoretical foundation for the study of genre developments used in this thesis is the work by Jennifer Lena and Richard Peterson (2008). Lena and Peterson propose a model that reflects the most common genre trajectory. Drawing upon the academic literature on 60 music genres, they attempt to create ideal types of the different forms and trajectories of music genres. They argue that music genres can take on four forms: Avant-garde, Scene-based, Industry-based and Traditionalist. The Avant-garde stage is characterized by a small amount of participants who meet informally and irregularly. These groups of supporters are called 'the creative circle'. The genre ideal is to create new music, which is highly experimental at this point and is played in, for example, bars or empty spaces. A scene-based genre is known in a local scene but can also be 'translocal': through media attention in fanzines the genre gets known among scene members. Also, the use of innovative technology characterizes the Scene-based stage. The Industry-based genre form owes its name to the dominant organizational form of the genre, the industrial corporation. In the Industry-based stage large corporations produce and distribute a genre.

Industry-based genres also receive promotion and attention from the national media. The genre covers an established field national or worldwide. The fourth genre form is the traditionalist genre stage in which 'genre participants' aim to preserve a genre's musical heritage and to inculcate the rising generation of devotees in the performance techniques,

history, and rituals of the genre (Lena and Peterson, 2008: 706). Fans and organizations are, in other words, dedicated to construct the history of the genre and explain the role of the performers (Lee, 2007; Regev, 1994; Rosenberg, 1985 in: Lena and Peterson, 2008). Moreover, an important aspect of the Traditionalist stage is that people keep the genre ‘alive’ by discussing it.

According to Lena and Peterson, most genres can take on these four forms in their development and go through these four ‘stages’, and therefore pass through three transitions. The dominant genre trajectory found by Lena and Peterson is called the AgSIT trajectory. A genre first develops as an Avant-garde form, becomes a Scene-based musical form, goes through an Industry-based phase and finally ends as a Traditionalist genre form. Examples of genres that went through this trajectory are Rock ‘n Roll, Salsa and Gospel.

Although this is the trajectory that most genres follow, Lena and Peterson also observed different trajectories for several genres, among which: soul music. According to Lena and Peterson, the soul genre did not originate within avant-garde creative circles or scenes but within the industry. The genre was developed in close cooperation between artists such as Ray Charles and arrangers, producers and industry personnel such as Ahmet Ertegun – owner of Atlantic Records. Industry personnel at labels such as Motown Records in Detroit and Stax Records in Memphis also contributed strongly to the subsequent development of soul music and subgenres of soul. Motown, for example, became successful at developing a ‘softer’ version of soul music. In other words, the corporations that produced soul music played an important role in the genre development. According to Lena and Peterson, the soul genre, in other words, had an a-typical trajectory whereby it started in the Industry-based stage, followed by a Scene-based phase and also went through the Traditionalist stage (IST). This IST trajectory has been relatively understudied.

After its initial Industry-based stage, soul was predominantly Scene-based in the second half of the 1970’s, the 1980’s and the first half of the 1990’s. Well-known artists such as Al Green and Marvin Gaye kept producing songs in this period of time. Their sound, however, was much more ‘poppy’ than the sound of for example Ray Charles and Otis Redding. During the 1970’s the genre had already become popular in Europe (Northern Soul). Soul was mostly played in soul clubs in Europe as well as in the United States. The most famous clubs are: Golden Torch, Stoke, Blackpool Mecca and Wigan Casino. At the end of the 1970’s the Wigan Casino received criticism from visitors when the genre was influenced by other popular genres such as funk and disco. James Brown is an example of an artist who mixed soul with funk and Marvin Gaye used elements of disco. The

influence of this genre was perceived as a negative one by fans of classic soul music. The scene, in other words, protected its boundaries. It also resulted in a change in the composition of the audience. The changed sound was called progressive but the popularity was strongly reduced. Eventually, soul reached the Traditionalist stage in the 1990s. Under influence of the growing hip-hop culture, which emerged in the 1970s in New York, and the smooth contemporary R&B, performers tried to revitalize the soul genre by drawing upon the founders of the genre.

To study this atypical genre trajectory of soul music, I aim to compare two periods within the genre development of soul music, the classic soul period (from 1954 to 1970) and the neo soul period (from 1995 to 2007). The classic soul period describes the peak popularity of soul in the 1970's until the 1980's when it lost much of its popularity. The neo soul period describes a period in the genre trajectory of soul music when younger generations of artists 'revitalise' the genre by returning to the roots of the genre and efforts to preserve the cultural heritage of the genre. This period could describe the development of the traditionalist form of soul music. When neo soul artists started out in the 1990's it soon became apparent that they were not planning on letting the heritage of soul music go. This is expressed in their lyrics, in the use of their voice and instruments and also in, for example, the use of particular rhythm schemes. Artists such as Angie Stone and Alicia Keys often bring odes to their inspirations, refer to the founders of soul as their main influences, and draw continuities between themselves and artists like Ray Charles, Marvin Gaye, etc. (Billboard, July 2002: 30). However, neo soul is also characterized by influences from hip-hop (as in the case of Lauryn Hill) and R&B music, but neo soul genre positions itself as distinct from these two contemporary genres.

To compare these two periods within the genre development of soul, I analyse newspaper attention to soul music in the form of reviews and articles about soul music in the US quality newspapers: the Los Angeles Times and the New York Times. According to among others, Schmutz (2009), Dowd (2003) and Lena and Peterson (2008), the media play an important role in genre trajectories. Especially from the Industry-based stage onwards, the media start to promote a certain genre actively to mass audiences.

National media bring Industry-based genres to the attention of a mass audience. One of the characteristics of the Industry-based stage in which classic soul finds itself in the 1950's and 1960's, is that the national media pay attention to the genre. Since this Industry-based stage is the starting point for the genre, I decided to study national media that pay attention to culture and music in particular. Eventually this led to two widely circulated

newspapers: the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times. Scene-based genres, on the other hand, can be supported through scene-based media such as fanzines and internet communities. By studying the content of newspaper coverage of soul music in two different time frames, I hope to be able to say more about the development of soul music in the second half of the twentieth century. The objective is to find indications of the genre trajectory in media expressions. This results in the following main research question: *How is the genre trajectory of soul music reflected in changes in media attention on this genre in the L.A. Times and N.Y. Times?*

THE SOCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

One of the dominant approaches of studying genres is to place the development, production, distribution and reception of genres in a social context. ‘Genre organizes the production and consumption of cultural material, including organizational procedures and influences tastes and the larger structures of stratification in which they are embedded’ (Lena and Peterson, 2008: 698). Not only is the development of music genres partly determined by social circumstances, a genre is also often used to express social identity or status. In the case of soul music the social status of African Americans was related to the origins of soul music.

The relevance of studying soul music is threefold. Firstly, the study of the genre trajectory of soul music is relevant because of the lack of studies on the soul genre. Most of the existing literature on soul is fairly dated. Peter Guralnick (2002), Haralambos (1974) and Phyl Garland (1970) wrote the most important works on soul music but the last work was published in the eighties. The study of Lena and Peterson is very recent, and to apply their model to a specific genre is scientifically relevant. Secondly, by focusing on the media attention to soul music within the L.A. Times and the N.Y. Times I expand the range of data used to study genre trajectories. Lena and Peterson base their analysis on academic literature only and do not pay any attention to discourses in newspapers. In their article they state that more research is needed to assess the role of institutions such as the media in the development of a music genre. Thirdly, the soul trajectory deviates from the genre trajectory most genres go through. It is relevant to zoom in on this genre in particular since it has not often been the object of study, most certainly not in the light of the developed model of Lena and Peterson.

In the last section of this thesis I will compare the theoretical ideas of Lena and Peterson to my constructs to answer the following question: *To what extent are the attributes of the genre stages of the IST model applicable to the trajectory of the soul genre?* This I do to be able to determine to what extent their model needs revision or elaboration.

OVERVIEW THESIS

In chapter two I will first describe the social context of the genre trajectory of soul music. In chapter three I will describe the development of soul music as explained by the genre trajectory model of Lena and Peterson (2008). In both chapters I will also pay attention to the role of the media in the development of soul music, throughout history and theoretically. In the fourth chapter I will explain how I collected and coded my newspaper data. In the fifth and sixth chapter I present the analysis and conclusions.

2. The historical development of soul music: artists, record labels, media and social context

Soul music is a product of a particular time and place, the bitter fruit of segregation, transformed into a statement of warmth and affirmation. This was the backdrop for the evolution of soul, an exciting time, a dangerous time, a time of exhilarating self-discovery. That is the historical context.

Peter Guralnick, 2002

The development of a genre is subject to different factors. These factors of influence can be divided in micro and macro. On the micro level there are, for example, individual characteristics of an artist that can play a role in the development of a genre such as for example an artist's performance, use of instruments and voice techniques. Macro factors are the field of music and the record industry. Besides these factors that are directly related to the music genre there are also contextual factors that are of influence. The political climate, the extent of racial segregation and other social-demographic factors can determine the development of a genre. In this chapter I will define soul music, describe which artists are key figures in this genre, which record labels were most influential, and describe the broader social context that can influence the development of the genre.

THE LEADING ARTISTS WITHIN THE SOUL GENRE

Historical analyses of a music genre often try to identify a starting point of the genre. Very often the starting point of a genre is attributed to the 'discovery' of one particular 'creative genius': Rock 'n' roll was the invention of Elvis Presley, Bebop of Charlie Parker, Impressionism was 'discovered' by Monet. Similarly, the claim is often made that the genre of soul music started with Ray Charles in 1954. He was born in 1930 in the South, as Ray Charles Robinson in Albany (Georgia) and he grew up in Greenville (Florida). He and his family were extremely poor. He became blind at the age of six. He has been described as feeling isolated from friends and family, especially after his mother died when he was only fifteen years old. After the death of his mother, he quit school, moved to Jacksonville and began his professional career as a musician. At the age of 17 he took all his savings and moved to Seattle, where he easily picked up the life he had left in Florida. He played in many different clubs such as the Elks Club and the Rocking Chair. In 1952 Ray Charles was signed by Atlantic Records. It was after being signed to and during his time at Atlantic Records that

Ray Charles developed a musical style that was considered as the starting point of soul music. Ahmet Ertegun started Atlantic records in 1947 in New York. He specialized in jazz, R&B and soul. In 1953 Ertegun started a collaboration with Jerry Wexler. After 40 years of pioneering and signing artists such as Aretha Franklin and John Coltrane they both were honoured in the Hall of Fame.

The specific musical innovation that Ray Charles developed at Atlantic Records was the combination of two previously distinct types of musical genres – the ‘sacred’ gospel music and the ‘profane’ black musical genre of rhythm and blues. His first merger of gospel and rhythm and blues was his recording of a secular, rhythm and blues version of a gospel song *I got a woman* that was originally titled *My Jesus Is All The World To Me. What I’d Say* was another example of a song in which Ray Charles merged gospel and rhythm and blues. The song became a monument. *What I’d say* was released in 1959 and recorded in 1958. Ray Charles improvised the song at a night when he performed and had time left while he played all of the existing songs (Charles and Ritz, 1978).

Ray Charles’ songs are explicitly influenced by gospel, which is expressed in for example the use of emotional singing techniques such as shouts, screams and broken cries (Haralambos, 1974). Also, the way the lyrics are sung is very emotional and artists use the preaching style of black ministers – a style of singing that was later made famous by James Brown who often used features of gospel such as screams in his singing style.

Although Ray Charles has been ‘consecrated’ as the inventor of soul music, the genre of soul music quickly spurred a number of other ‘soul geniuses’. One of the most famous artists - who was signed respectively at Stax and Atlantic - was Otis Redding. His consecration into the soul canon perhaps owed much to his tragic death in a plane crash. Although he had produced a lot of songs in the short period of time in which he was an artist, his biggest hit (*Sitting on the) Dock of the Bay* was released after he already had passed away. One of Otis Reddings’ less well-known songs – *Respect* – was covered in 1967 by one of the female representatives of the soul genre - Aretha Franklin. The song not only became a big hit for Atlantic Records but also had political significance as an anthem of the black community. Due to her Baptist upbringing and her singing of gospel as a child, Aretha Franklin had developed a characteristically expressive singing style that was especially fitted for the soul merger of gospel and rhythm and blues. Nina Simone is also often considered as one of soul’s most influential female performers.

Aretha may have provided the anthem of the black community; Nina Simone was considered as the voice of the black revolution. Simone was born as Eunice Waymon in North

Carolina. Being a child prodigy she played the piano by the age of four and with the help of her music teacher was able to study at the Juilliard School of Music in New York. After her education she decided to help her family financially and started working in a bar in Atlantic City in the summer of 1954 where she first started singing and changed her name into Nina Simone. At the end of the 1950s she recorded her first album with songs that touched upon gospel, jazz, classic music and blues. Simone was an exceptional soul singer and many people referred to her as ‘the voice of the black revolution’. In interviews she often talked about racial issues and the struggle for racial equality and as such Nina Simone became an exemplar of the growing ‘politicization’ of the soul genre.

Similar to the story of the ‘classic soul’ period, the neo soul genre is also associated with a number of ‘leading artists’. The development and start of neo soul is often related to Erykah Badu who is called by semi-scholar McIver (2002) ‘the first lady of neo soul’. Erica Arbie Wright was born in 1971 in Dallas. The development of neo soul by Erica Badu is also perceived as a result of being at the crossroads of two music genres. On the one hand, as a child Erica Badu listened to the classic soul music played by her mother, such as Marvin Gaye, Chaka Khan and Stevie Wonder. On the other hand, by the time Erica Badu and her sister became older, they were influenced by the contemporary black music genre of hip-hop. Badu participated actively in the hiphop community and for example engaging in rap battles. Hip-hop therefore played an important role in her musical development. A similar mutual influence of both classic soul music and modern hiphop is found in the lives and works of other artists associated with the neo soul movement such as Angie Stone, D’Angelo and India Arie. They, in other words, combined the music they got acquainted with at a young age through the music of their parents with the music of their own peer group.

SOUL AND THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

Although the emphasis on the ‘individual performers’ or ‘creative geniuses’ is an intuitive way to describe the start and development of a music genre, the sociological literature on genres and genre development emphasizes how artistic products are ‘collective efforts’ in which the artist or performer is only one among several actors that contribute to the development and trajectory of a genre ‘world’. The definition of genre that Lena and Peterson (2008) use emphasizes this collaborative nature: ‘genres are systems of orientations, expectations, and conventions that bind together an industry, performers, critics and fans in making what they identify as a distinct sort of music.’ (Lena and Peterson, 2008: 698) In this section I therefore look more closely at the role of record labels in the development of soul as

a music genre.

Several record labels have had a great influence on the development of soul. One of the biggest and most famous record labels is Motown. Motown records was established by Berry Gordy jr. Gordy was born in 1929 and came from a family of eight and grew up during the Great Depression. As a young man he wanted to be a songwriter but army service prevented this from succeeding. After a short career at Ford, he became the owner of the record label Motown in Detroit (George, 1985). Gordy was successful in bringing together musical talent and careful managing artists such as Mary Wells, The Supremes, Marvin Gaye, The Temptations and Stevie Wonder. In 1988 he sold his share of the company to EMI for 61 million dollars.

The sound of soul music was very much influenced by the record labels such as Motown and its owner Berry Gordy. In his book about the sound of soul, Hirshey (1994) describes how the distinctive characteristics of the soul sound (such as the use of specific instruments such as the tambourine, the ‘call and response’ singing technique, etc.) were carefully constructed by the label owners – indicating that the creative decisions were very often made by the record executives rather than the musical performers. This not only applied to ‘The Motown Sound’ (consisting of orchestration, string sections, charted horn sections, carefully arranged harmonies and other more refined pop music production techniques) but also other successful record companies such as Stax, Soul Train Records and Atlantic developed their own specific sound and musical conventions and thereby creating clearly identifiable ‘styles’ of soul music.

Not only do record labels influence the musical characteristics of a genre, sometimes the ‘name’ of a genre – and therefore the ‘existence’ of a genre – often has its origin within the music industry. The term ‘neo soul’ was, for example, made up by the president of record label Motown - Kedar Massenburg - as a marketing strategy to label and group the breakthrough of soul artists such as Maxwell and India Arie. Also in the case of neo soul, record labels seem to have been at the forefront of the genre development. Interestingly enough, some of the labels with roots in soul music, such as Motown, also signed neo soul artists. However, neo soul artists were also embraced by ‘general’ and major record labels. Erykah Badu for example was signed by Universal Records before she came to Motown. Ex-boyfriend D’Angelo had a contract with EMI, Virgin and J Records. Alicia Keys started out at Columbia but also has been signed by Arista and J records. Angie Stone has also been with J but has now joined the reactivated Stax record label – engaging in a kind of a ‘return to the roots’ practice.

MEDIA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUL

Media are also highly influential actors in the development of music genres and their trajectories. This includes both the media by which music is distributed and reaches an audience such as radio and television but also the media such as academic and popular books on a genre and newspaper critics that write and discuss musical genres and therefore contribute to the way it is perceived and understood. Here I will focus on the role of radio and television in the development of soul music.

In one of his books Maarten van Rossum (2001) provides a despatch of the development of several media in the United States of America. When the radio first entered American society in 1920 it became an actual mania. Within a year, radio gained enormous popularity. People made their own radios and radio stations. Due to the First World War radio parts were easy to get your hands on. These radios were used during the war but became redundant when the war ended. At first the way that the content was made for radio shows was quite amateurish. Musicians and singers thought it was an honour to play for such a large audience and so there were at first no financial interests. But it did not take long for it to become a business. Radio stations had to pay broadcasting rights to be able to broadcast shows, since everybody worked for free until then funding was never needed. But now the radio stations had to gain a source of income. In 1922 American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), that owned a radio station in New York, came up with the idea to sell air time to broadcast commercials. AT&T also thought of the idea to broadcast via telephone cables and eventually form a network between radio stations. In 1926 AT&T sold their network to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Because NBC owned two stations it was forced by the government in 1926 to sell one of the stations. The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) became the owner. There was one other small competitor left, which was the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). ABC, NBC and CBS are still the biggest players in the television industry.

Developments within the radio industry after the Second World War had complex but important influences on the development on the musical landscape of the US and thereby also on the development of soul music. One of the most important transformations consisted of the development of television and the subsequent reorientation of the networks towards television and away from radio (Peterson, 1990; Ennis, 1992; Dowd, 2003).

Ennis (1992) describes in his book 'The Seventh Stream' how the local radio stations played an important part in drawing attention to music and how the television in part replaced this function by for example broadcasting performances. Technology plays an ongoing role in

the development of the spreading of music. From the beginning of the 20th century music as a product was spread by the recording of music by radio and film industries (Dowd, 2003). The radio became the number one medium to get acquainted with music. In the course of time the number of radio stations grew along with the rise of television.

Television was expected to replace radio. This was due to a larger financial investment in television, which meant that there was less money available for the radio stations.

The networks removed their objection to the licensing of many additional radio stations. The dominant networks distanced themselves from their monopoly and a lot of space became available to make radio in. This resulted in the emergence of hundreds of independent radio stations. To be able to still air programs, less live music and radio shows were played. More often DJ's played records since this was cheaper. This resulted in a partnership between radio stations and record labels. Record labels wanted exposure for their artists and give away the music if it were played on the radio. The radio was depending on the record labels and the record labels were depending on the radio because the exposure of their music on air lead to a growth in record sales. At first there were a few radio stations and about eight record companies. When the radio stations started to air more different genres, there was no longer an oligopoly on the specific sound the record companies had produced up until now. The existing record companies were not able to produce anything else than the mainstream sound they had been producing for years. The niche market that first started existing among radio stations now also started to reflect on the emergence of record labels. A lot of genres that were played did not have their own specific record label, the market was not adapted to the growth of new genres. As Van Venrooij states (2009: 46): 'Due to struggles within and between these industries, the opportunity space opened up for small labels to create the niche market of race music, thereby institutionalizing racial categories within the structure of the American music industry.' Record companies grew into the market by creating a distinctive sound. Examples of record companies who did this are: Motown, Stax and A&M.

In short: The competition of television has had a positive influence on the appreciation of music genres. Due to the scattered attention to music over several media, radio stations had to distinct themselves to preserve an audience. Radio stations had to air more original and new music genres. This is where soul music became an often played genre. In retrospect you could say that the arrival of several other media such as television has provided the base for the growth of the soul genre.

SOCIAL CONTEXT: SOUL MUSIC AND RACIAL BOUNDARIES

Broader societal changes and structures also can influence the development of music genres. In the case of popular music in the United States racial relations have been very important to how popular music and its genres developed. The social relations between whites and blacks in the US have influenced the production, distribution and reception of many popular music genres, including soul music. From its earliest inception, the US field of popular music was in important ways organized and constructed along racial boundaries. As argued by Roy and Dowd (2010: 27), ‘the racialization of music has been at the core of commercial music in America since its origins.’ Genres tend to have either white or black audiences, are interpreted as characteristically ‘white’ or ‘black’ music and white and black audiences use music to differentiate themselves from each other and to express their ‘racial identities’. According to Roy and Dowd (2010), this ‘racialization’ does not ‘simply happen’ and it is therefore important to identify those actors that are involved in creating, maintaining and sometimes dissolving the racial characteristics of music genres. Important actors are, according to Roy and Dowd (2010) music companies, listeners, and (both academic and journalistic) critics.

On the production side, the ‘racialization’ of music genres musical markets were divided into ‘black’ and ‘white’ music markets whereby the commercial marketing of music was explicitly devised to target racially segregated audiences (Roy, 2004). ‘Race music’ was the very explicit label used to designate the production of music by black musicians for a market of black audiences. Especially in the beginning, soul music was a music genre made by black artists. In some cases as Motown Records, African Americans also owned the labels – strengthening the identity of soul music as a black musical genre. In other cases such as Atlantic Records, although the performers were mostly black the owners were white and often from upper-class social background.

The distribution and reception of soul music was also ‘racialized’. Racial boundaries were, for example, also visible in the way soul music was distributed through radio. In his study of the extent of radio time for soul in the 1960s, Haralambos (1974) finds that soul music was mostly played on ‘black’ radio - radio stations with mainly black audiences. More than 90 percent of the radio time of these stations was dedicated to soul music. Haralambos (1974) concludes that black audiences preferred soul music over other genres.

In the reception of popular music in general and soul in particular, racial relations separate the audiences for different genres.

The reception of soul music as a ‘black’ genre, was also strengthened by the way in which classic soul music was connected to the Civil Rights Movement and the struggle for

racial equality. Until the 1960s, racial segregation remained virulent in the Southern States of the US. The Jim Crow laws legalized racial segregation. The Civil Rights Movement led by – Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks and others inspired the black community to hold their ground. Artists such as Curtis Mayfield emphasized the political motives of soul music:

‘You know, to talk about the sixties almost brings tears into my eyes. What we did. What we all did. We changed the world-me, us, Smokey Robinson, Jerry Butler, The Temptations, Aretha, Otis, Gladys Knight, James Brown. We really did. Barriers broke down for us. And for all black musicians afterwards. I mean, to have lived through that, and to have been part of that, is more than anyone can ask’ (Gurlanick, 1996: 20).

Similar to other social movements (Roscigno and Danaher, 2001), the political struggle of the black community was supported by music was a way to express themselves.

Academic and journalistic critics also contribute to the racialization of a music genre when they interpret, describe and associate the meanings of musical genre in terms of ‘racial characteristics’. In her studies on media attention concerning rap music and heavy metal, Binder (1993: 753) states that the racial composition of audiences are a factor that structures the perception and evaluation of a music genre in terms of broader beliefs about race. Similarly, soul singers were (and perhaps still are) for example interpreted by critics as voicing the experience of being black and living in poverty. Racial divisions in music were never static but a result of historical developments (Van Venrooij, 2009).

Academic critic Haralambos, for example, goes even as far as arguing that changes in the music reflect changes in the social position of the group the genre belongs to: ‘the changes apparent in the course of this musical development reflect the transmutation of the African, who did not believe he would be here forever, into the black American, who knew his plight was irreversible and therefore had to find new methods of adjusting to a generally hostile and oppressive environment.’ (1974: 43). Haralambos explains that the development in music which eventually lead to soul, are a result of the transformation the black men went through. African Americans had to adjust to society and claim a part of it as their own to feel at home. Since they were repressed as a group this was something they expressed in music. This interpretation of Haralambos shows how academic and journalistic critics emphasize the racial background of a musical genre and fundamentally categorize it as a ‘black genre’. In our analysis of the newspaper discourse on soul music, this association of a genre with a particular racial category will be one of the focal points.

3. Theoretical framework: genre trajectories

‘Nothing more clearly affirms one’s ‘class,’ nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music.’

Bourdieu (1984: 18)

Critics are perceived as ‘institutional gatekeepers’ in cultural industries (Van Venrooij, 2008). In newspapers critics publicly evaluate cultural products. Cultural products such as music genres go through a legitimisation process. In several studies, Shyon Baumann (2001; 2006) studies the legitimation of film as art and she explains this from sociological literature about social movements. The recognition of art is a social process that not only depends on the quality of the cultural product but also on the recognition of the product. For example the popularity of rock ’n roll is not only determined by the talent of Elvis Presley, it boosts the genre but individual success does not make a genre successful in general.

So why do some cultural products do get recognition and others do not? Baumann (2006) describes an analogy between social movement, success and recognition as art. Three explanatory factors are of great importance: exogenous factors (opportunity space), endogenous factors (resources) and legitimating ideology.

Baumann (2006) explains how the opportunity space changed due to the arrival of television and post-secondary education. The arrival of television resulted in a decline of cinema attendants. But more important than the decline of the audience, is the change of composition of the audience. The legitimating of a film as an art product also relates to the construction of the audience. When a high end audience is associated with the product, this can legitimate the film as art. At first film was associated with blue color and thus received a status of lowbrow culture. After the Second World War, from 1950 onwards, many people became highly educated. These students became the new group of people who visited the cinema. With this changed audience it became possible to see film as niche product. This translates to a changed opportunity space. The institutionalization of film is due to film festivals and linkages to universities. Festivals and the linkage to universities both bestow the opportunity to judge a movie and therefore divide quality products (Baumann, 2001). Because film was accepted as a cultural product, movies could be compared to each other and the artistic value therefore could be determined. Eventually at the end of the 1950’s and during the 1960’s, films could become an art form (Baumann, 2001). Within the film world a lot of efforts were made to get rid of the negative image, for example by creating festivals and

awards. The festivals and the awards labeled quality. Another example of an endogenous factor is the fact that academics started to pay attention to film. ‘A classification as art rather than entertainment implies that the artistic value of a cultural product can be justified according to a set of conventions’ (Baumann, 2006: 411). The studying of film enabled people to form an esthetic standard with in which one could label film as art. The applications of this set of standards makes it possible to legitimize film as art. According to Lopes (2002) this principal also applies to jazz music. ‘One component of the rise of a jazz art world was the establishment of jazz criticism which evaluated jazz in a manner that mirrored the criticism of legitimate music’ (Lopes, 2002). Critics determine how a film was perceived and whether or not it can be considered art. Critics can therefore reflect and influence the trajectory of a genre.

Peterson (1990) spotted similar developments in music as Baumann (2001; 2002; 2006) did in film. They both see the emergence of a cultural product as a result of opportunities that society provides. These two studies are two good examples of how changes in society enable cultural products to acquire a standing in society. Richard Peterson engaged in researching genres and has studied genre trajectories throughout his career. Several genres such as jazz and country has been research topics. Jazz for example was a subject of his research to observe what changes the composition of the audience went through and what role the industry played while becoming popular music (1972). Also, Peterson devoted three papers to country music (1978, 1997, 2001). He studied the institutional structure of the field and compared this to the field of pop music. Eventually Lena and Peterson (2008) tried to generalize genre trajectories by observing sixty genres in academic and popular press to be able to say more about the progression of genres trough time. In this chapter I will discuss Peterson’s studies and Lena and Peterson’s research into further detail, but first I will define the concept of a ‘genre’.

WHAT IS A GENRE?

DiMaggio (1987: 441) defines a genre as ‘a kind or type of art’. When a genre can be determined by several characteristics it becomes possible for, for example, critics to place cultural products into categories. In social-scientific approaches to culture, genre is usually defined as a product of social interaction (Roy and Dowd, 2010). A genre can be defined as ‘a conceptual tool most often used to classify varieties of cultural products, particularly in the fields of visual art, popular culture, video games, film, literature, and music’ (Lena and Peterson, 2008: 697). Studying genre boundaries and changes in genre trajectories is relevant

since genres emerge and disappear. The development of genres is reflected upon by different scholars. Baumann (2001, 2006) explains that a cultural product not only captures a place in society, it is also a part of a larger concept of genre classification. The success of a social movement is a process of legitimisation that is parallel to artistic legitimisation. Genres are related to culture consumption, as an expression of social identity or status.

Neale (1980:19) defined music genres in a striking way: ‘we define music 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.’ Studying genre boundaries and changes in genre trajectories is relevant since genres emerge and disappear. The development of genres is reflected upon by different parties. In Western societies, music is often evaluated by the media. The media respond to and review genres, as in the case of newspapers, they write about CD’s, concerts, artists and so on. The question is whether or not newspaper reporting reflects the changes in genre trajectories. The theoretical foundation for this question will for the bigger part be based in the genre trajectory model of Lena and Peterson (2008), but first I will define the genre concept.

The genre concept is implemented in society in many ways. Groups and individuals use the genre concept to define cultural boundaries. It organizes, and therefore clarifies, cultural production and consumption (Ahlkvist and Faulkner, 2002; Ballard, Dodson, and Bazzini, 1999; Becker, 1982; Bielby and Bielby, 1994; Griswold, 1987; Hirsch, 1972; Negus, 1999: in Lena and Peterson, 2008)). Cultural production and consumption is also closely related to social stratification since the consumption of a genre in some cases is limited to a social stratum. In cultural sociology scholars often use the social stratification approach to explain the consumption and production of cultural products such as music. This approach is related to social stratification and social identity based on cultural consumption and the availability of genres (Bourdieu, 1984).

This trajectory also applies to music genres as has been shown by Richard Peterson. He has written many articles about the development of specific genres such as jazz, country and rock music (Peterson, 1990, 1997). In case of rock for example, which had emerged at a fast pace in the mid 50’s in the United States. Peterson wonders why that had happened at *that* time. The most commonly cited influences are the arrival of creative individuals such as Elvis Presley, the change in composition of the audience due to the baby boom after the Second World War, the commercialization and the growth of the record industry and radio and television broadcasting (Peterson, 1990). Technological developments also play an important role according to Peterson in the development of music genres, and rock music in particular.

Television became a popular medium in the beginning of the 1950's and many people predicted this medium would replace radio since you could listen to music while seeing images. However, radio did not disappear. On the contrary, the portable radio was invented and became very popular, especially among teenagers. However, since the major radio networks had transferred their resources to television, radio stations – which quickly arose in large numbers – needed new material to play and actively sought out new performers from musical traditions that were previously ignored – such as country and western and rhythm and blues - by the industry that was committed to the big-band-crooner style. In other words, the radio offered an original musical program due to the competition of television, and genres that otherwise would not have been aired, now were.

The fields of R&B and country and western consequently developed and flourished, and from the crossover of these two genres, rock 'n' roll emerged in the 1950s. In both this study by Peterson as well as Baumann, media attention is therefore considered to be of big influence on the development of genre trajectories.

In his paper on social and symbolic boundaries in newspaper coverage of music, Schmutz studies sixty years of news reporting (1955-2005) in four countries: The Netherlands, France, Germany and the United States. 'National newspapers are a highly visible site where the interplay between symbolic and social boundaries plays out and provide a good data source for longitudinal, cross-national comparisons' (Peterson, 2005; Janssen et al., 2008: in Schmutz, 2009; 299). Within newspapers there is room for legitimating aesthetics, especially in national newspapers because they pay attention to cultural products such as music. Schmutz used the New York Times as a data source for the US and he concludes from his analysis that there is a steady increase in attention that is paid to popular music. He relates the increase of media attention to the interest in male and female artists. It appears that when media attention increases, writers pay more attention to male artists than to female artists.

Similar to the trajectory of legitimising film, popular music had to go a long way before it was acknowledged as an art product. In Schmutz's research he paints a picture of how cultural products, such as popular music, become more meaningful in the cultural field. Where Schmutz studied genre development on a micro level Lena and Peterson focus on analysing the cultural field concerning music on a macro level and illustrate how genre trajectories differ.

TYPES AND TRAJECTORIES OF MUSIC GENRES

A genre is not just a sort of music, it also has many different functions and roles in society. People and organizations are connected to a genre and form communities or 'genre worlds'. Jennifer Lena and Richard Peterson focused on genre trajectories for several years. Among others, they studied country music and in 2008 they proposed a model in which the stages a music genre goes through, are made explicit. This model gives meaning to developments in music genres within a certain timeframe. Each music community is characterised by Lena and Peterson (2008) by clusters of 12 attributes that results in four stages that a music genre can go through: Avant-garde, Scene-based, Industry based, and Traditionalist. To research whether or not all music genres progress through all four stages, they studied sixty genres in the United States to find 'uniformities in the forms of music genres and regularities in their trajectories'. What they discovered is that music genres over time take on different forms that are roughly comparable. The authors present three models based on the stage in which the genre starts. Two-thirds start their trajectory in the Avant-garde stage and one-third in the Industry based stage. In the next paragraph I will shortly explain what attributes Lena and Peterson drew up. After which I will make the model more tangible by giving examples of these stages within several different genres.

The attributes that define Lena and Peterson's stages within the genre trajectory: (1) *Organisational Form*, which is about the sort of scene the genre is known in. This can vary from a small creative circle to the established field. (2) *Organisational Scale*: the geographical spread of the genre varying from local to worldwide. Also Internet is a factor in determining the scale. (3) *Organisational Locus* of music production is about the concrete places where the genre can be found, such as bars and festivals. The fourth attribute is about what the makers of music want to achieve: (4) *Genre Ideal or Genre Goals*. (5) *Codification of Performance Conventions* refers to which parties are influencing the performance of artists. Is the product purely a result of a creative outburst or does for example a record label have a say in what the result should be like? Then there is (6) the role of *Technology*. Technology can be used to experiment or to preserve the sound of a specific genre as much as possible. The extent of media attention is the seventh attribute: (7) *Press Coverage*. (8) *Boundary Work* is about how the genre tries to distinct itself from other genres or for example the market. The last attributes are: the identity work of participants, including their (9) *Dress* and (10) *Argot*; (11) *Sources of Income for Artists*; and (12) the varying *Sources of Genre Names*. The authors conclude that combinations of these attributes form the four different stages (Avant-garde, Scene-based, Industry-based and Traditionalist) a genre could possibly go through.

THE STAGES INTO FURTHER DETAIL

In *The Seventh Stream* Phillip Ennis explains how there are seven music streams, namely: pop, black pop, country pop, jazz, folk, gospel and rock 'n roll. These music streams have formed the basis for many other genres. The Avant-garde stage and the Scene-based stage will be explained by two of these music streams. After which I will also provide examples of the Industry-based stage and the Traditionalist stage.

The Avant-garde stage (1) is characterized by a small amount of participants who meet informally and irregularly. These groups of supporters are called 'the creative circle'. The genre ideal is to create new music, which is highly experimental at this point and is expressed in bars or empty spaces for example. The experimental ethos is often expressed in the way the members dress and in some cases in their argot. The genres in this stage are formed around a group of members who dislike the mainstream music of that specific time. An example of a stage that started out in the Avant-garde stage is gospel. Gospel formed the basis for the existence of soul music. There are several kinds of gospel like for example black and white gospel. Black gospel started out in the first decade of the twentieth century and white gospel followed in the second half of this century (McNeil, 2005). From the beginning the institutional locus of gospel was in churches throughout the country (Ennis, 1992). Black gospel started out with a small group of African American religious people who expressed themselves via gospel music. Gospel had a very specific way to dress and the singers did not receive money for their work. Soon a community started to grow around this genre. Due to live performances and media such as radio and television the genre reached beyond the church circuit. Gospel gathered a larger audience as a result of among others the growth of the record industry (Ennis, 1992). Gospel is a genre that clearly fits into Lena and Peterson's model. Peterson studied several other genres such as jazz that also fit into the model he finally formulated. His studies on jazz and rock will be described to clarify that model.

In 1972 Peterson published a study on a process model of the folk, pop and fine art phases of jazz. This study was released a long time before he created the genre trajectory model but his explanations of the genre processes of jazz and rock 'n roll fit into it. Peterson provides an explanation for the emergence of jazz. Jazz started out in the Avant-garde stage in the years following the First World War. The music that was popular at the time had 'become repetitious and boring', jazz was a response to the current musical field. In the Avant-garde stage, genres act against established music. On a different level one could say that jazz went through the Scene-based stage as well. The white community was drawn to jazz music

because the black community that produced the music symbolized rebellion and deviance. Before I will go into further detail on the transition from the Scene-based stage to the Industry-based stage, I will explain the specific characteristics of the Scene-based genre.

A Scene-based genre (2) is known in a local scene but can also be translocal throughout the media and scene members. The word 'scene' refers to a community of musicians, fans, records labels etcetera. The scene is located at a specific place, but this does not mean that they are not in contact with scenes at other places. Nowadays the internet is an important medium in the communication with other scenes. The scenes exist in specific locations, mostly neighbourhoods where the rents are low and the supervision is lax. Local media support the genre and broadcast about their music and performances. As soon as the genre develops (partly due to the community press) and draws attention from for example merchandisers, the genre lifestyle is promoted and this means the end of the Scene-based stage.

In 1990 Peterson described a trajectory similar to jazz, the trajectory of rock music. The baby-boomers found a music that spoke to them, instead of the jazz-based sounds such as Nat King Cole and Bill Haley that were dominant after the Second World War. Around 1955 rock created a community among these adolescents. Peterson states that there are several factors that cause a Scene-based genre to become an Industry based genre. In the case of rock music, the most important factors that have caused the genre to become Industry-based are: law, technology, industry structure, organisational structure, occupational career and the market. This translates to Lena and Peterson's (2008) model as follows: in their paper Lena and Peterson speak of an organisational locus. At first rock music was a local but at a fast pace it grew out to become fairly popular. The developments of the media played a large role in the success of rock music. After the growth of the number of radio stations and the need to play records due to less income, the larger record companies still wanted to play their mainstream music. Smaller record companies grabbed this chance to produce another sound. More and more genres were provided a chance to receive attention from a larger audience via the radio. The larger record companies did not contract smaller performers unless they had proven themselves at smaller radio stations. The result of these developments is that a large amount of genres became Industry-based. The smaller record companies signed many performers since the larger record companies were not open to doing this. The exposure on the radio implies reaching a mass audience, at least over time. The traditional music was like a tune factory; this was followed by performers who wanted to tell their own story. In the meantime many people were ready for something new. The market demand had been growing

gradually but the decision makers had not recognised it (Peterson and Berger, 1975). When rock emerged it became popular in a very short time. At this point the industry started to shape the performances of their artists (Peterson, 1990). For example Motown presented their female artists in beautiful dresses. Record labels also started to focus on standardising a specific sound (Posner, 2002). Which resulted in record companies producing a specific genre. The transition from Scene-based to Industry-based corresponded with deals with radio stations to play their records. Being played on the radio was a guarantee for record sales going up. These two developments changed the source of income and the music market. Artists were able to live of their music.

In short: the Industry-based genre (3) owes its name to the organizational form of the genre, the industrial corporation. In the Industry-based stage a genre is promoted by national media and shaped by the industry. The genre covers an established field national or worldwide and reaches a mass audience. When a genre reaches this stage it becomes a goal to produce revenue, the production of music becomes market driven. To stimulate record sales several measures are being taken: merchandise, sales and licensing. Also, the standardisation of the sound of a genre and the appearance of artists become important. While in the Industry-based stage genres try to concur markets, in the Traditionalist stage this already happened. The preservation of the market now becomes the focal point.

Genres in the Traditionalist stage (4) have a greater reach, which varies from local to international. 'Traditionalist genre participants' goal is to preserve a genre's musical heritage and inculcate the rising generation of devotees in the performance techniques, history, and rituals of the genre' (Lena and Peterson, 2008: 706). Fans and organizations are dedicated to construct the history of the genre and explain the role of the performers (Lee, 2007; Regev, 1994; Rosenberg, 1985 in: Lena and Peterson, 2008). Also an important part of the Traditionalist stage is that people keep the genre alive by discussing it in for example academic programs.

Rap is an example of a genre that arrived in the Traditionalist stage. Several characteristics of the genre match those of the theoretical model that is used in this study. In Lena's (2006) paper on rap music, one of the first things she mentions is the use of slang, argot, metaphor and irony. Rappers use similar slang and a regional, argot, which is consistent with the stylised argot Lena and Peterson describe as a characteristic of the Traditionalist stage. In this stage one of the most important things is to preserve a genre and its authenticity. In rap it is all about 'keepin it real' (Lena, 2006), which is mainly expressed in lyrics. The place where people come from is an important topic. It proves the authenticity of the artist.

That is why many artist mention the place of origin, mostly the neighbourhood they grew up in.

However, not all genres follow the AgSIT trajectory. There are several deviant genres, among others: soul music. In the next paragraph I will explain the IST-trajectory that applies to soul music.

THE IST-TRAJECTORY

Most genres go through these four stages, and by doing that they pass through three transitions. The above mentioned genre trajectory (AgSIT) is the most common progression of a genre, according to their study. However, the AgSIT-model does not apply to all genres. In the case of soul music, for example, the stages of the genre trajectory are not in the order of the AgSIT model. First of all, there are only three stages, which means there are only two transitions. The first stage is the 'Industry-based' stage, the second stage is 'Scene-based' and the third stage is 'Traditionalist'.

In the classic soul period the first transition is made, the genre moves from Industry-based to Scene-based. The Industry-based phase starts in 1954 and ends around 1980. The Scene-based stage lasts for about ten years. When a genre is Scene-based, there originates a local audience, there is more interaction among participants and audiences and information about musicians diffuses rapidly among the community. Industry-based genres are strongly related to a corporation that has the ability to address the mass market. This transition is clearly notable in soul music. First there is a small black community that is drawn to the music. A greater audience arises when also a group of white people becomes interested in the genre. In the case of soul music, record labels immediately played an important part in music production. Labels such as Motown recorded music at an early stage in soul music. In this process, the media play an important role in spreading the word. I will say more about this phenomenon at the end of this chapter.

After the Scene-based stage the second transition is made to the Traditionalist stage. In the 1990's several artists start to honour the classic soul singers in the lyrics of their songs. Also the use of instruments and voice techniques are copied. Neo soul forms the latter stage of the IST-model. This can be deduced from the character of the music and the scene around it. It is all about preserving the genre and honouring the people who started it. The legacy of the classic soul is translated to this new phase. Another thing that characterises a Traditionalist stage is the growing attention of academics and critics.

MEDIA ATTENTION

The kind of media attention a genre receives (varying from no attention at all to worldwide attention) is one of the attributes that Lena and Peterson formulated to establish in what stage a genre is in a genre trajectory. This can vary from the local media to the media worldwide, but also the sort of medium can vary. Whether or not the genre buzzes on the Internet is a factor to establish in what stage a genre is. Lena and Peterson (2008) explain in their paper that media attention does not necessarily have to be positive. However, media attention, regardless of the content, tends to increase the amount of fans that a genre has, which emphasizes the statement about the media being an important factor. This literature primarily focuses on media attention in relation to genre development. But there is also the question of how the media practise journalism, which Lena and Peterson left this out of their equation. I will focus not on the 'effects' of media attention but on the way the media approach a music genre and frame information.

THE MEDIA CRITIC IN RELATION TO THE CULTURAL FIELD

The attention of the public is an important factor in the establishment of a cultural product but it is not the only factor that determines the success. In the development of a music genre the media play a vital role. And within the journalistic field there is the media critic, who evaluates cultural products, such as music. Cultural products can be evaluated in many ways. A popular way to measure recognition is to study numbers of tickets sold, box office revenues and selling prices. But one of the most influential factors in the cultural field are the media critics. Not only because they publish their judgement on cultural products but also because they, for example, notify artists to each other. As a result, an artist of a genre receives more media attention.

Scholars such as Debenedetti (2006) have studied the role of media critics in the cultural field. Success in the arts is depending on three factors: the artist himself, the consumer and the independent expert. Debenedetti (2006) in his paper focuses on the role of media critics in the cultural industries. More specifically he studies the positioning of critics between artists, managers and the public. Critics are key figures in the cultural field because they are a pivot between creators and managers upstream and the public downstream. The first question to be answered is: what factors determine a critic? Debenedetti formulates the following definition: 'The critic is defined as a journalist-information provider whose independence is open to question' (2006: 31). Wyatt and Badger (1990) state that currently the function of the critic is to judge creative works by providing information and evaluating

the cultural product. Shrum (1991) also studied the critic and he poses three central elements that characterise the current critical discourse. First, there is the informative function. The critic provides information to the public in a way that is easy accessible. Second, there is the analytical element that offers the reader a context in which the work can be placed. Third, the work of a critic can be perceived as evaluative guidance. The media critic writes a positive or negative judgement in the review. Therefore a reader is encouraged to cultivate a relationship of trust with the critic. People learn to trust the critic, see him as a reference point and take his judgement seriously in regard to their own judgement on a cultural product. As a result, the selection process for consumers is made easier.

There is the relationship of the critic with the audience but there is also the relationship of the critic with the industry. The place of the media critic in the cultural field is a tough one. The review is often almost simultaneously released with the cultural product and therefore the economic success of the product is partly depending on the critic. So, what are the effects that reviews have? In relation to the public the review can shape the public's preferences. Reviews can support the public in consuming experimental products.

Artists perceive reviews as 'short-term measures of artistic quality that are important in establishing an artist's reputation' (Debenedetti, 2006: 36). They cannot afford to ignore the opinion of a critic because a critic's approval enhances the artistic status of the cultural product among the peers and also among for example experts and institutions. The question is: How do critics review? The quality of a cultural product can be assessed in several ways. It appears that among critics there is consensus on what works deserve the attention of critics. Critics classify a genre by comparing them to each other. By comparing genres to other genres and artists to other artists a critic is able to determine the relative contribution within the field of work (Debenedetti, 2006). The search for similarities and differences establishes the classification of a genre.

How a journalist eventually portrays a genre is subject to framing. Binder (1993) provides a link between the theoretical idea of genre trajectories and framing theory. To tell the story they want to tell, media writers use frames. To convince their audience, journalists use compelling images and words which leads to shared memories and ideas. By using these memories over and over in relation to the same topic, the writer produces a recognizable framing pattern. Binder (1993) uses the example of how writers address 'white' genre heavy metal and 'black' genre rap. To address these genres the media used completely different frames but in both cases danger was an important factor, it determined a big part of the racial frame. Cultural expressions of these socially distinct groups formed the bases for creating fear

and a racially charged frame. The cultural context was formed by among others memories of historical events. By applying the danger to the black and white youth, older people started to see the younger generation as a threat. It resulted in a 'map' in which a causal relationship was portrayed between music and behavior. These frames made it possible for another generation to comprehend behavior of younger people and therefore helped better understand the world. So what does this mean in relation to genre trajectories? The frames journalists use in writing about, for instance, soul music direct the audience in a certain direction. And to a certain extent framing determines how people think about a genre. In the next paragraph I will explain how I used framing theory to perceive the representation of the genre trajectory of soul music in newspaper reports.

FRAME THEORY

Media texts are often analyzed via content analyses. Framing is a method that is quite new and still under discussion. James Tankard (2001) observed a shifting from shallow analyses to a focus on the underlying processes of mass communication. The discussion on what framing is, is very vivid but there are some keywords and definitions that seem to stand their ground through time. When studying newspaper articles the following definition is relevant: frames organize information, show how events can be described and how framing can establish that an event can be debated about. Media scientist Robert Entman (1993) stated that frames can accentuate or subside information. How people eventually perceive events is partly determined by frames (Reese, 2001).

Frames can be defined as 'schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label events' (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986: 464; see also Goffman 1974: 21). Frames organize social events into recognizable patterns in a way individuals understand social occurrences. Which basically means that people are primed via the media (Domke, Shah and Wackman, 1998). Imagine that a photographer has to make a photo to accompany a written article. What determines how we perceive what has happened? The positioning of people and objects, but also: the camera distance, lens, choice, camera movement and camera angle (Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newbold, 1998). All these ingredients help determine what the 'reader' thinks has happened. In the case of writing there are also several ingredients that prime readers.

Journalists use frames to describe a social phenomenon; they construct a certain reality that emphasizes some information and exclude other information (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). For example, when a writer writes mostly about racial differences, the reader is led to

think that this is what is the most dominant characteristic of, in this case, a music genre. But this does not mean there is not more to be said about the genre. Because the writer writes from a certain frame, the reader reads the text in this frame. Which translates to: when arguing one side of the story, the journalist creates a dominant reading of the text, which limits the possibility that a reader will comprehend a text differently (Entman, 1991). Framing effects the way people understand information and therefore effects the way the world is perceived. Binder (1993) points out that not only attention should be paid to the effects of framing, but we should also question why certain frames become dominant and why frames resonate with cultural beliefs in the society at large.

Some scholars (Entman, 1991: Binder, 1993) imply that a frame has a greater chance of becoming dominant if it draws on cultural beliefs that are held and resonate with matters the audience is familiar with. In the case of Binder's study on heavy metal and rap music, it appears that these genres were presented as dangerous because journalists explicitly linked the music to problems concerning drugs, sex and lawlessness. In this study I will analyze differences in framing between two time periods in which journalists have written about soul music. In the concluding section I will draw on the resonance of cultural norms and beliefs in relation to dominant frames considering both timeframes.

EXPECTATIONS

In this study I want to answer the following question: *How is the genre trajectory of soul music reflected in changes in media attention of this genre in the LA Times and NY Times?* To answer this question I study news reports on soul music in two national newspapers, in two timeframes (1954-1975 and 1995-2009). Based on literature and the genre trajectory model I expect to find certain outcomes.

As explained by Baumann (2001) one of the tools in judging cultural products is the comparison. Differences between genres or artists for example can be explained in several ways. Race and gender are two factors that are used by critics to establish the value of a cultural product as is proved by scholars such as Binder (1993) and Clawson (1999). In the case of soul music think that racial differences have become a less important factor in soul music over time. Binder (1993) has written about the impact of race in popular music. She investigated the influence that racial frames have on the way people perceive rap and heavy metal. It appeared that the reception of the genres by the audience was strongly determined by race. However, the use of the racial frame by journalists is also depending on the timeframe in the extent of which societal racial beliefs are present in society. When in society racial

differences decrease a decrease of attention to racial differences or the societal position of African Americans in the newspapers is the result. Following Binder (1993) I base this expectation on the resonance of social frames with broad cultural beliefs. During the classic soul period the cultural beliefs about racial segregation were very strong and intertwined in society. These social circumstances changed over time among others due to a changed audience. As time progressed more and more people besides African Americans started to appreciate soul music. I expect that these changing social circumstances are reflected in the racial discourse of newspapers.

Since soul music started out in an Industry-based stage and ended in the Traditionalist I expect that the characteristics that go with these stages are reflected in news reporting. A part of the Industry based stage is that the music product is for a large part controlled by the industry. The industry even has a hand in constructing the name of the genre. Other matters that are influenced by the industry are performances and the use of technology. This Industry-based origin of soul music could be reflected in the extent to which journalists actually refer to the music industry in their writings. Since soul is considered to have moved out of this industry phase in the latter period, I expect to observe a large difference between the two timeframes in the extent to which the music industry is mentioned.

To formulate an expectation on gender differences I consulted research of Clawson (1999). Just like race, gender is used to understand musical distinctions. Clawson (1999) describes how gender makes a difference in understanding musical distinctions. I would expect that gender differences are less prominent in the second time frame. At the point where a genre has gained cultural legitimacy one would expect gender boundaries to change. Schmutz (2009) finds that when media attention increases, there is more interest in male artists than in female artists. When symbolic and social boundaries become less tightly coupled there is room for more attention to female performers. This means that if a genre becomes more popular and receives more media attention, the attention for female performers becomes less. In the Industry-based phase the genre got media attention from national newspapers. Given the time and the total amount of media attention it is likely that there would be a lot of attention for female artists. The press coverage within the neo soul period is *genre-based advocacy and critique*. I expect that especially the critiques can be found in national newspapers in the neo soul timeframe. The legitimacy of the genre grew over time also due to a changing audience (Baumann, 2006). Schmutz (2009) on the other hand, states that media attention becomes increasingly male-dominated. Social hierarchies stay intact while a music genre develops.

4. Data selection and method of analysis

In this chapter I will describe the data and explain how I selected the articles, what the limitations of the data are, and what concepts I observed.

In this thesis, the object of study is a music genre, or more specifically: the writings about soul music in quality newspapers in the twentieth century. Multiple data sources can be used to map the soul genre. In previous studies scholars used data from music charts, newspapers, tabloids or interviewed artists. All these sources can provide information about the development of a genre. I focus on the newspaper discourse by analysing newspaper articles on the genre of soul music. One of the reasons for this is that newspapers play an important role in the image-forming of artists and the genre in general. In both stages of the genre trajectory of soul music, the national media are the most important informants on the genre. I analyze what topics the media discuss and what the differences are between the classic soul period and the neo soul period. Does the reporting of newspapers on soul music change over time? And how does reporting in newspapers reflect the genre trajectory of soul music?

The focus of this thesis will be on the changes in the critical reception of soul music by comparing different timeframes. The first timeframe is from 1954 to 1975 (the classic soul period) and the second timeframe is from 1995 to 2008 (the neo soul period).

DATA SELECTION

To collect and select newspaper articles on soul music, I started by collecting the names of soul artists from the discographies of several important academic books on soul music. The works of Haralambos (1974), Gurlanick (2002) and Garland (1970) are generally considered the most relevant studies on classic soul music and in their discographies they list the artists they view as leading artists for the classic soul period. I started my search by inserting the names of the biggest soul artists in the search engine, in this case the Proquest Historical Newspaper database. Examples of famous artists are: Otis Redding, Aretha Franklin and Ray Charles. Also, I inserted names of record labels as search strings such as: Motown, Stax and Atlantic. Followed by more general terms that might lead to articles on soul. Examples are: soul sound, soul music and history. To compare the two stages as objectively as possible I also based the first search on names of famous artists in the neo soul period, followed by record labels and general terms. The general terms are also used in combinations. I searched for example on: History and soul.

More specifically, in the search for articles in the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times concerning the neo soul period, I studied definitions of neo soul and the references given by writers such as McIver (2002). Just like in the first period, this is how I determined my search strings. For the neo soul period I searched via the sites of the New York Times (www.nytimes.com) and the Los Angeles Times (www.latimes.com)¹. The online archives are freely accessible and go back to 1985, so these archives covered the whole period of neo soul. Again, it appeared that journalists focus on the most popular artists, which in this case are for example Erykah Badu and Alicia Keys. So, the same search pattern is visible in the search for data.

I selected only the most relevant newspaper articles. To what extent the articles were relevant, I determined by looking at the amount of specifically relevant information about soul music the article contained and the main topic of the article. For example, when a journalist wrote a whole article about an American president and made a reference to soul music in one paragraph, I considered this article not relevant. When a journalist wrote an article about rhythm and blues and eventually wrote half of the article on the development of soul music, I considered the article highly relevant. The reason for this is that the article explains the historical development of the genre.

This procedure resulted in the gathering of a hundred articles from the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times. The New York Times provides a lot more material concerning soul music than the Los Angeles Times. Because of that I was not able to select an equal amount of articles coming from both newspapers. 64 articles come from the New York Times and 36 articles come from the Los Angeles Times. Because of this unequal division the amount of statements that can be made about differences between the two newspapers, is fairly limited. To solve this, I standardized all comparative analyses.

The division of the articles over the two periods is not equal as well. For the classic soul period I found 43 articles and for the neo soul period 57. In the analyses I took this inequality into account. Another limitation in the process of data collection was that journalists in this period only wrote about popular artists. So the material does not provide a total overview of soul singers.

I analyzed two newspapers for several reasons. Both stages I study are characterized by national media attention. Also, the choice for the N.Y. Times and the L.A. Times I based on geographic dispersion, therefore I choose two newspapers that represent the West and the

¹ I searched for articles in the LA Times in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. This library is a subscriber of several newspapers, among others the LA Times. This is the reason I could collect data without having to pay for every article.

East coast. I analyse two prominent American newspapers. Analysing only one could result in limited results. Differences and similarities between the newspapers could exist because of the newspaper's focus. When analyzing two newspapers the odds that this is the case become smaller. Another argument for studying these newspapers is that the papers are able to employ better journalists.

Table 1. Search strings used in data gathering via Proquest Historical Newspapers database and NYT and LAT online archives

| | Classic soul | Neo soul |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| Artists | Otis Redding Aretha Franklin Sam Cooke Sam and Dave Ray Charles Tina Turner Isaac Hayes Donny Hathaway James Brown Stevie Wonder B.B. King Sinatra Fats Domino The Supremes Dionne Warwick Marvin Gaye Curtis Mayfield Ella Fitzgerald | Alicia Keys Erykah Badu Raphael Saadiq Maxwell D'Angelo Jill Scott Angie Stone India Arie John Legend Beyonce Macy Gray Lauren Hill Common Prince Bilal Lucy Pearl |
| Record labels | Motown Stax Columbia Atlantic | Motown Stax Columbia Atlantic |
| Remaining search strings | soul soul sound history (black) singers in general | soul (black) singers in general history |

OPERATIONALISATION OF THE CONSTRUCTS: OPEN CODING

'Coding is the fundamental analytic process used by the researcher' (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 115). In Grounded Theory there are three kinds of coding: Open, axial, and selective. I used open coding in this study. Open coding is an interpretative process to break down the

data in a structural and analytical way. By doing this the researcher would see different phenomena because you are not focussing on phenomena you, as a researcher, are used to focus on. The aim is to break through standard ways of interpreting data. What you do is: compare observations to observe differences and similarities and provide observations with conceptual labels to group subcategories and categories.

The result of this procedure is that comparative questions are asked and possibly answered because the researcher had become sensitive to new issues. Due to this procedure the researcher is able to constantly compare and break through bias and subjectivity. This procedure I applied to studying texts about soul music. After explaining how I coded the data I will explain how I followed the rules of Grounded Theory.

To explore the topics that journalists draw upon in newspaper articles about soul music, I analyzed the presence of various topics in the articles. Eventually, I translated them to constructs. After I formulated these constructs, I looked at the articles again. I labelled the text according to the relevant information per paragraph or sentence. It is possible that there is information about two concepts in one sentence or paragraph. If that happened, I labelled that piece of information with all the labels that the text referred to. After observing the material, I counted the frequencies of the concepts per construct in every article. With these numbers I constructed a dataset. I wanted to know more about the way the concepts relate to each other in terms of proportions. I standardized the frequencies and plotted descriptive analyses. By splitting the data per timeframe and newspaper, results are presented.

The extent in which the constructs appear in the text depends on the density of information per sentence or paragraph and because of that, the amount of information varies per article. This means that the amount of constructs per article is not depending on the length of the article. In some cases small articles contained more constructs than some of the larger articles.

To realize a set of constructs, I first read all the articles separately and observed the topics that are discussed most in the texts. I then made listings of relevant codes. Using these codes, I performed a content analysis and constructed a dataset. Besides coding the content of the articles, I also coded several general variables such as, the date of the article, the name of the journalist, what period the article belongs to, and the article type. I observed which themes were dominant in reporting on soul music in both newspapers and listed these as constructs. In total there are nine relevant constructs that are measured by 58 codes (see codebook, appendix 3). I established and identified nine constructs as the most important textual topics discussed in newspaper articles on soul music. These were the following:

- 1) *Information about the biographical background of an artist.* Does the journalist situate the artist in his or her biographical context? A writer can do this for example by describing where the artist lived, what school he or she went to and whether or not they moved. The context is important because it illustrates the scene around the genre. The demographical, social and economical factors of soul singers could have played an important role in how the genre came into being. It also provides factual information about what background soul singers have in general. To be able to say something about the production-site of soul, this construct is very important. Examples of codes that measure this construct are: information about the family of an artist, the places where he or she lived and data on early affinity with music. For example: *Stevie was born Steveland Morris in Saginaw Mich. but his family moved to Detroit when he was 9 months old. "I began singing on front porches and in backyards and in church," he says. By the age of 10 he was able to play piano, harmonica and drums, an instrumental ability which he described as "a gift from God – I never had any lessons" (Pete Johnson, L.A. Times, 1968).*

- 2) *Information about the professional and educational career of an artist:*
I labelled information when journalists discussed the career path of the artist. This contains information about the educational and professional career. These could be facts about education and occupation, for example: former jobs and career switches. But also information about recent concerts and inspirations fall within the scope of this construct because they state why a career path of an artist developed the way it has. Again, this construct is very important to be able to characterize the production-site of soul music. An example of this construct is the following: *'His five-year professional career is studded with hit records, television appearances and movies' (Thomas Pledge, L.A. Times, 1967).*

- 3) *References to other genres:* Does the article explicitly compare or connect the soul genre to other genres? An example of this category is when a writer compares a soul music to other genres such as gospel or blues. Tom Phillips did so for example: *'The best performances of all though, are found in the real soul stuff – material based on the traditional structure and content of blues and/or gospel*

music' (*N.Y. Times*, 1967). The genre can be compared to other genres, a writer could also establish how other genres influenced soul. Writers often define a genre by describing the genres that have been of influence. Also, when journalists speculate about cross-overs or when soul music is compared to R&B for example, it is coded as a reference to other genres and artists.

- 4) *Reference to aesthetics*: Does the article explicitly judge the quality of albums? Especially in reviews, evaluating albums is the essence of the article. Very often this results in discussing aesthetics. The evaluation of the album not only takes into account the quality of the songs but also the use of instruments and voice techniques. The use of instruments and voice techniques are important ingredients when determining whether or not a song is soul music. Writer Margaret Wappler for example describes the voice of Maxwell as follows: *The man whose voice floats like a butterfly and stings like a bee is playing some pretty sweet venues* (*L.A. Times*, 2008).
- 5) *References to the music industry or music labels*: Does the article explicitly refer to the music industry or music labels? As explained in chapter two, the soul genre was stimulated by the music industry. This construct captures when a writer, for example, refers to authors who explain the industry or compare labels. A large number of references to the music industry could reflect the Industry-based stage of a genre. Does the article specifically discuss a music label into detail? This code is not only about whether or not an article refers to the label, but also assembles specific information about the artists that are signed, the development of the label and the scouting process for example. Bob Shayne writes the following about Motown: *'When Gordie sees potential, a new act joins the company's training program, in which it is groomed and rehearsed for months and even years – taught to sing, dance, talk, act, read music. Unknown acts are given all the time to complete a record session with which everybody is happy. It seems to work'* (*L.A. Times*, 1967).
- 6) *References to ethnicity*: Does the article describe how racial differences are related to the soul genre? Segregation in American society had a big influence on the development of soul music. Racial differences play an important part, for both the

producers and consumers of soul music. Writers very explicitly refer to these racial issues, for example: *'Up to now, the Negro artist has been totally concerned with integration, with finding a place for his creative talents in the existing theatre. Another example from the same article is: How long will it take the Negro artist to understand fully what his status in show business really is? How long will it take him to wake up, see, realize, grasp, comprehend how he is being used – of how he has allowed himself to be used – by the white establishment?'* (Barbara Ann Teer, *N.Y. Times*, 1968).

- 7) *References to the extent of embeddedness in society*: Does the article discuss the societal context of soul music? This would be expressed in memorials, involvement in the community and, for example, resistance that is expressed. The embeddedness of the genre in society reflects the way the music is part of people's lives and society. Robert Shelton writes in the *N.Y. Times* (1968) for example: *'The show called "Soul Together," was a benefit for the Martin Luther King Fund.'* This fund was raised a few months after the death of the Reverent.
- 8) *Information about the history of soul music*: Is the article referring to the historical context of soul music? Just as the embeddedness of the genre in society, journalists also can touch upon the history of soul. Do journalists write about the history of soul music in connection to social-economical and demographical factors and changes? For example: *When will music aficionados stop worrying about the state of America's soul? The genre that is, not the divine spirit, although many think the former lacks a sufficient amount of the latter. Soul music became mechanical in the 1980's, as name producers trotted out myriad faceless groups. But the soul renaissance is now in full force, and it's time to stop trumpeting the saviors and just listen'* (Ann Powers, *N.Y. Times*, 2000).
- 9) *References to gender (differences)*: Does the article refer to differences between men and women? Not only black people were a minority with disadvantages, also women did not have the same rights as men in the classic soul period. Female artists might be described differently than male artists. For example by stressing the appearance: *From her elegant African-style head scarves to sporting a free flowing afro, the Grammy-winning soul singer's individual attitude can always*

brings an urban fashion following. Although her look an elegant spin as the face for Tom Ford's White Patchouli fragrance last year, one can always count on her devil-may-care attitude to continue with her personal life' (Jeff Weiss, L.A. Times, 2008).

These nine constructs were constructed and measured using several codes. A list of these codes is enclosed in the appendices.

In the articles, relevant information is labelled by codes. Each of the above constructs is measured as a numeric variable. Articles were coded if the item was present and how many times it appeared within an article. After coding the articles I executed descriptive analyses in which I compared the constructs per newspaper and per timeframe. Eventually I will discuss the similarities and differences between the several constructs and interpret the results. But first I will explain how I gathered these constructs, using Grounded Theory.

GROUNDING THEORY

A few (semi) scholars have written about soul music. Lena and Peterson (2008) established that, compared to other genres, soul has a deviant course through time but this has not been studied into further detail.

One way to do that is to study data that possibly reflects the genre trajectory of soul music. So, I decided to study newspaper articles from the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times because soul music received mostly media attention from national media in the two timeframes I study soul in. Due to the lack of previous studies on soul I studied the data inductively. I combine existing theories on music genres in general or for example on film to form expectations. As a researcher you can execute deductive or inductive research. In case of the deductive approach a general theory or hypothesis is tested. The goal mostly is to prove the theory. In inductive research a researcher starts by studying specific material that is gathered by for example interviewing. From the studied cases general conclusions are drawn. These conclusions are relevant to specific data you studied but by studying the data very structured researchers try to make generalisations. I would like to combine the best of both worlds: the deductive way of researching by using formerly formulated theories and inductive methods for data collection and data analyses. I used the Grounded Theory approach from Glaser and Strauss (1967).

STUDYING NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INDUCTIVELY

I chose to study soul music using newspaper articles. It is important to work very structured so that another researcher could take the same steps as I did when replicating this study. To be able to make some generalizations I only used highly relevant articles on soul. To avoid bias I studied the material without a theoretical or methodological starting point. Intuitively I used the principles of Grounded Theory. In the next couple of paragraphs I will explain how I followed this procedure.

The main goal of the Grounded Theory is to develop theory. In the 1960's sociologists Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed Grounded Theory as a result of their disagreement with the quantitative research methods that were dominant at the time. Many sociologists were skeptical about qualitative research methods because it would not be as systematic as quantitative methods. And so Glaser and Strauss published the Grounded Theory method to show how structured and relevant qualitative research can be.

As stated by Baker (1999: 241) the purpose of Grounded Theory is to built theory and concept through an inductive process that begins at the data. 'The procedures of grounded theory are designed to develop a well integrated set of concepts that provide a thorough theoretical explanation of social phenomena under study' (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 108). The inductive process starts at collecting data, generating insights from the data, forming generalisations, concepts, hypotheses and eventually this leads to studying more data. The goal of grounded theory is to establish what arises from empirical data. In grounded theory data can come from various sources (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). Interviews and observations might seem the most obvious choice but other sources such as newspaper articles can be coded in the same way (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). There are several key elements in Grounded Theory that are described by Corbin and Strauss (1990). I will explain in what way my research is consistent with these conditions.

1. Concepts are the basic units of analyses.

Corbin and Strauss (1990: 110) state the following: 'A theorist works with conceptualisations of data, not the actual data per se. Theories can't be built with actual incidents or activities as observed or reported; that is from raw data. The observations are analysed as potential indicators of phenomena, which are thereby given conceptual labels.' By coding the newspaper articles in terms of headwords, I could eventually recognise concepts when looking at the data in total. I formed empirical concepts on which I based the analyses.

2. Categories must be developed and related.

Eventually, when the data is thoroughly observed, concepts appear from the data. The reliability of inductive research lies within the comparison of the concepts. Dick (2005) states that a researcher can develop a theoretical idea rather quickly when comparing concepts. Comparative analyses provide an insight in the similarities and differences on which a theoretical idea can be based. Some concepts will stand on their own where others are related. Relations between concepts can be observed and the researcher writes them down to eventually form main categories. In the appendices I added my coding system. The codes and main constructs are explicitly noted. In the last chapter I compare the theoretical genre trajectory model of Lena and Peterson to the inductively observed constructs.

3. Sampling in grounded theory proceeds on theoretical grounds.

I tried to search for scholars who also did this kind of research so that I could reproduce their concepts. However, I did not find that my concepts matched theirs. So this study is in that sense completely explorative.

4. Analysis makes use of constant comparisons.

When making observations, the many observations should be compared on similarities and differences. In this study I compare two timeframes and two newspapers. In the results section I visualised the differences between concepts in the timeframes. Patterns and variations must be accounted for.

5. Writing theoretical memos is an integral part of doing grounded theory.

When observing for example similarities between concepts or observing a larger covering concept I made notes to eventually be able to merge several codes to one main concept.

6. Hypotheses about relationships among categories should be developed.

In describing the results I also tried to explain why several concepts are related. Other theories than used before can provide explanations. In the third chapter I formulated expectations based on the genre trajectory model of Lena and Peterson. By comparing their model to the found concepts I will try to see whether or not their model fits my findings.

7. A grounded theorist need not to work alone.

The research I did, I did alone. But my work was checked by my supervisor. He asked me questions about the order of rank I analysed the data in, how I was planning on writing everything down and whether or not I would consider merging some categories. So, every step I took was evaluated.

8. Broader structural conditions must be analysed, however microscopic the research.

I place my research in a broad societal context. Especially in the last chapter I pay attention to that but also by writing a historical perspective on soul music, I showed that I do not see this music genre as an isolated cultural product. Music is a result of and reflects society and societal issues. By placing soul music in a historical context the development of the genre becomes clearer.

In short: In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). After observing the data, the highest goal would be to be able to make empirical generalisations. In the next paragraph I will explain the idea of framing since news reporting always is a subject to this.

5. Results

In this chapter I discuss the results of the inductive research. By visualising the differences between timeframes and newspapers I provide a first impression of the results after which I present the significance tests of these differences. In the sixth chapter I will compare the theoretical funding of this study to the outcomes of the observations.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

I would like to start this result section with some general observations. First of all, it seems that in both timeframes journalists tend to write about the most popular artists in particular (see the two examples written below). This means that journalists in the classic soul period wrote most about for example: Curtis Mayfield, Aretha Franklin and Stevie Wonder and in the neo soul period journalists wrote most about for example: Erykah Badu, Angie Stone, Alicia Keys and John Legend. Less well-known names were not as much discussed in these newspapers.² In the subjoined examples I illustrate examples of this observation from both newspapers, the first example is from the classic soul period and the second example is from the neo soul period.

'Charles reacts more firmly against a suggestion, made by some blacks in recent years, that he is trying to sound white. "When Nat Cole sang the blues or a so-called popular song, he never tried to sing white. I'm the same, I just sing it my way' (Leonard Feather, L.A. Times, 1969).

'Combining the up-to-date attitude of hip-hop with the sound and emotional force of classic soul music, vocalist Angie Stone's music builds a bridge between two musical worlds, and in this instalment of the Music in High Places series, Stone travels to Vancouver Island, where she takes in the sights and learns about Canadian culture while taking time to perform some of her best known songs in an acoustic format amidst the island's beautiful surroundings' (Mark Deming, N.Y. Times, 2002).

Secondly, besides selecting the most popular artists, journalists also seem to have several favourites. Otis Redding is just as famous as Aretha Franklin, still it was not possible to find as many relevant articles about him as it was to find many articles about her. Newspapers select topics and write about the things they perceive as news. Because of the selection newspapers make, news reporting does not have to be an accurate reflection of the actual developments in the soul genre. Both newspapers do not seem to present a complete picture of all the artists that are part of the soul genre. As Debenedetti (2006) explained, critics classify

² However, since I selected my articles based on the most popular names in the genre, this is only an impression based on my selection of names of performers from secondary sources. A more systematic investigation of a large sample of writings about soul music would be necessary to test this impression.

by comparing artists to each other and genre to other genres. Among critics there arises consensus on which products are worth evaluating and which products are not. In classic soul music this apparently resulted in consensus on which artists to evaluate, such as Otis Redding and Aretha Franklin.

Third, the New York Times pays more attention to writing about music about soul music than the Los Angeles Times. Because of that it was not possible to collect an equal amount of articles from both newspapers and is proportioning necessary in presenting the results. The inequality of the number of articles I gathered of the two timeframes is due to the fact that digital archives provide more relevant articles than the Historical database. Both archives offer all the material there is but the use of Internet has led to an increase in articles that can be published. Due to the growth of data storage I had access to more data in the neo soul period than in the classic soul period. Because of that there is also a difference in the number of articles per timeframe.

Table 2. Number of articles per newspaper and per timeframe

| | N |
|--------------|----|
| LA Times | 36 |
| NY Times | 64 |
| Classic soul | 43 |
| Neo soul | 57 |

TESTING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES IN MEANS: TOTAL MODELS

To be able to compare the two timeframes and the two newspapers to analyse whether they differ in the use of the construct, I divided the total number of appearances of the constructs by the number of analysed articles per timeframe. This resulted in a number that represents the average appearance of the constructs per article in each timeframe, and the results are visualised in two figures. Before analyzing the differences per construct, I first investigate whether the two time periods and newspapers differ in the use of all nine constructs together. To do this, I use a Multiple Analyses of Variance (MANOVA). Because I want to compare differences between timeframes and newspapers for nine constructs, a t-test or a one-way ANOVA was not sufficient. Another advantage is that when there are multiple dependents (in this case there are nine, the constructs) and the MANOVA controls for bilateral correlations. Moreover, one of the advantages of the MANOVA is that the risk of making a Type 1 error is limited. A Type 1 error means that the null hypothesis is rejected while it was accurate.

The most important number in estimating the significance of the total model is the Wilks' Lambda. The Wilks' Lambda is used to test whether or not the means of identified groups differ. In this case there are two total models to be estimated. The first model is comparing the two timeframes and the second model is comparing the two newspapers. The Wilks' Lambda has the same function as the F-test in a one-way analyses of variance. The total model is estimated by this measure. In both cases the model is significant (see table 3).

The first model that tests the significance of variances between timeframes is significant $F(2.418) = 9$ $p < .05$ $R^2 = .195$. The Partial Eta Squared is the equivalent of the squared variance in an OLS regression analyses. Partial Eta Squared does not captivate the mind, therefore I speak of 'squared variance'. The squared variance is 19,5%, which means that almost twenty percent of the total differences between timeframes are explained by the formulated constructs. The second model is also significant $F(2.034) = 9$ $p < .05$ $R^2 = .169$. According to the analyses there are significant differences between the two newspapers in the appearance of the constructs. The squared variance is 0,169, which means that the constructs I formulated explain 16,9% of the total variance. In the next two paragraphs I will explain into further detail which constructs had the largest part in these differences.

Table 3. Estimating total models

| | F | df | Wilks' Lambda | Sig | Partial Eta Squared |
|---|-------|----|---------------|-------|---------------------|
| Model 1 | | | | | |
| Timeframes (classic soul and neo soul) | 2.418 | 9 | 0.805** | 0.017 | 0.195 |
| Model 2 | | | | | |
| Newspapers (NYT and LAT) | 2.034 | 9 | 0.831** | 0.044 | 0.169 |

*** $p < 0,01$ ** $p < 0,05$ * $p < 0,1$

AVERAGE NUMBER APPEARANCES OF CONSTRUCTS IN NEWSREPORTS PER TIMEFRAME

Figure 1 presents the average appearance of the individual construct per article in the two periods. One construct that is mentioned quite often in both periods per article is *aesthetic judgement*. These are two fragments wherein writers formulate an aesthetic judgement from both timeframes (respectively the classic soul timeframe and the neo soul timeframe):

'Aretha Arrives is a mixed bag, but parts of it represent a brilliant synthesis of pop material with the rich style of traditional Negro music' (Tom Phillips, N.Y. Times, 1967).

'Two months ago Ms. Stone released her fourth solo album, "The Art of Love & War," which has spawned a minor hit, "Baby," a gentle but firm reprimand to an old lover who has moved on. It has a mellow beat, a smooth refrain and an entertaining, wildly overstuffed music video' (Kelefa Sanneh, N.Y. Times, 2007).

In the classic soul period journalists on average wrote about aesthetics 2,2 times per article and in the neo soul period almost three times per article. Over time it became more common to write about the quality aspects of a CD or a performance. This could be the case due to the increase of the number of reviews in the newspaper compared to for example background articles. Critics have become more dominant over time. This is a characteristic of the Traditionalist stage and therefore in line with the genre trajectory model (Lena and Peterson, 2008).

Brief reviews of musical achievements are frequently published in the neo soul period. In the classic soul period it was less common to write short articles. At this time writers took all the space they needed to write a story. This can be illustrated by paragraphs like these:

'Moral: if you are dealing with a very personal style, one that required musicians and settings of a special type, you don't fence them in, and you don't compromise. Given Aretha's Capacity to move mountains, you ought to know that it pays very handsomely, when a talent of her magnitude is involved, simply to let her be her own uninhibited self' (Leonard Feather, L.A. Times, 1968).

Current broadcasting is much more dense. The subjoined example is a full article that is written in the neo soul period.

'Beyoncé may not have made the cut in the best song Oscar race for her work on "Listen," but she was top of the pops, so to speak, when nominations for the 21st annual Soul Train Awards were announced Tuesday. Up for three awards – Female album, single, and video – this Dreamgirl proved herself to be "Irreplaceable." Other multiple nominees include Mary J. Blige, Chris Brown, Gnarls Barkley, and John Legend' (Mark Olsen, L.A. Times, 2007).

The density of information was lower in the classic soul period, all stories were actual articles. In the current time there is a need to consume information at a fast pace. Therefore the most important information is given in the first lines, so you do not have to search for it.

The changes that the soul genre has made over time, can also be linked to the ideas of Baumann (2006). He states that a music genre's legitimacy increases when its audience changes and media attention increased. The status of a genre becomes higher and could even

be perceived as an art form. As stated above, media attention increases which contributes to the opportunity space in which critics dominate the media.

Table 4. Overview of absolute and relative frequencies of appearance of article types

| N | 1. News article | 2. News analysis | 3. Interview | 4. Background article | 5. Review |
|--|-----------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Classic soul | 10 | 7 | 1 | 23 | 2 |
| Neo soul | 7 | 1 | 4 | 25 | 20 |
| <i>Appearance of article type in percentages</i> | | | | | |
| Classic soul | 23% | 16% | 3% | 53% | 5% |
| Neo soul | 12% | 2% | 7% | 44% | 35% |

The second most often mentioned construct after *aesthetical judgement is professional background*. The reason for this is that writers introduce an artist by a short overview of their career before they, for example, start to write about a recent performance. Journalists refer to previous performances, previous albums or other curricular activities. Such as:

'When he was 12, Stevie made his first record. It was called "Fingertips" and sold more than 1 million copies. And suddenly, Stevie Judkens, without apparent effort and with scant preparation, had rocketed to the top in a multi-million dollar business' (Thomas Pledge, L.A. Times, 1967).

'Former cotton picker and car washer James Brown predicted Sunday his soul music "will take over the music scene"' (unknown author, L.A. Times, 1969).

Constructs that appear less frequent are the constructs about the *biographical background* of an artist, the *embeddedness in society* and *references to gender*. The first quote represents *biographical background*, the second quote represents *embeddedness in society* and the third quote represents *references to gender*.

'Stevie Judkens was born in 1950 at Saginaw, Mich the third child of a poor Negro family. He was blind at birth. The family moved to the teeming Negro ghetto of industrial Detroit. There were three more children and there was a separation, a broken home' (Thomas Pledge, L.A. Times, 1967).

In an article in which the writer refers to the death of Martin Luther King the *embeddedness of the genre* and its followers is made visible. *'The committee also agreed to a suitable monument to dr. King.'*

'She is slim and shapely, conforming not at all to the stereotype of the big belting gospel dispenser. The hair style is short, but feminine' (Leonard Feather, L.A. Times, 1968).

The biggest differences between the classic soul period and the neo soul period are visible at construct five, six and seven (respectively: *reference to the music industry*, *reference to*

ethnicity and embeddedness in society). All three constructs are mentioned more frequently in the classic soul period, especially the last two constructs. In the next paragraph I will explain into further detail why I think these differences exist.

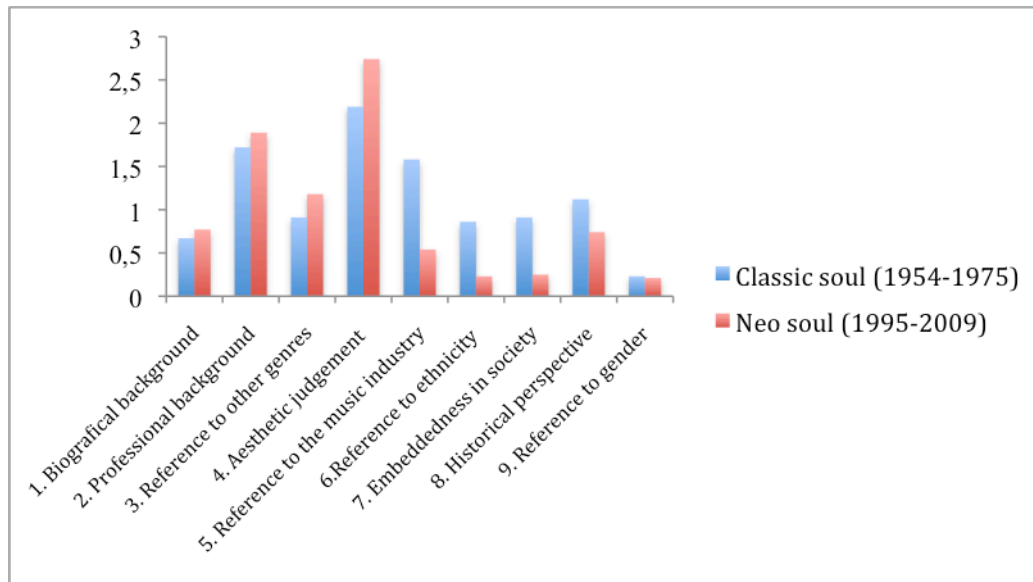


Figure 1. Average number of appearance of indicators in news reports in the two timeframes.

To assess whether these differences between the timeframes are also significant I made use of the output of the multiple analyses of variance, which not only performs an analysis of the difference in the use of all nine constructs together but also performs individual analysis of variance for each individual constructs. The output of this individual analysis of variance is represented in table 5. Here it can be seen that although in figure 1 it at first sight appears that there are large differences between the timeframes within the constructs *reference to music industry*, *reference to ethnicity* and *embeddedness in society*, the analysis of variance shows that the largest difference exists in the use of *references to ethnicity*, $F(5.483) = 1$ $p < .05$ $R^2 = .053$. It appears that on average in the classic soul period in articles writers referred significantly more often to ethnicity than in the neo soul period. Basically this means that over time these issues have become less frequently mentioned on average per article. In the classic soul period journalist often explicitly speak of ethnicity in terms of:

‘Up to now, the Negro artist has been totally concerned with integration, with finding a place for his creative talents in the existing theatre’ (Barbara Ann Teer, N.Y. Times, 1968).

Or: *‘How long will it take the Negro artist to understand fully what his status in show business really is? How long will it take him to wake up, see realize, grasp, comprehend how he is being used by the white establishment?’ (Barbara Ann Teer, N.Y. Times, 1968).*

In some cases it is less obvious but still very prominent: *'Miss Franklin's version "dr. Feelgood" was a high point of her soaring vocalising, undulant, phrasing, masterful timing and earthy humor. With all the heart of the great tradition of Negro singers she has an unbelievable technique to give the feeling wings'* (Robert Shelton, *N.Y. Times*, 1968).

Table 5 also shows that the difference in the use of the construct *embeddedness in society* also is significant, $F(3.977) = 1$ $p < .05 = .039$. The difference in *reference to the music industry* is only significant at the 0.1 level.

This finding on *references to ethnicity* and *embeddedness in society* is consistent with the developments of the genre. The genre emerged in part and was often seen as related to the struggles of African Americans and soul was considered as a 'black' genre and a way of expressing dissatisfaction about racial segregation. Singers explicitly discuss these issues. Journalists picked up on this. Fragments like the one written below illustrate this.

'Though he has written ballads, Mayfield is best known for songs about black/white relations. His lyrics, most often, stress the importance of black pride and brotherhood. But he also deals with such social and political matters as poverty and indifference' (Robert Hilburn, *L.A. Times*, 1971).

The black community owned their own culture and expanded their heritage by developing a music genre. Since the construct *embeddedness in society* is also closely linked to the appearance and mention of racial issues in the newspapers it is understandable that this construct appears more often in the classic soul period than in the neo soul period. Due to the political sensitivity of the situation of African Americans in the classic soul period, it seems logical that during the 1960s and 1970s journalists more often considered and mention the relation between soul and for example the rebellion of African Americans against the establishment as part of their news coverage of the soul genre.

The difference in the extent to which journalists *referred to the music industry* – for example record labels and their place in the music scene – in the two time periods can be explained theoretically by the genre trajectory model of Lena and Peterson (2008). The industry was most explicitly present during the Industry-based phase. Within this period examples of writing about the industry are:

'Motown president Berry Gordie Jr. has become a legend in pop music, and had his artists reflect the legend. "He instills a feeling of love in everybody working for him," says Benson. "We all want to do our best all the time." When Gordie sees potential, a new act joins the company's training program, in which it is groomed and

rehearsed for months and even years - taught to sing, dance, talk, act, read music' (Bob Shayne, L.A. Times, 1967).

'Quality control means that Motown and its subsidiary labels – Tamla, Gordy, Soul and VIP – release few singles. Barry Gordy Jr. listens to every record proposed as a single after it has passed through the quality control department. If he does not like it, the record is sent back to be redone or shelved' (Pete Johnson, L.A. Times, 1968).

Soul music started out in the Industry-based stage and this is reflected in the coverage of these genres in these two national newspapers. The industry had a hand in many matters varying from performances to the use of certain technology to establish a specific soul sound. The music industry was very prominently present in the first phase of the genre and therefore the industry also is prominently represented in news reports about the genre. Over time, however, the genre changed. In the neo soul period the industry is not as influential as it was in the classic soul period. *References to the industry* therefore decreased. In the neo soul period other constructs and topics became more dominant. Although the analysis of variance is not significant, it seems that the focus was more on aesthetic evaluation in the latter period. Quotes like the ones written below underline that.

'From the second Badu graced the stage, preceded by a 10-minute intro of space-age stoner soul played by her-piece backing band, it was abundantly clear that few sets in recent memory could top Badu's combination of time-stopping talent, enormous energy and chimerical creativity' (Jeff Weiss, L.A. Times, 2008).

'In February Ms. Badu released "New Amerykah, Pt. 1:4th World War (Motown), her first full-length album since "Mama's Gun" in 2000. On the new album her voice is often a ghostly presence, tucked in amid choruses as she issues advice like, "Hold on my people/Keep on moving on." But onstage she was anything but diffident, from her tartly playful voice to her wardrobe – a black, tiered, bubble minidress and a pompadour-shaped hat – to synchronized dance routines' (Jon Parales, N.Y. Times, 2008).

This could be related to changes in the dominance of different article types. With the review becoming more dominant in the newspapers, the content could also have shifted towards aesthetics. The content of a review differs from the content of for example a background article. As you can see in table 4 in the classic soul period the background article is dominant (53 percent of the total articles were background articles) and in the neo soul period the review is dominant (35 percent of the total articles were background articles). Over time there is a large increase visible in the use of the review.

In the classic soul period only 5 percent of the material was a review. This could be explained by a growing demand for 'fast' information. The review became an indicator for a

music product such as a CD. The relation between the media attention and consumption could have lead to an increase of reviews.

Table 5. Effects per constructs on differences between timeframes

| | df | F | sig | Partial Eta Squared |
|---------------------------------|----|-------|------|---------------------|
| Biographical background | 1 | .076 | .784 | .001 |
| Professional background | 1 | .635 | .428 | .006 |
| References to other genres | 1 | 3.779 | .055 | .037 |
| Aesthetic judgement | 1 | .823 | .367 | .008 |
| Racial frame | 1 | 5.483 | .021 | .053 |
| Embeddedness in society | 1 | 3.977 | .049 | .039 |
| Historical perspective | 1 | 1.323 | .253 | .013 |
| Gender frame | 1 | .017 | .897 | .000 |
| Reference to the music industry | 1 | 3.355 | .070 | .033 |

AVERAGE NUMBER APPEARANCES OF CONSTRUCTS IN NEWSREPORTS PER NEWSPAPER

To be thorough I also analysed differences between the two newspapers. You would expect that national newspapers would approximately write about the same topics. This, however, appears not to be the case (see figure 2).

When studying figure two the first thing that strikes me is the relatively large difference in the average appearance between the L.A. Times and N.Y. Times of constructs three, four and five (respectively: *reference to other genres*, *aesthetic judgement* and *reference to the music industry*). The N.Y. Times on average pays more attention to *aesthetics* and *refers more often to other genres*. The L.A. Times on the other hand on average pays more attention to *referring to the music industry*. Per article the L.A. Times mentions the music industry 1,61 times against 0,7 in the N.Y. Times. A remarkable outcome is that both newspapers report equally on the *biographical background* and the *professional background* of an artist. Another similarity is that on average the N.Y. Times and the L.A. Times refer to ethnicity every other article.

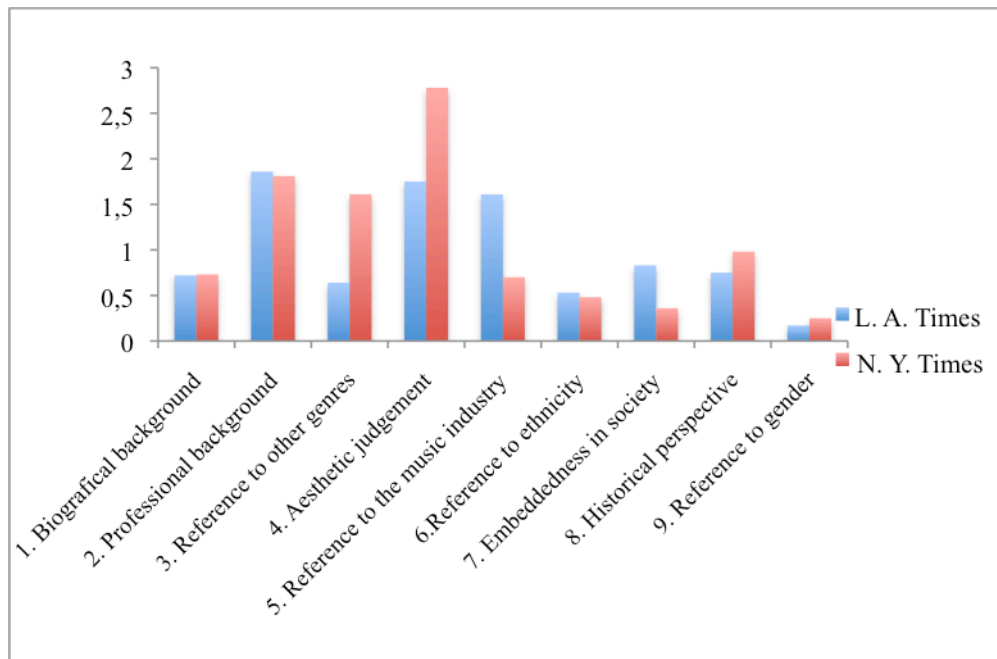


Figure 2. Average number of appearance of constructs per newspaper.

According to the analyses the only difference that is significant (when $p < .05$) is the difference in the reference to other music genres. When I use a higher p-value ($p < .10$), also the *aesthetic judgement* and the average *reference to the music industry* differ significantly.

Table 6. Effects per construct on differences between newspapers

| | df | F | sig | Partial Eta Squared |
|---------------------------------|----|-------|------|---------------------|
| Biographical background | 1 | .001 | .974 | .000 |
| Professional background | 1 | .051 | .822 | .001 |
| References to other genres | 1 | 9.185 | .003 | .086 |
| Aesthetic judgement | 1 | 3.467 | .066 | .034 |
| Racial frame | 1 | .023 | .880 | .000 |
| Embeddedness in society | 1 | 1.880 | .173 | .019 |
| Historical perspective | 1 | .470 | .494 | .005 |
| Gender frame | 1 | .227 | .635 | .002 |
| Reference to the music industry | 1 | 2.762 | .100 | .027 |

That there are differences between these two national newspapers shows that even the national media are not necessarily exactly on the same page, which illustrates the importance of including multiple data sources. In the last chapter I will present the conclusions regarding this study, go further into detail about the limitations of this research and make suggestions for further research.

6. Conclusions, discussion and suggestions for further research

In this thesis I aim to contribute to the topic of genre trajectories by researching the deviant genre trajectory of soul music. I have investigated how changes in the genre trajectory of soul music are reflected in two national newspapers. The goal has been to answer the following question: *How is the genre trajectory of soul music reflected in changes in media attention on this genre in the L.A. Times and N.Y. Times?* To answer this question I studied news reports on soul music in two national newspapers (the N.Y. Times and the L.A. Times), in two time periods (1954-1975 and 1995-2009). After introducing the soul genre I placed it in a historical context in the second chapter. Soul music has a rich history in which the genre originated and developed. I grounded these developments theoretically by using the genre trajectory model of Lena and Peterson (2008) that I discussed in the third chapter. The deviant genre trajectory of soul is one that has not been researched before. I coded a hundred articles about soul music from the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times and described the data gathering, observation and method of analyses in the fourth chapter. This led to the formulation of nine constructs. In the results section I explained which frames and discourses are present in this data and I describe the differences between timeframes. In this chapter I present the conclusions and I analyse to what extent the IST-model needs revision or elaboration by comparing the theoretical model to the inductively formulated constructs. I will evaluate the theoretical framework and my research in the discussion section and I will conclude with some suggestions for further research. But before I answer the main question in regard to the formulated expectations I will present some general conclusions.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

I would like to begin with a set of general observations that are relevant in this field of research. When looking at the number of news reports on soul music in newspapers, it appears that writers have written more about neo soul than about classic soul. Within the theoretical framework this translates to the observation that national newspapers have written less about soul in the Industry-based stage than in the Traditionalist stage. One explanation could be that newspaper websites have allowed papers to write more. Not every article has to be printed anymore, it can also be published online, after which it is stored in a digital archive. Another explanation could be related to the growth of the audience. During the rise of classic soul music, the genre was associated with societal developments such as the repression of African Americans. In recent times, neo soul is very popular and listened to by a large audience of both blacks and whites. It no longer explicitly represents segregation.

Baumann (2001; 2006) assessed these changes in the composition of the audience as a change in opportunity space. The growth of the audience of soul music is strongly related to valuing this genre as an art form.

REPORTING ABOUT SOUL MUSIC OVER TIME

To determine whether or not there are differences between the two timeframes and the two newspapers I estimated both total models before I specified the results per construct. The total differences between timeframes (model 1, table 3) and newspapers (model 2, table 3) turned out to be significant. The formulated constructs however did not explain to total variance. This means that the total set of constructs significantly differ over time but do not explain all differences. Now that it is determined that the total models are significant, the results per construct can be discussed.

Between the timeframes there are two constructs that make the largest difference, namely: racial frame and *embeddedness in society*. These two constructs discuss different topics and are not overlapping. The first construct is specifically about relating soul music to racial issues. When a writer explicitly degraded the genre by mentioning for example that soul music as a genre is of less importance because of its African American origin, it is part of the racial frame. The *embeddedness in society* is about the resistance that African Americans express against their repression.

Racial segregation was an important issue in the first timeframe. For that I expected that to be reflected by the newspaper reporting. After analyzing the results it appeared that the racial frame explained the largest part of the differences between timeframes. The repression of African Americans is closely related to the classic soul period and is reflected in newspaper articles. The societal position of this group who ‘owned’ the genre and their struggle is prominently present. The reflection of the racial differences that were a large part of daily life during the classic time period illustrates that the media can enable and constrain a collective struggle (Roscigno and Danaher, 2001). Bryson (1996) and Binder (1993) illustrate how race has played a large role in framing. According to Bryson (1996) race plays an important role in expressing musical dislikes, for example in music and literature reviewing. As I explained in the third chapter, Binder (1993) found that in creating fear the concept of race was often used. So, given the social circumstances of soul music it does not seem a surprise that the racial frame is dominant in news reporting on soul music.

In the classic soul period, writers have paid much attention to the racial frame but also they paid much more attention to the music industry than writers did in the neo soul period.

That writers in the classic soul period more often refer to the music industry is an accurate reflection of the genre trajectory of soul music. One characteristic of an Industry-based genre is that the genre is shaped by the industry. This is expressed in for example the use of production tools that standardize the soul sound and the performances.

Over time the soul genre has made many changes that led the genre to the Traditionalist stage of the genre trajectory model of Lena and Peterson (2008). One of the things that characterizes the Traditionalist stage is a growing number of critics who write about a genre. In the course of time not only the way information is described changed, also the sort of article that was written about soul changed. In the classic soul period writers wrote background articles, in the neo soul period the review is the dominant format. This also explains why there is such a difference between the two timeframes in the extent to which writers refer to aesthetics since the content of a review mostly is about evaluating a musical product such as an album or a performance. Schmutz (2009) also found ‘a growing share of newspaper space’. The growth of newspaper space provides more ‘room’ for critics to publish their reviews in. With the increase of the number of reviews, logically, the average number of referencing to aesthetics increases. The fact that journalists in the neo soul period write more about aesthetics could be directly related to the idea that people read reviews to know what to purchase. As Debenedetti (2006) explains, the audience uses the critic as a reference point for making consumer choices. The relation between reviews and consumption could explain why people want a short indication of the quality of a musical product, whether that is a live performance or an album. In the classic soul period journalism in general was of a different character. Articles are built up differently than they are now. Also the genre has become more legitimate over time. As assessed by Baumann (2006), the music genre became seen as an art form due to a shift in audiences. The fact that the media attention increased is in itself a part of the legitimatisation process: ‘framing of this sort occurs and is part of the process of mobilizing support for a movement, social, scientific, or intellectual’ (Baumann, 2006). The growth of this support has led to a different composition of the audience and acceptance of the music genre in the cultural field.

Baumann (2001) described how ‘the comparison’ is one of the tools of the critic in evaluating a cultural product. In regard to the expected genre differences Schmutz (2009) states that when genres become more popular and get more attention of the national media, the media also pay more attention to men than to women. Several other scholars such as Clawson (1999) and DeNora (2002) have researched the use of gender in reviews. One of the results is that gender, just like race, is a factor that can explain musical distinctions. Even so,

the gender construct did not make a significant difference in explaining the differences between newspapers or timeframes.

To sum up, in the case of the racial frame and the reference to the music industry the N.Y. Times and the L.A. Times reflect the expectations and follow the genre trajectory of soul music. The expected difference between timeframes in aesthetic judgement is not confirmed by the observed data. The difference are in line with the expectation that writers would have written more about aesthetics in the neo soul period than in the classic soul period, the difference even seemed a relatively large difference. However, this difference did not appear to be significant.

COMPARING THEORY TO INDUCTIVE OBSERVATIONS:

THE REFLECTION OF THE SOUL GENRE TRAJECTORY IN NEWSREPORTS

The aim of this chapter is a comparison of the attributes of the IST-Trajectory of Lena and Peterson (2008) and the constructs I derived from my inductive observations. I will evaluate the similarities and differences between the IST-trajectory model and the inductively observed constructs per timeframe. The first timeframe is the classic soul period, which corresponds with the Industry-based stage, and the second timeframe neo soul period with the Traditionalist stage. By comparing my constructs to their model I hope to give rise to an extension of the genre trajectory model. Table 7 provides a schematic oversight of this comparison. The question I answer in this paragraph is: *To what extent are the attributes of the genre stages of the IST model applicable to the trajectory of the soul genre?*

In answering this question several outcomes are possible: a) The IST-model attributes apply, or b) they do not apply, c) they only partially apply. Dependent on the outcomes the genre trajectory model needs revision(-s), extension(-s), or elaboration.

When the IST-trajectory is in fact applicable to the soul genre I need to show the differences between classical soul and neo soul in the by Lena and Peterson formulated attributes. These attributes I try to assign to the genre stages of soul music based on the observation of newspaper articles. By showing proof of the differences between the Industry-based stage and the Traditionalist stage per attribute in the newspaper material I demonstrate how the attributes are similar to my constructs. The IST-model does not say anything about the framing of a genre by journalists, how they categorize and what attributes they use to do so. Lena and Peterson (2008) only refer to frames as a characteristic of media writers but they do not apply it to soul by providing proof. However, the framing of journalists could represent

the two stages from the IST-trajectory that I studied: the Industry-based stage and the Traditionalist stage.

THE UTILITY OF THE GENRE TRAJECTORY MODEL

First, I will set out what the similarities are between the genre trajectory and my constructs, and next I will show the differences. I will conclude with an evaluation.

Table 7. Schematic visualization of the comparison of the IST-model and the inductively formulated constructs.

| Attributes | Present | | Constructs | Example Industry based stage | Example Traditionalist stage |
|---|---------|-------|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | +: yes | -: no | | | |
| Organizational Form | +/- | | | (1) | |
| Organizational Scale | +/- | | <i>Reference to the music industry</i> | (2) | |
| Organizational Locus | -/- | | <i>or music labels</i> | | |
| Genre Ideal or Member Goals | +/+ | | <i>Reference to embeddedness in society</i> | (5) | (6) |
| Codification of Performance Conventions | +/- | | <i>Reference to the music industry or music labels</i> | (4) | |
| Technology | +/- | | <i>Reference to aesthetics</i> | (3) | |
| Boundary Work | -/- | | | | |
| Dress, Adornment, Drugs | -/- | | | | |
| Argot | -/- | | | | |
| Sources of Income for Artists | -/- | | | | |
| Press Coverage | +/+ | | <i>Reference to aesthetics</i> | (7) | (8) |
| Source of Genre Name | -/- | | | | |

The first three attributes of the Lena and Peterson model are about *Organizational Form*, *Organizational Scale* and *Organizational Locus*. In the Industry-based stage these attributes respectively refer to: an established field, national/worldwide and industrial firms. In the Traditionalist stage the *Organizational Form* is clubs and associations, the *Organizational Scale* varies from local to international and the *Organizational Locus* is expressed in festivals, tours and academic settings. In both stages the music industry plays a large part in determining how and where bands present themselves. This is closely linked to the fifth construct *the reference to the music industry and music labels*. In news reports journalists often explain how the industry forms and directs artists in a certain direction. The director of Motown, Barry Gordy Jr., has a very strong influence on the signed artists. In the L.A. Times Pete Johnson writes about the high standards of Motown, but he also shows how the Industry focuses on its audience. *Organizational Form* is an attribute that is partially covered in

newspaper articles. The following example represents *Organizational Form* in the Industry-based stage: (1) *'There are other indications of Motown's concern for the public throughout the company: the second floor houses an office for its fan club, the eight floor contains a number of mirrored rehearsal rooms where acts are drilled for public performances (...)' (Pete Johnson, L.A. Times, 1968)*. The fan club implies an audience in an established field. The established field as the organizational form means that a genre finds itself in the Industry-based stage. As for the Traditionalist stage, in the material there are often references to the same clubs such as Carnegie Hall. But based on the mentioning of these clubs and tours I cannot prove that these artists *only* play in these places.

The second attribute *Organizational Scale* is also present in media texts that refer to the Industry based stage. (2) *'(...) We begin on the ninth floor which houses the Tour Room. There amid bulletin board displays of Motown's history, Motown artists and overseas operations (...)' (Pete Johnson, L.A. Times, 1968)*. Motown artists tour internationally, which is proof of the organizational scale of the soul genre in the Industry-based stage. The Traditionalist stage is slightly different from the Industry-based stage. The organizational scale of a genre would vary from local to international. The only indication of local appearances is that the clubs in which neo soul artists play are mentioned. However, this is more a sign of *Organizational Form* than of *Organizational Locus*. It seems to me that this underlines the questionability of the attributes. About the overlap between several attributes I will say more in the discussion. Although it seems very logical that the *Organization Scale* also related to *reference to the music industry and music labels* I did not find any proof of that in the newspaper reports.

This example is related to the *Technology* attribute. In the Industry-based stage this attribute is about standardizing sound by using production tools. The following quote is an example: (3) *'Most Motown records have a strong beat. Most use brass and a lot of percussion. But Berry and his producers vary the sound with strings and instruments as far out as Moog Synthesizer' (Pete Johnson, L.A. Times, 1968)*. The voice techniques and the use of instruments I coded as an example of aesthetics. In the Traditionalist stage this attribute is expressed in 'idealized orthodoxy'. This I did not find in the newspaper material.

The *Codifications of Performance Conventions* is just like *Technology* partially covered in newspaper articles. In the Industry-based stage this attribute is about the shaping of artists by the industry. The performance of artists in this case refers to, for example, albums and live performances. (4) *'Quality control means that Motown release few singles. Barry Gorden Jr. listens to every record proposed as a single after it has passed through the quality*

control department. If he does not like it, the record is sent back to be redone or shelved. Sometimes a record is rejected and redone for 20 or more times before he is satisfied' (Bob Shayne, *L.A. Times*, 1967). In the Traditionalist stage the focus is on deviation, which was not reflected in newspaper reporting.

The attribute *Genre Ideal or Member Goals* is covered in newspaper articles. The creation of intellectual property and the preservation of the heritage so that it can be passed on are characteristics of *embeddedness of soul in society*. The following quote is an example: (5) *'Buses, taxis and passenger cars passed up and down the avenue with their headlights ablaze as a tribute to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'* (Gerald Fraser, *N.Y. Times*, 1968). In news reports journalists often portray the lifestyle that comes with the genre. In the case of soul music the resistance of black people against the oppression of the white people is an example of this. Rosa Parks for example who would not stand up for a white man in a bus, but also the publicly expressed grief when Martin Luther King died and the protests of black people about the racial differences are a part of the embeddedness in society and reflect the community that is created around soul music. In the Traditionalist stage this attribute is expressed by the owning of the genre by creating a heritage. The creation of a heritage can be done in several ways. For example by writing about a genre to be able to pass the knowledge about a genre on to a next generation but also, neo soul artists can preserve the heritage of their predecessors for example by using the same voice techniques as the classic soul artists. That the preservation of soul is present in the Traditionalist stage can be illustrated by titles such as *'Alicia Keys Fights for Soul's Survival'* (Jon Parales, *N.Y. Times*, 2003). In the same article Parales writes: (6) *'For most of the album, Ms. Keys, 22, harks back to what vintage soul singers did: plunge into love's hopes and torments with gutsy voice and richly arranged clear-cut songs.'* This illustrates how neo soul artists revert to classic soul artists.

The attribute *Press Coverage* is one of the attributes of the genre trajectory model. As a direct result of the stages that soul music goes through I choose to observe material from national newspapers. After studying the news reports from the *L.A. Times* and the *N.Y. Times* I noticed that aesthetics is a factor that repeatedly occurs, in most cases in reviews. Especially in the Traditionalist stage the role of critic is very present. In reviews critics pay much more attention to aesthetics than journalist who write background articles. Scholars such as Baumann (2001; 2002; 2006) and Debenedetti (2006) support this finding given that the critic is essential in establishing the value of a cultural product in which aesthetics is an important factor. Since it appeared that almost no reviews were written in the classic soul period and most of the articles in the neo soul period are reviews, it corresponds with the

reference to aesthetics construct, that also mostly appears in the Traditionalist stage. This is an example where Jon Parales uses aesthetics to evaluate a performance: (7) ‘*Aretha Franklin’s voice was in its glory when she sang at Carnegie Hall on Wednesday night. From sultry low notes to an airborne, carefree soprano, she regularly swooped through a range of two octaves*’ (*N.Y. Times, 1996*). Baumann (2001) points out the importance of festivals where a cultural product can be judged. Prices that can be won are relevant because it establishes the artistic value of the cultural product, whether this is a film or a music genre. This fits the *Press Coverage* in the Traditionalist stage which is: genre-based advocacy and critique. An example of this is: (8) ‘*Her Grammy-winning, five-million-selling 2001 debut album, “Songs in A Minor,” also had soul underpinnings; behind her career-making hit “Fallin” was an old James Brown vamp.*’ This example once again shows how important the reference to the classic soul period is. Whether this is in using certain instruments or voice techniques or in implicitly referring to other artists.

In spite of the similarities between *Press Coverage* and *reference to aesthetics* there is also a quite important difference noticeable. I perceive voice techniques and the use of instruments as indicators of aesthetics whereas Lena and Peterson range them to define the authenticity of a genre. Authenticity is one of the largest factors that determine whether or not a genre is in the Traditionalist stage.

There are several attributes that do not occur in my constructs. These are: *Boundary Work, Dress, Adornment, Drugs, Argot* and *Sources of Income for Artists*. I find different primary topics in news reporting on soul music. The most important one is *reference to ethnicity*. I find this construct dominant in news reporting, especially in the classic soul period. Just like the indicators I use for the *reference to aesthetics* construct, race is in the Lena and Peterson (2008) paper considered a part of establishing the authenticity of a genre. For example Lena (2006) stated that racial differences influenced the development of several genres. It seems that because race is only referred to in determining the authenticity of a genre, the differentiating power of racial differences is underestimated. However, the concept authenticity is not explicitly placed in the model. It is a concept that is very present in explaining the Traditionalist stage but not in the attributes. This is one reason why some of my constructs do not match the attributes.

Because of the influence of history on the originating of a genre, one could expect the historical context of a genre to have a more prominent place within the genre trajectory model. The model only measures the genre status by attributes that are applicable to the current place in time. Overall the genre trajectory tries to capture a larger timeframe, but the

authors establish this by measuring instantaneous samples. When observing the news reports I found that journalists often provide the reader with historical information to place a genre in a context. This is consistent with statements of scholars such as Binder (1993) who states that historical events contribute to understanding information and helps form a cultural context.

To sum up: there is a certain overlap between the genre trajectory model and the constructs I formed based on inductive research. Striking is the dominance of the attributes in newspaper reports that represent the Industry-based phase. The characteristics of the Traditionalist phase are less tangible when studying newspaper material. The reason for this might be that a number of characteristics that Lena and Peterson used to define authenticity, which is an important concept to define the Traditionalist stage with, are not translated to the attributes to actually measure this stage.

In my constructs the sound of a genre was ranged on the side of aesthetics where Lena and Peterson range these characteristics aside of the *Technology* attribute. This only goes for the Industry-based characteristic. It seems that the *aesthetic judgment* construct has many expressions that are divided in the IST-model. Technology, Press Coverage and Codification of Performance Conventions all have a resemblance to my *aesthetic judgment* construct.

Foremost, the genre trajectory model of Lena and Peterson (2008) does not seem to be exclusive. This research is exploratory and further research is required to develop a sustainable extension of the genre trajectory model, but nonetheless this study seems to provide ideas to expand the genre trajectory model with.

DISCUSSION

In this section I would like to put a few things up for debate. My first remark is: How do you make a distinction between a societal phenomenon and an attribute? For example, authenticity is a large part of the Traditionalist stage. Lena and Peterson (2008) state that race is an important factor in the authenticity of a genre. This might be true but whether or not race is a specific factor that characterizes a genre to be at a certain stage in the genre trajectory also depends on at what point in time a genre is developing. Suppose that a genre develops in a time in which racial differences are not at all important anymore. It still reaches the Traditionalist stage but race will not play a large part in determining the authenticity. Is the model of Lena and Peterson dynamic enough to look past time-dependent societal phenomena?

Another point that I would like to put up for debate is the questionability of the attributes. Especially the difference between the *Organizational Form* in the Industry-based

stage and the Traditionalist stage is rather questionable. In the Industry-based stage the organizational form of soul is the established field and in the Traditionalist stage the organizational form are clubs and associations. Does this mean that clubs and associations are not a part of the established field?

When Lena and Peterson explain their model by using examples, at first glance it seems that there are many similarities with my formulated constructs. But after studying the attributes that actually measure the genre stages, the number of similarities has decreased. Another problem is, as I aforementioned, that the attributes are not exclusive and not exhaustive. They overlap and therefore it is hard to use examples exclusively for illustrating one attribute. Aside from that it seems that the attributes are not clearly defined, which causes confusion.

Lena and Peterson (2008) use the authenticity concept to explain the Traditionalist stage. However, this concept is not part of the attributes. When they explained what authenticity entails, it appeared that there were many points of likeness. For example: *'Performers' race, class, educational attainment, and regional origins are often used as markers of authenticity'* (2008, 706). Race is one of the factors that I explicitly pointed out, the same I did with the professional background of an artist. But in the actual model these characteristics are left out. Therefore the resemblance between the IST-model and my constructs is compromised. In my opinion the model needs elaboration and a more concrete translation of the explanation of the stages to the attributes.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One of the questions that is hard to answer is why the N.Y. Times and the L.A. Times do not reflect the same image of the genre trajectory of soul music. One possible explanation could be that record labels that signed soul artists geographically spread over the United States. Especially in the classic soul period the music industry dictated the genre. Different approaches of the record labels could lead to small differences in performances of artists. The L.A. Times logically focuses more on the area close to California and the N.Y. Times would pay more attention to the Eastern part of the United States. But this does not explain differences in the other eight constructs. A solution would be to study more national newspapers to control for geographic differences that translate to news reporting.

One of the disadvantages of this study is that it is not possible to draw completely objective conclusions on the progression of soul music over time. I used articles out of two national newspapers because I assume that they accurately reflect an image of society. In a

way this is a compromise but it is a way to measure social phenomena in a certain period of time. Longitudinal research often has a down side. The goal of this study was to see whether or not the theoretical idea of genre trajectories was reflected in written news reporting. It might not be able to make objective statements but I can conclude after this research that there is a reason to further study the soul genre in news reporting for two reasons: this study strongly indicates differences between timeframes and I found several constructs that Lena and Peterson (2008) did not include in their genre trajectory model. To be able to establish whether or not there are differences between the two timeframes, in future research, more data sources need to be included. The reliability of the study would increase when more national newspapers would be studied, accompanied with more easily accessible publications such as music magazines or fanzines. It is possible that other publications touch upon different topics than newspapers.

But most of all it seems very clear that societal developments are picked up by cultural producers such as the written media. In this case the media are a part of a multi-actor model. But not all actors could be taken into account. It seems possible that there are different factors that have influenced the changes in soul music and the reflection of these changes in newspaper articles. To be able to say more about the specific influence of news reporting in newspapers, a statistical model needs to be estimated. By using statistical analyses, effects from other factors such as bar owners, the broadcasting of radio and television, labels etcetera can be taken into account. Only then, the effect of written reporting can be determined.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Additional analyses

Table 1. Average appearance of constructs per article per timeframe.

| Descriptive Statistics | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------|------|----------------|-----|
| | Genre | Mean | Std. Deviation | N |
| Biographical background | classic | ,67 | 1,322 | 43 |
| | neo | ,77 | 2,018 | 57 |
| | Total | ,73 | 1,746 | 100 |
| Professional background | classic | 1,72 | 1,843 | 43 |
| | neo | 2,09 | 2,558 | 57 |
| | Total | 1,93 | 2,275 | 100 |
| References to other genres | classic | ,91 | 1,360 | 43 |
| | neo | 1,53 | 1,723 | 57 |
| | Total | 1,26 | 1,599 | 100 |
| Esthetic judgement | classic | 2,19 | 3,026 | 43 |
| | neo | 2,75 | 3,158 | 57 |
| | Total | 2,51 | 3,099 | 100 |
| Racial frame | classic | ,86 | 1,712 | 43 |
| | neo | ,23 | ,964 | 57 |
| | Total | ,50 | 1,367 | 100 |
| Embeddednes in society | classic | ,91 | 2,328 | 43 |
| | neo | ,25 | ,808 | 57 |
| | Total | ,53 | 1,666 | 100 |
| Historic perspective | classic | 1,12 | 1,592 | 43 |
| | neo | ,74 | 1,664 | 57 |
| | Total | ,90 | 1,636 | 100 |
| Gender frame | classic | ,23 | 1,109 | 43 |
| | neo | ,21 | ,559 | 57 |
| | Total | ,22 | ,836 | 100 |
| Industry | classic | 1,58 | 3,800 | 43 |
| | neo | ,61 | 1,065 | 57 |
| | Total | 1,03 | 2,646 | 100 |

Table 2.

| Multivariate Tests ^b | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------|---------------|----------|------|---------------------|
| Effect | Value | F | Hypothesis df | Error df | Sig. | Partial Eta Squared |
| Pillai's Trace | ,634 | 17,315 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,000 | ,634 |
| Wilks' Lambda | ,366 | 17,315 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,000 | ,634 |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|--------|------|------|
| Hotelling's Trace | 1,731 | 17,315 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,000 | ,634 |
| Roy's Largest Root | 1,731 | 17,315 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,000 | ,634 |
| Pillai's Trace | ,195 | 2,418 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,017 | ,195 |
| Wilks' Lambda | ,805 | 2,418 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,017 | ,195 |
| Hotelling's Trace | ,242 | 2,418 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,017 | ,195 |
| Roy's Largest Root | ,242 | 2,418 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,017 | ,195 |

a. Exact statistic

b. Design: Intercept + Genre

Table 3 . Average appearance of constructs per article per newspaper.

Descriptive Statistics

| | Paper | Mean | Std. Deviation | N |
|----------------------------|------------|------|----------------|-----|
| Biographical background | L.A. Times | ,72 | 1,427 | 36 |
| | NY Times | ,73 | 1,913 | 64 |
| | Total | ,73 | 1,746 | 100 |
| Professional background | L.A. Times | 1,86 | 2,206 | 36 |
| | NY Times | 1,97 | 2,330 | 64 |
| | Total | 1,93 | 2,275 | 100 |
| References to other genres | L.A. Times | ,64 | 1,046 | 36 |
| | NY Times | 1,61 | 1,751 | 64 |
| | Total | 1,26 | 1,599 | 100 |
| Esthetic judgement | L.A. Times | 1,75 | 2,310 | 36 |
| | NY Times | 2,94 | 3,408 | 64 |
| | Total | 2,51 | 3,099 | 100 |
| Racial frame | L.A. Times | ,53 | 1,341 | 36 |
| | NY Times | ,48 | 1,391 | 64 |
| | Total | ,50 | 1,367 | 100 |
| Embeddednes in society | L.A. Times | ,83 | 2,287 | 36 |
| | NY Times | ,36 | 1,173 | 64 |
| | Total | ,53 | 1,666 | 100 |
| Historic perspective | L.A. Times | ,75 | 1,461 | 36 |
| | NY Times | ,98 | 1,732 | 64 |
| | Total | ,90 | 1,636 | 100 |
| Gender frame | L.A. Times | ,17 | ,561 | 36 |
| | NY Times | ,25 | ,959 | 64 |
| | Total | ,22 | ,836 | 100 |
| Industry | L.A. Times | 1,61 | 3,959 | 36 |
| | NY Times | ,70 | 1,411 | 64 |
| | Total | 1,03 | 2,646 | 100 |

Table 4.

Multivariate Tests^b

| Effect | | Value | F | Hypothesis df | Error df | Sig. | Partial Eta Squared |
|-----------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|---------------|----------|------|---------------------|
| Intercept | Pillai's Trace | ,612 | 15,773 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,000 | ,612 |
| | Wilks' Lambda | ,388 | 15,773 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,000 | ,612 |
| | Hotelling's Trace | 1,577 | 15,773 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,000 | ,612 |
| | Roy's Largest Root | 1,577 | 15,773 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,000 | ,612 |
| Paper | Pillai's Trace | ,169 | 2,034 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,044 | ,169 |
| | Wilks' Lambda | ,831 | 2,034 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,044 | ,169 |
| | Hotelling's Trace | ,203 | 2,034 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,044 | ,169 |
| | Roy's Largest Root | ,203 | 2,034 ^a | 9,000 | 90,000 | ,044 | ,169 |

a. Exact statistic

b. Design: Intercept + Paper

Appendix 2. Discographies that formed the base for the search strings.

Discography 4. Where Did Our Love Go? The Rise and Fall of the Motown Sound. By Nelson George

| Artist | Album | Record label |
|---------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| The Contours | Do You Love Me | Motown |
| Elgins | Darling Baby | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Four Tops | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Second Album | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Reach Out | Motown |
| The Four Tops | On Top | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Still Waters Run Deep | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | That Stubborn Kinda Fella | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | How Sweet It Is | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Together | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | The Moods Of Marvin Gaye | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Marvin Gaye Anthology | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Take Two | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | United | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | In The Groove | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | You're All I Need | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Easy | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | MPG | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | What's Going On | Motown |

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|--------|
| Brenda Holloway | Every Little Bit Hurts | Motown |
| Isley Brothers | This Old Heart Of Mine | Motown |
| Isley Brothers | Doin' Their Thing | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | Diana Ross Presents Jackson 5 | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | ABC | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | Third Album | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | Maybe Tomorrow | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | Greatist Hits | Motown |
| Michael Jackson | Got To Be There | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Everybody Needs Love | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Geelin'Bluesy | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Silk 'n' Soul | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Nitty Gritty | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | If I Were Your Woman | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Neither One Of Us | Motown |
| Shorty Long | Here Comes The Judge | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Come and Get These Memories | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Heat Wave | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Dance Party | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Watch Out! | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Ridin' High | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Please Mr. Postman | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Playboy | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Marvelous Marvelettes | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Sophisticated Soul | Motown |
| The Miracles | Hi! We're the Miracles | Motown |
| The Miracles | I'll Try Something New | Motown |
| The Miracles | Doin' Mickey's Monkey | Motown |
| The Miracles | From the Beginning | Motown |
| The Miracles | Going to a Go-Go | Motown |
| The Miracles | Away We A Go-Go | Motown |
| The Miracles | The Tears of a Clown | Motown |
| The Miracles | The Miracles Greatest Hits with Smokey Robinson | Motown |
| The Miracles | Special Occasion | Motown |
| The Miracles | Time Out | Motown |
| The Miracles | Four in Blue | Motown |
| The Miracles | What Love Has Joined Together | Motown |
| Originals | Baby, I'm For Real | Motown |
| Originals | Portrait of the Originals | Motown |
| Originals | Naturally Together | Motown |
| Rare Earth | Get Ready | Motown |
| Rare Earth | Ecology | Motown |

| | | |
|------------------|---|--------|
| Rare Earth | One World | Motown |
| Rare Earth | In Concert | Motown |
| Diana Ross | Riana Ross | Motown |
| Diana Ross | Surrender | Motown |
| David Ruffin | My Whole World Ended | Motown |
| David Ruffin | Feelin' Good | Motown |
| Jimmy Ruffin | Jimmy Ruffin Sings Top Ten | Motown |
| Jimmy Ruffin | Ruff 'n' Ready | Motown |
| Jimmy Ruffin | A Am My Brother's Keeper | Motown |
| Spinners | The Original Spinners | Motown |
| Spinners | Second Time Around | Motown |
| Spinners | Best of the Spinners | Motown |
| Edwin Starr | Twenty-Five Miles | Motown |
| Edwin Starr | War and Peace | Motown |
| Edwin Starr | Involved | Motown |
| The Supremes | Where Did Our Love GO | Motown |
| The Supremes | More Hits | Motown |
| The Supremes | I Hear a Symphony | Motown |
| The Supremes | The Supremes a Go-Go | Motown |
| The Supremes | Supremes Sing Holland-Dozier-Holland | Motown |
| The Supremes | The Supremes' Greatest Hits | Motown |
| The Supremes | Reflections | Motown |
| The Supremes | Love Child | Motown |
| The Supremes | Let the Sun Shine In | Motown |
| The Supremes | Diana Ross and The Supremes and The Temptations | Motown |
| The Supremes | Right On | Motown |
| The Supremes | New Ways But Love Stays | Motown |
| The Supremes | The Magnificent Seven | Motown |
| The Supremes | Touch | Motown |
| The Temptations | Meet the Temptations | Motown |
| The Temptations | The Temptations Sing Smokey | Motown |
| The Temptations | Temptin' Temptations | Motown |
| The Temptations | Gettin' Ready | Motown |
| The Temptations | With a Lot O' Soul | Motown |
| The Temptations | I Wish It Would Rain | Motown |
| The Temptations | Cloud Nine | Motown |
| The Temptations | The Supremes Doin' the Temptations | Motown |
| The Temptations | Puzzle People | Motown |
| The Temptations | Psychedelic Shack | Motown |
| The Temptations | Diana Ross and The Supremes and The Temptations | Motown |
| The Temptations | Greatest Hits Vol. 2 | Motown |
| The Temptations | The Sky's the Limit | Motown |
| The Temptations | Solid Rock | Motown |
| Undisputed Truth | Undisputed Truth | Motown |
| Undisputed Truth | Face to Face With the Truth | Motown |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | Shotgun | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | Road Runner | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | Home Cookin' | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | These Eyes | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | A Gassss | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | Rainbow Funk | Motown |
| Mary Wells | One Who Really Loves You | Motown |
| Mary Wells | Two Lovers | Motown |
| Mary Wells | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| Mary Wells | My Guy | Motown |
| Mary Wells | Together | Motown |
| Kim Weston | Take Two | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Little Stevie The 12-Year-Old Genius | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Stevie at the Beach | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Motown Review in Paris | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Uptight | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Down to Earth | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | I Was Made To Love Her | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | For Once In My Life | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | My Cherie Amour | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Signed, Sealed & Delivered | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Where I'm Coming From | Motown |

Discography 2. The First Lady of Neo-Soul by Joel McIver

| Artist | Album | Record label |
|--------|---|---------------------|
| Erykah | | |
| Badu | Baduizm | Motown |
| Erykah | | |
| Badu | Live | Motown |
| Erykah | | |
| Badu | Mama's Gun | Motown |
| | High School High | Big Beat |
| | Eve's Bayou: The Collection | MCA |
| | MTV Party To GO '98 | Tommy Boy |
| | Blues Brothers 2000 | Universal |
| | 1998 Grammy Nominees | MCA |
| | Hav Plenty | Sony |
| | Living The Dream: A Tribute TO Martin Luther King | Hip-O Records |
| | MTV Jams | Kedar Entertainment |
| | BET: Best Of Planet Groove | Noo Trybe |
| | Chant Down Babylon | Polygram |
| | Marvin Is 60: The Tribute Album | Motown |
| | The 24 Hour Woman | WEA Latina |

The Mix Tape Volume 3
 Jazzmatazz Streetsoul
 Red Star Sounds Volume 1: Soul Searching

Loud
 Virgin
 Epic

Discography 3. Soul Music. The Birth of a Sound in Black America. By Michael Haralambos

| Artist | Album | Record Label |
|-----------------------------|--|------------------------|
| James Barnes And the Agents | Free At Last (Great Day A-Comin') | Golden Hit Productions |
| Len Barry | 1-2-3 | Decca |
| William Bell | You Don't Miss Your Water | Stax |
| Big Maybelle | Keep That Man | Rojac |
| Bobby Bland | I'll Take Care of You | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | Lead Me On | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | St. James'Infirmiry | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | Turn On Your Lovelight | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | Yield To No Temptation | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | Stormy Monday | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | That's the Way Love Is | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | Gall On Me | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | The Feeling Is Gone | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | That Did It | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | Driftin'Blues | Duke |
| Bobby Bland | Save Your Love For me | Duke |
| Charles Brown | I'm Gonna Push On | Galaxy |
| Charles Brown | Black Night | King |
| James Brown | Please, Please, Please | Federal |
| James Brown | Shout And Shimmy | King |
| James Brown | Papa's Got a Brand New Bag | King |
| James Brown | I Feel Good | King |
| James Brown | Don't Be a Dropout | King |
| James Brown | I Got The Feeling | King |
| James Brown | Say It Loud - I'm Black And I'm Proud | King |
| James Brown | I Don't Want Nobody To Give Me Nothing | King |
| James Brown | Get Up, Get Into It, Get Involved | King |
| James Brown | King Heroin | Polydor |
| James Brown | Public Enemy No. 1 | Polydor |
| Roy Brown | Hard Luck Blues | Deluxe |
| Mojo Buford | It Was Early One Morning | Adell |
| Solomon Burke | Everybody Needs Somebody To Love | Atlantic |
| Solomon Burke | Take Me Just As I Am | Atlantic |
| Bobby Byrd | If You Don't Work You Can't Eat | King |
| James Carr | Freedom Train | GOLDWax |
| Clarence Carter | Slip Away | Atlantic |
| Ray Charles | I Got A Woman | Atlantic |

| | | |
|----------------------|--|------------------|
| Ray Charles | This Little Girl Of Mine | Atlantic |
| Ray Charles | Tell All The World About You | Atlantic |
| Ray Charles | What'd I Say | Atlantic |
| Ray Charles | Eleanor Rigby | ABC |
| Sonny Charles | Black Pearl | A & M |
| Chi-Lites | Let Me Be The Man My Daddy Was | Brunswick |
| Chi-Lites | Give More Power To The People | Brunswick |
| Jimmy "Soul" Clark | If Only I Knew Then | Karen |
| Tony Clarke | Ghetto Man | Chicory |
| Mitty Collier | Everybody Makes A Mistake Sometime | Chess |
| Arthur Connelly | People Sure Act Funny | Atco |
| Sam Cooke | Let The Good Times Roll | RCA |
| Sam Cooke | A Change Is Gonna Come | RCA |
| King Curtis | Soul Serenade | Atco |
| King Curtis | Memphis Soul Stew | Atco |
| Dells | Freedom Means | Cadet |
| Detroit Emeralds | (I'm An Ordinary Man) Take Me The Way I Am | Ric Tic |
| Dramatics | The Devil Is Dope | Volt |
| Dyke And The Blazers | We Got More Soul | Original Sound |
| Falcons | I Found A Love | Lupine |
| Flamingoes | You Me And The Sea | End |
| Eddie Floyd | Knock On Wood | Stax |
| Eddie Floyd | I've Never Found A Girl | Stax |
| Aretha Franklin | Respect | Atlantic |
| Aretha Franklin | Chain Of Fools | Atlantic |
| Aretha Franklin | Since You've Been Gone | Atlantic |
| Aretha Franklin | Think | Atlantic |
| Aretha Franklin | You Send Me | Atlantic |
| Getto Kitty | Hope For The Future | Stroud |
| Rosco Gordon | Just a Little Bit | Vee Jay |
| Eddie Harris | Listen Here | Atlantic |
| Dale Hawkins | Susie Q | Checker |
| Isaac Hayes | Theme From Shaft | Enterprise |
| Willie Hightower | It's A Miracle | Capitol |
| Willie Hightower | Time Has Brought About A Change | Fame |
| Howling Wolf | Pop It To Me | Chess |
| Impressions | It's Alright | ABC |
| Impressions | Keep On Pushing | ABC |
| Impressions | People Get Ready | ABC |
| Impressions | We're A Winner | ABC |
| Impressions | We're Rolling On | ABC |
| Luther Ingram | You Can Depend On Me | Koko |
| Luther Ingram | To The Other Man | Koko |
| Jesse James | Beleve In Me Baby, Parts 1 and 2 | 20th Century Fox |
| Syl Johnson | Come On, Sock It TO Me | Twilight |

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|----------------------|--|-------------------|
| Syl Johnson | Different Strokes | Twilight |
| Syl Johnson | Dresses Too Short | Twilight |
| Syl Johnson | I Take Care Of Homework | Twilight |
| Syl Johnson | Don't Give It Away | Twilight |
| Syl Johnson | Is It Because I'm Black | Twilight |
| Syl Johnson | We Do It Together | Twilight |
| Syl Johnson | We Did It | Hi |
| Albert King | Born Under A Bad Sign | Stax |
| B.B. King | Paying The Cost To Be The Boss | Bluesway |
| B.B. King | I'm Gonna Do What They Do To Me | Bluesway |
| Frederick Knight | Lean On Me | Stax |
| Little Milton | Blind Man | Checker |
| Little Milton | We're Gonna Make It | Checker |
| Little Milton | Dark End Of The Street | Checker |
| Little Milton | Gits Ain't Groceries | Checker |
| Little Milton | If That Ain't A Reason | Checker |
| Little Milton | Little Milton Sings Big Blues | CHecker |
| Barbara Lynn | (Until Then) I'll Suffer | Atlantic |
| Derek Martin | Soul Power | Volt |
| Amos Milburn | House Party | Aladdin |
| Shan Miles | Soul Party | Shout |
| Cliff Nobles | The Horse | Phil L.A. of Soul |
| Pace Setters | Push On Jesse Jackson | Kent |
| Bobby Parker | Watch Your Step | V-Tone |
| Junior Parker | Five Long Years | Duke |
| Junior Parker | Driving Wheel | Duke |
| Junior Parker | Your Love's All Over Me | Mercury |
| Junior Parker | You Don't Have To Be Black To Love The Blues | Groove Merchant |
| Wilson Pickett | In The Midnight Hour | Atlantic |
| Otis Redding | Respect | Volt |
| Otis Redding | The Happy Song (Dum Dum) | Volt |
| Otis Rush | Gambler's Blues | Cotillion |
| Sam and Dave | Soul Man | Stax |
| Sam and Dave | I Thank You | Stax |
| Moody Scott | (We Gotta) Bust Out Of The Ghetto, Part I | Sound Stage 7 |
| Marvin L. Simms | Talkin' 'Bout Soul | Revue |
| Nina Simone | Young, Gifted and Black | RCA |
| Staple Singers | Respect Yourself | Stax |
| Candi Staton | Stand By Your Man | Fame |
| Johnnie Taylor | Next Time | Stax |
| Johnnie Taylor | Who's Makin' Love | Stax |
| Johnnie Taylor | Mr. Nobody Is Somebody | Stax |
| Johnnie Taylor | I Am Somebody, Parts 1 and 2 | Stax |
| Little Johnny Taylor | Part Time Love | Galaxy |
| Little Johnny Taylor | Everybody Knows About My Good Thing, Part 1 | Ronn |

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|----------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Temptations | Ain't Too Proud To Beg | Gordy |
| Temptations | Please Return Your Love To Me | Gordy |
| Joe Tex | A Woman's Hands | Dial |
| Joe Tex | Keep The One You've Got | Dial |
| T.V. Slim | Don't Knock The Blues | Pzazz |
| Vontastics | Day Tripper | St. Lawrence |
| Johnny Watson | Soul Food | Okeh |
| Junior Wells | Up in Heah | Bright Star |
| Junior Wells | You're Tuff Enough | Blue Rock |
| Larry Williams | Short Fat Fanny | Specialty |
| Larry Williams | Hootchy Koo | Specialty |
| Larry Williams | Bad Boy | SPecialty |
| Larry Williams | She Said Yeah | Specialty |
| Larry Williams | Get Ready | Chess |
| Jackie Wilson | I Get The Sweetest Feeling | Brunswick |
| Winstons | Color Him Father | Metromedia |
| Stevie Wonder | Where I'm Coming From | Tamla |
| Stevie Wonder | Music OF My Mind | Tamla |
| Stevie Wonder | Talking Book | Tamla |
| Young Rascals | Groovin' | Atlantic |

Discography 4. Where Did Our Love Go? The Rise and Fall of the Motown Sound. By Nelson George

| Artist | Album | Record label |
|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| The Contours | Do You Love Me | Motown |
| Elgins | Darling Baby | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Four Tops | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Second Album | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Reach Out | Motown |
| The Four Tops | On Top | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| The Four Tops | Still Waters Run Deep | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | That Stubborn Kinda Fella | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Greatist Hits | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | How Sweet It Is | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Together | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | The Moods Of Marvin Gaye | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Marvin Gaye Anthology | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Take Two | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | United | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | In The Groove | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | You're All I Need | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | Easy | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | MPG | Motown |
| Marvin Gaye | What's Going On | Motown |
| Brenda Holloway | Every Little Bit Hurts | Motown |

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|----------------------------|---|--------|
| Isley Brothers | This Old Heart Of Mine | Motown |
| Isley Brothers | Doin' Their Thing | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | Diana Ross Presents Jackson 5 | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | ABC | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | Third Album | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | Maybe Tomorrow | Motown |
| Jackson 5 | Greatist Hits | Motown |
| Michael Jackson | Got To Be There | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Everybody Needs Love | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Geelin'Bluesy | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Silk 'n' Soul | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Nitty Gritty | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | If I Were Your Woman | Motown |
| Gladys Knight and the Pips | Neither One Of Us | Motown |
| Shorty Long | Here Comes The Judge | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Come and Get These Memories | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Heat Wave | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Dance Party | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Watch Out! | Motown |
| Martha and the Vandellas | Ridin' High | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Please Mr. Postman | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Playboy | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Marvelous Marvelettes | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| The Marvelettes | Sophisticated Soul | Motown |
| The Miracles | Hi! We're the Miracles | Motown |
| The Miracles | I'll Try Something New | Motown |
| The Miracles | Doin' Mickey's Monkey | Motown |
| The Miracles | From the Beginning | Motown |
| The Miracles | Going to a Go-Go | Motown |
| The Miracles | Away We A Go-Go | Motown |
| The Miracles | The Tears of a Clown | Motown |
| The Miracles | The Miracles Greatest Hits with Smokey Robinson | Motown |
| The Miracles | Special Occasion | Motown |
| The Miracles | Time Out | Motown |
| The Miracles | Four in Blue | Motown |
| The Miracles | What Love Has Joined Together | Motown |
| Originals | Baby, I'm For Real | Motown |
| Originals | Portrait of the Originals | Motown |
| Originals | Naturally Together | Motown |
| Rare Earth | Get Ready | Motown |
| Rare Earth | Ecology | Motown |
| Rare Earth | One World | Motown |

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|---------------------------------|---|--------|
| Rare Earth | In Concert | Motown |
| Diana Ross | Riana Ross | Motown |
| Diana Ross | Surrender | Motown |
| David Ruffin | My Whole World Ended | Motown |
| David RUffin | Feelin' Good | Motown |
| Jimmy Ruffin | Jimmy Ruffin Sings Top Ten | Motown |
| Jimmy Ruffin | Ruff 'n' Ready | Motown |
| Jimmy Ruffin | A Am My Brother's Keeper | Motown |
| Spinners | The Original Spinners | Motown |
| Spinners | Second Time Around | Motown |
| Spinners | Best of the Spinners | Motown |
| Edwin Starr | Twenty-Five Miles | Motown |
| Edwin Starr | War and Peace | Motown |
| Edwin Starr | Involved | Motown |
| The Supremes | Where Did Our Love GO | Motown |
| The Supremes | More Hits | Motown |
| The Supremes | I Hear a Symphony | Motown |
| The Supremes | The Supremes a Go-Go | Motown |
| The Supremes | Supremes Sing Holland-Dozier-Holland | Motown |
| The Supremes | The Supremes' Greatest Hits | Motown |
| The Supremes | Reflections | Motown |
| The Supremes | Love Child | Motown |
| The Supremes | Let the Sun Shine In | Motown |
| The Supremes | Diana Ross and The Supremes and The Temptations | Motown |
| The Supremes | Right On | Motown |
| The Supremes | New Ways But Love Stays | Motown |
| The Supremes | The Magnificent Seven | Motown |
| The Supremes | Touch | Motown |
| The Temptations | Meet the Temptations | Motown |
| The Temptations | The Temptations Sing Smokey | Motown |
| The Temptations | Temptin' Temptations | Motown |
| The Temptations | Gettin' Ready | Motown |
| The Temptations | With a Lot O' Soul | Motown |
| The Temptations | I Wish It Would Rain | Motown |
| The Temptations | Cloud Nine | Motown |
| The Temptations | The Supremes Doin' the Temptations | Motown |
| The Temptations | Puzzle People | Motown |
| The Temptations | Psychedelic Shack | Motown |
| The Temptations | Diana Ross and The Supremes and The Temptations | Motown |
| The Temptations | Greatest Hits Vol. 2 | Motown |
| The Temptations | The Sky's the Limit | Motown |
| The Temptations | Solid Rock | Motown |
| Undisputed Truth | Undisputed Truth | Motown |
| Undisputed Truth | Face to Face With the Truth | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | Shotgun | Motown |

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|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | Road Runner | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | Home Cookin' | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | These Eyes | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | A Gassss | Motown |
| Junior Walker and the All Stars | Rainbow Funk | Motown |
| Mary Wells | One Who Really Loves You | Motown |
| Mary Wells | Two Lovers | Motown |
| Mary Wells | Greatest Hits | Motown |
| Mary Wells | My Guy | Motown |
| Mary Wells | Together | Motown |
| Kim Weston | Take Two | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Little Stevie The 12-Year-Old Genius | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Stevie at the Beach | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Motown Review in Paris | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Uptight | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Down to Earth | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | I Was Made To Love Her | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | For Once In My Life | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | My Cherie Amour | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Signed, Sealed & Delivered | Motown |
| Stevie Wonder | Where I'm Coming From | Motown |

Appendix 3 Codebook

Studying soul music in America between 1954 and 2009

Section A: general information classic soul

| Var Number | Var Name | Posed Question | Coding |
|------------|-----------------|---|--|
| V1 | Coder ID Number | - | N=100 |
| V2 | Newspaper | In what newspaper is the article published? | 01: LA Times 02: NY Times |
| V3 | Month | What month was the article published? | 01: January... 12: December |
| V4 | Year | What year was the article published? | 01: 1954 ... 18: 1995 17: 1970 33: 2009 |
| V5 | Article Type | What is the article type? | 01 News article (events from the last 48 hours) 02 News Analysis (Evaluation/historical material) 03 Interview 04 Background article 05 Review |

| | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--|--|
| | | | 06 Other |
| V6 | Page number | On which page is the article placed? | 01..... |
| V7 | Words | How many words is the article? | 01..... |
| V8 | Primary source | What is the primary source of the article? | <i>Appeared to be unnecessary information.</i> |
| V9 | Photo accompanying article | Is there a photo accompanying the article? | 01: Yes 02: No |
| V10 | Main actor in photo | Is the main actor, the central figure of the article in the photo? | 01: Yes 02: No |
| V11 | Author | Who gives an opinion? | Name |
| V12 | Definition | How is soul music defined? | <i>Open answer, but was not in all articles present.</i> |
| V13 | Relevance/quality | How relevant is the article? | 01: not relevant 02: limited relevance 03: very relevant |

Section B: article level coding classic soul and neo soul

| Var Number | Var Name | Posed Question | Coding | Operationalisation |
|------------|---|--|---|--------------------|
| V14 | Topic | What is the main topic of the article? | Open answer | |
| V15 | Explicitness | Is soul music explicitly mentioned in the article? | 01: Yes 02: No | |
| V16 | 2 nd , 3 rd , 4 th topic | What are the second, third and fourth most important topics discussed in the article? | Open answer | |
| V17 | Artist | Which artist is central in the article? 01 Alicia Keys 02 Erykah Badu 03 Raphael Saadiq 04 Maxwell 05 D'Angelo 06 Jill Scott 07 Angie Stone 08 India Arie 09 John Legend 10 Beyonce 11 Macy Gray 12 Lauren Hill 13 Common | 01 Aretha Franklin 02 Otis Redding 03 Sam Cooke 04 Donny Hathaway 05 Ray Charles 06 James Brown 07 Stevie Wonder (little stevie) 08 B.B. King 09 Fats Domino 10 The Supremes | |

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|-----|--|---|---|--|
| | | 14 Prince 15 Bilal 16 Lucy Pearl | 11Dionne Warwick 12 Marvin Gaye | |
| V18 | 1. Reference to: Biographical background | Does the writer give information about family history, places an artist lived and personal characteristics? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -Information about his own/family history/how a person was raised -Information about places an artist lived -Information about personal characteristics -Information about affinity with music -Information about educational career |
| V19 | 2. Reference to: Professional background | Does the writer give information about the career, about the people an artist played with, recent performances and inspirations? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -Information about career -Information about who an artist played with -(Recent) performances -Inspirations -Musical process, composing |
| V20 | 3. Reference to: Other genres/artists | Does the writer compare the music to other genres, give information about influences of other artists, historical developments of soul music and speculates about what soul contains? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -Comparison to other genres -Influences of other genres -Historical development of soul music -Speculation on what (neo) soul contains |

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|-----|--------------------------------|--|---|---|
| | | | | -Speaking of cross-overs between genres |
| V21 | 4. Reference to: Aesthetics | Does the writer evaluate the album, judge the album, talk about the instruments used? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -Evaluation album -Positive or negative judgement -Instruments/ artists used on the album -Evaluation voice/person |
| V22 | 5. Reference to: Industry | Does the writer refer to labels, other artists related to labels, and writing of other writers/scholars? Is the artist directly related to a music label or the industry? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -Labels -Comparison to other artists -Relating genre to writers/scholars -Artists within the label -Label within music scene -Scouting process of artist -Discription label -Developments within label |
| V23 | 6. Reference to: Ethnicity | Does the writer relate the music to ethnicity? Does the writer classify soul music class stratification in society? Does the writer degrade soul music because of the African American makers? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -Draw relation between music and etnicity -Classification of soul music in society/class stratification -Degrading soul music because of the African American makers -Speaking less of soul music because |

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| | | | | of the community/ soul as the voice of the community |
| V24 | 7. Reference to: Embeddedness in society | Is the genre accepted in society, according to the article? Do people resist to their societal position and express involvement in the community? Are memorials or statues discussed? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -Accepted or not accepted in society -The extent of resistance (for example protest) -Expressing involvement in community -Memorials -Reactions of the crowd -The extent of movement by the music |
| V25 | 8. Reference to: Historical perspectives | Does the artist present an historical perspective on the music genre? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -On a label -On the black movement (related to for example revolutionaire persons) -On developments of artists -On reinterpreting songs (of other artists) -On development of soul music |
| V26 | 9. Reference to: Gender differences | Does the writer discuss the appearance of the artist, the differences between men and women as far as looks are concerned, and is the appearance explicitly related to ethnicity? | The number is the amount of times the answer was 'yes'. | -Discussion of appearance -Differences between writing about men and women -Discussion of appearance explicitly related to |

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|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | ethnicity -A referance to women's music and men's music |
|--|--|--|--|--|