ROCK, THIS CITY:
A Thematic History of Live Popular Music in Licensed Venues in Newcastle, Australia, During the Oz/Pub Rock Era (1970s and 80s)

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Declarations

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University’s Digital Repository**, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968. ** Unless an Embargo has been approved for a determined period.

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Gaye Sheather: __________________________
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Dedication

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Abstract

This study investigates the development of 'mainstream' popular music in one Australian city, that of Newcastle, NSW, in the period 1973-1988. This period became known more generally as the Oz/Pub Rock era and coincides approximately with the period the national music programme *Countdown* was televised (1974 - 1987).

In 1973, there were approximately seventeen (17) local bands that could be identified as performing mainstream music styles in licensed music venues in Newcastle. By 1987, the total number performing in licensed venues, performing in mainstream and/or alternative music styles numbered approximately one hundred and forty-eight (148). A total of one hundred and sixty-one (161) licensed venues were identified as existing across the study period. During this period the greater Newcastle area had a large population of young people who were then eligible to participate in live music in licensed venues. The unique way in which Newcastle suburbs originally emerged historically in Newcastle played a significant role in patterns of participation in these live music venues. Moreover, the large number of suburbs contained within the two LGAs of Newcastle and Lake Macquarie meant that the increasing number of younger patrons had a large number of licensed venues from which to choose and many initially attended live performance in venues close to the home suburbs with which they identified.

It is argued here that the formation of a musical identity is strongly connected to a local *habitus*, which includes the cultivation of social, symbolic, economic and cultural capital, which are built up over time. These connected musicians with audiences and venues in Newcastle. Given Newcastle’s proximity to Sydney and the attempt by local bands to achieve success there, it was found that these accumulated capitals were not easily transferrable to other areas. What Newcastle came to offer local musicians, as a result, was the ability to recognise and use to its full
extent, the social, symbolic and cultural capital available to them in their home town. This situation raises questions about the nature of authenticity as a construct in the performance of 'mainstream' music. While authenticity is constructed relative to the time and space in which it is experienced, at the same time a number of existing myths about mainstream music being performed in Newcastle at the time have been found to not have been borne out in this study.

The study concludes that the structural conditions that were peculiar to Newcastle and the way the various actors performed their roles within those conditions contributed to the way popular music developed in local spaces in Newcastle.
1.0 Introduction

Every 'place', be it village, town or city has features which are significant in the way its inhabitants live and view their lives. The way identities are shaped in those places is strongly connected to how local codes of behaviour and a practical sense of how things work is developed by the actors who inhabit those spaces. In this case, it can be claimed that there is a complex relationship between the choices that individual agents make in this space and the structures they encounter and also shape, in the period in which they exist. The way spaces emerge historically is significant to this development. What is then seen as ‘real’ or ‘genuine’ by those who inhabit and work in that locality is dependent on the time and space in which they exist.

This thesis is the result of a study conducted into 'mainstream' music in Newcastle, a regional city in New South Wales, Australia. It is concerned with the development of live music in licensed venues in this city in the decades of the 1970s and 1980s. This specific music period is commonly known as the Oz or Pub Rock period. Shane Homan (2003) has argued that this period 'on first appearance, signified the extent to which musicians and audiences had become comfortable with their own sounds and venues' (2003, p. 83) in Australia. Before that time, as Paul Conn has argued, the early developments in popular music 'between 1958 and 1963 in Australia were tentative as there was no local or Australian ‘identity’ to the music or its presentation' (1996, p. 12), hence, the importance of the later Oz Rock period when Australian bands and artists began writing and performing their own songs as a matter of course, and large audience numbers interacted with them. Despite the significance of this period and the mainstream popularity of many of the musicians associated with it, there has been comparatively little detailed empirical scholarly study, with a few exceptions, conducted into this important period in Australia's 'mainstream' music history, particularly in regard to regional areas. This study begins to address this gap in the literature by investigating the
development of live ‘mainstream’ music in licensed venues in Newcastle, the second largest city, after Sydney, in the state of New South Wales.

The study period comprised the years 1973-1988. This represented the years that the national music programme *Countdown* was televised (1974 - 1987), with the years 1973 and 1988 added as a way to capture additional information about any trends that may have been detected just outside of these years, for example, in the movement of young people seeking live music venues at unlicensed venues, to those that were licensed, during the early period of the 1970s.

During the 1970s and 80s, the greater Newcastle area, comprising Newcastle and Lake Macquarie Local Government Areas (LGAs), had a large population of young people. In 1976, for example, the total combined population of the two LGAs was 270,520 (ABS, 1976), with 21,660 persons in the two LGAs combined being aged between twenty and twenty-four. In 1986, the total population of both LGAs had grown to 300,000 (ABS 1986), with 23,284 persons in this age group residing in the combined Newcastle and Lake Macquarie LGAs. There was also an additional group - young people aged eighteen and nineteen, who would also have been eligible to enter licensed premises but who are not grouped into a discreet group by the ABS. This means that a large number of young people during this period were eligible to participate in live music in licensed venues.

Moreover, in 1973, there were approximately seventeen (17) local bands identified as performing in mainstream music styles in those licensed venues. By 1987, the total number performing in licensed venues, performing in mainstream and/or alternative music styles numbered approximately one hundred and forty-eight (148). While it is difficult to distinguish from the data the bands performing mainstream styles and those identifying as performing in alternative styles, it can be claimed from the evidence that at least 100 of those 148 bands were performing in what could be considered to be mainstream styles. The numbers do not include
soloists and duos performing in licensed venues at the time, nor do they include bands that could be identified as performing in the music styles of jazz, bush, country and western, cabaret, and folk music styles.

In order to gain work local bands adopted strategies that saw them negotiate for employment both within and outside a set of complex structures that existed in and were associated with the city. These structures impacted on their choices and some were also impacted on by a number of different factors, particularly industrial structures, and these could be seen to change over time. In terms of broader structures, the study presents evidence that the geography and history of Newcastle were important to the development of the local mainstream music scene. Newcastle's geographical location, that is, the ways its suburbs originally developed and its close proximity to Sydney, as well as its demographically high population of young people, were all important factors in how the popular music performed in licensed venues developed. This supports the view of a number of others, that geography and history play important roles in the way people view their world, in how they are perceived by others, and how this influences their behaviour (Demko, 1992; Marx 2007; Smith 2005/1776; Diamond 1997; Braudel in Watson 2000; Cushing 1995; Schmitt 2008; Sandner 2009; Luckman et al, 2008; Stratton 2007 and Brabazon 2005).

The unique way in which Newcastle suburbs originally emerged historically in Newcastle played a significant role in patterns of participation in live music venues in the period under study. Moreover, the large number of suburbs contained within the two LGAs of Newcastle and Lake Macquarie meant that the increasing number of younger patrons had a large number of licensed venues, comprising pubs, clubs, nightclubs and taverns, as well as some restaurants which incorporated 'nightclubs' in their premises, from which to choose. A total of one hundred and fifty-one (151) licensed venues were identified as existing in the Newcastle and Lake Macquarie LGAs between the years 1973 and 1987 (1988 was not
included in this dataset). While all 151 did not exist at the same time, nevertheless, a large number of venues emerged to meet the needs of the growing number of young people seeking live music in licensed venues, and also the growing number of touring bands from outside the local area performing in Newcastle. In addition, venues, both licensed and non-licensed, emerged in the Newcastle hinterland where bands from Newcastle also performed.

A connection to place and the formation of an identity connected to that place were also important factors for bands seeking to achieve, not only success in their local venues, but also as they attempted to achieve greater commercial success outside of the local area. In this regard the formation of a musical identity is strongly connected to local *habitus*, that is 'the embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history [which is] the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product' (Bourdieu 1990, p. 56). This habitus includes the cultivation of social, symbolic, economic and cultural capital, which are built up over time. These forms of capital connected musicians with local audiences and venues and became an important component in the formation of their own musical identities. They were however, found not to be easily transferrable to other areas. What Newcastle came to offer local musicians, as a result, was the ability to recognise and use to its full extent the social and cultural capital available to them in their home town. This situation gave rise to a certain construct of authenticity, built less on alternatives to mainstream music, but more closely aligned to what it meant to be a credible performing musician. These constructs are aligned with the time and space in which they are experienced and this occurrence does not coincide with a number of the assumptions about mainstream music being performed in Newcastle at the time of the study.

It will be concluded that the way the various actors performed their roles within the assorted structural conditions that were peculiar to Newcastle
and the way these meshed with broader structural patterns contributed to the development of popular music in local spaces in Newcastle.
2.0 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The literature on popular music has expanded substantially since the 1970s, such that there now exists a considerable body of work on the topic under the umbrella of popular music studies. Contributions to popular music studies have emerged from a number of academic disciplines, including those of communication, history, media and cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, geography and psychology. As well as this peer-reviewed academic work, a growing body of non-academic works in the form of biographies and histories also forms the body of literature available.

In his chapter in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction* (2003), John Shepherd reminds us of the trends that have occurred in the study of music since the 1960s and 1970s. He believes that cultural battle lines were drawn in academic circles in the late 1960s and early 1970s, situating classical music (which was believed to be immune from social/cultural forces) in a superior position to popular music (with its obvious close relationship to popular culture and social forces). There then followed a rise of popular music studies from a diverse array of disciplines and methodologies which resulted in a shift away from the superior/inferior model point of view of classical and popular music. A further paradigm shift in intellectual thinking paved the way for both classical and popular music to be studied in terms of their social and cultural constructs. This in turn, as explained by Shepherd, led to later work in the study of music in cultural studies in the 1970s and 1980s which focussed on the connection between social groups and their music, and on identity (Chester, 1970, Willis, 1978). The 1980s and 1990s saw popular music knowledge grow in terms of the connection between music and place and the ways in which individuals and communities make meaning and form identities through their connection with place (Straw,
1991, Lipsitz 1994, Stokes, 1994, Leyshon, Matliss and Revill, 1998). At the same time, knowledge of local music scenes also expanded (Finnegan, 1989; Cohen, 1991; Weinstein, 1998, 2004; Crafts, Cavicchi, and Keil, 1993; Homan, 2003; Stafford, 2004; Webb, 2004; Cull, 2005; Smith 2005; Slobin, 1993; Shank 1994; Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins, 2004; Schmitt, 2008; Brocken 2010; and Smyly 2010). It is now more generally acknowledged that an understanding of social and cultural meaning in popular music is determined through examining the places and spaces where music is experienced. While an impressive body of work now exists that has explored music, meaning and connection to place, much that focuses on the 'local', has, to date, particularly in Australia, emphasised original music scenes as opposed to 'mainstream' activity. This has left a gap in the number of studies about 'mainstream' music, an anomaly that this study seeks to address.

The body of non-academic work which can also be drawn on is also now quite substantial. It is primarily written by those who have been involved in the music industry and include McGrath 1979, 1984, 1988; Baker 1981, 1987, 1990 and 1991; Baker and Coupe 1980, 1983; Elder and Wales 1984; Milson and Thomas 1986; Conn 1996; St John 1985; Hutchison 1992; Spencer and Nowara 1993; Wilmoth 1993; Spencer, Nowara, and McHenry 1996; Wheatley 1999; McFarlane 1999; Creswell and Fabinyi 1999; Cockington 2001, 2002; Coupe 2003; Cresswell 2003; Nimmervoll 2004; Dwyer 2004; Amphlett 2005; Apter 2003, 2011; Cadd 2010; Chugg 2010; Engleheart 2010; Mathieson 2000; Morrison 2010.

The term 'mainstream' has itself also been a recent topic for academic discussions (Baker, Bennett, & Taylor, 2013). Alison Huber (2008) has defined it in the following way:

Colloquially, though not always affectionately, the term "mainstream" is used to describe the most popular of popular music, or, sometimes more specifically, the kind that achieves Top
40 chart success. One of the great paradoxes of popular music mythology can be identified in the young band striving to "hit the big time", who direct all their efforts to the achievement of fame and fortune only to have their reputation tainted the moment this goal is achieved by accusations of "crossing over" into the mainstream, "selling out", or "watering down" their music (2008, p. 271).

The current study takes the approach of exploring the development of 'mainstream' music in licensed venues in Newcastle, New South Wales, with a particular focus on live bands that performed in the 1970s and 1980s. This was a period that became known in Australian music history as the Oz/Pub Rock era, about which Shane Homan (2003) says:

[the suburban pub rock experience provided the means by which pride in Oz Rock fed into, and simultaneously benefited from nationalist discourses generated by a brief period of Federal Labor governance intent upon funding local arts] (2003, p. 83).

The significance of the support from the federal Whitlam Labor government (1972 - 1975) cannot be understated in terms of its support for the Arts and the expansion of public radio licences in 1975 (Homan 2003). As Andrew Stafford (2004 ) has stated however, albeit in reference to the state of Queensland and premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen's rule more specifically, 'it makes little sense to give a politician too much credit for a music scene' (p. 2). It is therefore, to that question, ie other factors, in addition to federal political support, that account for the creation and development of specific music scenes in specific places, that forms the basis of this thesis.

2.2 Important factors in the development of place

There are multiple factors that account for the way particular music phenomena develops in a place. These factors at least include geographical, historical, socio-cultural (including identity and gender), demographical, economical, industrial (in terms of the music industry), and political. Many writing on the subject (Demko, 1992; Diamond, 1998; Marx, 2007; Smith, 2005/1776, 2005/1776a; Bennett 1997; Braudel in Watson 2000), emphasise the importance of one or two of these factors,
or a combination of several, such as the importance of geography and history, for example. There appears to be general agreement in the literature (Schmitt, 2008, Stafford, 2004, Gibson, 2002, Homan, 2003, Finnegans, 2007, Cohen 1991, Cushing, 1995, Webb 2004, Luckman et al, 2008, Jon Stratton, 2007) that combinations of these factors, for different places at different times, account for the way, not only that a particular place develops, but the way music phenomena develop.

2.3 Geography

Geography is one of the factors that is important in the way a place develops. Where a place is located geographically, the nature and quality of its natural resources, and the abilities of its inhabitants, all impact on the events that occur there and how inhabitants of a place view their world.

Geographer, George J Demko (1992), for example, sees everything as 'spatial' (p. 5) by which he means that everything is 'related or connected to space' (ibid.). He suggests that, as such, '[l]ocation becomes the crucial element when places interact with other places' (ibid.). Jared Diamond (1998 c 1997), a professor of geography at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) agrees. In his book, Guns, Germs and Steel: A Short History of Everybody for the last 13,000 years, Diamond sought to answer the question of why some civilizations have succeeded where others have failed. He concluded that the major factors for this, historically, are closely related with issues of geography and the environment in which civilizations emerge.

Others have made the connection between a place's geography and its ability to generate economic activity. Karl Marx (2007), for example, believes that the means of production for any group of people is closely related to the 'external physical conditions' (2007, p. 562) that exist. In outlining the conditions of production Marx distinguished between two economic categories: that of (1) a place's '[n]atural wealth in means of subsistence, ie a fruitful soil, waters teeming with fish, etc, and (2) a place's natural wealth in the instruments of labour, such as waterfalls,
navigable rivers, wood, metal, coal, etc’ (ibid.). As such, he argued, what the physical environment offers geographically impacts either by limiting or enhancing the natural resources that are available. Adam Smith (2005/1776, 2005/1776a) makes the same connections between the importance of geography and economy. Smith (2005/1776a) also acknowledges the importance of ‘the extent and natural fertility of the ground’ (ibid., p. 14) in the creation of wealth. According to him:

The most opulent nations, indeed, generally excel all their neighbours in agriculture as well as in manufactures; but they are commonly more distinguished by their superiority in the latter than in the former. Their lands are in general better cultivated, and having more labour and expense bestowed upon them, produce more in proportion to the extent and natural fertility of the ground’ (2005/1776a, p.14).

Smith uses England as an example. He suggests that it was that country's 'natural fertility of the soil' (Smith 2005/1776a, p. 358), its 'great extent of the sea-coast in proportion to that of the whole country, and of the many navigable rivers which run through it, and afford the conveniency of water carriage to some of the most inland parts of it' (ibid.), that made it 'as well fitted by nature as any large country in Europe to be the seat of foreign commerce, of manufactures for distant sale, and of all the improvements which these can occasion' (Smith 2005/1776, p. 358).

While in this example Smith stresses the importance of where England was situated geographically and its natural resources, Fernand Braudel (in Peter Watson 2000) links the importance of the role of both history and geography in the development of a particular place. According to Watson, Braudel saw geography as of prime importance, ie 'that the history of anywhere is, first and foremost, determined by where it is and how it is laid out' (2000, p. 558). Braudel used the example of the Mediterranean, stressing the importance of that region's geography, ie the 'mountains and rivers, the weather, the islands and the seas, the coastlines and the routes that traders and travellers would have taken in the past' (p. 558). Braudel also considered the importance of history in how a place develops. Watson summarised Braudel's assumptions about the rise of the Spanish
and Turkish empires, for example, about which he claimed that the growth of the two civilisations was related not only 'to the size and shape of the Mediterranean (long from west to east, narrow from north to south) (2000: pp. 558-559), but also 'that they gradually came to resemble each other – because communications were long and arduous, [and] because the land and the available technology supported similar population densities' (ibid.). He also concluded that by gaining 'an understanding of how people in the past viewed their world can help explain a lot of their behavior' (ibid.). Here Braudel has linked other important developments to a place's geography, such as how distance or closeness to other places can significantly effect how people in different places relate to those in other places, and how this impacts on people's behaviour.

An example of this when applied to Newcastle, Australia, comes from Don Wright (1992), who identified that where Newcastle was situated geographically, specifically its geographical proximity to Sydney, its status in relation to that larger city, and the way it had developed economically, not only helped to shape Newcastle's identity, but also impacted on the degree of economic and cultural wealth Newcastle was able to accumulate: According to Wright:

Those who lived in the city enjoyed its immense natural advantages, but ... Before World War II, there were no worthwhile libraries, educational opportunity was limited and cultural provision poor. Newcastle’s problem lay not only in its industrial status and provincial location, but also in its nearness to Sydney. It lived constantly in the shadow of the capital and was dominated by it, economically, politically and culturally. Because Newcastle was the second city in New South Wales, it felt this domination more keenly and was perhaps over-willing at times to express its resentment (1992, p. vii).

Andrew Bennett (1997) also acknowledged the importance of both a place's identity and its geography position. He cited Morley (1992) who claimed that:

If "geography matters", and if place is important, this is not only because the character of a particular place is a product of its position in relation to wider forces, but also because that character, in
turn, stamps its own imprint on those wider forces’ (in Bennett, 1997, p. 99).

Others have discussed the impacts of geography in terms of the geographical isolation of a place, ie, in Australia, specifically, and particularly with regard to the development of music-making, being geographically dispersed from the capital cities of Sydney and Melbourne. In his book, *Pig City*, Andrew Stafford (2004) documents music developments in Queensland's capital city, Brisbane, in the years 1975 to 2000. Stafford cites the lack of music industry and infrastructure in cities such as Brisbane as one of the reasons for musicians being attracted to the larger metropolitan centres of the country. As he claims: ‘[t]he combination of venues, audiences, recording opportunities... would prove a magnet to aspiring Brisbane musicians’ (2004, p. 108). Carley Smith (2005) documented music production in the city of Perth, Western Australia's capital, about which she noted that Perth’s geographical isolation was a significant factor, not only in the way that Perth's music developed but also in the way perceptions were formed. She claimed that:

For a centre that is supposedly about to ‘burst’ with ripe talent, local acts have little opportunity to remain in Perth. For local talent to be considered ‘successful’ there is a familiar narrative and trajectory that is repeated endlessly: they have to first make it ‘over East’ and then overseas. To make this success a little less impossible, they usually relocate to Sydney or Melbourne, only reinforcing the lack of opportunity for them here. There is a stigma, instilled so deeply in our culture that we do not question its presence anymore, that Perth is the ass-end of the world (2005, p. 82).

Jon Stratton (2007) has also acknowledged the impact of Perth's geographical isolation on its music-making, and claimed that, 'at least until the impact of new communications and transport technologies, [it was] culturally remote as well' (2007, p. 144). Stratton also mentions the role of Perth’s built environment in shaping music-making - espousing the view that its suburban nature was 'very important in the evolution of a 'Perth sound' (ibid.). Also important, according to Stratton, was the lack of a critical population mass in Perth at the time, which he compares with
Sydney to illustrate the importance of that factor in the different ways the two cities developed. For example, he says that in Sydney:

by the turn of the twentieth century, when the building of the new, detached suburbs was getting under way in earnest, and the old, comparatively cramped, working-class inner-city areas were already beginning to be described as slums, Perth's population was still so small, as compared even with Brisbane's, that the number of inner city suburbs, or, indeed more generally, the existence of an inhabited inner-city was almost negligible. Thus, by the 1960s and 1970s there was little movement towards a bohemianised or gentrified inner city because there was hardly any inner city to gentrify (2007, p. 119).

Further afield, Connell and Gibson (2003) claim a similar development for Dunedin in New Zealand for the way that city's music production developed. They claim that, whilst larger cities 'usually provided both the economic context (clubs, recording studios, managers) and, perhaps, the inspiration' (ibid.), they claim that the origins of New Zealand's Dunedin music scene, for example, 'lay in the intermingling of artists in a closely-knit circuit during the late 1970s and early 1980s' (2003, p. 96), which included 'an infrastructure of venues, student cafes and housing (for practice rooms), and audiences remote from large live music networks of New Zealand's North Island' (ibid.).

These research studies support the notion that a variety of factors usually account for the way music scenes develop in a place, and that geography, as one of those factors, plays a significant role in that development, as does the built environment and population mass. Similar to Stratton's research into Perth's music scene, Connell and Gibson (2003) argue that in Dunedin, the 'sense of local uniqueness, of remoteness and distance from capital cities and centres of mainstream music production was central to the growth and mythology of a distinct 'sound' (2003, p. 96). While it is not the concern of this thesis to enter into debates around whether there exists specific sounds that can be attached to specific places, the above examples do highlight the importance of a number of different factors in the development of place which can itself be linked to the development of music production.
A further example comes from research conducted into the development of music-making in Darwin, Australia's Northern Territory's capital city, by Susan Luckman et al (2008), where again the development of that city's live music was found to be due to a variety of factors. These included its geographical isolation - (being 1500kms by road to the nearest substantial town of Alice Springs, which itself had only a population of 25,000), a factor that 'both circumscribed and enriched' (2008, p. 626) the way live music developed in that city. Apart from geographical location the authors also cite, however, Darwin's size (approximately 75,000 in 2006); its (post) colonially (settled later than other Australian capital cities); its population churn (the experience of Cyclone Tracey in 1974, for example, having halved the city's population); its mobility (due to its military families; seasonal work patterns and the fly in/fly out nature of mining workers); and its large Indigenous population, estimated to be 30%, greater than any other Australian capital city, as other significant factors in the way music developed in that city. As a result, the authors claim that:

musical activity in Darwin is best described as a loose and ever-changing assemblage of participants, technologies and spaces, united by diversity, topicality, remoteness and the perils of a lack of critical mass’ (2008, p. 634).

From a different perspective, the links that develop between smaller areas to larger towns and cities have also been found to be important in the way music production develops in a place. Chris Gibson (2002) looked at the factors that benefited music-making in an area of the NSW Far North Coast, for example. Factors that impacted on that area were seen to include changes to the area's demographics and economy which were impacted upon by migration and cultural change. Gibson also however, emphasised the importance of the 'linkages to cultural production in Sydney, Melbourne and overseas' (2002, p. 337).

Given the above it can now be claimed that where a place is located is significant in how it develops. It has also been noted that other factors, such as population densities and to a degree, the built environment, also
impact on the way a place develops. There are, however, additional factors that are also important in revealing how a place develops, such as a place's history and how it is identified, both by outsiders and inhabitants.

2.4 History and place identity

History has been found to be another important factor in how a place develops, and as a consequence, in how it identifies itself and how it is identified by others. Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984) believed that aspects of human behaviour emerge from what he saw as an internalised history which results in what he called **habitus**, a concept whereby it is understood that one's life-long immersion in a particular environment and way of doing things informs one’s view of the world. If one accepts this notion, then it would follow that 'different conditions of existence produce different habitus' (1984, p. 166) and as such, would not only impact on how inhabitants of a place behave, it would also impact on the different understandings that emerge about a place. Points of view, for example, may differ significantly, depending on whether one is an inhabitant or perceiving a place from an outsider's perspective. According to Bourdieu (1984), people from different places are different from each other in their behaviour (practices) as a result of their habitus. This is what he meant when he said that the habitus, 'is necessarily internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions...' (1984, p. 166) and is 'systematically distinct from the practices constituting another life-style' (ibid.). Even when inhabitants of different places appear to act the same, have similar lifestyles and similar points of view, their individual habitus shapes personal differences, once again impacting on how people view their world and how they are viewed by others.

Nancy Cushing's (1995) work illustrated the ways this process works in terms of other people's habitus (histories or cultural trajectories) having an influence on their perceptions of place and the ways that influence manifests. Cushing's (1995) research explored the way aspects of
Newcastle's history and perspectives of Newcastle have shaped the way its inhabitants relate to their sense of 'place'. Cushing examined two conflicting perceptions that developed about Newcastle, New South Wales in the 19th Century. Juxtaposed, for example, with perceptions of Newcastle as what she refers to as a 'coalopolis', ie perceptions which saw it being connected with the negative aspects of coalmining, was another, more positive view, that of a health resort, with its associated visions of beautiful beaches and open spaces. Cushing believed that one reason for the perception of Newcastle as a Coalopolis came about as a result of Governor King naming the new settlement 'Newcastle' as a way 'to communicate important information' (1995, p. 51) back to England, 'by consciously evoking' (ibid.) the prominent coalmining aspects of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne in England. This view was further reinforced, according to Cushing, by the naming of some streets after particular people from that English town. Henry Dangar, for example, named a number of streets in Newcastle after 'British engineers, inventors and developers' (1995, p. 53) associated with the 'activities and products' (ibid.) of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne and a number of suburbs in Newcastle, New South Wales, were given the same names as a number of established settlements in the 'other' Newcastle (Cushing, 1995). That view of Newcastle existed concomitantly with another that emerged as a result of a number of visitors to the area commenting on Newcastle's natural beauty and resources. It was however, Cushing claimed, 'gradually overwhelmed' (1995, p. 81) by the 'alternative view' (ibid.) - that being Newcastle as a coalopolis. According to Cushing: 'the poppet heads and smoke stacks loomed so large in the imagination that they obliterated the other possibilities' (p.133). In this case we can point to the idea that the perceptions of people with power and influence can have their views come to dominate in a particular place and thus help to perpetuate a view that becomes embedded in how a place is perceived historically.

Another example of this process of image construction is found in the work of Judith Sandner (2009). Sandner's research was similarly focused on
Newcastle and she too made the connection between the importance of a place's history, its geography and the formation of identity. Sandner explores the formation of perceptions, including how inhabitants of a place respond, ie how they behave, to different perceptions that are perpetuated by a particular group, such as the media. She cites Scott (2003) who argued that:

> when geographically bound cultural relationships are considered ‘anthropologically, localism can be viewed as territorialism important to the self-preservation and well-being of the clan; it can also be a unifying force that may bond communities together to invest in, develop and protect common interests’ (2009, p. 209).

Whereas Sandner's research explored place through textual representations, Pauline McGuirk and David Rowe's (2001) research examined the media's role in the perceptions of the reshaping of place. McGuirk and Rowe investigated the media's coverage of one specific event in Newcastle's history, that of Newcastle's local football team, the Knights, winning the Australian Rugby League grand final in 1997, and the role of the media in recasting Newcastle with alternative images for its future, away from existing perceptions that had emerged as a result of its coalmining and steelmaking history.

The above examples illustrate the way that perceptions of place can be shaped, depending on the influence of the point of view being espoused and whether or not it becomes the dominant view. It is also suggested that those with different habitus, those that approach a place from an outsider's perspective, for example, may have quite different perspectives from the inhabitants of a place, due to the different habitus they possess. This is further highlighted by the depiction of one of Newcastle's suburbs, that of Merewether, by music journalist and popular writer Jeff Apter (2003), in his book about Newcastle band, Silverchair, about which he said:

> It's fair to say that Merewether ain't no New York City. The landscape of the sleepy Newcastle hamlet is dominated by a golden beach disappearing into the distant outcrop known as Nobby's Head.
Nearby, the obligatory beach hotel snoozes in the sun – it really only comes to life when local heroes the Newcastle Knights have another big win… In downtown Merewether, there's a few takeaways – Henny Penny's, the Happy Inn Chinese Restaurant – and a brace of clubs, where pokies rule and the pleasure of members and their guests is guaranteed. Time stopped here sometime in the golden, sun-drenched days of the 1960s – and nobody seems any the worse for it (2003, p. 54).

The description, even with its incorrect geographical detail, evokes a particular vision of Merewether, which, it could be argued, would not seem to represent the perspective of many of Merewether's inhabitants, but rather the view of an outsider, who may have wished to emphasise the comparison between the band members' hometown, as a somewhat sleepy and sedate hamlet, with the worldwide fame subsequently achieved by the band.

Bourdieu's ideas of the importance of habitus can also be linked to Stafford's (2004) research which itself connected the development of Brisbane's music scene with a number of factors, including its history, geographical and political developments. Stafford (2004) found that these factors were important in how Brisbane was perceived and as such, how it was identified by both its inhabitants and those from outside the city. Similarly to findings by Cushing (1995), that perceptions which become dominant overpower alternative perceptions, Stafford found that the dominant view of the history of music development in Brisbane, was 'that music in Brisbane - especially the punk scene of the late '70s - was overwhelmingly a reaction to the repression of the Bjelke-Petersen era' (2004, p 2). This perception clouded an alternative or additional understanding of the way that music developed in that city. As he says: '[m]ajor cultural movements result from an intersection of local, national and international factors' (2004, p. 2) and as such, he claims, The Saints, a band that emerged during the time period:

were not so much a reaction to living in a police state as they were a response to the music of not just the Stooges and the MC5, but the Easybeats and the Missing Links. And it's doubtful the national success of a string of Brisbane acts in the '90s - from Powderfinger to
George - could have happened without the nationalisation of the Triple J network' (2004, p. 2).

Stafford connected these multiple factors to not only the ways in which a place develops, but also how they affect music-making in that place. The factors he pointed to included the political, socio-cultural, geographical and historical ones and he also highlighted how the issues that have been discussed above, in terms of dominant perceptions, are also true for the perceptions of the music that emerges in a particular place, depending on the dominant perspective(s). He acknowledged, for example, that '[t]he literature on Australian pop is only beginning to accumulate, so again it is understandable that Brisbane, so far, has rated little more than a footnote' (p. 2). He goes on to say however, that:

The bigger problem is that the footnote has remained the same, recycled in various contexts by various authors: that music in Brisbane - especially the punk scene of the late '70s - was overwhelmingly a reaction to the repression of the Bjelke-Petersen era (2004, p.2).

The way this occurs can then impact on the way history is represented. Research by Ian Rogers' (2008) reinforces this view, pointing out that in terms of music-making, dominant and prevailing views often mean that other aspects in a particular place are left undiscovered. Rogers focussed on the 'Indie' or independent music-making in Brisbane and claimed that '[t]oo often, Brisbane's music is summarized as either the authentic product of oppressive governance or the commercial product that came after' (2008, p. 647). His argument then, is that by portraying Brisbane's music in this way, other music-making that occurred in Brisbane remains hidden and therefore unrecognised.

This is an issue also highlighted by Michael Brocken (2010) who used an oral history approach to look at the range of popular music-making that emerged in Liverpool in the United Kingdom between the 1930s and 1970s. His aim was to bring histories to light that had remained hidden due to the dominant discourses that had existed in Liverpool as a result of the popularity of the Beatles, and thus to address the prevailing view of
Liverpool's musical cultures as homogenous. Brocken's research uncovered a variety of musical styles and scenes that existed in Liverpool, including that of country, jazz, rhythm and blues, and cabaret. This work is a reminder that, in any place, as a result of discourses that grow in prominence, there are likely to be other, important phenomena that remains hidden. The history of any place then, it can be argued, has a number of different narratives that could be told, but many remain unearthed.

This is also true in academic study, where research into some music genres are chosen to study over others, again leaving a wealth of other types of music-making that occur in a place left under-studied. Brocken (2010), for example, also sought to question why cabaret music had seldom been studied in academia. He cited popular music studies academic Mike Jones who commented that '[a] chunk of popular music is censored by academics because it's not cool enough - in fact it's too popular - liked by people whom academics don't like!' (in Brocken, 2010, p. 179). Phillip Hayward (2000) in Australia had argued something similar. He asserted that while musicology acted as if popular music did not exist, concentrating its efforts on 'serious' music, there was a similar perceptual exclusion within popular music studies itself. Important contributors to Australian popular music such as AC/DC, INXS, Silverchair and Jimmy Barnes to name a small proportion, whose:

work and/or industrial significance has not been subject to in-depth academic research and has not been discussed (except in briefest passing) in any Australian research publication, despite the importance that each of these holds in the everyday life of thousands, if not millions, of Australians' (2000, p. 179)

For Hayward, the areas concentrated on by those researching popular music in Australia 'reflect a series of conceptual 'pulls' and/or 'defaults', all of which attract analytical attention away from the socio-economic-cultural core of Australian popular music' (2000, p. 180). As such, 'the majority of Australian research tends to focus-albeit unconsciously-around' (ibid.) a
set of analytical and perceptual categories that tend not to privilege mainstream music production. This process of constructing and highlighting one set of perceptual categories and identities and excluding others, albeit unconsciously, can also be seen in terms of privileging studies into music that occurs in larger cities to the exclusion of music-making in regional areas. David Kent (in Stratton, 2007), for example, has also argued that the development of Oz Rock in Australian history has basically been confined to being viewed as a Sydney-centric phenomenon, with little indication of how such a phenomena impacted on cities and towns in other parts of Australia. Moreover, Gibson (2002) has also claimed that:

> it is clear that corporate activity in music tends to position a small number of sites as production centres (Sydney and Melbourne in Australia)... Somewhat related to this, the cultural milieu surrounding music industry activities and sub-cultures has tended to grant critical cultural capital to bands and scenes in the inner-city (Carroll and Connell, 2000). Meanwhile, non-core cities, regional areas and rural locations are residual consumption arenas, are largely overlooked as sources of production, and are assumed by many to be bereft of high quality creativity... (2002, p. 343).

While these examples of particular perceptions driving what categories of music practice are researched, written about and thus emphasised, they also demonstrate Bourdieu’s claim that habitus, in this case of researchers themselves, 'is necessarily internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions' (1984, p. 166). But this is only one aspect of what factors influence the histories, that is, the narratives that emphasise certain cultural trajectories over others, of particular locations. Other empirical data on music scenes that highlight the variety of factors that are important in how music-making develops in a place also includes research studies on other cities in other locations.

Jason Schmitt (2008) for example, raises the aspect of deviant reactions which he saw as one of the important factors in the way music developed in Detroit, USA. In his research, Schmitt (2008) found ‘the aspect of
defiance as one of the key traits that allowed Detroit to evade musical homogenization (2008, p. iv). Similarly to Stafford however, Schmitt also found that other factors were just as important in the way the music scene developed in that city. For example, Schmitt named 'Detroit's unique publicity outlets' (p. iv), ie its radio stations, music publications and promotions, and venues as well as the 'unique suburban layout around the Detroit community' (ibid.), which he said 'provides segmented pockets of unique creativity' (ibid.). According to Schmitt, Detroit has also 'maintained the direction and overall ideals of the early rock music pioneers of 1960s without letting evolving cultural trends dilute the regional music climate' (ibid.). Here Schmitt has identified the importance of the impact of factors such as history and geography, identity and infrastructure, as well as the particular behaviour of its inhabitants as important factors in how music in Detroit developed.

Gibson (2002) also noted that the Far North Coast area of New South Wales, in the 1970s, was impacted upon when 'hard rock styles were first heard when urban bands such as Midnight Oil, Spy V Spy and the Radiators drew large crowds at the Lismore RSL and Workers Clubs' (2002, p. 345). Gibson goes on to say that the resultant growth of venues in the 1980s following an increase in the number of local bands, as a result of seeing those larger bands perform in the area, were 'in part related to the growth of the pub rock circuit throughout New South Wales, but also heavily influenced by new waves of migrants and tourists keen to hear live sounds from local and touring bands' (ibid.).

In this regard, Renate Howe (1994) also discussed the factors of population growth more generally and the related impacts on population densities, demographics and economic structures in her work 'Inner Suburbs: From Slums to Gentrification'. Such changes have significant impacts on the way people relate to the places with which they identity. This was also a theme of Lucy Lehmann's (2007) work, which explored the way people relate to and identify closely with the suburbs in which they
live. As such, the sense of loss of identity that is felt can be understood when places undergo change or when people are compelled to move away from their place of origin. This issue has been explored by Russell King (1995) who referred to Gillian Bottomley's (1992) study of Greeks in Australia, which showed 'how migrants cling to their habitus: they preserve it, mould it and adapt it to their often very alienating experiences of being a migrant in a strange land' (in King, 1995, p. 28). King suggests that migrants' experience of displacement raises complex psychological questions about their own existence and self-identity' (1995, p. 7). King also raises the issue of loss felt in the places of origin of the migrants who leave, places that become changed 'by the migrants' act of leaving' (1995, p. 28).

This loss of identity for people who connect with particular spaces in a place is highlighted by Glenn Ryan (2007) who conducted research into the demise of a number of 'working-man' pubs. Ryan identified how impacts that result in changes to existing infrastructure affect not only the physical aesthetics of a place and space but also people's connectedness to those spaces. Ryan, who included a number of Newcastle hotels in his research - ie, the Bellevue, The Star and the Empire Hotels, found that economic shifts that occurred in Newcastle resulted in local hotels expanding their traditional clientele base beyond that of a predominantly blue-collar workforce. This, together with the re-gentrification of the inner-city, resulted in the closure and demolition of a number of historical hotel sites. Ryan's work raised important questions about identity and connections to space and place that related not only to loss of personal identity but also loss connected with the destruction of local heritage and history. This issue has been discussed by John Fiske, Bob Hodge and Graeme Turner (1987) in relation to bands' connections to particular spaces. Their work raised the idea of local pub venues representing 'a home away from home' (1987, p. 5), suggesting a strong connection between bands and the venue(s) with which they most identify. Ryan's work also raised the issue of disconnection through the loss of friendships
and acquaintances as a result of the dispersing of patrons who connected with particular spaces from what Ryan referred to as 'working-class hotel genocide' (2007, p. 82).

From another perspective, Homan (2003) explored how similar factors resulted in the development of a music scene. He suggested that the gentrification of the inner-city of Sydney, for example, and the way Sydney's growth had occurred in terms of new housing estates in its Western suburbs, led to 'the increasing number of hotels willing to book local rock bands' (2003, p. 88). Homan argues that this was 'particularly the case for suburban hotels benefiting from the greater mobility of its patrons' (ibid.). He went on to say, that this demographic spread was due to the increase in car ownership, which 'had increased dramatically after the Second World War' (2003, p. 88) and the 'steady growth in numbers of younger Australians also helped' (ibid.), whereby 'in 1960, fifteen to nineteen year olds comprised 7.5% of the nation's population; by 1975 this figure was 8.9%’ (ibid.). In addition, he suggested that the 'new housing estates in Sydney's west... accommodated the growth in young families and teenagers of drinking age that provided the core audience of the suburban rock circuit (2003, p. 88). Homan claimed that the Australian pub became consolidated 'as the 'home' of Australian rock as it moved beyond the inner city and into the western suburbs of Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne’ (2003, p. 83). Oz Rock's links to the suburbs then, made it an easy target for criticism, as it was seen 'as an extension of the view of the suburbs as creative wastelands within Australia literary and architectural debates from the 1920s' (Homan, 2003, p. 96). This then had implications for how Oz Rock was perceived, as regardless of the musical styles being performed by bands in licensed venues at this time, the fact that the music was considered 'mainstream', combined with its connection to the suburbs which were perceived as 'creative wastelands' (Homan, 2003, p. 96), meant that for those perceiving it from an outsider's perspective were able to dismiss its contribution to Australian music history as insubstantial. As Zumeris claims:
larrikin behaviour and carefree attitude endeared itself to working-class youths in search of musical and visual identity, while those who regarded themselves as more discerning and refined in their tastes condemned Oz rock for the same reasons... All this made Oz rock an easy target for denigration by the non-aligned audience (2003, pp. 495-496).

The above discussion on histories, the perceptual categories employed there, suburban change and attitudes towards the suburban experience, has raised a number of important issues. Firstly, it has raised awareness of the many factors that contribute to the way a place develops and to the way music-making develops in a place. It has also demonstrated that how a place develops, ie its history, is closely connected with its identity and the behaviour of its inhabitants. Exploring music-making practices through a place’s history and the way its identities are constructed is one way of achieving a greater understanding of how people behave and how meanings are formed. Keith Negus (1996), for example, has said that:

> History is important for an individual and group sense of identity: it provides knowledge and ideas from which ‘we’ decide who ‘we’ are, where ‘we’ come from and where ‘we’ are going…historical knowledge is directly related to how different people develop a sense of identity as an active process... Musical identities are created out of knowledge and experience of the past.. (1996, pp. 137-138).

He also cites Marx (1954) who said that:

> people make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directed encountered, given and transmitted from the past (in Negus 1996, p. 138).

Comments by Martin Stokes (1994) reinforce this idea. According to him, ‘[m]usic does not then simply provide a marker in a prestructured social space, but the means by which this space can be transformed’ (p. 4). He adds that:

> Ethnicities are to be understood in terms of the construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries, and not on the putative social ‘essences’ which fill the gap within them… It allows us to turn from questions directed towards defining the essential and ‘authentic’ traces of identity ‘in’ music… to the question of how music is used by social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries, to
maintain distinctions between us and them, and how terms such as 'authenticity' are used to justify these boundaries (1994, p. 6).

These factors are, of course, deeply connected to ideas of the formation of musical identities and the ways these are formed in different places. These are issues that are worth further consideration.

2.5 Musical identity formation

Important work has been done on how musicians performing in local bands relate to their sense of place and form musical identities. Gillian Rose (1995), has suggested that the way identity works is often seen in the differences perceived between that place to which one belongs and its relationship to other places. This notion was explored in regard to music in the research by Mark Slobin (1993) whose interests were in the search for cultural identity in reference to what he referred to as 'micromusics'. These he described as 'the small units within big music cultures' (p. 11). Slobin found that:

Groups of people in neighborhoods, in clusters across entire countries, or even in diaspora seem to think that certain musical styles, instruments, songs, ways of singing or playing, ideas about what music is or might be, were somehow "ours". And what's "ours" was always set apart from what's not: "mine", "theirs", or "everybody's" (1993, p. 9).

Ruth Finnegan's (2007) work has been central to understanding aspects of musical communities as well, not only in terms of what it revealed about these communities but also in the ways musical identities are formed within them. In her work Hidden Musicians, first published in 1989, Finnegan used a variety of methods, including participant observation, personal interviews, documentary sources and questionnaires to research what she referred to as the 'hidden musicians' in the English town of Milton Keynes, in the 1980s, research which covered the various musical worlds that co-existed in that town. Finnegan (2007) found that for many she surveyed 'music-making was one of the habitual routes by which they identified themselves as worthwhile members of society and which they regarded as of somehow deep-seated importance to them as human
beings' (2007, p. 306). Finnegan identified that at any one time over the period of her study there were approximately one hundred bands in existence practising rock and pop styles in Milton Keynes. While the bands she interviewed aspired to live music performances, of the thirty-three bands questioned, a quarter of them had not performed publically in the previous year and nearly half had performed on only six or fewer occasions. The remainder had performed more often, ie nearly a quarter had performed between nine and thirty-five times in the previous year but reportedly, most of those were towards the lower end, whilst just under a fifth of the bands had performed between fifty and one hundred and fifty times in the previous year. As this suggests, the majority of bands surveyed had not, up to that time, performed regularly in public. This then affected how they viewed themselves. As such, Finnegan’s work identified the ways that local musicians form musical identities and how they authenticated their music-making was through developing specific music styles and performing their own compositions. In the process of revealing these aspects of music-making, Finnegan also debunked a number of preconceived myths, such as those related to age, gender and employment. She claimed that such myths emerge from the way rock music is written about by some academics - ie, ‘this succession of academic views... has had its influence on common assumptions about the nature of rock music and its exponents, an influence also with its effect on the musicians and their audiences themselves’ (2007, p. 122). As a result, she argued:

There seemed to be a common series of images in Milton Keynes, encountered among people both inside and outside the rock world in general, that (variously) envisaged rock/pop as the protest music of the oppressed, as youth music (particularly amongst working-class youth), as the preserve of under-privileged, uneducated and unemployed working-class drop-outs, and (this last mainly by outsiders) as the kind of music (or non-music) which was essentially passive and derivative from the mass media, with no individual creativity - views clearly connected to the various academic analyses...’ (2007, p. 122).
In addition to findings that failed to support various stereotypes that existed about Milton Keynes in particular and rock music more broadly, Finnegan also found that general categories for rock and pop were not widely used by the musicians she researched and that musicians preferred narrower and more specific terms (2007, p. 104). These included categories such as:

'punk', 'heavy metal', 'soft rock', 'light rock', 'new wave', 'M.O.R' (Middle of the Road), 'late 60s early 70s feel, beat music', 'funky soul', ska, blue beat and reggae', 'progressive rock', 'acid pop', 'power pop', 'high energy rock', 'high energy progressive folk rock (not heavy)', 'futurist', 'rock/pop', 'new wave/pop', 'blues rockers', or 'Golden Oldies, Classic Oldies, 1960s, Beatles and Motown...' (2007, p. 104).

Importantly, for the musicians in her study, Finnegan found that:

What mattered was their own style rather than general labels, and though players sometimes like to relate themselves to nationally accepted images their typical interest was to get on with creating and performing their own music (2007, p. 105).

Finnegan (2007) also found a connection between musical identity and image with some of the musicians she studied. She found that the classification of 'punk', for example, 'depended as much on the image developed by a particular local band as on nationally detectable differences in musical style, general behaviour or class background' (2007, p. 105), hence, local bands could be seen to identify with a specific image they themselves had generated for the local context. This becomes important for how music scenes develop in certain spaces. Finnegan went on to say that 'certain local pubs gained reputations for specific music - 'heavy rock' for example - drawing a clientele that defined themselves not only by musical allegiance but also by other local ties too, as with the Starting Gate motor bikers' (2007, p. 105).

Finnegan’s study has highlighted the problems with dominant generated discourses that develop, not only about a place itself, but also about particular music-making practices that occur in that place and of general assumptions about particular music styles and genres. Finnegan’s case
studies that examined music-making in 'local' areas, have helped to address some of the more generalised assumptions and myths that are perpetuated about certain localities and add to knowledge about the formation of music identities and music alliances found there.

Musical alliances were partially the subject of Dick Hebdige's (1979) work on subcultures, which he saw as groups that formed around particular activities and acted in opposition to dominant cultural forms that existed in a place. Hebdige claimed that belonging to a subculture was 'a form of resistance in which experienced contradictions and objections to this ruling ideology are obliquely represented in style' (1979, p. 133). Subcultures for Hebdige, represented fixed groups which labelled people belonging to a particular grouping. His work remains important for understanding that different people form alliances that represent specific ways of identifying themselves and of being identified, however, questions of resistance were at the heart of Hebdige’s work and the notion of subculture appeared to close off access for those who felt less oppositional to dominant culture. Later debates have moved away from theories of opposition to those that recognise more flexible ways of music participation. For example, in 1991, cultural theorist Will Straw (1991) proposed the idea of musical ‘scenes’, a term which allowed for a broadening of the discourse in relation to groupings of people that form specific music allegiances. According to Straw:

Musical community... presumes a population group whose composition is relatively stable - according to a wide range of sociological variables - and whose involvement in music takes the form of an ongoing exploration of one or more musical idioms said to be rooted within a geographically specific historical heritage. A music scene, in contrast, is that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexists, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilisation (1991, p. 373).

Not all agreed that Straw’s definition went far enough. For example, Keith Negus (1996) found that it gave ‘relatively little indication of the dynamics that might be involved’ (p. 23). Nevertheless, Straw's definition of scene
did allow academic discussion to proceed with a broader framework for looking at music activity outside of the traditional ideas about musical groupings that had existed, including the notion of ‘subcultures’. Bennett and Peterson's (2004) definition of a music scene acknowledges the importance of a network of people that engage to create something meaningful. For them, a music scene is:

a focused social activity that takes place in a delimited space and over a specific span of time in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans realise their common musical taste, collectively distinguishing themselves from others by using music and cultural signs often appropriated from other places, but recombined and developed in ways that come to present the local scene... (2004, p. 8).

As Bennett and Peterson's (2004) comments indicate, viewing music-making through the more flexible movement of music activity that occurs in a place, focuses the debates away from viewing groups of music listeners in oppositional terms and towards interest in the ways that people relate to and engage with music. For Brocken (2010), a musical scene develops:

through a variety of cultural, geographical and personal circumstances. Networks of individuals have to band together in order to create something that lasts longer than a one-off gig or a night in a pub. Music plays an integral role in people’s merging processes, developing shared alliances between taste cultures and knowledge.... (2010, p. 108).

Brocken concluded that people within these scenes ‘choose from a communal repertoire’ (2010, p. 228) and ‘develop musical and social connections conditioned by the situations in which people met the music, rather than by the so-called ‘quality' of the music itself' (ibid.).

The importance of local music scenes to people's musical identity cannot be overstated. Study into music scenes that develop in a place provides an understanding of the different ways musical identities are formed. As noted above, for example, for a number of musicians in Finnegan's (2007) study, their music identity was a way of identifying themselves as ‘worthwhile members of society’ (p. 306). Barry Shank's (1994) research
into the music scene in Austin, Texas, similarly found that his involvement in local music-making practices in that city impacted on his sense of identity in other areas of his life. He reported that:

something happened to me while I was playing music in this town. Slowly, I became a member of the scene. Through that process, my tastes changed, my desires and interests changed, quite subjective feelings of pleasure, belonging, loyalty, along with jealousy, frustration, and envy changed, and thus, my identity changed along with them. Through living the mundane everyday life of a rock’n’roll musician in Austin, I identified with and incorporated a musical signifying pattern that then shaped and constructed my experience (1994, p xi).

While Shank’s description could readily serve as an exemplar of the development of a habitus pertinent to that scene, in other research Peter Webb (2004) looked at the music produced in Bristol, England, and the ways that local musicians took the music that influenced them and reworked the combination of influences into a genre that reflected local contexts, which was seen to reflect the way in which the city itself developed. He argued that it was Bristol's:

population, demography, economy and culture, in conversation with musics and scenes that have developed nationally and globally, [that] have given these artists a particular inspiration and orientation to produce the music for which the city is now famous (p. 85).

He cites the influences of a combination of 'reggae, hip hop, funk, jazz, punk, film soundtracks and alternative rock...' (ibid.) to which local artists were exposed and to which they combined in very particular ways. He goes on to claim that 'Bristol has a very particular brand of musical production that is partly inspired by the peculiar development of the city itself’ (ibid.).

These examples of the effect of scenes illustrate that the formation of a musical identity is important to musicians, not only in their role as musicians but also in a broader sense, in the development of their sense of self and identity within their various scenes and communities. According to Alan Merriam (1964), the forming of such musical identities
occurs through the process of being acknowledged and accepted by members of the community, which they inhabit. Merriam explored the notion of musicians being seen as 'social specialists' (1964, p. 125) and how, from general acknowledgement of them in this role in their communities, they then move on to 'professional' status. For Merriam, it seemed clear 'that in all societies individuals exist whose skill at making music is recognised in some way as being superior to that of other individuals so that they are called upon, or simply take their "rightful" place, in musical situations’ (p. 124). He went on to say that:

the true "specialist" is a social specialist; he must be acknowledged as a musician by the members of the society of which he is a part. This kind of recognition is the ultimate criterion; without it, professionalism would be impossible. Although the individual may regard himself as professional, he is not truly so unless other members of the society acknowledge his claim and accord him the role and status he seeks for himself (1964, p. 125).

With the above comments in mind, it is easy to understand the difficulty faced by musicians sustaining a musical identity at times when they are not members of a band. Stith Bennett (1980) found this in his research. As he said:

When he or she is not playing with a group the "musician" has only the remembrance of past groups to support a musical identity, and if the period of "not playing" is extensive - if there is no interactional reinvocation of that identity - a self-presentation as "rock musician" is practically impossible to maintain (1980, p. 17).

Bennett's comments again highlight the importance of studies that examine local music-making practices for the meanings and importance they generate. It also highlights what Simon Frith (1981) said, that the 'rock community is fragile, an ideological rather than a material structure' (1981, p. 88). This point is an important one, suggesting that the way it operates is subject to the ideologies that exist about it, where it is seen as important and meaningful enough to those who have the power to maintain it, but as such, remains vulnerable to changes to its support structures and renders musicians vulnerable to broader losses than those connected simply with the loss of a musical identity.
Also important to the formation of a musical identity are attitudes towards the performing of other people's songs - 'covers', versus the performing of original compositions. The literature suggests that this is relative to time and space and where bands exists at any given time along a hierarchy of what is expected of them at different stages. Roy Shuker (2001) for example, has discussed this 'covers' versus 'originals' debate in terms of a constructed hierarchy amongst performers, 'endorsed by critics and fans, as well as by musicians themselves' (2001, p. 112). According to Shuker, this hierarchy 'ranges from those starting out, largely reliant on 'covers', to session musicians, to performers who attempt, with varying levels of critical and commercial success, to make a living from music' (p. 112). Shuker goes on to say that:

At the base of this hierarchy are cover bands, which are generally accorded little critical artistic weight. The common view is that reliance on someone else's material concedes that you have nothing of your own to say. However, bands starting out rely on cover versions for a large part of their repertoire out of necessity, while even 'original' performers will play a few covers... Learning such songs is part of the apprenticeship process in acquiring rock musicianship (2001, p. 112).

Stith Bennett (1980) similarly views the journey from performing covers to original material as a process. Bennett (1980) conducted an ethnographical study, which included studying music practices in a number of America states, and in southern France between 1970 and 1972. His research also considered a number of other issues, including performance, technology, and the realities of practice. In terms of identity, Bennett claims, that '[f]or a musician to distinguish my music from other people's music is to arrive at a critical point in conceptualizing the way in which musical identity is constituted' (1980, p. 207). He emphasised the importance of the early stages, or the apprenticeship stage, of the process in the formation of music identities, and the importance of learning to perform covers of other people's songs in that process. As he asserts:

After all, the more successful one is at copying someone else's performances, the less will those other performances be perceived as
unattainable standards of excellence. As beginners close the gap between their skills and the skills heard on recordings, they acquire the ability to evaluate their own abilities without reference to a recording. The criterion of personal satisfaction is invoked for the first time (1980, pp. 207-208).

Bennett acknowledged the dilemma this creates for bands that aspire to a recording contract but who also need to satisfy the expectations of local audiences. He went on to say:

> Although the performance of a fairly large repertoire ... of previously unrecorded material could be just the item that a record producer might appreciate at an audition, a local audience... is likely *not* to appreciate the absence of current hit songs from the repertoire’ (1980, p. 208).

Bennett (1980) also acknowledged that not all bands aspire to success outside a local area, suggesting that they may ‘have grandiose dreams of becoming rock stars or more modest expectations of continued local success’ (1980, p. 208). For those who do aspire to greater success, according to Bennett, this often necessitates the need to develop two distinct repertoires, 'one for themselves and one for the crowd' (1980, p. 208). A similar acknowledgement that not all bands aspire to greater levels of success outside of local areas is made by Simon Frith (1981), who suggests:

> The move from neighbourhood performance to mass production is not an ideological break. To succeed, rock musicians must be ambitious to begin with – they must want to make a musical living, to cut records, to reach unknown audiences (1981, p. 5).

Bennett (1980) suggests that for bands that have ‘passed the beginning phase go on to develop multiple identities’ (p. 209), not necessarily connected to the idea of performing covers of other people's songs or performing original material. He suggests that:

> '[t]he most flexible musicians achieve the greatest financial success (by being able to work for a variety of employers), and also accumulate the highest esteem from their colleagues.... a sustained identity as musician in the popular music world is a multiple identity: multiple in the sense that new material can always be learned and incorporated, multiple in the sense of presenting an appropriate performance identity to various audiences, and multiple in the sense
that a variety of ways to communicate with other musicians is possible (1980, p. 209).

Different musicians in different places however, were found to have different ideas about the performing of other people's songs and how this impacted their sense of identity. Sara Cohen (1991) for example, found in her study on Liverpool, England, that musicians had both a 'fierce sense of identity and pride in the city [which] existed alongside strong ambitions aimed outside it' (p. 1991, p. 20). She also found that:

Most rock bands started off playing and rehearsing covers but progressed on to their own material. Thereafter many were against performing a lot of covers because they felt that to do so showed a lack of creativity and initiative. 'It's very easy to copy someone', said a member of one, 'but it's the hardest thing to be original' (1991, pp. 184 - 185).

For those performing in the rock and pop styles in Finnegans study and for those in Sara Cohens (1991) research, the emphasis would appear to have been to navigate through the early 'apprenticeship' stages of the process as quickly as possible, in order to begin writing their own compositions. Cohens (1991) research was with regards to the production and engagement of rock bands and their audiences in Liverpool, England. The bands she chose as case studies identified more as so-called 'independent' bands rather than those performing in 'mainstream' music styles. Nevertheless, her research provided some further important insights into band function, organisation, and aspirations. Cohen placed the formation of the bands she studied in their broader social and cultural contexts, indicating, for example, that the bands 'had been particularly influenced by British and American punk styles of the 1970s...' (1991, p. 172). In one of the bands she studied, she found that members 'Trav, Gary and Dave began making music together in the late 1970s... when punk was at its height' (ibid.) and that the bands she researched:

had clearly adopted that challenge to technical and musical virtuosity, believing that 'musos' who trained themselves in, and often became obsessed with, musical and technical skills had, in doing so, lost the
right attitude... Tog decided to play lead guitar though he knew nothing about it and couldn't play it, 'which', he explained, 'is the kind of sound we are after' (1991, p. 173).

This adherence to a broader punk ethic and aesthetic demonstrates that musical identity was found for bands, as identified in both Finnegan and Cohen's studies, through the rehearsing of their own compositions and the formation of specific images drawn from the broader social and cultural factors that existed at the time and which impacted on their sense of identities. There was not however, a sense of understanding and respect for the importance of developing craftsmanship, achieved by becoming immersed in each point along a hierarchy. As Shane Homan (2002) further suggests, the tradition of tribute and cover bands had eroded rather than supported the process of becoming a professional musician. He believed, for example, that:

The number of venues preferring tribute and cover bands has eroded the traditional notion of the pub “apprenticeship”, where audiences and venue owners exhibited a degree of patience in allowing performers to parade original songs. It is now increasingly likely that musicians will undertake some form of covers band apprenticeship before attempting to perform their own material (2002, p. 46).

This situation illustrates a return to the mode of learning how to engage with songs prior to the advent of punk. Marcus Breen's (1987) comments give little recognition to the importance of developing craftsmanship in the process of becoming a professional musician. He claims that 'bands may come into prominence because they mimic the styles of other successful bands, but that is a long way from independent developments, growing out of the need for people to express their lives musically' (1987, p. 213).

There is evidence that locations engaged in music activities which embraced not only mainstream music styles but were predominantly engaged in performing other people's songs, whose ways of forming musical identities in the Australian context were valorised and respected, are not markedly accounted for in the literature. There have been a few entries in reference to cover bands. Homan (2003), for example, cites
Nichols (1997) who claimed that the Brisbane music scene ‘favoured heavy metal cover bands’ (in Homan, 2003, p. 109) and it was reported in Cull (2005) that Perth 'had fantastic cover bands' (p. 22). It is claimed here that the study of local music-making practices that include mainstream styles is important to give an understanding of the differences and similarities that may exist in how musical identities are formed in different places and in what ways. The attitudes of the musicians in the rock and pop styles in Finnegan's study and the bands in Cohen's case studies, can be contrasted to musicians performing in the Oz Rock era in Australia, where identity, and as a result, authenticity, was found 'through the constant honing of skills through live performance' (Homan, 2003, p. 97).

This exploration of the ways that musical identities are formed has given a set of insights into the notion that musical identities develop in different ways depending on broader social and cultural factors. The discussion supports what Frith (1981) suggested in *Sound Effects*, that:

> Music is no longer commenting on a community but creating it, offering a sense of inclusion not just to the musicians, bohemian style, but also to the audiences, to all those people hip enough to make the necessary commitment to the music, to assert that it *matters* (1981, p. 88).

This preceding discussion on identity brings to light a number of ideologies that exist about music and which have wider social and cultural influences, suggesting that the different ideologies that exist in regard to musical identity and what is regarded as authentic music-making are closely connected with issues of the time and in the spaces in which they emerge.

### 2.6 The relevance of time and space

Arranging a vast number of sounds, words and images into musical 'eras' is not a neutral activity. It involves a process of imposing patterns and order on the many events taking place across space and through time... Certain noises, words and images are selected as significant and other events, people and places are neglected (Negus, 1996, pp. 137-138).
Negus’ comments again raise the question about power and whose perceptions about particular music styles become dominant, ensuring that styles, genres and/or eras are privileged over others and defined as more authentic than others. As noted above, Slobin (1993) has indicated that people define and delineate music as a way to identify music forms with which they identify and become aligned. Definitions and authenticity then, are constructed, contributed to by sections of the media, academics, musicians and audiences.

Martin Stokes (1994) agrees, suggesting that authenticity can be used in specific situations to erect boundaries and maintain distinctions. He claims that:

> clearly notions of authenticity and identity are closely interlinked. What one is (or wants to be) cannot be ‘inauthentic’, whatever else it is. Authenticity is definitely not as a property of music, musicians and their relations to an audience... Instead we should see ‘authenticity’ as a discursive trope of great persuasive power. It focuses a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike ‘this is what is really significant about this music’, ‘this is the music that makes us different from other people (1994, p. 6).

Connell and Gibson (2003) contribute to the debate, claiming that ‘in terms of more fluid and ephemeral aspects of culture, such as music, it is impossible to measure authenticity against any given scientific criteria’ (p. 28) and that ‘[b]oth authenticity and credibility are constructed in relation to how continuity and change are perceived (2003, p. 44).

That being the case, there are therefore important reasons why specific studies on the Oz Rock music period are important. A body of academic literature has begun to be gathered on alternative music scenes in Australia (Stafford 2004; Rogers 2008; Stratton 2008; Smyly 2010; Brabazon, 2005; Gallan, 2012), whilst mainstream music scenes more broadly, remain under-studied (Brocken 2010; Hayward 2000). What is becoming clear however, is how important the study of all music eras are to Australian music history. As Sara Cohen (1994) has argued:
the networks of technology that envelop the world and shrink it, supposedly distorting our sense of space and time so successfully, are at the same time rich with the patterns of intersecting group identities, local and historical significance’ (p. 133).

Studies that interrogate the reasons why Oz Rock as a form of mainstream music was so popular, why it endured for so long and why it continues to be important to those that connected positively to it, are lacking in the academic literature, seemingly, which may be because it now belongs to the category of 'mainstream' music. It has been left primarily to journalists and participants in this music period to document its history and meaning (Amphlett 2005; Chugg 2010; Cockington, 2001; Nimmervoll 2004; Cresswell, 2003; Pressley, 2002; Baker 1987, 1990; Apter 2003, 2011; Engleheart, 2010). This oversight has served to keep hidden important knowledge about a phenomena that evoked specific cultural practices in many sites across Australia within a specific era in Australia’s musical, cultural and social history. Case studies are needed that research this period of Australian rock music history, with a particular focus on the meanings that were generated by those who participated in numerous ways in Oz Rock, as well as Oz Rock's contribution to music-making in both the capital and smaller Australian cities. For example, Newcastle's importance to the growth of the Oz Rock industry has already been acknowledged by Homan (2003) who stated that:

The northern NSW port city of Newcastle played an important role in the growth of a dependable east coast circuit, providing local, interstate and overseas bands with a number of venues: the Castle Tavern, the Mawson Hotel, the Star Hotel, the Belmont Sixteen Foot Sailing Club, Stewarts and Lloyds... the Cambridge Tavern and South Newcastle Leagues club (p. 102).

A number of issues for debate in academic circles regarding Oz Rock in this period have however, been considered. Attempts at definition for Oz Rock, for example, have included those derived from investigations of a particular Australian sound (Turner, 1992; Homan and Mitchell 2008, Hirst in Hutchison 1992); through attempts to define its features (Homan 2002 2003, McIntyre 2005, Belfrage & Whiteoak, 2003, Zumeris, 2003 and
Mitchell 1996); delineating it through specific time periods (McIntyre, 2004; Homan and Mitchell, 2008); seeing it as a contribution to nation-building or nationalistic features (Stratton, 2007; Kelly, 2008; Brabazon 2005); as a subculture (Fiske, Hodge and Turner, 1987); its relationship to the Australian culture (Hayward 1992 and Turner 1992), and identifying it via its claims to authenticity (Barber, 1991; Ed St John, 2006). To summarise, a variety of definitions have been offered that categorise both the music of Oz Rock and the Oz Rock period more broadly. Similarly, there has also been varied views on Oz Rock's authenticity. All of these will be discussed more fully below. For now, it can be asserted that Oz Rock represented a time where live bands, promoting themselves and being promoted under the broad catch-all category of rock, performed in Australian licensed venues (mostly pubs but also clubs, nightclubs, taverns etc) in the 1970s and 1980s.

2.7 Changes in definitions

Definitions for musical categories tend to become relative to time and space. This is indicated by their tendency to change over time. As Howard Becker asserts, '[n]ew worlds come into existence [and] old ones disappear' (1982, pp 300-301). This also impacts on changes to perspectives regarding different music styles and time periods. James Lull (1987) provides an example, that of the way thinking about new wave music has changed. Lull claimed:

new wave, a label that has outlived its original reference to post-punk dance-orientated music, is the generic label now for the Euro-disco dance music craze of California’s young and musically active Vietnamese immigrants (1987, p. 144).

In Australia, Lynden Barber (1987) argued that it was the cultural dominance of the mainstream bands of the Oz Rock period that accounted for the exclusion of such bands as Nick Cave, The Go-Betweens, The Triffids and others, whom he argued were bands 'of a world-class standard, non-conforming to any hackneyed notions about what Australian music is supposed to sound like' (1987, p. 1). Creswell and Fabinyi (1999)
have argued however, that while the music of bands such as *Radio Birdman* and *The Saints* attracted dedicated fans, the majority of Australians did not embrace their music. Putting the question of historical drivers aside, Ed St John (1994), for example, noted that:

Somewhere around 1980, with the extraordinary proliferation of bands that went hand in hand with the growth and consolidation of a pub rock circuit, something truly extra-ordinary happened; suddenly, nobody was worried about what was happening in other countries anymore. Australian rock & roll was the only act worth catching... In the heyday of Australian pub rock, there were close to 40 major Australian rock and roll bands plying their trade on the national circuit virtually every night of the year. In no particular order you had Mental As Anything, the Angels, Cold Chisel, the Models, Hunters and Collectors, Icehouse, Australian Crawl, INXS, the Sports, the Church, Men at Work, Jenny Morris, Kevin Borich, Midnight Oil, Redgum, Split Enz, Paul Kelly and the Dots, the Divinyls, the Eurogliders, Do Re Mi, I’m Talking, Mondo Rock, the Hoodoo Gurus, Goanna, Machinations, Swanee, Jo Jo Zep and the Falcons, the Bushwackers, Renee Geyer, Rose Tattoo, the Reels, Dragon, Mi-Sex, Richard Clapton, the Radiators, Matt Finish, the Sunnyboys and many others... it was a massive thriving scene (St John, 1994, p. 63).

While musicologically many of the bands and artists noted above have little in common with each other, Stratton (2007) argues that a reconstruction of rock music in the period under question allowed us to:

... broaden our definition of Australian rock to include bands such as Redgum and Weddings, Parties, Anything, which, conventionally, are thought of as occupying a middle ground between folk and rock (2007, p. 44).

This has, in a large degree, solved a number of problems associated with definitions for Oz Rock. For example, Stratton (2007) claimed that 'Skyhooks started out as what would subsequently be called an Alternative Rock band before becoming an anchor for *Countdown*’s Pop-Rock' (2007, p. 90) and Australian band, *Midnight Oil*:

made political statements of a type and in a way that put them into the political vanguard of Alternative Rock, yet their musical style owed more to the Oz Rock tradition... Midnight Oil played the suburbs whilst practising the politics of the inner city (2007, p. 90).

For Zumeris (2003), Oz Rock bands were those that emphasised 'high-energy, high-volume rock' (p. 495). Although Zumeris agreed that that the
category for Oz Rock bands broadened over time, his catalogue of what constituted Oz Rock can still be seen to have remain quite fixed. As he commented:

There were also offshoot bands, that did not necessarily espouse the Oz rock idiom or have the attributes of loud guitar and blues orientation but became part of the Oz rock folklore by virtue of their appearance, lyrical content or audience. Rough-and-ready bands such as Mi-Sex from New Zealand, the Divinyls of Sydney, and Australian Crawl and Hunters and Collectors of Melbourne played raucous drinking music with lascivious lyrics (Zumeris, 2003, p. 496).

Further evidence of how definitions are constructed over time and in different spaces is found by comparing how Australian bands were defined overseas. According to Icehouse frontman Iva Davies, for example, Midnight Oil was considered by London audiences as just 'another punk band' (in Hutchison, 1992, p 16). Similarly, according to Bernie Howitt (1989), most Americans thought of Cold Chisel as punk. This means that perspectives on categories of music such as Oz Rock, as well as musical styles and where particular bands fit, aren't fixed, but are fluid and change depending on where and by whom they are being defined at the time.

A further example is found in Homan and Mitchell's (2008) Sounds of Then, Sounds of Now, where definitions for Oz Rock are explored through a list of songs, via a critique of the tracks included on Warner Music Australia's Unofficial national anthem compilation from 2003. They say about songs such as GANGgagang's ‘Sounds of Then (This is Australia)', Men At Work's 'Down Under', Cold Chisel's 'Khe Sanh', Daddy Cool's 'Eagle Rock', The Easybeats' 'Friday on My Mind', Hunters and Collectors' 'Throw Your Arms Around Me', Jimmy Barnes' 'Working class man', Paul Kelly's 'Leaps and Bounds' and Goanna's 'Solid Rock' that:

most if not all, of these songs are entrenched in the mainstream tradition of "OZ Rock", which is generally associated with crowded, sweaty pubs, raucous singalongs and drunken, Anglo-Australian masculinity (2008, p. 2).

Stylistically however, there are quite distinct differences between the music of Jimmy Barnes' Working Class Man', for example, and Paul
Kelly's 'Leaps and Bounds'. For instance, 'Woking Class Man' is written in an American context, something which Ed St John, CEO of Warner Music between 2005 and 2010 (St John, 2006) (notably not at the time the album was released for Warner), found as not relating to the Australian context at all. From his point of view:

> if you listen to the lyrics, the context is America, it's a mid western rock song. He [Jimmy Barnes] talks about believing in God and Elvis. It's American bible belt..., it's poodle rock, 80s poodle rock. It's kind of like B grade Born in the USA (St John, 2006).

From another perspective however, a reviewer at a 2001 Jimmy Barnes’ concert viewed Barnes’ interpretation of the same song much differently, declaring it Barnes’ ‘anthem’, and claiming that: ’[a]lthough he may not have penned the words, he has made the song his own’ (Lyssenkoff, n.d).

As an inclusion on an Australian anthem album then, albeit unofficial, the song 'Working Class Man' and Jimmy Barnes more pertinently, can be seen to be representative of Oz Rock, rather than falling into any specific criterion. Moreover, as Zumeris (2003) pointed out, other bands not starting out in Australia, such as Mi-Sex, and there were others, such as the Kevin Borich Express, Dragon and the like, made defining Oz Rock strictly in terms of an Australian context more problematic. To complicate the picture even further, bands like Little River Band sang about being at the Las Vegas Hilton in America, and Dragon sang about the April Sun in Cuba.

Many writing about Oz/Pub Rock have attempted to define it in terms of particular characteristics. An exhibition in Sydney in 1994 presented a survey of Pub Rock and reported that it was 'unpretentious and hard-edged... music that got to the point' (in Mitchell, 1996, p. 206). Zumeris (2003) described it as having '[t]he lyrics and associated musical arrangements - which rely on verve, vigour, volume and swaggering anthemic choruses more than any pretension to technical proficiency' (2003, p. 495). Definitions have also been defined along class and gender lines, ie, as 'typifying 'working-class bravado, notions of sexual conquest'
and an uncompromising attitude toward society' (Zumeris, 2003, p. 495); as needing 'the national narratives of a hostile landscape to access other ideologies of masculinity, work, class and alcohol' (Brabazon in Stratton, pp. 88-89); as existing predominantly as a 'suburban' phenomenon (Homan, 2000, p. 37); being 'founded, and perpetuated upon, a specific set of performers as the repositories of power and wider meaning: white, male and (sub)urban' (ibid., 2000, p. 44), and as having 'become a purely Australian subculture in which rowdy, irreverent social behaviour and male bonding are inherent' (Zumeris, 2003, p. 495). Moreover, Oz Rock's fans have been purported in purely sub-cultural terms, said to be:

- generally men under the age of 25. They adhere to an ideology of girls, cars, alcohol and music, and musicians constantly refer to these values in lyrics and interviews. The fashion staples of Oz rock are denim and T-shirts endorsing alcohol drinks or expressing musical allegiances. Even the bands favour such attire. Desert boots, chains, beanies, military-style overcoats, ugh boots moccasins and lumberjack shirts have been supplementary. The basic Oz rock band line-up of guitars, drums and vocalist may vary but the emphasis is always on high energy, high-volume rock (Zumeris, 2003, p. 495).

Oz Rock's relevance, or lack thereof, has also been a topic of interest, being referred to as 'Australian music's dead centre' (Mitchell, 1996, p. 204); an 'anachronism, a reactionary music that looks perpetually over its shoulder' (Barber, 1987, p. 1), as 'derivative' (Brabazon, 2000, p. 102) and in regards to its contribution to nation-building, 'conservative and backward-looking' (Stratton, 2007, p. 89).

Others have tried to explain the phenomenon in broader terms. Homan (2000), for example, identified that the increasing popularity of Oz Rock resulted when a shift occurred that took Australian’s musical gaze away from looking only overseas for their sense of identity, as Ed St John also pointed out above. From this perspective, Oz Rock marked the beginning of an emphasis on Australian bands writing and performing their own compositions and, according to Homan (2000), ‘[o]n first appearance... signified the extent to which musicians and audiences had become
comfortable with their own sounds and venues’ (p. 36). In addition Dunbar-Hall and Hodge, suggest that:

By the late 1980s Australian rock offered a wide range of styles. The pub circuit, increased TV time for rock music, the growth of a magazine industry devoted to rock and pop, the growth of the technology of music – giving rise to new instruments and sounds – and the importance of live concerts, have all combined to produce an interesting array of styles and groups. One reason for this diversity of styles is the fact that each style represents and reflects the values of the many different cultural sub-groups in the larger Australian cities, especially Sydney and Melbourne (1993, p. 181).

These views are in contrast to the view of Clinton Walker (1996), who had the following to say about the same music period: ‘it's difficult to convey what the scene was like before punk started kicking at the door. There was no street press, or alternative radio, or independent labels. It was a mainstream monopoly. There was nothing’ (1996, p. ix).

On the one hand, there is an awareness and acknowledgement of a great shift occurring in the Australian musical psyche with regards to the development of distinct music identity. On the other, the sentiment exists that prior to punk's arrival, little of relevance existed musically in Australia, discounting the idea that culturally dominant music could have relevance and value to its audience and performers. This latter point is exemplified by other comments made by Walker about 1980s Australian music. For example:

The orthodox histories of Australian music tell us that the early eighties was a golden era, the pub rock boom. I was working as a freelance music writer in Sydney at that time, having started out in punk fanzines, and yet I was all but oblivious to Cold Chisel, Midnight Oil and the Angels, there was so much that was exciting going on in the already clearly delineated inner-city underground... (1996, p. ix).

Walker of course valorises his own predilections, as do those who favour Oz Rock. To repeat Stokes’ argument from above, there is a question to be examined as ‘how music is used by social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries, to maintain distinctions between us and
them, and how terms such as ‘authenticity’ are used to justify these boundaries (1994, p. 6).

Other criticisms of Oz Rock have also been formulated in relation to it being a ‘derivative’ (Brabazon, 2000, p. 102) music style. In Tracking the Jack, (2000), Tara Brabazon looked at the social, economic, political and cultural relationships between Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom through the symbolism of the Union Jack. In it, she argued that ‘Australian music is essentially derivative of American and European modes’ (2000, p. 102). As George Lipsitz (1994) reminds us, however, all music is derivative of something else and this mechanism is traditionally how music is transported from one place to another. He provides the example of the guitar, about which he said:

> The guitar originated in Spain, but took on its definitive modern characteristics in the hands of African Americans... Blues lyrics often express displacement, but privilege movement over standing still and they rarely express any nostalgia for place. The principal practices that define jazz music originating in specific sites, but by privileging relentless innovation over static tradition they offered cultural, moral, and intellectual guidance to people all over the world (1994, p. 177).

Moreover, as Keir Keightley (2001) reminds us about rock music itself:

> Rock emerged out of the overlapping of several musical cultures, none of which on its own would be considered rock... Rock did not draw simply on the sounds, styles and techniques of these musical cultures. Perhaps more importantly, rock adopted and adapted aspects of their worldviews, their aesthetic and political sensibilities, and their varied approaches to relations between music, musicians and listeners in a mass mediated, commodity-driven, corporate society (2001, p. 119).

That Oz Rock reflected the national narratives of conservatism and gender bias that existed at the time has been acknowledged (Brabazon, 2000, Stratton, 2007, Turner, 1992). Again, however, by presenting different perspectives, an understanding can be gained about how attitudes are formed that are dependent on the time and space in which they existed. Stratton (2007) for example, drew on Brabazon’s opinion that because the formation of Oz Rock needed ‘the national narratives of a hostile
landscape to access other ideologies of masculinity, work, class and alcohol made Oz Rock integral to popular culture, but politically conservative' (Brabazon in Stratton, pp. 88-89). Stratton concludes that because of this, Oz Rock’s contribution to nation-building must be thought of as 'conservative and backward-looking' (2007, p. 89). Brian Cadd (2010), a musician writing and performing at the time, however, provides a different perspective - one that suggests that Australia was a pioneer in breaking new musical ground: Cadd stated that:

In Australia we had begun by making simple imitative records in simple studios with basic engineers and producers... Communication was virtually nil between our industry and everyone else and there was just no way we could learn anything first-hand, either creatively or technically. Very few experienced outsiders came to Australia to write or record or even to enter the local business... in the really important areas of creativity, management and production, we were left to figure it out for ourselves. We figured out how to write, not by co-writing with world-class veterans, as young writers could then in Nashville, New York and London... but by writing by ourselves with no outside input other than our band or by co-writing with people of a similar standard to us (2010, p. 81).

There are other instances, which situate different people into different spaces. For example, Mitchell (1996), argued that Newcastle band silverchair, in 1995, was continuing the established notions of Oz Rock, saying that:

While silverchair and ex child star Tina Arena's dominance of the ARIA awards were widely read as evidence that a 'new race' had supplanted the established figures of 'Oz rock' of the 1980s... it is important to note that in both musical and industrial terms they merely continue to reproduce an established mainstream musical lineage (1996, p. 205).

From another perspective, Craig Mathieson (2000) credited Newcastle band Silverchair as having 'changed the way that alternative music would reach Australian audiences' (p. 3). Again, different perspectives locate the same musicians and music within differing categories and genres. These distinctions and anomalies appear to perpetuate the idea that changing perceptual categories situate people within the time and spaces in relation to music styles and eras with which they relate and connect.
Furthermore, by engaging in a more detailed inspection of how the sites for Oz Rock have been constructed over time, a better understanding can also be gained about how such constructions occur in relation to its other features, such as the way it has been constructed as masculine. Clare Wright (2003), for example, found that:

The mythologising of the hotel as either cultural pearl or misogynist bête noire neglects the physical alterations and ideological shifts that have been wrought in the pub environment, both from within and without. Licensing laws, political agendas, literary currents, architectural fashions and moral concerns have all made the hotel a dynamic institution, constantly responsive to the mood of the day (2003, p. 198).

This is important as it reminds the reader that spaces such as hotels which have traditionally been viewed as existing predominantly as men's domains, were not always seen as such, and according to Clare Wright (2003) were constructed that way as a result of mostly political factors and the agendas of specific interest groups. She argues that in the nineteenth century, pubs were 'undeniably feminised through legislation, building regulations and common usage that stressed the restorative, civilising virtues of public house home life: shelter, companionship, personal care and connection' (Wright, 2003, p. 198). It was only after World War I, Wright contends:

when the material and spiritual needs of a settler society were replaced by the more formulaic prescription of a highly urbanised, industrialised nation, the pub reflected broader trends towards social segregation along class, ethnic and gender lines (2003, p. 198).

As such, she says that:

As commercial entities, hotels have always traded in the dominant cultural currencies of the time; as social institutions, they have also contributed to the construction of culture through the propagation of certain values, codes and practices. The idea of the hotel as a male domain - as anti-home, as refuge from female control and influence - only achieved widespread cultural appeal in the period after World War II... as wider ideas about 'women's place' in the national way of life became inextricably linked with consumerism, the suburban family home and an exclusively middle-class lifestyle (2003, p. 198).
Wright's comments indicate that during different time periods, in those particular spaces, constructions along gender lines existed very differently. Moreover, her comments that hotels have 'always traded in the dominant cultural currencies of the time' (2003, p. 198) reinforce the idea of music acting as a microcosm of the type of society within which it emerges. As Turner (1992), has indicated:

> we must admit that because Australian popular music is so close to the core of our popular culture, it rarely offers a critical perspective on that culture...the centrality of the pub venues decreases the likelihood of more women entering the industry and supports the sexism implicit in rock music itself. Where Australian rock music might have led the way in interrogating the traditional connections between, men, working class and alcohol in Australian society, the existing conditions of production actually support such connections (1992, p. 23).

Oz Rock then, by propagating the values, codes and practices of the time, was following traditionally generated pathways. It was not until 1977, for example, that the state Labor Wran Government made the following concessions to women in the law. He made it, for example:

> unlawful to discriminate on the grounds of sex or marital status... It was unlawful for a person with a liquor license to discriminate against a woman by refusing to serve her, or to discriminate in the terms on which that person does serve her, or allow her to have access to the establishment (in Homan, 2003, p. 87).

These changes highlight two important issues. The first is that in the first few years of Oz Rock, laws that activity discriminated against women were still in place, but also that changes were being made, confirming, according to Homan (2003), 'what had already occurred through protest and commerce' (p. 87). Homan (2003), however, went on to say that:

> [t]he end of public bar discrimination for women did not eventuate from publicans’ desires for gender equality; rather, it simply made strong commercial sense to broaden the nature of audiences with the increased demand for pub rock' (p. 83).

He also said that access for women remained difficult and that: '[v]arying strategies were applied to discourage female performers and managers.
Several venue managers refused to pay band wages to a female manager' (2003, p. 87).

It also needs to be noted that for a long period of time, what has been referred to as the 'six-o'clock swill' existed in Australia, ie from 1916 until the 1950s and 1960s across New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia (until 1955 in New South Wales). Practices throughout that time, when 6pm closing time was law in hotels, resulted in significant binge-drinking patterns of consumption in men who would rush to hotels to consume as much alcohol as possible before closing time. Tanja Luckins (2007) paints the following picture:

It may be difficult for a younger Australian to imagine a pub in the swill hour... ankle deep at 5.30 pm in a morass of cigarette butts decomposing in slopped grog, a howling thirsty mass crawling over each other to demand fifteen beers each to drink in the last, desperate guzzling minutes... Despite such imagery, or because of it, the term ‘six o’clock swill’ went a long way in linking beer, pubs and men, and in creating an ‘Australian way of drinking’ in the twentieth century... I find it difficult to imagine women engaging in the swill (2007, p. 08.1).

According to Clare Wright, ‘[w]omen were never legally prohibited from being present in the public bar, but could not be served alcohol under legislation introduced during the first world war (Wright, n.d). She believes that 'the true gender bar was a convention born of the nineteenth century morality, which dictated that respectable women could only occupy public places within strict boundaries of socio-sexual control' (ibid.). She quotes Gloria Fry, licensee of Geelong's Fleece Inn and Boundry (sic) Hotel from 1938 to 2001, who ‘contends that the social stigma of women drinking in public was enforced by self-righteous middle class women as much as by predatory male expectations of such women’s ‘notional availability’ (ibid.).

Oz Rock then, according to Homan (2003):

was founded upon opportunities to perpetuate the mythology of Australian drinking culture. Chronic overcrowding and the loud, unrelenting aggression of its musical forms produced a youthful adaptation of the six o’clock swill. The spaces opened to women, the real fight for their share of the dance floor and stage, represented the
The gradual erosion of male domains elsewhere. The rock pub presented both an opening and closing to territorial struggle, the nature of mixed audiences betraying more concrete underlying structure of privileged male spaces (pp. 101-102).

Oz Rock moreover, also wasn't the only period constructed as masculine. Jane Belfrage (2003) argued that Oz Rock inherited its characteristics from what had gone before. She claimed that: '[d]ance, bands, and the modern and traditional jazz bands that became plentiful in the 1940s, remained a men's domain' (2003, p. 296). Along the same vein, Caleb Kelly (2008) helpfully provides a definition of Oz Rock by comparing its characteristics to that of experimental music which emerged in Sydney in the 1990s. Kelly suggests that experimental music, which emerged in the decade following the Oz Rock era, was 'dominated by male performers and predominantly male audiences' (2008, p. 65) and that although it later moved away from being performed in pub venues, '[t]owards the end of the 1990s, experimental music events in Sydney were mostly staged in pubs and one-off spaces around the city' (ibid., p. 66). Simon Frith (1981) also makes the point that the rock community as a whole is exclusionist. As he argued in 1981:

[o]ne of the most obvious features of the rock community, after twenty-five years of rock ‘n’ roll and street life, is how poorly racially integrated it is, how much it still reflects the problems of white leisure and white youth' (1982, p. 88).

In a chapter in his book on heavy metal musicians, *Running with the Devil*, moreover, Robert Wasler (c1993) looks at gender issues in that music genre, and noted that heavy metal is socially constructed to ‘represent male power and female subordination’ (1993, p. xvi). In other words rock has been ‘made’ male.

Sara Cohen's (1991) research was undertaken with regard to bands that considered themselves as performing within 'alternative' music styles, yet the same criticism about gender bias that has been levelled against Oz Rock was also found. As a result of her research Cohen believes that '[g]ender differences are constructed, maintained, and negotiated, not only
by the way in which rock music is used but by the actual musical styles and their marketing’ (1991, pp. 202-203). In her study, she found that ‘[w]omen were not simply absent from the music scene but were actively excluded’ (p. 208). She viewed male band members' behaviour as revealing ‘the fear that women might break down men's defences, dissolve their group and thus undermine their confidence and identity...’ (p. 222) and were 'likely to be feared as intruders into male solidarity' (ibid.).

Claire Hedger (1998) discussed the issue of women musicians being left out of histories on Australian rock music, providing a story from female Australian artist, Renee Geyer, who claimed that:

In 1985 there was a book published about Australian rock’n’roll from the early 70s through to the present, compiled by Ed St John for Mushroom Records. Everyone who even made a burp on a record was in there, but they completely left me out. There was not even a mention of my name. It was as if I’d never existed! I was in shock. I ran into Ed St John somewhere and asked him why I wasn’t in that book. He said it was probably because I didn’t have any records out at the time. Also, he thought that I was getting out of the rock’n’roll business and moving into cabaret (Hedger, 1998).

Whist Hedger (2009) claims that such disregard for Geyer’s contribution to Australia’s music landscape has had positive outcomes, in that a number of female artists such as Geyer, have now documented and published their own histories, nevertheless, such omissions point to the gender bias that exists in the writing of Australia’s music history, reminiscent of how Australian history was perpetuated prior to the beginning of revisionist history-writing in the 1970s.

Chrissy Amphlett (2005), lead singer with Australian rock band the Divinyls, recalled being actively excluded by male peers at a benefit concert where a number of bands performed. Amphlett recalled that members of other bands refused to talk to her as they thought she was being disrespectful by wearing her signature school uniform when she performed. On this, her views were that: ‘I like to think they turned on me not because of what I was wearing but because I was successful and
maybe even more importantly, I was a successful woman’ (2005, p. 168). Amphlett also recalled how ‘John Entwistle from the band The Who had said to her ‘Christine, you’re a pretty girl, why don’t you just stand there and sing?’ (in Hedger, 1998). Bass player with Australian band Do Re Mi, Helen Carter, has similarly recalled the attitudes she endured. As she recalled:

We played around a couple of the pubs and I never felt like a novelty, but I certainly had difficulties with people not believing I was in the band…There was always some reason for me being in that position other being a good bass player. Later down the track there’s all those stories of bouncers at the door saying ‘Oh you’re carrying your boyfriends (sic) guitar’ and ‘can you prove you’re in the band’. You get these men, saying sit on my face!... And Deb and I would go, Why? Is your nose bigger than your dick? (in Hedger, 1998).

Vivien Johnson (1992) similarly argues for the lack of inclusion of female voices in regard to female audience participation in rock music writing, another area which has been greatly neglected. As Johnson says:

The story of women’s achievements within the local rock industry is a buried history... But if we look beyond the stage, we discover the sea of impassioned female faces on the other side of the footlights-and the undeniable but often overlooked fact that women's collective participation at the audience level of rock 'n' roll since its inception has been a vital factor in its power as a medium of cultural expression (1992, p. 129).

Holly Kruse (1999) also looked at the relationship between women and popular music, particularly rock music. Kruse's interests were in seeking to determine both how 'popular music helps to construct gendered identities and gendered understandings through both its systems of signification and situated practices' (p. 100) and 'how other forms of identification cross-cut, work against, and/or reinforce gendered identities and meanings' (ibid.).

Another example of how notions of what is authentic and how it is constructed comes from Mary Ann Clawson (1999). She looked into how early processes of aspiring to be a musician, learning to play and joining a band are shaped by gender. Using interviews with both males and
females, Clawson focussed on instrument players who may or may not have sung rather than singers per se. Clawson found that girls appeared to lack cultural capital that seemed to be automatic with boys. She claimed that:

Being seen as a novelty, being told that 'you play well for a girl', being ignored by sound men and judged on their looks all served to communicate to women their marginal status in the rock world, their position as musicians whose competence was always suspect and whose performances would always be evaluated differently. 'If you’re a guy and you have a band', Sean Gordon commented, 'it’s rock and roll. If it’s a band of women, it’s a girl group' (1999, p. 112).

Clawson (1999) went on to claim that:

[a]nalysis that remains at the level of media representation and its assumed consequences fails to theorise and specify social relations and practices, as well as resources and constraints, that are equally central to the process of becoming a musician (1999, p. 102).

She concluded by saying: '[b]eing a boy served, in these early years, as a form of social and cultural capital. Girls lacked access to an entitlement that seemed to be assumed by boys' (Clawson 1999, p. 111). In regard to Oz Rock and the gender divide, David Groenewegen (1997) noted that '[t]he dominant view, especially in the ‘Pub Rock’ scene, was to continue to view women as objects...' (1997, p. 28).

The above discussion has described how the site of performance has been constructed along gender lines, with the music that emerged in those sites reflecting the social conditions that existed in the time it emerged and within those particular spaces. It also suggests that gendered constructs were used to further enforce male identities. Without interrogation through academic research of this important period in Australia's music history, what is left are questions that ask 'what' Oz Rock is and what it is not, rather than what it meant to the agents involved. From this perspective the different ways that Oz Rock has been defined through time and space indicates a way of saying what music is ‘allowed’ to be appropriated and used by those agents and what music ‘belongs’ to other people (Slobin,
This then returns us to the question of authenticity in popular music and Oz Rock specifically.

If definitions for music are relative to the time and space the definitions are located in, then this relativity may also extend to the way that authenticity is applied to different music styles and different music periods. Such a notion is explored by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1997) with regards to the painter Raphael, who Csikszentmihalyi said:

is creative when the community is moved by his work, and discovers new possibilities in his paintings. But when his paintings seem mannered and routine to those who know art, Raphael can only be called a great draftsman... creativity can then be deconstructed, and reconstructed several times over during the course of history... (1997, p. 30).

Because of this, Csikszentmihalyi (1997) argues 'it makes perfect sense to say that Raphael was creative in the sixteenth and in the nineteenth centuries but not in between or afterward (1997, p. 30). Such ideas can be seen in the tradition of acceptance of artists performing and recording other people's songs. Whereas a discussion in the previous section explored this in terms of it being necessary in the process of becoming a professional musician, in this context it is viewed as being popular in some eras and not others. Sawyer (2006), for example, claims that:

In the European fine art tradition, performers aren't supposed to be creative; European classical music composers hate it when performers interpret their work creatively. Igor Stravinsky spoke for all composers when he stated his expectations: "Only through the performer is the listener brought in contact with the musical work. In order that the public may know what a work is like and what its value is, the public must first be assured of the merit of the person who presents the work to it and the conformity of that presentation to the composer's will" (Stravinsky, 1947, pp. 132-133). According to Stravinsky, performers must be modest, and remove their own individuality from the performance; their job is to communicate another creator's vision faithfully, not to be creative themselves. Because our culture equates creativity and novelty, it's not surprising that we don't think performers are as creative as composers (2006, p. 232).

Sawyer compares this with what occurs in jazz improvisation, in that
in general, the jazz community doesn't defer to the composer or to the original version when deciding how to perform a classic jazz standard. Rather, jazz performers are expected to contribute so much to the piece that the original piece may become almost unrecognizable. Needless to say, such license would constitute sacrilege in a symphony hall today—even though 200 years ago, an audience in the same hall might have rightly been outraged if the famous guest pianist did not improvise during the performance (2006, p. 233).

From this example it can be seen that looking at the different perspectives used by different groups or individuals over time to authenticate different music styles is important in understanding how authenticity is constructed.

In this regard Hugh Barker and Yuval Taylor (2007) explored authenticity through the stories of a number of different artists and through a number of different music styles. They concluded that different authenticities exist depending on who was defining authenticity. For example, they claim that '[i]n certain subcultures, being "natural" is either suspect or out of the question, and being theatrical is the only real possibility' (p. xii). In another example they claim '[f]or many academics..., everything is more or less "constructed," (ibid.) and repeat what the Beatles claimed, that "[n]othing is real"' (ibid.). Regina Bendix (c1997) has also examined the notion of authenticity - this time in the evolution of the field of folklore studies. According to Bendix (c1997):

The search for authenticity is fundamentally an emotional and moral quest. But this experiential dimension does not provide lasting satisfaction, and authenticity needs to be augmented with pragmatic and evaluative dimensions. Declaring something authentic legitimated the subject that was declared authentic, and the declaration in turn can legitimize the authenticator, though here such concerns as social standing, education, and the ability to promote one's view also play a role (c1997, p. 7).

From this brief understanding it can be claimed that over time, at different periods, authenticity has been defined in different ways. As a construct, the notion of authenticity has been explored through the debates about high and low culture, about the debates about the validity of performing and/or recording of other people's songs versus composing original compositions, and through the valorisation of live performance versus
recorded music. A closer look at the literature on the topic provides a greater understanding about how different ways of seeing authenticity have occurred over time and are framed differently by different groups or individuals.

In the time period in which he was writing, Theodor Adorno (1990) believed that popular music was never authentic, due to its connection with mass culture industry and its existence for him as a form of low culture. Adorno believed that the way popular songs were constructed prevented them from being authentic. He felt, that the processes of standardisation and the use of repetitive form, where 'no stress is ever placed upon the whole as a music event, nor does the structure of the whole ever depend upon the details' (1990, p. 302), automatically designated popular music to the category of being inauthentic. For Adorno, only classical, or what he referred to as 'serious music' (p. 302) was authentic, where ‘[e]very detail derives its musical sense from the concrete totality of the piece' (1990, p. 303). For Neil Nehring (1997), this was not the case. He formed ideas about authenticity from a different perspective. For him:

authenticity of popular music… lies precisely in its repetition or circulation, as it enters into actual lived experience… Rock music is difficult to treat as a primary text not because it presents no authenticity at all but because it contains a number of moments of authenticity – the imprint of corporate bosses, A & R men, producers, and lawyers, to be sure, but also that of musicians, performers, and audiences…. (Nehring, 1997, p. 67).

It follows then, that different styles of music are seen as authentic at different times by different people, depending on the music with which people connect and to which they feel they belong. As Stokes (1994) noted, the invocation of authenticity is ‘a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike ‘this is what is really significant about this music… this is the music that makes us different from other people' (p.6). Sarah Thornton (1995) suggests similarly, asserting that authenticity is:
arguably the most important value ascribed to popular music. It is found in different kinds of music by diverse musicians, critics and fans... Music is perceived as authentic when it rings true or feels real, when it has credibility and comes across as genuine (1995, p. 26).

This suggests then, that it is when music has meaning for people who hear it, and for whom it rings true and feels genuine, that it becomes authentic. This then indicates that authenticity is constructed for different people in different ways and that no matter who is deciding the criterion for authenticity, if it is not perceived to be authentic by the listener, then for that listener, that particular song or music style will not be genuine or authentic. A further example is Simon Frith's (1996) use of the music of Bruce Springsteen to make his point about authenticity in rock music. Frith (1996) claims that 'authenticity' involves a number of factors and 'must be defined against artifice' (p. 98). For him:

The recurring term used in discussions of Springsteen, by fans and critics, is 'authenticity'. What is meant by this is not that Springsteen is authentic in a direct way – he is simply expressing himself – but that he represents 'authenticity' (1996, p. 97).

Frith maintains that Springsteen’s importance lies in the representation of his music as an authentic space that people can use to express themselves in a language that is easily recognisable and to which people can easily relate. Springsteen’s music, for Frith, represents a space where 'everyday hopes and fears can be expressed' (Frith 1996, p. 97). He continues:

What’s at stake here is not authenticity of experience, but authenticity of feeling; what matters is not whether Springsteen has been through these things himself... but that he knows how they work... Reality is registered... [as] a refusal to sentimentalize social conditions, a compulsion to sentimentalize human nature... celebrating the ordinary not the special... (p. 98).

It is such representation however, that for others, makes Springsteen appear inauthentic. John Strausbaugh (2001) for example, argues that:

What rankles about Springsteen's carefully manicured image as a regular guy, a man of the people, a working-class hero is that he is one of the most craftily marketed performers in rock, a millionaire.
many times over who is as close to the average member of his audience as Barbra Streisand is to hers... He has struck on a formula for producing a formulaic, choreographed, middle-of-the-road fake-rock with broad appeal (2001, p. 193).

These differing ways of attributing authenticity is similar to the example of Jimmy's Barnes' interpretation of the song 'Working Class Man', as noted earlier. James Lull (1987) provides another example of how this works. Lull suggests that the difference might be connected to socio-economic factors. He speculates, for example, that:

The music of Elvis Costello might sound the same as that of Bruce Springsteen to an outsider, but young people know that the difference between these two artists is something more than musical. They represent different lifestyle orientations. Costello is a major exponent of "modern" music while Springsteen is the respected spokesman for blue-collar, East Coast rock and roll. Allegiance to one or the other says something important about the listener. Some modern music fans think Bruce Springsteen is boring old news. Some blue-collar rockers regard Costello as a lightweight, new wave wimp. These are not casual distinctions, and some member of these two camps would rather die than be associated with the other, even though their parents and other naïve observers may not be able to tell the difference in their styles of music (pp. 144-145).

Keightley (2001) succinctly sets out a framework for the way in which authenticity can be understood in terms of what he refers to as 'Romantic authenticity' and 'Modernist authenticity' and relates them to understandings of authenticity in regard to time and space. 'Romantic' authenticity, according to Keightley (2001) has tendencies that connect it to the traditions of a 'core or essential rock sound [based on] sincerity, directness...[and] liveness' (2001, p. 137). 'Modernist' authenticity, on the other hand, he says, tends to be found more in 'experimentation and progress...openness regarding rock sounds...classical, art music, soul, pop styles, [and] celebrating technology' (p. 138). Keightley continued:

most performers or genres will line up on one side or the other of the above table, rock's internal complexity makes it difficult to label individual genres or performers as completely and exclusively 'Romantic' or 'Modernist'. Many will move back and forth across the table. Numerous rock genres or performers work with hybrid versions of authenticity, taking elements of Romanticist authenticity and mingling them with bits of Modernist authenticity (2001, p. 139).
Keightley (2001) gives the example of the bands *Oasis* and *Blur* as cases in point: *Oasis*, he claims:

Might be valued because they assert a continuity with a Romantic rock tradition from the 1960s, because they emphasise live performance, direct expression, and a sense that they are populists, working-class punters little different from their fans. *Blur* might be valued because of their Modernist experimentation with various pop styles, because they foreground synthesisers and the recording studio, irony, and a sense that they are part of a rock elite, college-educated and more ‘knowing’ in their self-conscious playing with sounds and identities (2001, p. 138)

When applied to Australian bands that performed in the Oz Rock period, with which this thesis is concerned, Keightley’s theory offers an explanation for why such a broad array of ostensibly different musical styles can be encompassed under the umbrella of Oz/Pub rock music. For example, bands such as *The Angels*, *Cold Chisel*, *AC/DC*, *Midnight Oil*, *The Radiators*, *Divinyls*, *Rose Tattoo* and the like, can be seen to be aligned to Romantic authenticity, where the emphasis was on the honing of skills through live performance and immediate connection to pub audiences with working-class sensibilities (Homan, 2003).
Simultaneously, Keightley’s theory allows bands and artists such as *QE2*, *The Models*, *Hunters and Collectors*, *Mental As Anything*, *Machinations* and the like, bands that made a name for themselves sometime later, to be valued in a more Modernist traditional sense, due to those bands’ experimentation with various styles and instruments.

In *Sound Tracks*, Connell and Gibson (2003) dedicate a chapter to authenticity of music and place. They discuss how authenticity can be found in certain contexts through the valuing of continuity over change. This dichotomy can be connected to Keightley’s argument for Romantic and Modernist perspectives. As they argue:

Both authenticity and credibility are constructed in relation to how continuity and change are perceived. Folk music has been ‘authentic’ because it endeavoured to maintain an oral tradition, yet credibility accrues to the innovative (who themselves gain ‘authenticity’ over time as they are recognised as the innovators of an important style),
and to the skilled (even though those will little skill have been seen as credible, as in 'do-it-yourself' punk)... This also happens with the places that music has come from. Regions of dynamism and creativity, places perceived to be the origins of novel sounds, become credible as sites of innovation, and subsequently become authentic, as they are increasingly depicted in media and imaginations in relation to music... Performers whose success was national, such as Midnight Oil (who raised issues concerning Australian national consciousness) or primarily local, such as the Whitlams (who sang of gentrification in inner-city Sydney, and demanded audience participation) had little difficulty in being attributed integrity and authenticity... (2003, p. 43).

In the same way, the importance of Oz Rock music has been consolidated over time, evidenced by the number and regularity of bands from that era that toured Australia to large receptions by audiences. Again, if a closer look is taken as to the way authenticity has been constructed historically, a clearer picture begins to emerge about how definitions may be relative to time and/or space, as particular time periods have became known for particular characteristics. Before more technological advancements in recording and producing were developed, for example, authenticity was primarily constructed around 'live performance'. This is explained by Sarah Thornton (1995), who said that:

> While authenticity is attributed to many different sounds, between the mid-fifties and mid-eighties, its main site was the live gig. In this period, 'liveness' dominated notions of authenticity. The essence of truth or truth of music was located in its performance by musicians in front of an audience (1995, p. 26).

Subsequently, Thornton (1995) suggests that:

> new authenticities formed specific to recorded entertainment, for these were dependent on historical changes in the circumstances of both the production and consumption of music. Initially, records transcribed, reproduced, copied, represented, derived from and sounded like performances. But, as the composition of popular music increasingly took place in the studio rather than, say, off stage, records came to carry sounds and musics that neither originated in nor referred to actual performances... Moreover, in the 1970s and 1980s, new instruments such as synthesizers and samplers meant that sounds were recorded from the start. Accordingly, the record shifted from being a secondary or derivative form to a primary, original one. In the process of becoming originals, records accrued their own authenticities (1995, p. 27).
The first period that Thornton mentions was the period within which Oz Rock emerged, and it followed the tradition whereby authenticity and 'respect is gained through the constant honing of skills through live performance, undertaking the 'pub apprenticeship' and a distrust of keyboards and other programmable instruments' (Homan, 2003, p. 97). Idena Rex (1992) has argued that the reasons why Kylie Minogue was not perceived as authentic at the beginning of her music career, for example, was because her training had not been served within these typically understood features of Australian music 'apprenticeship' (1992, p. 152).

Authenticity at that time was defined in terms such as '[m]aking it on the tough pub circuit meant you were good' (Bernie Howitt, 1989, p. 139), and it was generally accepted that: 'Australian bands served their apprenticeships by toughing it out in the country's pubs and set standards that would shape the way the industry would develop in the early '80s' (Tracee Hutchison, 1992, p. 2).

It can be seen then, how important history is to attitudes towards authenticity. Also, important is an understanding of those groups that attempt to shape ideas about what it means to be authentic. While Oz Rock was popular for the bands and its audiences and for many journalists writing in the popular music magazines at the time, there were sections of the print press who found authenticity in music other than the 'popular' or culturally dominant at the time, and who aligned themselves with other music styles or periods, through the denigrating of Oz Rock. Sydney journalist, Lynden Barber (1991), for example, claimed that Australian rock’s 'claim to authenticity' (p. 41) was a 'myth' (ibid.). One of Barber's objections was that he saw Oz Rock as a 'corporate creation' (Barber, 1991, p. 51). Homan (2002a) on the other hand, recognised that its recording success, together with the site where it was most often performed, was, to a large extent, a reason for pride in what it was achieving. As he argues:

During the industry's 'golden' period of recording sales success (approximately 1978-88), the live pub remained the cornerstone of
and, it was believed, the reason for) global attention, and a source of national pride (Homan, 2002a, p. 91).

2.8 The site

As mentioned, the site of Oz Rock was as important to its authenticity as its live nature. The emphasis on authentic sites of performance, however, also meant that these sites were often criticised for what that presented, as has been noted in sections above, due to those sites' connections to alcohol and specific class sensibilities. Homan (2003) has also pointed out how 'Oz Rock has historically provided an easy target for criticism' (p. 97), citing Barber, 1987; Brophy 1987 and Mitchell, 1996 (in Homan, 2003). Studies that have been conducted on particular sites of live music, however, demonstrate the importance to those sites to the bands and audiences that participated (eg Bjornberg & Stockfelf 1996, Grazian 2004, Webster 2010). Such participation is important for how specific music styles are identified as belonging to specific sites and can be related to Massey's (1995) ideas of the connection between time and space and its meaning in relation to place. She explains this power in terms of the knowledge that is 'known' about a specific place, by the virtue of being an inhabitant, such as 'the nervousness of going down a particular street at night' (1995, ibid.). This is also what Bourdieu meant by his ideas on habitus (1977, 1984). This could just as easily translate however, into the knowledge about the different spaces in a place that provide particular types of music. For Massey, 'it is out of the intersections of all these geographies that each 'place' acquires both its uniqueness and its interdependence with elsewhere' (1995, p. 72). Massey believes that 'places must be conceptualized in ways which take account of the social relations which link them together' (ibid.).

Authenticity through music sites can also be found in a variety of ways. Where some venues become known for one particular music style, for example, others become known for a wide range of styles. Research conducted into a 'local' live music venue by Emma Webster (2010) in the United Kingdom, for example, found that authenticity was determined
through the experience of participation and experience rather than particular preference for a music styles, as the particular venue was a site where 'a diverse range of musical genres was experienced, including metal, rock, indie, grime, techno, and acoustic folk' (2010, p. 25).

This situation was different to the connection to space and how authenticity was determined for one group of patrons in a local pub in Denmark. Authors, Alf Bjornberg and Ola Stockfelt (1996), conducted fieldwork in a local pub venue in Skagen, Denmark, attempting to reconcile the paradox of the popularity of the dance/pub music duo Sussi & Leo who performed at the venue each night (and who, in 1995, were in the process of fulfilling their second consecutive five-year contact), with the perception that musically, neither were what could be described as 'a very accomplished musician' (1996, p. 303). The authors found that 'musical characteristics which in another context might have been considered signs of deficiency are here turned into assets, purposefully contributing to the realisation of a sociomusical experience' (1996, p. 312). Bjornberg and Stockfelf found that the pub venue seemed to function as a second home environment for many of those present and that the duo was 'part of the family' (p. 313), thus, they concluded that:

the musicians were part of a larger 'affinity group', a 'charmed circle of like-minded' makers of an activity in which the music-making was the foremost public facet, but only one of several essential components In this activity, the manner of perpetuation and nightly widening of the affinity group in itself appears to be one of the most important constituents. The project of including the guests in the bonding, or in a convincing appearance of bonding, thus appears as one of the basic conditions and functions also of the making of music (1996, p. 314).

Another way authenticity was found to be determined, in another example, was in differences between residents and tourists in the blues scene in Chicago. David Grazian (2004) found, for example, that residents mediate authenticity through the different venues they visit, where residents perceive authenticity against those that are more tourist-attracting or 'commercial'. As he explained:
According to many consumers, clubs located in transitional entertainment zones with romantic and storied reputations seem less commercialized and thus more special than those in the downtown area. Since local tastemakers organize the city's blues clubs and their entertainment zones along a sliding scale of authenticity from the most seemingly "mainstream" to those they consider the most authentic and hip, tourists begin their search by patronizing clubs located downtown and work their way toward the outer limits of the city centre until they reach what they imagine to be a satisfactory level of authenticity. This sliding scale of authenticity not only represents how musicians, consumers, and cultural critics manufacture authenticity through their reliance on stereotypes and urban myths, but also demonstrates how they rank venues and their locals in relation to one another according to those subjective measures (2004, p. 34).

Howard Becker (2004) in his chapter 'Jazz Places', in Bennett and Peterson's book, *Music Scenes, Local, Translocal and Virtual* (2004), investigated the local music jazz scene in Chicago in the 1940s and 50s. He documented his experiences as a jazz player who performed in many of the jazz clubs. For Becker, authenticity can be seen to be connected to the social constructs built around particular spaces or places. For Becker, 'place' could refer to:

> a physical place that has been socially defined: defined by its expected uses, by shared expectations about that kinds of people will be there to take part in those activities, and by the financial arrangements that underlie all of this. And defined further by a larger social context that both provides opportunities and sets limits to what can happen... we must recognise... that places change more or less continuously. What can be played in a place will vary as well (2004, p. 20).

The behaviour and therefore influence of audiences was also a significant factor in these spaces, in that Becker found that often in local bars, people came to socialise with friends and 'hang out'. He noted that: '[w]e provided background noise for the socializing that went on in the bar' (2004, p. 25), suggesting authentication that entailed more than just the music being performed.

In the Australian context, in an article published in *Meanjin* (2006), entitled *Wanting More*, Mark Cherry documents his involvement in the creation of an 'alternative' music scene in Newcastle. Cherry's example highlights
how authenticity can be specifically constructed around particular venues which was accomplished through his knowledge of the area, connection to Newcastle, and the understanding of how specific sites may become used for specific music styles.

Additionally, in his research, ‘You went there for the people and went there for the bands’: The Sandringham Hotel - 1980 - 1998, Brendan Smyly (2010) produced an historical account of the musical practices of the Sandringham Hotel in Newtown, Sydney, between the years 1980 to 1998. In this account, one of Smyly’s study participants linked the 'scene' around that particular venue in terms of the era and the sense of belonging to that time and place. He cites a study participant who recalled:

> It was a pretty huge time of my adult life, that whole time around that scene and time, definitely, definitely. Like I said, because I hadn’t been living on this side of the city for long, it kind of gave me a real footprint into the area and made it really feel like home and like I was part of something and I belonged to a group. There’s that sense of belongingness that most of us want, like there’s a feel like we fit in or belong. (L. Minutillo, 2007, in Smyly, 2010, p. 221).

As a result of what he refers to as the link this participant made between the time and her feelings about that time, Smyly has called into questioned Straw’s definition of scene, specifically as it relates to space. He argues, for example, that what he himself found, 'leads to a more open understanding that includes the interconnectedness of the participants and how shared experience builds the ‘space’ they now recall' (2010, p. 221). As such, he argues, ‘[a]ddressing ‘space’ through ‘scene’ falls short’ (ibid.).

The argument could be made then, that depending on the time period and space within which definitions are made, authenticity could be applied equally to all music styles, depending on who is determining what is authentic. According to Lawrence Grossberg (2003), for example:

> there are many forms of rock authenticity... Part of the problem is that authenticity refers to two separate dimensions: first, how and of what the music speaks (the problem of communication); second, to and for whom the music speaks (the problem of community) (2003, p. 93).
And as Keir Keightley (2001) has similarly argued, there are competing definitions of authenticity within rock, and '[a]lthough all rock genres emphasise authenticity as their core value, not all understand and express authenticity in an identical fashion' (2001, p. 137).

Put another way, Stratton (2007) suggests that:

Much popular music is produced and consumed locally, and under local cultural conditions. Culture is an active process... People produce music and consume and reproduce music according to their own cultural experiences and expectations. In this fundamental context they will endeavour to make sense, or not, of other people's music and will accept and reject, modify and transform, elements of that music into their own musical production (p. 5).

Studying local mainstream music scenes that developed in response to the Oz Rock phenomena is then important in revealing the contribution of cities and towns in regional Australia. How Oz Rock was interpreted in local contexts will add to the literature, not only about local scenes, but also about how participants made meaning and found authenticity in such scenes.

As the discussion above has indicated, there is evidence that suggests that definitions and constructs for authenticity are relative to the time and space within which they belong and are closely connected with ways that people identify with different music periods in different spaces.

Another set of factors that are important to the ways that music develops in a place are the different impacts and ability to influence coming from the industrial, economic and political arena pertinent to this time and space.

2.9 Music industry/economic/political

Further factors that are also important in the way music develops in a place include the industrial (music business), economic and political structures and how these impact musical practices and interactions. These occur through a variety of ways, which co-exist and overlap.
The broadening of the field of cultural studies, away from issues of power relations to do with class, towards locality, and later feminist and geographical research, 'helped to foreground space and place as more than an empty framework for the playing out of classed, gendered or raced struggles' (Johnson, R, et al, 2004, p. 114). Emphasis was then placed on the function and structure of societies, issues with which the sociologists Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1993, 1994, 1996) and Anthony Giddens (1979) were intensely interested. Bourdieu, for example, was concerned with the acquisition of certain types of capitals that assist in individuals or 'agents' gaining influence and power in a 'field' and, primarily, how choice-making agents and supposedly deterministic structures were interlinked. Related to his notion of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1990), where agents internalise their surroundings to the degree that they become like second nature, cultural capitals are gained through the acquisition of specific knowledge gained by being immersed in a particular 'field' (Bourdieu 1986). The 'field' for Bourdieu, is a term, according to Randall Johnson (1993), that is 'a dynamic concept in that a change in an agent's position necessarily entails a change in the field's structure' (Johnson in Bourdieu, 1993, p. 6). Bourdieu, according to David Swartz (1997), extended the 'idea of capital to all forms of power, whether they be material, cultural, social, or symbolic' (p. 73). As a result it is argued, '[i]ndividuals and groups draw upon a variety of cultural, social, and symbolic resources in order to maintain and enhance their positions in the social order' (ibid.). As Swartz explains:

[i]n undifferentiated traditional societies the family patrimony depends not only on its land, animals, and instruments of production but also on its kinship relations and networks of alliances... [i]n modern differentiated societies, access to sources of income in the labour market depends upon cultural capital in the form of educational credentials and social capital in the form of networks (1997, p. 73).

The degree of cultural, social, symbolic and economic capitals acquired in the 'field', according to Bourdieu, allows people to gain power and influence in that field, the degree to which determines their place within a
hierarchy, with the greater degree of social, symbolic, cultural and/or economic capital acquired being closely related to where they sit within that hierarchy.

Anthony Giddens (1979) is similarly concerned with the structure and function of societies and how institutional structures interact with agents. For Giddens, structure refers ‘to a 'pattern' of social relationships; [and] function, to how such patterns actually operate as systems' (1979, p. 60). Giddens (1979) reinforces the idea of the ability of agents, individuals or groups, to act as agents of change in a field, having what he terms a 'transformative capacity' (p. 88), in that people or individuals have the power to change existing structures and behaviours. These are useful concepts to help explain the structure and function of how people operate within systems, how they are placed, or place themselves within that field and the level of their ability to change existing patterns of behaviour and operations. It can also be seen that Bourdieu's use of a hierarchy is related to Giddens' notion of agents having transformative capacity. Both agree that power and agency in a field does not remain fixed but changes depending on who has power at different times. Bourdieu explores this notion further in *The Rules of Art* (1996) where he examines the different agents engaged in the means of production in centres of activity. He explains his ideas about how boundaries are determined and defended and where struggles arise as a result of new agents entering the field and:

import innovation regarding products or techniques of production, and try or claim to impose on the field of production, which is itself its own market, a new mode of evaluation of products' (1996, p. 225).

Bourdieu's ideas are used to explore this 'field of cultural production' (ibid.) in Newcastle to gain an understanding of how the 'cultural field' (ibid.) there was impacted upon by the different agents that appeared and impacted on that field. In this regard, Bourdieu speaks of the 'position-takings of different producers, of the competition that pits them against each other, of the alliances they form, [and] of the works they produce or
defend' (1996, p. 204). This is again, where the notion of cultural capital is significant. As Bourdieu contends:

\[\text{in fact, only knowledge of the structure can provide the tools of a true knowledge of the processes which lead to a new state of the structure and which thereby also comprise the means of comprehending this new structure}^\prime (1996, p. 206)\].

In their coverage of society structure and functions, Michael Haralambos and Martin Holborn (1995) are interested in how social stratification operates. For them:

\[\text{social stratification is a particular form of social inequality. It refers to the presence of distinct social groups which are ranked one above the other in terms of factors such as prestige and wealth}^\prime (1995, p. 21)\].

Such conceptions have, among many other things, allowed for different views about creativity to emerge - from the 'artist' being seen as the sole contributor to the making of art, to understanding creativity as a collaborative effort but within different power structures within that system. Csikszentmihalyi (1997) developed a systems model of creativity, whereby input from different sources was seen to contribute to the making of culture. He discussed the various factors that contribute to the success or otherwise of artists. Csikszentmihalyi also adhered to the notion of the development of a hierarchy within his model, which develops amongst the different agents engaged in the creative work. Inherent in Csikszentmihalyi's work is his idea of 'field', which differs in one regard to that of Bourdieu's. Csikszentmihalyi's notion of field focuses on the role of gatekeepers who have the ability to both enhance one's chances of success or act as barriers. Keith Negus (1996), similarly suggests that:

\[\text{new music and new cultural dialogues are made with the context of the possibilities provided by existing social relations (the industry organization, the political arrangements, the entire patterns of mediation and methods of social distribution), technological means (studio and instruments of music-making, methods of storage and distribution) and aesthetic conventions (the complex of performance practices, bodily techniques and discriminations to select chords, sounds, notes, words and imagery, and then combine them in a specific way...} (1996, pp. 137-138).\]
These ideas have been examined through application. Phillip McIntyre (2007; 2008; 2008a, 2012), for example, explored these concepts in terms of creativity in the recording studio, and how the relationships in that ‘field’ interact and impact on the various agents operating within the system. McIntyre (2008, 2008a) found evidence for Bourdieu's ideas in that the degree of capitals one possesses is relative to one's success in the field and that the ‘prestige and renown’ (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 170) that one is able to attain in the field, is relative to the degree of power that person, or group, is able to assert.

Where McIntyre explored these ideas on creativity through what occurs in the recording studio between ‘agents’, Homan (2011) considers the ideas in the collaborative process in music-making, and suggested that:

[t]he music media often think of the creative partnership as a series of famous couples, ignoring equally famous group collaborations (e.g. Midnight Oil, Hunters and Collectors, the Go-Betweens in Australian pop/rock contexts). While a strong writing individual or duo partnership is in evidence, the completed product could not be imagined without the distinctive input of other members (Homan, 2011).

Others have looked at the impact of music promoters on the 'field' of music-making. Guy Morrow's (2006) research, entitled 'Managerial Creativity', for example, explored the concept of creativity through the notion of 'managerial creativity', which he claims 'involves the creation and maintenance of the system, context or environment from which artistic creativity emerges and is therefore the facet of the music industry that can most effectively enhance musical creativity' (2006, p. vi).

Emma Webster's research, Promoting Live Music in the UK: A Behind-the-scenes Ethnography (2011) sets out to answer questions about the roles and impacts of promoters of live music in the United Kingdom. Webster found that promoters were vital for the musical landscape, having influence by way of their roles as 'cultural investors (and exploiters), importers and innovators' (2011, p. 236). In that way, she claimed they were 'vital – albeit often covert – figures in the musical landscape...' (ibid.).
Webster also claimed that due to the changing nature of musical trends, promoters need to be adaptive to meet the changing needs of audiences and what she refers to as the 'constant 'churn' of artists' (2011, p. 237). She went on to say that:

If audiences want the same programme year after year, the promoter should provide it... But if there is also an audience out there who desire new and innovative programmes – particularly young audiences desirous for the next generation's own sounds and artists – then the promoter should also cater for them in order to maintain variety within the live music ecology... (2011, p. 237).

Of particular interest is how Webster contends that '[p]romoters both shape and are shaped by the live music ecology' (ibid.). As she says: '[t]he promotion of live music does not take place in a vacuum, and promoters both shape and are shaped by the live music ecology via the networks and infrastructures within which the promoter necessarily operates...' (2011, p. 238).

Similar findings were recorded by Simon Frith, Matt Brennan, Martin Cloonan and Emma Webster (2010) who similarly approached live music history in the United Kingdom from the point of view of live music promotion. The authors argue that:

Live music has to happen somewhere, and the changing places of music (where live events happen, the geography of audience) are a crucial strand of social history. And the place of live music is also a venue, whether a pub back room, a farmer's field or a purpose built stadium. The changing spaces of musical performance contain their own technological, architectural and ideological accounts of what people have understood as a good sound, a good performance, a good listening experience, a good night out... what matters is to understand that local, small-scale do-it-yourself promotion remains... necessary to the live music ecology’ (2010, p. 3).

Ben Gallan (2012) also explored the impact and influence of booking agents in his work Gatekeeping Night Spaces: The Role of Booking Agents in Creating 'Local' Live Music Venues and Scenes (2012). Gallan explored live music in one particular venue in the city of Wollongong, New South Wales, a city with many similar features to Newcastle. He explored what he referred to as 'gatekeeping' practices by booking agents
responsible for booking bands to the venue. Of particular interest was Gallen's claim that the booking of bands to venues was not done so based on reputation, and in fact, he argues, 'potentially better known or more lucrative bands were regularly denied access in favour of 'local' bands socially connected to the music scene' (2012, p. 35). Gallen's work is particularly important in terms of the influence of a booking agent or promoter in helping to shape a specific culture within that space, which, in the context of the current discussion, also depends on the willingness of others, in this case, audiences, bands and venue operators, to collaborate in the process.

Graeme Turner (1992) explored the notion of power and influence in relation to venue operators, who, he argued, make little concessions in terms of remuneration for band performances, and in expectations for bands to play particular songs. He suggested that:

Bands starting out lack the power to deal effectively with pub owners, while the pub owners’ dominance of the industry allows them plenty of options. The top bands may receive decent fees and conditions, but most bands are simply afraid to negotiate with their employers for fear of losing the gig. Coupled to this economic powerlessness, and insidiously connected to it in effect, is the influence pub venues can exert on the nature of the bands’ material, on the gender composition of the band, what members wear and so on. Of particular concern is the fact that pub owners like bands who are not well known to play songs that are. The 'covers versus originals' argument is a perennial bone of contention between bands and their employers, and a clear case where the interests of the bands and of the pub are in opposition. For a band to achieve recording success, original material is essential and some degrees of distinctiveness in their 'sound' desirable; the development of a repertoire of covers to satisfy the pub proprietor's (often uninformed) view of his or her audience's tastes delays, perhaps permanently, the development of original material and a distinctive sound to take to a recording company (1992, pp. 19-20).

As noted prior, Shuker (2001) also discussed the notion of a hierarchical framework in terms of the musicians that participate in music-making. Like Bourdieu and Giddens before him, Shuker (2001) also makes the
point that '[t]hose involved in making music clearly exercise varying degrees of personal autonomy, but this is always circumscribed by the available technologies and expertise, by economics, and by the expectations of their audience' (2001, p. 99).

Tony Kirschner (1998) is also concerned with the issue of hierarchy, which he refers to as a 'continuum of success' (p. 251) and which he also relates to access to power. He argues that:

[progress along the continuum is not available to the vast majority of those rock music-makers seeking upward mobility. The logic of access guarantees that the production of music is completely bound by relations of power] (1998, p. 253).

He acknowledges the necessity of analysing the experiences of rock musicians along 'the continuum of success [and the] articulations of power that govern this continuum' (1998, p. 264).

Jason Toynbee (2003) moreover, has suggested that the Romantic notion of creativity 'ties together industry, artist and audience' (p. 111), when really, he argues '[d]epending on the division of labour that exists in any particular case, composer, instrumentalist, and engineer all contribute directly to shaping the phenomenal form of the musical text' (p. 103). Toynbee's ideas are useful in thinking about the contribution of the different agents that contributed to music performance in Newcastle, ie the bands, venue operators, booking agents and audiences. In terms of the latter, Toynbee acknowledges the importance of the audience in the making of meaning in those texts. He goes on to say that 'to consider creativity must involve some form of evaluation. We need to establish which songs and symphonies are genuinely creative as opposed to merely competent' (2003, p. 103). Toynbee further suggests 'that this is where the issue of reception comes in' (ibid.). It is also were the issue of authenticity comes in, as discussed previously.

Also worth considering are the findings from Finnegan (2007) in regard to musicians following traditional pathways that had already been mapped
out by other musicians who had come before, which also worked as a foundation on which to build. As she argues:

These local musical pathways were established, already-trodden and, for the most part, abiding routes which many people had taken and were taking in company of others. To be sure, none were permanent in the sense of being changeless, nor could they survive without people treating and constantly re-forming them; new paths were hewn out, some to become established, others to fade or be only faintly followed, others again to be extended and developed through new routings by the individuals and groups who patronised them. But for any given individuals the established pathways were in a sense already there, as a route at least to begin on: they were part of the existing cultural forms rather than something that had to be calculated afresh each time... From the point of view of both individual participants and the localities through which they ran, they constituted one set of purposive actions - an invisible structure - actions through which people chose to conduct their lives (2007, pp. 306-307).

Finnegan was similarly interested in what this meant for local musicians. She found from her study that:

the younger rock musicians in particular saw music as a channel for individuals self-expression, for publicly acclaimed achievement, even for social mobility and economic advancement. An individual could make a mark free from the otherwise limiting constraints of occupation, bureaucracy or education (2007, p. 307).

The participation of audiences is also important to consider in discussions in the fields of production and their influences and impacts. The academic literature on audiences is extensive in popular music, and rock music in particular, has undergone a number of changes in trends over time (ie Hall and Whannel 1964; Negus, 1996; Adorno, 1990; Grossberg, 1987, 1992; Santiago-Lucernera, 1997; Frith, 1981, 1986, 1987; 2003; Shuker, 1994, 2001, Lewis, 1987, Bessant, 1995; 1998; Hebdige, 1979; Lull 1987; , Middleton 1985, 1993; Finnegan, 2003; Riesman 1990, Grindstaff 1997; Fiske 1992; Crafts, Cavicchi and Keil 1993; Williams 2001; Tia DeNora 2000). Debates have centred around popular music's connection to youth; links to socio-economic status; taste cultures; fandom, cultural capital, and more latterly, how audiences make meaning from the music in which they engage.
Adorno (1990) considered and discounted the influence of the audiences of popular music in having an impact in shaping culture. Adorno believed that popular music was produced for the masses and required no active participation from listeners. Whilst he did concede that it 'is not possible completely to deny that mass consciousness can be moulded by the operative agencies only because the masses 'want this stuff'... (1990, p. 31), nevertheless, he believed that '[t]he people clamor for what they are going to get anyhow' (ibid.). Adorno believed that the agendas of the decision-makers in the music industry drove the kinds of music that are produced for commercial consumption, under the guise that the industry caters to public demand. Adorno identified two categories of music listener, those who are passive recipients of music and those who are poorly socialised and preferred listening practices that were conducted in the isolation of their own home (in Negus, 1996). Work by David Riesman (1990) furthered the theoretical work of Adorno, making an important distinction between the two groups previously identified by Adorno, that of a majority group and a minority group. This work was later built upon by sub-culture theory work by Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel (1964) which Negus summarised as viewing the creative minority as those of a younger generation, which connected listening practices with new attitudes towards sexual relationships and anti-establishment ideas. Viewed in this way, they recognised both the commercial interests that were attempting to influence music preferences through marketing strategies to young people, but also argued that listeners themselves were engaged in activity creating products which reflected their own interests (Negus, 1996).

Subsequent work that has analysed popular music’s connection to youth has been well-documented (ie Santiago-Lucerna, 1997; Frith, 1981; Grossman, 1976 Grossberg, 1987; Shuker, 1994; 2001, Negus, 1996; Lewis, 1987).

Revisionist and post-structuralist theorists now look to address communication as more than simply a one-way flow of information (Thussu 2000) and communication theory now attempts 'to give both the
message and the audience a more active role in the processes of meaning construction and ideology' (Grossberg, 1987, p. 178). Nevertheless, Adorno’s focus on this issue has relevant implications into a study such as the current one, that attempts to measure the extent of external forces on musical production and practices. This is something also argued for by Negus (1996), who suggests investigating audiences in the context of their listening practices being shaped by industry. He suggests that:

perhaps we should now follow Adorno’s tracks back into the world of musical production and start asking further questions about the relationships between the music industries and the audiences (1996, p. 35).

Negus' point is useful for the current study in its quest to understand negotiations between audiences and other agents in the field, keeping in mind Bourdieu's ideas on boundaries and how they are affected by those who try to introduce or impose ‘a new mode of evaluation of products’ (1996, p. 225). It will also be important to explore them in terms of Shuker's (2001) ideas that people have the ability to make choices, but only in so far as it effects the range of choice available to them, and also in the light of Giddens (1979) ideas about ‘transformative capacity’ (p. 88).

Howard Becker (1951) explored the issue of dance musicians in an American city and the issues they experienced when negotiating with the audience and the people who employed them. Becker’s primary interest was in exploring the way musicians thought of themselves, and those with whom they came in contact in the course of their work. He found a significant degree of conflict in musicians’ attitudes towards those non-musicians with whom they had to engage, which included venue operators and audiences. For example, Becker found that:

[The most distressing problem in the career of the average musician is the necessity of choosing between conventional success and his "artistic" standards. The "jazz fan" is thus respected no more than other squares [audience members]. His liking for jazz is without understanding and he acts just like the other squares; he will request songs and try to influence the musician’s playing, just as other squares do (pp. 136 & 139).]
Homan (1998, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2008) has also explored the above-related themes in relation to live music practices and spaces in Sydney, Australia. As noted above, he tracked the development of live music performance spaces against the impacts of government regulatory changes to those sites. In relation to spaces used for live music performance, the current study is similarly interested in the ways in which the spaces were configured at different times to accommodate different kinds of entertainment, and the ways in which venue owners/operators, bands and audiences negotiated within those spaces. It is also concerned with the effect of changes that occurred throughout the period under study, whereby venues became contested spaces between live band performance and the introduction of other forms of entertainment; and the effects of the introduction of interventions such as Random Breath Testing and changes to existing liquor and noise laws. Homan investigated how the construction of specific structures impacted on the way people within those structures were able to function and operate. His work looked in part at infrastructure around live performance sites in Sydney, with some focus on the establishment and development of the phenomena that became known as Oz Rock. In this context Homan looked at the cultural and commercial infrastructures of live performance sites and the impacts of liquor law reform, trading policies and building code amendments. As Shuker has also found 'our response to popular music, and the various attempts to document and analyse it, is far from a purely intellectual one' (Shuker, 2001, p. 242) and that '[a]nalysis and documentation cannot be divorced from the volatile and contested area of emotions and popular memory (ibid.).

More specifically in terms of Newcastle, in 1998 Bob Phillips wrote an institutional history of the Newcastle Workers Club, entitled *The Red Inn*. In it, he discusses the way the club's board members undertook the role of balancing social control problems at the club with economic considerations in the hiring of rock bands to its premises. In an attempt to address the social control problems attributed to performances by 'certain "heavy
metal" bands' (1998, p. 236), for example, the club 'cut back' (ibid.) on booking these types of bands and 'dress rules were more stringently enforced for Friday and Saturday night concerts' (ibid.). The author concluded that:

> [g]eneral behaviour among concert-goers improved as a result, and older members returned to the Club. These changes caused a temporary drop in bar profits but the continuing popularity of rock 'n roll soon reversed this trend. Rock music continued to be the foundation of the Club's mass entertainment for several more years, but other forms were not neglected (1998, p. 236).

Newcastle has also been acknowledged and/or researched in a number of other related encyclopedias and texts, further indicating its importance to academia study. A number of encyclopaedias of rock and pop have been compiled in Australia, for example, the earliest by Noel McGrath in 1978. This work documented the first twenty years of Australian rock and roll music (1958-78). In this first edition, McGrath included only groups and soloists that had reached the national Top 40 singles charts and top twenty album charts in that time (McGrath, 1984). The encyclopaedia was revised and updated in 1984 to span the years 1958-1983. At that time it also included bands and artists thought by McGrath to have made 'a worthwhile contribution to Australian rock history, without necessarily having made the charts' (McGrath, 1984, nd). The inclusion of a number of entries for bands identified as having emerged from Newcastle, such as ‘Daniel’, the ‘Eighty-Eights’, ‘Heroes’, ‘Pel Mel’ and ‘Taman Shud’ which was 'formed in 1967 from a Newcastle band called the Sunsets' (p. 340), indicates an early awareness and recognition of regional bands making an impact outside of their local area, either via radio exposure and/or performances in the major centres of Sydney and Melbourne. ‘Ted Mulry Gang’ members Herman Kovacs and Les Hall were identified as having worked with Newcastle band 'Velvet Underground', although this band was not credited as originating in Newcastle. The band, ‘Rabbit’, which formed in Newcastle but later relocated to Sydney, was noted as a 'Sydney heavy-metal band' (McGrath, 1984, p. 270).
A number of bands and artists from Newcastle were also included in rock writer, Ian McFarlane's (1999) *The Encyclopedia of Australian Rock and Pop*, 'about the history of Australian rock 'n' roll' (p. ix). The bands included that had emerged in Newcastle were the 'Eighty Eights', 'Pel Mel', 'Rabbit', 'silverchair' (then spelt with a lower case 's'), and 'Taman Shud'. This contribution covered the years 1957 – 1997, McFarlane having chosen those years, due, he argued, to 1957 marking 'the dawning of the local rock'n'roll era...' (p. ix) and 1997 marking a significant heralding of a new era, notably marked nationally by the farewell concert by Crowded House (p. ix). McGrath’s aim was to include bands and artists that had made an impact, either via chart success, on the live circuit, or in some other meaningful way.

McGrath’s intended project for the eighties decade was to 'demonstrate the ability of Australian artists to not only compete with their overseas counterparts, but to actively influence overseas rock and pop trends' (1984, n.d.). That desire was not to be realised, as, from an estimated 1667 entries recorded in the international *The Virgin Illustrated Encyclopedia of Pop & Rock* (2002), only eighteen Australian bands and artists were included, with just one Newcastle entry – Silverchair. The eclectic collection of Australian bands and artists in alphabetical order were: AC/DC, Birthday Party, Nick Cave, Kasey Chambers, Church, The Easybeats, The Go-Betweens, Natalia Imbruglia, INXS, Little River Band, Midnight Oil, Kylie Minogue, Olivia Newton-John, Helen Reddy, Savage Garden, The Seekers, Silverchair and The Triffids. The selection of entries, stated in the encyclopedia's opening pages, represented Virgin's 'own, much argued-over view of what's happening and what happened' (2002, p. 4).

In *2000 Weeks: The First Thirty Years of Australian Rock and Roll, And Then Some*, Paul Conn (1996) includes in his discography two bands that originated in Newcastle. One, local band *Rabbit*, had Dave Evans as one of its members. Evans had been the original lead singer of internationally
acclaimed band AC/DC'. In the case of Daniel, the other band mentioned that originated in Newcastle, the band was noted for its inclusion on the Nightmoves Concert No. 2 album in 1978. Rabbit's two albums, entitled 'Rabbit' (1975) and 'Too Much Rock 'n' Roll' (1976) were included, both of which Conn rates as a 3, which he defines as '[o]ccasional good music in the dross or an interesting cover' (1996, p. 52). His comments about the second album speak more to his impression about the album cover than the music, which he describes as 'more of the same' (1996, p. 80). He went on to say: '[m]ore outstanding was the cover shot of the band which epitomized the glam rock appearance of the four members' ibid.). Such an opinion points to the continuing legacy of the romantic myth, where, according to Deena Weinstein (2004):

[brands face the demand that a new album must show growth by going further than previous efforts. Critics praise a new release when it does so and denounce it as the "same old same old" if it is too similar to earlier recordings (2004, p. 192).

Conn (1996) rates Daniel's album 'Last Night In The City' much more highly, with a rating of 8. About the album he says '[c]ollectable and something that you should buy, even if the sound is not always great' (1996, p. 52). His further comments reflect his interest in the band's music: '[t]his LP is something of a lost gem, as it features great songs and terrific playing...' (p. 61). Such comments raise interest for further investigation into the music scene that gave rise to the bands that had come to the notice of those documenting Australian music history.

More broadly, a number of illustrated books on popular music were also published by music writers in the 1980s. Publications such as 'The Big Australian Rock Book' (1985), edited by the editors of Rolling Stone Magazine in Australia; The New Music, Glenn A Baker and Stuart Coupe (1980); The New Rock'n'Roll: The A-Z of rock in the '80s, Stuart Coupe and Glenn A.Baker (1983); Rocklens, Glenn A Baker (ed) (1981); Pay To Play, Wendy Milson and Helen Thomas (1986); Australian Made, Glenn A Baker (ed) (1987); The Book of Australian Rock, Noel McGrath (1988);
and *External Combustion*, Glenn A. Baker (1990), aimed to meet the growing need for information on Australian popular music during that period.

The 1990s produced additional contributions, such as Creswell and Fabinyi’s (1999) *The Real Thing*, which devoted a chapter to Australian pub rock, over two pages to Newcastle band Innocent Criminals, later silverchair, two paragraphs to Newcastle band The Screaming Jets, and a paragraph on *Taman Shud* (no mention was made of this band emerging from Newcastle, due perhaps to the band having become based in, and known as, a Sydney band). *Your Name’s On The Door*, (Hutchison 1992) presents 1980s Australian music and utilises stories by artists in their own words. Clinton Walker (1996) adopts a similar approach in his history of the alternative music scene in Australia in his work *Stranded: The Secret History of Australian Independent Music*.


Musicians have also both documented their own experiences of performing in bands in the time period under study or have had their
stories documented by others. Works such as these have become prolific in recent times, and include those by Brian Cadd (2010), Murray Engleheart (2010) and Don Morrison (2010).

Works documenting the music industry and the role of promoters in Australia have also increased. Entertainment lawyer, Shane Simpson (2002), for example, has written a comprehensive work on the Australian music business, as has lawyer Phil Dwyer (2004). Christine Eliezer (2007); Harry M Miller (1983) Stuart Coupe (2003) and Michael Chugg (2010) among others, have also documented their experiences as promoters in the music business.

A number of on-line national websites now existent, such as the Milesago site at http://www.milesago.com/Artists/ArtistFrames.htm which features groups and solo artists, Howlspace (featuring music from Australia and New Zealand) at http://www.howlspace.com.au, Australian Rock Database at http://hem.passagen.se/honga/aussie.html; www.coverbands.com.au which allows people to search for cover bands performing in Australia; and http://australiamusichistory.com, which claims to be 'a permanent record of Australian bands, musicians, recordings and technical crew' (http://australiamusichistory.com).

Editions of the Who’s Who of Australian Rock! Complete Discography of Every Group were published in 1996 and 2002 by Chris Spencer, Nowara and McHenry, in 1993 by Spencer and Nowara, and in 1987 and 1989 by Spencer. Spencer's contribution to the documentation of Australia music was further found in his publishing of an A to Z compilation listing of rock and pop bands originating in Newcastle. This work was entitled Rockin’ and Shakin’ in Rock City (1999) and listed bands in a similar way to that in his Who’s Who of Australian Rock!. It was the first in a number of booklets compiled by Spencer about regional Australia which sought to document bands from rural cities, due, he said, to the Who’s Who having become mostly interested in documenting bands and artists that had recorded. This recognition by Spencer is important as it acknowledges that bands’
contribution can not always or purely be measured in terms of chart success. Spencer relied on people living and working in or around the Newcastle music industry to contribute to this work. It was the first of any type of attempt to document Newcastle musicians and bands.

Two Internet sites have also emerged in Newcastle. These attempt to document a history of Newcastle's rock music. One is the *NewcastleBandsDatabase* (http://www.newcastlebandsdatabase.com.au), created by John Chisholm. It documents bands and stories from the 1950 to the 2000's. A second site, the *Newcastle Music Directory* (http://www.newcastlemusic.com), offers a vast range of information on Newcastle music. This current study will add an important empirical, academic aspect to the existing works. In 1997, Chad Watson, from *The Newcastle Herald*, compiled 'Hunter Street Beat: 40 Years Of Rock Around The Region', which, with the help of a 'panel of industry experts' (p. 2), provided interesting and informative knowledge on a number of Newcastle bands.

In 1993 (modified in 1999) David Lowe provided an historical outline of rioting in Australia. A declaration at the top of the documents indicates the contents are private and confidential but a PDF version is found on the Internet (http://www.acr.net.au/~davidandjane/riota_20020416.pdf). Included in the ten cases of rioting that the document covers, is the riot at the Star Hotel in September 1979 in Newcastle. According to that report, '[o]ne month after the riot, the Star Hotel was sold, and then demolished' (1999, p. 2). However, the Star Hotel still remains standing, as at May 2013, the most recent announcement of its redevelopment being proclaimed on 24 May 2013 (Nine News). This points to an important reason why academic studies are conducted; to ensure that anomalies such as these in the history-telling of Newcastle are rectified.

Hence, a body of populist work now exists which has contributed to the documentation of the experiences in Australian popular music. Such
works have traditionally been written from a subjective point of view and may at times be prone to errors, such as that found in Susan Masino’s (2006) ‘Let There Be Rock’, a story of AC/DC. In it, she mistakenly claims that local Newcastle band the Velvet Underground originated in Newcastle, England and not, as was the case, Newcastle, Australia. Similarly, in Toby Creswell and Martin Fabinyi’s (1999) book ‘The Real Thing’, the authors suggest that ‘local rockers The Boys’ (p. 134), performed at Newcastle’s Star Hotel on the night of the 1979 ‘riot’. In fact, the main band performing on the night was The Heroes. There is, therefore, a need for a closer examination of the detail of the social and cultural practices that existed for bands that emerged from Newcastle, Australia.

In studies on early popular music in Newcastle, Helen English (2013) has investigated popular music in the 1870s. Her research has included investigations into the construction of the Victoria Theatre (1876) in Newcastle, and of visiting entertainment and benefit concerts in this period. She is currently researching a history of brass bands in Newcastle at that time.

In 1998, the findings of a feasibility study into expanding the contemporary/popular music industry in Newcastle, Australia was released (Groeneveld, 1998). Produced eleven years after the period which the current study examines, the study nevertheless is interesting for its findings on live music in Newcastle at that time. The study used surveys and in-depth interviews to collect data. Surveys were disseminated to thirty-six targeted businesses (twenty-one returned); fifty-four to targeted venues (twenty-seven returned); and ninety-five to individuals working in Music/Technical positions (seventy-six returned). In addition, eleven in-depth interviews were conducted with ‘locally recognised high profile players’ (1998, p. 13), and two focus groups. Newcastle rock music promoter Peter Anderson was cited in the report as stressing the importance of understanding the impact of the live scene on the music
industry in areas such as the Hunter, which, he claimed ‘has more bands per capita than any other city in Australia’ (in Groeneveld, 1998, p. 21). This provides further evidence of the importance of Newcastle’s local music industry and the need to investigate its development in the twenty years prior to the conducting of this study. The report found that of those surveyed, half the musicians or those employed in the technical side of the music industry in 1998 reported 'getting a gig' (p. 49) at least once a week, or more. The opinion was also given that:

This might appear to suggest a reasonably active performance market. However, comments from the In-Depth interviews recount that 'ten years ago bands would get 2 jobs per night 7 nights per week, while now they are only getting one per weekend'. And, 'ten years ago there were 3 or 4 choices for hearing live bands during the week, now the bands are only on Friday and Saturday nights (1998, p. 49).

Interestingly, the study found that 96% of venues reported that live music was either somewhat important, very important or extremely important, with 44% reporting that it was very important.

It will therefore be important to investigate the reasons for the demise in live music over the previous ten year period. Other significant findings included that: '[o]f gigs in a 'typical fortnight'; 45% of the repertoire is entirely covers. Musical/Technical indicated that 18% is all originals while Venues said 6% is all originals. The remainder is a combination of both' (1998, p. 51). The participants from the In-Depth-Interviews indicated 'that this is a divisive issue with such comments as 'a massive divide' and 'a pathological hatred' between covers and originals bands who perceive each other as a threat to their access to venues' (ibid.). The report also found that '[b]etween 73% and 78% of all gigs in the marketplace were performed by bands. Duos provide around another 20%' (ibid.). A comment was made from one of the In-Depth-Interviews that '5 years ago there were almost no duos or trios performing' (ibid.).

'Documenting a history of music-making in Newcastle in a period prior to the time the feasibility study was conducted will also allow a fuller
exploration of the foundations of mainstream music in licensed venues and the impacts that occurred that will shed light on the reasons for the trajectory of live music-making in that city.

The review of the literature presented above demonstrated the large number of factors that are important to the development of place and to the development of music that develops in a place. It has provided a sense of the importance of investigating the development of previously hidden live music scenes in regional cities of Australia during the important musical period known as Oz Rock. As far as can be determined, this current study may be one of the first of its kind in Australia and will begin or add to the process of documenting the development of a mainstream music scene outside of a major Australian capital city as a way of flagging the importance of such studies in the body of work of Australia's music history.
3.0 Methodology

3.1 Rationale for chosen methodology

A single case study methodology was adopted for this research. It was chosen due to its role in understanding the historical phenomena under study – that is, the case. For this research, the case involved the study of the development of live bands performing popular 'mainstream' music in licensed venues in Newcastle, specifically in the years 1973 - 1988, using an historical lens. Whereas the role of multi-case studies can be used to generalise about phenomena, single cases are more concerned with understanding and getting to know a particular case. A case study using an historical lens then, involves investigating what a particular phenomena was and what it did. According to Robert Stake (1995) '[w]e do not study a case primarily to understand other cases. Our first obligation is to understand this one case' (p. 4). Stake goes on to say that even though there is a diminished ability with the single case study to generalise, 'people can learn much that is general from single cases' (p. 85).

Others have also expressed support for the case study as an appropriate methodology. Robert Burns (1994) for example, has indicated that the case study is preferred when 'how', 'why' or 'what' questions are being asked, in that 'it allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real live events' (1994, p. 313). Robert Yin (1994) agreed, claiming that a case study is used when 'you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions - believing they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study' (1994, p. 13). Alan Bryman (2004) similarly supports the studying of cases. He believes that such study allows the researcher to 'examine key social processes' (p. 51). Further, HJ Hsia (1988) says that the case study 'has its virtue in unobtrusiveness' (p. 295). Hsia believes that it allows for the study of 'all phases and aspects of a campaign or operation in a real-life setting [and] is uncontaminated by any intervention or interference from the researcher.
except in interpretation’ (1988, p. 295). The virtues of the case study then, can be summarised thus:

As a research endeavour, the case study contributes uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organizational, social, and political phenomena… the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena. In brief, the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Yin, 1989, p. 14).

Importantly, case study methodology can be relied on for research that is interested in describing events from history, which is particularly relevant to this study. Bob Hall (1990) believes that gaining an understanding of the ways in which local regions evolve involves ‘the need to understand the historical evolution of the locality as a means of understanding its contemporary social structure’ (1990, p. 101).

The current research sought to investigate the establishment, development and impacts effecting bands performing live popular ‘mainstream’ music in licensed venues in Newcastle in the period perceived nationally as the ‘Oz/Pub Rock’ era. The particular time period was chosen as it coincided with the years that have been conceived as the ‘Countdown era’. **Countdown** was a music programme televised nationally by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) network between the years 1974 - 1987. It became the dominant music programme of that time. In the current study, information on the years on either side of that period was included, ie 1973 and 1988, in the gathering of information from newspaper articles, as a way to gain greater understanding of the trends that may have been occurring in Newcastle in the time period just prior to **Countdown**’s introduction, and in the year following it being replaced. The **Countdown** years coincided with a period in Australia’s music history marked by live performances by bands performing popular music in licensed venues around Australia. As such, it is important to capture the development of such a phenomena in cities and regional areas around the country. This study is one such attempt.
3.2 Methods employed in this thesis

The case study methodology in this thesis utilised a number of data collection methods involving both quantitative and qualitative data, the latter in the form of in-depth interviews. Conducting in-depth interviews is a beneficial method of collecting data for a study such as this one which seeks to investigate a particular phenomena in depth. According to Steinar Kvale (2007):

interviewing can be an exciting way of doing strong and valuable research. The personal interrelationship with the unfolding of stories and new insights can be rewarding for both parties of the interview interaction. Reading the transcribed interviews may inspire the researcher to new interpretations of well-known phenomena. And interviewing can produce substantial new knowledge to a field (2007, p. 8).

Valerie Yow (1994) also argues for the benefits of the in-depth interview. Yow claims that it 'enables the researcher to give the subject leeway to answer as he or she chooses, to attribute meanings to the experiences under discussion, and to interject topics' (1994, pp. 5-6). In this way, she argues, 'new hypotheses may be generated' (ibid., p. 6). In the current study, in-depth interviews were conducted with a number of musicians who had performed in bands in the period under study, some of whom continued to do so at the time of interview (13 interviews were conducted in total). In addition, a number of audience members who had actively engaged with live music in licensed premises in the period under study were also interviewed (11 in total). This followed approval from The University of Newcastle’s Human Research Ethics Committee to allow this form of qualitative method to proceed. At one time, qualitative research was viewed as a ‘soft science’ (Thomas Lindlof, 1995, p. 8) due to the perception ‘that the instruments used to carry out qualitative research were not precise enough to collect valid data' (ibid.). Lindlof suggests that now however, ‘qualitative inquiry’s usefulness is now recognised within the communication community for gathering information that seeks greater
understanding regarding cultural and social interaction and interpretation’ (1995, p. 8).

In addition to the qualitative in-depth interviews, over two thousand newspaper articles were sourced from local newspapers related to the topic under study, as well as a number collected from contemporary national music magazines published at the time, namely JUKE and RAM. This, by its very nature required a level of ‘sampling’ to be conducted, as not every newspaper or magazine article over such a long period of time (sixteen-year time-frame) could be collected. Whilst it has been acknowledged that 'sampling' is problematic in any research, it has also been argued that '[w]e can’t study every case of whatever we’re interested in, nor should we want to’ (Becker 1988, p. 67). Relevant social histories and music biographies were also sourced and read as part of the data collection process, as a way to gain a broader context of the music period under study.

A large quantitative sample also formed part of the data collection process, the results of which were entered in a database that was developed for that purpose. This database contained information which listed, to the extent that the information was available, a daily record of each performance that occurred in Newcastle venues over a fifteen-year period (1973 - 1987). These were sourced from advertisements in a number of local newspapers and over 62,681 entries were recorded. The year 1988 was not included in this dataset, as was done for the newspaper articles. This was due to the extensive nature of collecting this type of data, when the information that had already been gleaned from the newspapers had identified a change in trend occurring at that time, which was thought to provide sufficient information and as such, collecting another year of data for the database was thought to be of no added benefit. A broad documentary search was also undertaken and included secondary material in the form of social and music histories relevant to the period.
The case study was structured around key themes that emerged from the data. Problems inherent in such an undertaking were given due consideration. These included a reliance on oral history testimony which can be problematic, as the retelling of events or providing information regarding the past from the present perspective may be influenced by the passing of time. Also problematic, as Yin (1994) points out, are the common problems of bias and 'poor or inaccurate articulation' (p. 85). As such, Yin urges that interview data be viewed as 'verbal reports only' (ibid.) and as such, it is important to 'corroborate interview data with information from other sources' (ibid.). The researcher utilised a partially inductive approach to the enquiry, an approach of linking data and theory, which according to Alan Bryman (2004) 'is typically associated with a qualitative research approach' (p. 11), and understood the benefits of using a variety of methods, such as the use of in-depth interviews, historical document analysis and a quantitative dataset, which allowed for triangulation of the data within and between the different methods to occur. This was for the purposes of verification and as a means of increasing reliability and validity of data and to highlight problems which may arise between different sources.

The research project sought to answer a number of main questions and sub-questions related to the development of live 'mainstream' popular music in Newcastle’s licensed venues within a particular time period. The research questions were designed to gather maximum useful data on the issue of the emergence and development of the phenomena under study. The main research questions were:

1) How did live music in licensed venues develop in Newcastle?

2) What processes/trends supported or detracted from its development?

3) What was the impact on local musicians?
4) What was the impact on local audiences?

5) What was Newcastle's contribution to this important period of Australia's music history?

6) What impact did bands from outside the local area have on live music in Newcastle?

A series of sub-questions were also devised to underpin the main research questions. These comprised the following:

1) What role did promoters/booking agents play in the success or otherwise of local bands and how did local bands measure their success?

2) What was the extent of support for original music being performed by local bands?

4) What was the extent of the ambition by local band members to become nationally recognised and what assisted or hindered that process?

5) What brought about the down-scaling of live music in licensed venues in Newcastle in the late 1980s?

3.3 Semi-structured interviews:

Interviews were conducted over a three-year period, from 2006 to 2009. All were conducted face-to-face, digitally recorded and transcribed shortly after each interview. Interviews were conducted mostly with single individuals, but on occasion interviews were conducted with two individuals together, usually partners. Interviews lasted between fifty minutes and three hours. A total of thirteen (13) musicians were interviewed, (one of whom was also a journalist, writing on Newcastle's live music scene in the time period under study). and another also worked as a member of the 'road crew' (support team) for both local and visiting
rock bands during the period under study. Ten (10) of the musicians interviewed were men and three (3) were women. All had performed in local bands during the period under study. Eleven (11) audience participants were also interviewed for the study. This group comprised seven (7) men and four (4) women, all of whom had participated as audience members in live music events during the period under study. Separate sets of questions were used for musicians and audience participants and consent and release forms signed by each participant. Interviews were conducted with Yin’s (1994) recommendations in mind, that of employing a range of interviewing techniques and skills which enable the gathering of information most relevant to the research topic, exhibiting good listening skills, employing a flexible approach, an understanding of the issues, a lack of bias, and the capacity of entering into the research with an open mind (Yin, 1994).

Interview questions were semi-structured and open-ended to allow a free flow of information from participants and to allow the researcher to pursue particular issues that arose. Questions were broadly defined around the areas of experience, impacts and contribution of the particular music period in the Newcastle context. The method of open-ended interviews was aimed at gathering participants' ideas, recollections, attitudes and assessments about the period under investigation. As different participants were able to offer different perspectives on similar issues, an adaptable approach to interviewing was thought to be a strategic measure to allow participants to elaborate and provide deeper and more knowledgeable answers on many of the research questions being asked. According to Kvale (1996):

The purpose of the qualitative research interview… is to understand themes of the lived daily world from the subjects' own perspectives. The structure of the research interview comes close to an everyday conversation, but as a professional interview it involves a specific approach and technique of questioning. Technically, the qualitative research interview is semi-structured: It is neither an open conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire (p. 27).
The musicians who participated in the study were sourced through advertisement/posters in selected music stores and venues in Newcastle CBD and the Westfield Shopping Centre in Kotara, a major retail outlet in Newcastle, in the first instance, and subsequently online at NewcastleBandsDatabase.com.au [http://www.newcastlebandsdatabase.com.au] (an online database which has compiled details on bands names and members that performed in the Newcastle region between the 1950s - 1990s). The advertisement was written in a way that was designed to attract those who could offer the most significant contribution to the project. For example, the advertisements requested responses from people who felt they had a good knowledge of the period under study in terms of live music in licensed venues.

The study was designed to be an investigation of popular music that was performed by bands in Newcastle’s licensed venues in a particular time period. A number of musicians who considered themselves as performing in an ‘alternative’ genre and therefore were considered to be outside ‘the mainstream’, but who nevertheless performed in the period under study, responded to the advertisement and provided a further rich source of data of their experience. This added to the information known about the period. Specifically, these participants offered specialised knowledge about particular venues and musical styles constructed as ‘alternative’, which provided significant contribution to an exploration of music that evolves in different time periods and within particular sites.

As noted above, obtaining historical data from individuals asked to recall events, places and people considered significant during a period between twenty and thirty years ago presents problems associated with the possible inability to recall certain events, as well as the human tendency to see the past in a more positive light. As Stake (1995) informs us, however: ‘[t]he search for meaning often is a search for patterns, for consistency, for consistency within certain conditions…’ (p. 78), hence the
strategies that were employed allowed evidence to be corroborated and addressed the tendencies that may have been present to embellish or idealise certain events.

It is the role of the qualitative interviewer to attempt to gather descriptions of the themes and patterns of the phenomena under study with as few biases as possible. Kvale (2008) advises that assuming an open-mindedness when entering into the interview process allows for an increased learning about specific phenomena to occur. Kvale further advises that researchers need to employ vigilance in critiquing their own presuppositions as well as being insightful about what may be being said by the interviewee and what may be being left unsaid. Moreover, Stake (1995) further advises researchers to:

try to minimise our intrusion… try to let the reader know something of the personal experience of gathering the data… use triangulation, to minimize misperception and the invalidity of our conclusions… use ordinary language and narratives to describe the case… Qualitative case study is highly personalised research. Persons studied are studied in depth. Researchers are encouraged to include their own personal perspectives in the interpretation. The way the case and the researcher interact is presumed unique and not necessarily reproducible for other cases and researchers. The quality and utility of the research is not based on its reproducibility but on whether or not the meanings generated, by the researcher or the reader, are valued (pp. 134-135).

With all the apparent bias and problems usually perceived from an objectivist ontological position thought to exist in qualitative case study research through the interview process, it is, nevertheless, an important strategy which delivers rich detail about a period or event(s). Yin (1994) provides a useful and concise summary regarding the method:

Overall, interviews are an essential source of case study evidence, because most case studies are about human affairs. These human affairs should be reported and interpreted through the eyes of specific interviewees, and well-informed respondents can provide important insights into a situation. They also can provide shortcuts to the prior history of a situation, so that the investigator can readily identify other relevant sources of evidence (p. 85).
3.4 Transcription

Following transcription of the interviews, transcripts were returned to the interviewees for editing. Morrissey (1998) notes that this is seen by some to be an ‘indulgence to the interviewee’ (p. 112). Morrissey however, viewed it as an opportunity to clarify and ask for elaboration from participants if required, thus taking advantage of the extra confirmation it provides. This process was not only seen as important in the current study for the same purposes of clarification and elaboration, but also to provide participants with an opportunity to change, remove or add to the information they had provided. This was to ensure that participants were comfortable with their final contribution to the research.

There is debate about whether transcribing data verbatim is crucial to the analytic process. Stake (1995) argues that it is more important to pinpoint the meaning of what is meant rather than the exact words. The researcher for the current study transcribed the interviews that were conducted, omitting only the ‘ums’ and ‘ahs’ predictable in any interview as it was felt by the researcher that these exclusions would not detract from, or change, the context of the narrative. The strategy of returning typed transcripts to participants for editing was a way for participants to ensure meaningful documentation of their comments had been recorded.

3.5 Quantitative Dataset

As noted, a further method to collect data was in the mapping of bands, as far as possible, that performed each night of the year over a fifteen-year period 1973 - 1987 in the venues in which they performed. This dataset was important as it provided a picture of the nature and degree of the different entertainments available within that time-frame; particular time-frames where particular styles of entertainment were prevalent; the number and styles of bands that performed in any given year, and the number of venues that existed. This information was sourced through the ‘gig’ guides (advertisements of events) in three local newspapers.
The limitations of this particular dataset is acknowledged as the number of venues cannot be known that did not use the local newspapers and 'gig guides' to advertise their entertainment and may have done so only sporadically or not at all. It is known that during this period the advertising of entertainment was often done via the posting of advertisements on telegraph poles in the locality of the venue where entertainment was being performed. In addition, on many occasions a band employed as a 'support' act (one which is traditionally employed to 'warm-up' the audience prior to the performance of a 'main' or 'popular' band performing at any given event) were simply referred to in the advertisements as 'with support'. Similarly, it was often also the case that venues advertised that 'a live band' was performing, without providing the name of the band. It is acknowledged therefore that particular bands may have performed more regularly than is indicated from the available information.

Nevertheless, the database material provides a rich source of data that allows assumptions to be made about the particular bands and venues that existed within certain time periods. It allows the pinpointing of trends of where musical styles changed within years and within particular venues, ie when live bands were prominent in certain spaces. It also allows for the identification of whether particular bands performed in particular venues or suburbs. As noted above, the database contains over 62,000 entries.

3.6 Document analysis

Document analysis was also undertaken in this case study approach. Archives from the Newcastle Regional Library and The University of Newcastle were accessed and articles from the local newspapers of *The Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners Advocate*, which became *The Newcastle Herald*; *The Newcastle Sun* and *The Newcastle Post* (later *The Post*) newspapers were collected and analysed. The reason for this was dual. These particular newspapers provided the main source of information about local and visiting bands during the 1970s and 80s. In addition, the papers were a valuable source of information to gain insight
into the social and political setting of the period under study. As noted above, ‘gig guides’ from this period were also sourced from two of these newspapers. In addition, articles from the national rock music magazines *JUKE* and *RAM* were accessed, collected and analysed from the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne. Relevant music histories were also reviewed. An extensive literature review was also undertaken during the course of the project.

### 3.7 Limitations of the chosen methodology

The perceived limitations of the case study approach are acknowledged, the main criticisms being that the case study methodology lacks rigour, contains researcher bias, and provides little basis for generalising across other sections of the population (Yin, 1994, Richards, 2005, Hsia, 1988). As Stake (1995) has argued, however, and has been noted above, the primary aim of case study research is to study a single case and ‘with multiple approaches within a single study, we are likely to illuminate or nullify some extraneous influences’ (p. 114). The perceived limitations of case study methodology were considered in the design of the study. One was in relation to the approach and attributes of the person conducting the research. According to Hsia (1988), the majority of communication studies ‘have an implicit objective of finding the unstated cause-and-effect relationship’ (p. 39) and outlines that a researcher must be:

- insatiably curious... methodical and systematic... logically minded... infinitely patient and tenacious... sufficiently intelligent to draw inferences to ascertain a pattern and trend, if any, and to generalize, based upon obtained evidence’ (1988, p. 25).

Those connected with a particular phenomena will recall and interpret events in different ways, bringing their own interpretations viewed through personal experiences and beliefs. That being so, it is the researcher's role to examine and portray the multiple realities discovered, according to Stake (1995), primarily through the process of interview, remembering that the researcher too brings their own set of beliefs to the research. As has been noted by Yin (1994), 'the demands of a case study on a person’s
intellect, ego and emotions are far greater than those of any other research strategy' (p. 55). Lyn Richards (2005) supports this assertion. She says that:

The goal of most qualitative research is to learn from the data. But researchers don’t have empty minds. Indeed one of the special hazards and excitements of working with qualitative researchers is that they are likely to have strong values and commitment to their topic (2005, p. 25).

As noted above, Yin (1994) advises that the researcher who undertakes the research should employ a range of interviewing techniques and skills which enable the gathering of information most relevant to the research topic; exhibit good listening skills, have flexibility, an understanding of the issues, a lack of bias, and be capable of entering into the research with an open mind. Webb et al (1990) reminds us that written documentary evidence also contains biases, in the ways in which material is selected and in the amount and content of records that survive.

To address the issues raised above, the researcher conducting the study utilised self-reflective practices through each step of the process - ie data collection, analysis and writing, in order to ensure sufficient adherence to an objective approach at all times. In addition, any such issues that arose were discussed in supervisor meetings.

The most rigorous way that such issues were addressed however, was in the collection of multiple datasets, as studies that utilise only one data source, are, according to Michael Patton (1990), 'more vulnerable to errors linked to that particular method (eg. loaded interview questions, bias or untrue responses) than studies that use multiple methods in which different types of data provide cross-data validity checks' (1990, p. 188).

The advantages of employing multiple sources of evidence, in contrast, according to Yin (1994), 'allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues' (p. 92). The most important advantage, Yin argues, of using multiple sources of evidence, 'is the development of converging lines of inquiry' (ibid.). In the current study,
the researcher adhered to the three principles of data collection that Yin (1994) suggests, those being using multiple sources of evidence; creating a case study database, and maintaining a chain of evidence, as ways of ensuring internal and external validity, and reliability. These are discussed in turn.

3.8 Use multiple sources of evidence

Multiple sources of evidence were used for the current study to ensure cross-sectional verification of the data to eliminate any bias that may have existed, and to ensure rigour. These sources of evidence comprised interviews with key informants and others who had performed in bands in licensed venues in Newcastle during the period under study (13), or who had participated as audience members (11). Other sources of evidence included analysis of approximately two thousand articles collected from local newspapers in the period under study, as well as a review of a sample of articles from national music magazines *JUKE* and *RAM*; and relevant social histories and music biographies. In addition, a database which documented performances in Newcastle's licensed venues over a fifteen-year period was also developed. This latter dataset contained 62,681 entries.

Triangulation is a strategy that can be used to address bias in research and increase rigour. It works by combining a number of different methods to cross-reference and verify findings. This study used a mix of interview material; primary archived sources such as newspapers articles and advertisements of local performances; secondary sources such as journalistic accounts of the phenomena under study; and relevant magazines articles produced during the period. According to Patton (1990): '[i]t is possible to achieve triangulation within a qualitative inquiry strategy by combining different kinds of qualitative methods, mixing purposeful samples, and including multiple perspectives' (p. 188). The data from these multiple sources noted above were cross-checked and
verified to ensure increased rigour and address any bias that may have been present.

3.8.1 Create a case study database

Yin (1994) reports that 'too often, the case study data are synonymous with the evidence presented in the case study report, and a critical reader has no recourse if he or she wants to inspect the database that led to the case study conclusions' (p. 95). In the current study, separate case study databases were developed. These included a database which contained the entries of performances at licensed venues in the period under study, the advertisements from where the information was retrieved; the edited interview transcripts and case notes linked to the interviews; findings reported as drafts in narrative style, and the storage of newspaper and magazine articles utilised in the study.

3.8.2 Maintain a chain of evidence

Maintaining a chain of evidence, according to Yin (1994), increases the reliability of the information contained in the case study, which:

should be tight enough that evidence presented in... the case study report - is assuredly the same evidence that was collected... during the data collection process... no original evidence should have been lost, through carelessness or bias, and therefore fail to receive appropriate attention in considering the "facts" of a case (1994, p. 98).

The process, according to Yin, is to allow an external observer to trace the research process backwards. This was kept in mind in the current study and adequate citation given to the 'relevant portions of the case study database' (ibid.) that contained data from interview participants' and articles collected from newspaper and magazine articles. Evidence was also kept as to the date and place where data was collected. These strategies were conducted to ensure what Yin has described as the 'ultimate "chain of evidence" that is desired' (1994, p. 99), being for an objective observer to be 'able to move from one portion of the case study
to another, with clear cross-referencing to methodological procedures and to the resulting evidence’ (ibid.).

Ensuring that the principles of internal and external validity, and reliability were adhered to were also important considerations in the study.

3.9 Internal validity

The issue of internal validity according to Yin (1994) is only of concern for causal (or explanatory) case studies, where the researcher is looking for a causal link between events: Yin states that:

> Basically a case study involves an inference every time an event cannot be directly observed. Thus, an investigator will “infer” that a particular event resulted from some earlier occurrence, based on interview and documentary evidence collected as part of the case study (1994, p. 43).

Whilst it is acknowledged that the specific ways to achieve validity are difficult to define, Yin suggests that weighing up the considerations of whether what is being inferred, is in fact, correct; giving consideration to other possible explanations and determining the sufficiency of the evidence. Yin suggests that by doing this it will at least begin the process of addressing the concerns that are related to the case study approach (Yin, 1994).

This was achieved in the current study by the weighing up of evidence that presented itself. An example of this was in the weighing up of conflicting evidence about whether or not Newcastle audiences were apathetic or whether they were simply seeking new experiences and rejecting what was being offered in the early years of the period under study. There was a necessity at that time to explore further information that could provide extra knowledge that allowed the balance of evidence to weigh more heavily on one side than another.
3.10 External validity

External validity is concerned with the issue of ensuring that a study's general findings and conclusions can be generalised to other cases, an issue of long standing for the case study approach. Yin (1994) however, argues that 'no set of cases, no matter how large, is likely to deal satisfactorily with the complaint' (p. 37). Instead, Yin advises that 'an analyst should try to generalise findings to "theory"' (1994, p. 37). Yin provides the example of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, a book which is ostensibly about the experiences of New York, but in which the topics chosen cover broader theoretical issues which allow for the building of a theory, in that case, in urban planning. Such advice is applicable to the current study, where investigating the experience of live music in licensed venues in Newcastle will provide knowledge that will assist in either generating or building on theories about the importance of a range of factors, including geography, history, place and structure in the development of music phenomena.

3.11 Reliability

Reliability in a research project is present where confidence exists that were the same study to be carried out a second time, using the same procedures, that the same findings would emerge (Yin, 1994). Whilst it is understood that a different researcher may explore different themes of interest from the evidence collected in the current study, if exploration of the same themes were examined, there is confidence that issues of reliability have been addressed. These have been primarily by ensuring each step in the research project is adequately documented, ie the researcher should 'conduct research as if someone were always looking over your shoulder' (1994, ibid., p. 37).

3.12 Conclusion

The above discussion has demonstrated the merit of employing a case study approach in this current research project. While the limitations of
the approach are noted, the rich material on the subject matter that exists on the topic, together with the ability of the researcher to access many sources to conduct the study, should ensure that the case study research being conducted meets the criteria of Yin's (1994) categories. These have ensured that the results are significant, complete, considers alternative perspectives, displays sufficient evidence and are written in a way that engages the audience (Yin, 1994). Addressing the biases that exist and employing the suggested strategies in the literature to ensure rigour in both validity and reliability, helps to address the criticisms of the method and builds on what is positive about the case study approach.
4.0 The impact of place

4.1 The case of Newcastle

It has been argued that by analysing events in the context of the geographical space in which they emerge, coupled with an examination of the different cultures and systems of production of particular places, this will provide useful information about the way people lived and why they lived the way they did. This contention may be made about Newcastle where, it will be argued, this city’s particular geographical locale and its particular historical development, which was specifically linked to its high population of young people in the period under study and its close proximity to Sydney, were important factors in the way live music in licensed venues developed there.

Looking at these ideas from their broadest perspective, the academic literature across a number of fields has acknowledged the close relationship between history and geography in our understandings of place. As discussed, George Demko, for example, asserts that space and time, in the form of geographies and histories, 'are dynamic quantities in a universe in perpetual motion. They are the fundamental shores on which human activity occurs' (ibid.). Building on this acknowledged close relationship between history and geography, Karl Marx (2007) and Adam Smith (2005/1776) added a further aspect connecting the physical realm in which people live, to the social, political and economic aspects of their lives. As we have seen, Marx argued that: 'the productiveness of labour is fettered by physical conditions. These are all referable to the constitution of man himself (race, etc), and to surrounding nature' (2007, p. 562). Smith, on the other hand, talked of the ability of a place to create wealth, claiming that it is the quality of the features of a place that is significant in such determinations, asserting that wealth creation is always 'in proportion to the extent and natural fertility of the ground' (2005/1776). Jared Diamond has more recently noted 'the relevance of environmental factors
to smaller-scale and shorter-term patterns of history, as well as to history’s broadest patterns' (1997, pp. 416-417), while Fernand Braudel used both geographical and historical knowledge in his investigations of place (Watson 2002). Braudel argued that a place’s development, in terms of its socio-cultural, politico-economic systems depend very much on its geographical size, shape and design, and that different geographical circumstances, such as living in a coastal or mountain region, influences the actions of a place’s inhabitants. He believed that differences in people’s characters ‘account for less than traditional historians claim’ (in Watson, 2000, p. 558). Importantly, Braudel also argued that ‘an understanding of how people in the past viewed or perceived their world can help explain a lot of their behaviour’ (in Watson 2002).

Focused particularly on Newcastle, Nancy Cushing’s (1995) work also lays claim to the idea that how a place is perceived plays an important role in how it develops. She found that Governor King, for example, charged with the naming of Newcastle, followed the lead of other administrators and explorers by using names that were familiar to the colonists from Great Britain. She claimed that rather than the name Newcastle being chosen ‘for reasons of flattery’ (1995, p. 51), it was named as a way:

\[
\text{to communicate important information about the new settlement by consciously evoking Newcastle-upon-Tyne... [a place also dominated by coal]. He [King] made Newcastle, New South Wales, ‘immediately conceivable’ for all of those people who knew of the original Newcastle (ibid.).}
\]

Cushing (1995) goes on to say that:

\[
\text{the name 'Newcastle' came to conjure up for many in the English speaking world a vision of smoke, grime and heavy industry and the image of Newcastle, New South Wales was carried along with it’ (ibid.).}
\]

The identification of the ‘old’ Newcastle with the ‘new’, was further reinforced, she argued, by the naming of suburbs after settlements near the ‘old’ Newcastle, such as Wallsend, Jesmond, Wickham and Gateshead. Such images, together with what she says was the
significance of Newcastle being geographically positioned to the north of Sydney, served not only to evoke the sense of Great Britain, but also reinforced an image of separateness between Newcastle and Sydney.

She found that:

Newcastle, although only one hundred kilometres away by water, was north of Sydney is significant. The perceived cultural, economic and social divide between north and south in England was given fertile ground in which to be replicated... In Great Britain, the Northern metaphor stands for pragmatism, empiricism, calculation and puritanism while the Southern metaphor suggests romanticism, Anglicanism, aristocracy and belief in superior nature rather than superior effort. Northerners see themselves as warm hearted, hard working and dogged creators of wealth, while they see Southerners as aggressive and rude, while they themselves are civilised and live by intelligence. In the Australian context, the northern metaphor could be used to describe Newcastle while the Southern metaphor was appropriated by Sydney. Through it, Newcastle became a separate place, the gateway to the North of the coalfields, the "Land of the Working Class" and peripherally, while Sydney was further entrenched as the new London, the metropolis and the centre (1995, pp. 57-58).

Cushing asserts further that unlike the other settlements of Sydney, Parramatta and Windsor:

from the beginning Newcastle was under a dark cloud. Because of the British cultural heritage, the name of the place and its geographical position north of the centre at Sydney were particularly influential factors in the perception (1995, p. 68).

As a result, the image of Newcastle, emerging as it did from a history of penal colonisation and coal, became the dominant prevailing view of the city, and one which was more powerful than a potential alternative, that of the perception of Newcastle 'as a place of natural beauty with the potential to become a health resort' (ibid., p.69). Cushing concluded that:

Newcastle was perceived as a coal port, a Coalopolis and later as a Steel City meant that its options were circumscribed... Newcastle could not become a first rank city and it could never stand as a symbol of Australia because these roles were not consistent with the image... One's place of origin or residence is often used socially as a category to define who a person is and what he or she is allowed to become. Told time and again that they are different, viewing national art which is not reflective of their environment, well aware that decisions are made elsewhere, Novocastrians have built up their self-
sustaining local identity... In Newcastle, they enjoy the sense of identity, belonging and security which the shared history and experience of marginality has conferred (1995, p. 363).

So how did this sense of place develop and more importantly for this discussion, what role did this perception eventually play in the development of music cultures and scenes in Newcastle in the last half of the twentieth century?

4.2 Establishing and developing Newcastle

Factors that were significant in the settling of Newcastle were the evidence of coal discovered by John Shortland on his visit to Newcastle, its 'very fine river' (in Wilfred Goold, 1981. p. 6) and the 'vast amount of valuable timbers, particularly cedar, growing along the banks' (ibid.), in short, what Marx (2007) has described as the natural wealth of a place, the quality of which was thought to be worthy of further exploration. Newcastle's distance from Sydney was also a factor in it becoming a penal colony, reinforcing the separateness Cushing (1995) refers to when she states: 'Governor King intended that the settlement at Newcastle would not be thought of as a desirable place to live. Isolation and strict regulation were intended to be the principal means of punishing Newcastle's inhabitants' (1995, p. 58).

Following its use as a penal colony, Newcastle was dominated by the mining of coal, a development which played a highly significant role in the spread of Newcastle's population. Understanding this development also provides an understanding of the subsequent behaviours of its inhabitants. The establishment of suburbs and immediate outlying areas by non-Indigenous peoples was linked to the founding of mines and/or the subsequent selling of land formerly owned by mining companies to private landholders. Patterns of establishment were not however, as a result of continual growth radiating from the city centre to outlying areas, as occurred in Sydney, a phenomenon discussed further below. Rather, many suburbs were settled in isolation by individuals or small numbers of
families and grew to become small self-contained communities, with little or no connection for many years to the Newcastle township or even to each other. Originally, a number of suburbs were established near to the town's centre as a result of the Australian Agricultural Company (AA Coy) moving into coal production and opening its first coal pit below Church Street in Newcastle in 1831, in what was then the township of Newcastle. Other areas, however, were established quite significant distances away, as other mining companies moved in and commenced mines in different regions, later selling their land to private land-holders (The Newcastle Herald, 1 November 1984, p. 19).

4.3 Geographic spread

The first suburbs of Newcastle were established by the AA Coy, whose land holdings encompassed the areas now known as Cooks Hill, Merewether, The Junction, Hamilton and Islington, with additional land being purchased in subsequent years. Those suburbs (Cooks Hill being the first) were developed as a means of providing accommodation to miners and their families (The Newcastle Herald, 1 November 1984, p. 10). A sense of the isolation of inhabitants between even those areas close to the main township can be gleaned from the following example. By current standards, the distance between the suburb of The Junction and the city centre is relatively close, that is, 2.5km and four minutes by car from Glebe Road in The Junction to what is now the city. In the 1850s, however, 'a trip from The Junction to Newcastle Co-op in Hunter Street meant a walk ankle-deep in sand' (The Newcastle Herald, 1 November 1984, p. 13). When it rained, moreover, residents of The Junction, reportedly, often became isolated from the city (Barney, June 1997, p. 7). Descriptions of other surrounding suburbs provide an even greater sense of the isolation of the inhabitants' geographical placement, as for many years these inhabitants had no transport to connect them to the main township or even to other areas close by. In Charlestown, for example, a

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At the time the central township area was usually referred to as King's Town (The Newcastle Herald, 1 November 1984, p. 8).
village established in 1876 and geographically isolated from the city centre by 10.3 kilometres and fifteen minutes by car, it was reported, that in its early years, transport was 'almost non-existent' (ibid., 11 March 1997, p. 12). Other suburbs have been described in historical accounts in the following terms:

Scrub and swamp land are the words best to describe most of Hamilton... There were plenty of tracks but no roads... Broadmeadow was a quagmire in wet weather and dusty in the heat... At the time Adamstown was a small village with a hotel a store and a few scattered dwellings. On its northern boundary there was not much more than bush paddocks between Wickham and Waratah... Beaumont St was a sandy track from Tudor St to the railway station with thick scrub and ferns on either side (The Newcastle Herald, 1 November 1984, p. 14).

The community of Jesmond moreover, was reportedly originally surrounded by bush (Barney, The Newcastle Herald, 10 June 1997, p. 8) and living in Kotara when it was settled in 1925 was cited as being 'like living in the country. The roads were not much more than 'tracks, there was no bus service, no reticulated water and no sewage' (ibid., p. 10).

Whereas Cushing (1995) has discussed the isolation of Newcastle during its time as a penal colony and its image of separateness due to its distance from Sydney, the above examples have revealed how inhabitants of different areas of Newcastle, were, for many years, isolated from other areas of Newcastle, that by today's measurements and transport systems would be seen to be relatively close to each other. These descriptions support the suggestion that the way Newcastle's suburbs were established meant that inhabitants would have become deeply connected within their own separate communities and isolated by lack of transport to other communities. As a result, infrastructure to support those communities, such as stores and hotels, developed in isolation from the main township of Newcastle and even in many areas, as noted above, for many years, from each other. This sense of seclusion provides an understanding of how those inhabitants were forced, by their very isolation, to first and foremost develop a sense of connectedness and place to the specific areas in which they settled, rather than providing them with an affinity and
sense of connectedness and identity with the Newcastle township centre itself.

Hence, this sense of difference is illustrated in the idiosyncratic way Newcastle developed, which was reportedly very different to the way in which the suburbs in other urban areas in Australia developed. According to Renate Howe (1994), for example:

> between 1881 and 1891, Melbourne almost doubled in population and Sydney grew almost as fast, while the population of Brisbane trebled. The areas of spectacular growth were in new suburbs opened up by the building or extension of public transport systems (1994, p. 145).

This suggests that unlike Newcastle, for the cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, growth was based on the establishment or expansion of transport systems that connected the cities and suburbs in an outward pattern of expansion, that radiated from the city centres. Howe has also argued that: ‘[t]he lack of linking transport routes between City and suburban areas in Sydney before 1906 further encouraged a dense residential population’ (1994, p. 147). Howe goes on to tease out the patterns of social division in Sydney’s suburbs, asserting that:

> the inner industrial suburbs located on an arc to the south of the City - Erskinville, Alexandria, Ultimo, Waterloo, Pyrmont, Wolloomooloo, Surry Hills and Redfern - while the ‘post’ suburbs were those in attractive scenic locations to the south and east (1994, p. 148).

Howe cites Fitzgerald who claimed that ‘almost 60 per cent of the population increase in Sydney between 1871 and 1891 was in the City and the older suburbs with the continuing subdivision of areas like Newtown and Redfern’ (in Howe, 1994, p. 148).

It is not difficult to imagine then, that due to the ways the inner city areas of Sydney developed, which were quite different to the outer suburbs, together with the subsequent gentrification of Sydney’s inner-city suburbs, such as Newtown and Redfern, as suggested in the above examples, that separate identities may have consequently emerged. Much later, at the
time of the development of live popular music in licensed venues in the 1970s, it has been remarked upon that the city and the suburbs in Sydney were divided ideologically in terms of the music being generated, as a result, it could be argued, of the way Sydney had developed geographically. Homan (2003), for example, claimed that '[i]t became clear to inner city Sydney musicians like Roger Grierson that a brick wall ran all the way along Cleveland Street [Redfern] back to the city - Gladesville [fifteen kilometres from the city] was the suburbs' (in Homan, 2003, p. 96). Clinton Walker (1996) concurs with this view, giving his opinion that:

The charts were full of relatively new Australian bands selling in quantities that still haven't been surpassed. But it was all Oz rock, Cold Chisel, Midnight Oil, the Angels, Australian Crawl. The boom ran deep, but it was as if there was a wall that bounded the city, and the door only let bands in, not out. The big bands were staples at the big gigs in town; and yet there was a slew of bands that never crossed the divide the other way (1996, p. 76).

Adding to this was the growth in development of new housing estates being built in the western suburbs of Sydney, which were mostly being taken up by young families 'and teenagers of drinking age that provided the core audience of the suburban rock circuit' (Homan, 2003, p. 88).

Despite what has been described as a city/suburban divide in Sydney and the differing geographically dispersed way that Newcastle suburbs evolved, similarities, which connect people to place, were found in both Newcastle and Sydney. Lucy Lehmann (2007) for example, spoke to people from the Sydney suburb of Glebe, who she referred to as 'Glebeites' who, reportedly 'wouldn't live in any other suburb' (2007, p. 65). She also referred to 'Bondi boys' from the suburb of Bondi who, she said 'rarely even stepped out of theirs' (ibid.). Similar to Newcastle, this suggests strong connections and a sense of place first and foremost to the suburbs in which people reside, as opposed to an affiliation primarily to the larger city areas.

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Other researchers have found different factors that influenced the ways music in other areas developed. In America, Jason Schmitt's (2008) findings of factors that accounted for the success of rock music in Detroit, for example, expressed factors of differentiation similar to that of the Newcastle study, but also found that geographical layout was a significant factor. He cited the 'unique suburban layout around the Detroit community' (2008, p. vi.), which he said 'provides segmented pockets of unique creativity' (ibid.). He also noted factors such as the built environment in Detroit as having influenced the way in which that city's music scene developed, with segregated communities emerging that had their own values and codes. As he argued:

The heavily reliant suburban culture of Detroit, accompanied by an intricate highway system, allowed the downtown Detroit workforce to leave the city after the workday was completed. The underlying result of this suburbanization is greatly segregated communities which produce their own style, values and behavioral codes while having little interaction with neighboring communities. Dan Carlisle, a former Detroit radio DJ, says, "I could clearly tell the difference in dress and behaviour from bands in the downriver area like Lincoln Park, as opposed to the north area of Birmingham and Troy" (2008, p. 8).

4.4 The power of perception

While Detroit and Newcastle NSW share little other than the identification of its citizens with certain suburbs, the over-riding influence of coal-mining and subsequent steel-making in the Newcastle region from 1915 is thought to have played a significant role in that city's identity, in particular its perception as 'inherently masculine and overwhelmingly working class' (Rofe, cited in Sandner, 2009, p. 128). Newcastle’s history was not solely based on these activities however, and whilst most suburbs were established as a result of coal-mining, this was not true for all.

The first non-Indigenous inhabitants of Belmont, for example, arrived when land was granted to the London Missionary Society and the Reverend Lancelot Threlkeld established a mission station there in 1825, and later in Toronto. His aim was to attempt to convert the local Awabakal tribe to Christianity - both missions failed (The Newcastle Herald, 1 November
Belmont was reportedly subsequently settled in 1861 by a family of brothers, one of whom became licensee of the Belmont Hotel. Others established orchards in Belmont and in what is now the suburb of Marks Point (ibid.). Whilst a mine was established on Threlkeld's land in Toronto, a later owner established a farm, dairy, and orchards, and other settlers to the area cultivated fruit and vegetable crops, established a mill for processing arrowroot, and manufactured brooms (Barney, *The Newcastle Herald*, 14 October 1997, p. 3). In Morisset, among the first settlers were reportedly timber getters and teamsters (Barney, *The Newcastle Herald*, 8 July 1997, p. 15), and the area which is now Cardiff reportedly attracted early settlers of orchardists, as well as miners (Barney, *The Newcastle Herald*, 11 March 1997, p. 9). Moreover, the first residents of the area that became known as Swansea were a small group of men and women who arrived by boat in 1845. They reportedly survived by transporting and selling cockle shells by boat to Sydney, returning with provisions, with one subsequently opening a store to sell to other settlers who 'came from all over the lake district to purchase his goods' (Barney, *The Newcastle Herald*, 9 September 1997, p. 8). Two of the men also reportedly ran an export business in live swans (ibid.). Specifically, to those inhabitants of Swansea who were able to sell their wares to Sydney and return with food, the river was an important feature in their means of earning a living, both in terms of the cockle shells they collected and as a means of transport.

The above patterns of establishment and development support the idea that the instruments of production and the creation of wealth, and the importance of geography in those factors, were critical in the region's development, supporting the literature in this area.

Knowledge of these alternative trajectories of development challenge the prominent discourse about Newcastle that has emphasised its coalmining and steelmaking activities. Sandner (2009) similarly points out how myths connected to coalmining and steelmaking have also led to opposing
depictions of Newcastle’s physical realities. She cites Australia’s past Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, who demonstrated his understanding of the power of perception by his claim that ‘the physical and spiritual beauty of Newcastle has long lain hidden to outside eyes under the pall of industrial smog that is now more imagined than real’ (in Sandner 2009, p,130). She also cites Tony Squires, former journalist for local newspaper, The Newcastle Herald, who ‘suggested that negative images of Newcastle as a tough and violent town ‘clouded by images of coal dust’, were not in keeping with ‘the reality of beautiful beaches with easy access, open spaces and a tangible community spirit” (ibid., p. 131). Pauline McGuirk and David Rowe (2001) have also written about the constructed mythology of Newcastle. According to them:

For most of this century, the city has been characterised as an industrial city and represented as such in its dominant place imaginaries. Employment in manufacturing for the region reached around 25 per cent in 1976 (Industry Commission, 1993:C33).... The key industries have been coaling, shipbuilding, textiles, and steel making — the industry around which Newcastle’s identity in the Australian cultural system of space has been constructed. Employment in the Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd (BHP) steel manufacturing plant employment peaked at around 12000 in the late 1970s (Gordon et al., 1985).... Newcastle has long been mythologised, both externally and internally, as a town of ‘hard men’, of ‘working-class heroes’ with a tradition of intransigent unionism, of battling sturdy survivors who have overcome constant reverses (economic and natural) by drawing on their sense of community and spirit... These representations, as masculinist, exclusionary and partial as they are, are deeply sedimented in local consciousness, part of the shared vernacular meanings and symbolic understandings of Newcastle that merge with its material landscapes to create its place identity. These representations and identity myths have also dominated the positioning of Newcastle in the Australian cultural system of space (2001, pp 55-56).

Such succinct summaries of the way Newcastle has been identified resonates with similar stories that have arisen about Newcastle's live music environment (discussed in later chapters). This making of place identity supports the factors that are important in the development of place and illustrate how the dominant perceptions of place can override alternative discourses.
But before we examine more closely the connection between the way Newcastle was established and developed and how this underpinned future developments and events in live music in that city, firstly we need to describe the situation as it stood in the period under question.

4.5 The setting for live music

The name Newcastle represents a number of meanings. There is the Newcastle, for example, that refers to the suburb, Newcastle, which is located in the city centre and which represents a small part of the Greater Newcastle area. The name Newcastle also refers to the areas that incorporate the Newcastle and Lake Macquarie Local Government Areas (LGAs), as well as Newcastle being colloquially identified more broadly in the Australia context, which refers to Newcastle as a place. Whilst both LGAs are considered part of Newcastle, the Newcastle LGA contains the urban area of Newcastle, located in the inner-city, and a number of surrounding suburbs (see Table 1). Outer suburbs of Newcastle are also contained within the Lake Macquarie LGA (see Table 2). This relationship is important to understand as in 1976, the total combined population of the two LGAs was 270,520 (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 1976). Of this population, 12,331 (8.9%) in the Newcastle LGA were aged between twenty and twenty-four and in the Lake Macquarie LGA, 9,329 (7.1%) of the population comprised this cohort. This means that a total of 21,660 persons in the two LGAs were aged between twenty and twenty-four and thus eligible to enter licensed venues. In 1986, the total population of both LGAs had grown to 300,000 (ABS 1986), with 12,542 (9.7%) of people aged between twenty and twenty-four residing in the Newcastle LGA, and 10,742 (6.9%) of persons aged between twenty and twenty-four residing in the Lake Macquarie LGA (ABS 1986). As such, a total of 23,284 persons in this age group resided in the combined Newcastle and Lake Macquarie LGAs. There is however, an additional group for whom there are no discreet statistics. For reporting purposes, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) group together the cohort of young people aged between
twenty and twenty-four. The legal drinking age was eighteen, thus those statistics do not include the additional group of young people aged eighteen and nineteen who were also eligible to enter licensed premises. This means that the total number of young people eligible to participate in live music in licensed venues during the period under study was somewhat greater than the above statistics would indicate. What it also means is that a relatively large number of young people formed a vital audience in the period under question for live music in venues in Newcastle.

Apart from the Lake Macquarie LGA, the Newcastle LGA by itself covers an area of 183 square kilometres and the Lake Macquarie LGA covers an area of 780 square kilometres\(^2\) (ibid.). A large number of suburbs are contained within these two LGAs, with live music being established in many of the licensed pubs, clubs, nightclubs and taverns, as well as some additional restaurants which also incorporated 'nightclubs' in their premises. In the Newcastle LGA a total of one hundred and seventeen (117) venues were identified as having existed across the fifteen-year period for which data was collected that related to venues (1973 to 1987). Figure 1 depicts the Newcastle and Lake Macquarie LGA areas and Figure 2 depicts the Newcastle LGA with venues. Table 1 depicts the suburbs and venues that existed over this period in the Newcastle LGA. The maps below were generated from historically-generated data on venues and suburbs.

Figure 1: Newcastle and Lake Macquarie LGA areas

Figure 2: Newcastle LGA with venues
### Table 1: Suburbs and venues within the Newcastle LGA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburb</th>
<th>Venues and Clubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adamstown</td>
<td>Adamstown Rosebuds Soccer Club, Adamstown RSL Club, Gates Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar Beach</td>
<td>Bar Beach Bowling Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beresfield</td>
<td>Beresfield Bowling Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham Gardens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Hill</td>
<td>Commonwell Hotel, Delaney Hotel, Cricketers Arms Hotel, Oriental Hotel (incorporating Gas Light Bar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callaghan</td>
<td>Commonwealth Hotel, Griffith Hotel, Crocketers Arms Hotel, Orient Hotel (incorporating Gas Light Bar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrington</td>
<td>Shaft Tavern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks Hill</td>
<td>Commonwealth Hotel, Delaney Hotel, Cricketers Arms Hotel, Oriental Hotel (incorporating Gas Light Bar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elmore Vale</td>
<td>Shaft Tavern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td>银河 Tavern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgetown</td>
<td>Commonwealth Hotel, Griffith Hotel, Crocketers Arms Hotel, Orient Hotel (incorporating Gas Light Bar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Commonwealth Hotel, Griffith Hotel, Crocketers Arms Hotel, Orient Hotel (incorporating Gas Light Bar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hexham</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islington</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jesmond</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koorangang Island</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotara</td>
<td>Bel-Air Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambton</td>
<td>Exchange Hotel, Marquis O'Lorn Hotel, Snake Gully Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenaghan</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayfield</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merewether</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minmi</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle (city centre)</td>
<td>Ambassador, Beach Hotel, Bellevue Hotel, Blue Peter Hotel, Cambridge Hotel, Casbah Hotel, Castle Tavern, Civic Hotel, Clarendon Hotel, Classy Lady Disco (also Blast Furnace), Club 54/Shockwave Connection, Pax Night Garden**, Crown &amp; Anchor Hotel, Empire Hotel, Family Hotel, Fanny's Tavern, Federal Hotel, George Hotel, Grand Hotel (incorporated The Basement), Great Northern Hotel (incorporated Ziggy's Disco), Hunter Hotel, Jolly Roger, Market Square Tavern (later New York Tavern, Jokers Tavern), Merry Magpie Wine Garden (later Gunfighters Rest, Pete's Winebar), National Park Bowling Club, Newcastle Airforce Club, Newcastle Hotel, Newcastle Leagues Club, Newcastle RSL Club (incorporating Uptown Circus), Newcastle Rugby Club, Newcastle Tattersalls Club, Newcastle Workers Club, Orient Hotel, Oxford Hotel (later Lucky Country Hotel), Palais, Quay 1, Romeos Showbiz Restaurant (later Pipers Night Spot), Rumours Tavern (later Crazy Horse Tavern), Shangri-la Court restaurant and nightclub, Sias Pan Continental restaurant (later Pax Night Garden), Star Hotel, Tower Tavern/Hole In the Wall, Viva Espano Cabaret (was also Executive/Disco/Pax Nite Garden), West End Hotel, Westminster Hotel, Winns Shortland Room, Zorba's Tavern (also Tilley's Tavern/Keatons Restaurant and Disco/Nite Moves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankin Park</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandgate</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shortland</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stockton</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tarro</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Hill</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Junction</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tighes Hill</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallsend</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warabrook</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waratah</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wickham/Maryville</td>
<td>Criterion Hotel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* A number of suburbs, for example, Callaghan and Fletcher, were created subsequent to the period under study and in the 1970s and 1980s formed part of other suburbs. **Pax Night Garden had two subsequent changes of address. The Lake Macquarie LGA is represented by a larger geographical space and comprises the outer suburbs of Newcastle.

[http://www.newcastle.nsw.gov.au/about_newcastle/city_and_suburbs/suburbs] [viewed, 30/6/12].
In the Lake Macquarie LGA, a total of forty-four (44) venues were identified as having existed over the fifteen-year period for which data was collected on venues. The suburbs and venues that existed in the period under study are presented below in Figure 3 and Table 2.

**Figure 3: Venues and suburbs in Newcastle and Lake Macquarie LGAs**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Name</th>
<th>Venues and Locations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adamstown Heights</td>
<td>Acardia Vale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenton</td>
<td>Sulphide Welfare Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awaba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balcolyn</td>
<td>Belmont 16 Foot Sailing Club, Belmont Hotel, Belmont Golf Club, Belmont RSL, Gunyah Hotel, Lake Macquarie Yacht Club, Belmont Sportsmans Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balmoral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnsley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belmont</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackalls Park</td>
<td>Orana Hotel (incorporated Blondies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton Point</td>
<td>Bay Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bonnells Bay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boolaroo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Booragul</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brightwaters</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Buttaba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron Park *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cams Wharf</td>
<td>Cardiff RSL Club, Cardiff Soccer Club, Cardiff Workers Club, Ironhorse Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine Hill Bay</td>
<td>Wallarah Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caves Beach</td>
<td>Caves Beach Hotel (Mawson)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlestown</td>
<td>Central Charlestown Leagues Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal Point</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cooranbong</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Croudace Bay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dora Creek</td>
<td>Dora Creek Workers Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudley</td>
<td>Ocean View Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgeworth</td>
<td>Edgeworth Bowling Club</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eleebana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eraring</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fassifern</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fennell Bay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fishing Point</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Floraville</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Garden Suburb</td>
<td>Golden Eagle Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gateshead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glendale</td>
<td>Highfields Azzurn Club, Highfields Bowling Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highfields</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsborough</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Holmesville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewells</td>
<td>Jewells Tavern</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kahibah</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Killaben Bay</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Killingworth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotara South</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakelands *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Pelican</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Macquarie Hills *</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mandalong</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marks Point</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marmong Point</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Martinsville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirrabooka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morisset</td>
<td>Morisset RSL Club (incorporating Mozza’s Night Spot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morisset Park</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Hutton</td>
<td>Bushwacker Tavern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nords Wharf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelican</td>
<td>Pelican Bowling Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankin Park</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rathmines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redhead</td>
<td>Redhead Bowling Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryhope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seahampton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburbs and Venues within the Lake Macquarie LGA - continued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speers Point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunshine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swansea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swansea Heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teralba</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tingara Heights</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
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<tr>
<td>Valentine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wangi Wangi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warners Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Wallsend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitebridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windermere Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodrising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyee Point</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Combined, there was a total of one hundred and sixty-one (161) venues within the two LGAs, although, it must be noted, all did not exist at the same time. Additionally, there were also licensed venues in the Newcastle hinterland, connected to Newcastle in the sense that they were advertised in local newspapers and local bands performed in those spaces, but whose locations were outside of the two LGAs. Lexicographically, the term hinterland refers to 'the area around or beyond a major town or port' (Oxford Dictionary) 'that are closely tied to the central city' (Encyclopaedia Britannica). Many towns existed in the hinterland of Newcastle, with Newcastle being the major city for these outlying places. Many had sufficient numbers of young people to make it financially viable for Newcastle bands to travel to those areas to perform.

These hinterland areas included: Cessnock (Australia Hotel, Cessnock Ex-Servicemen's Club, Cessnock Rugby League Supporters Club, Cessnock Workers Club); Medowie (Bull n Bush Hotel); Charmhaven (Charmhaven Hotel); Dungog (Courthouse Hotel, Dungog RSL Club),

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4 A number of suburbs in the Lake Macquarie area today, were also not established in the period under study. These include Woodrising (a major Department of Housing development took place in 1983-1992 and the suburb name was established then); Macquarie Hills (originally part of Cardiff, the boundaries of Macquarie Hills were defined on 31 May 1991 and the status of suburb was assigned in 2001); Lakelands (originally part of Warners Bay) was a major housing development and was establishment and named (1989-1993); and Cameron Park (name gazetted in 2001) (response from email to Lake Macquarie Library, 11 September 2012).
Doyalson (Doyalson RSL Club), East Maitland (Windsor Castle Hotel), Maitland (Elgin Connection, Maitland RSL Club, Maitland Leagues Club, Hunter River Hotel), Ellalong (Ellalong Hotel), Taree (Forster-Tuncurry RSL Club), Toukley (Gundaroo Hotel), Singleton (Imperial Hotel, Singleton Bowling Club, Singleton Rugby League Club), Kurri Kurri (Kurri RSL Club, Kurri Workers Club, Station Hotel), Raymond Terrace (Muswellbrook Golf Club, Spinning Wheel Hotel), Muswellbrook (Muswellbrook Workers Club, Muswellbrook Bowling Club, Muswellbrook RSL Club, Prince of Wales Hotel), Nelson Bay (Nelson Bay RSL Club, Seabreeze Hotel), Elizabeth Beach (Pacific Palms Recreational Club), Taree (Poplars Lounge), Williamtown (RAAF Base, Kitty-Hawk Club), Morpeth (Royal Hotel), Rutherford (Rutherford Hotel), Salamander Bay (Salamander Bay Hotel), Shoal Bay (Shoal Bay Country Club), Telarah (Telarah Bowling Club), Tenambit (Tenambit Tavern), Toukley (Toukley RSL Club), Woodberry (Tudor Hotel) and Weston (Weston Workers Club).

Unlicensed spaces that offered live bands also existed in Newcastle and the hinterland. These venues catered for all ages, meaning that young people both under eighteen and over eighteen years were admitted. These included, in the Newcastle inner-city, (Bustop Disco, Tyrrell Hall, Town Hall); Belmont (Belmont North Community Hall); Broadmeadow (Broadmeadow Basketball Stadium, Century Theatre); Carrington (Everyone’s Theatre); Cardiff (Cardiff Community Hall); Hamilton (The Centre); Charlestown (Charlestown Community Hall); Mayfield (Catholic Church Hall, Mayfield Masonic Hall, Star Hall); Nelson Bay (Little Beach Hall); Maitland (Town Hall); Morisset (Memorial Hall); Raymond Terrace (Raymond Terrace YMCA Hall); Redhead (Surf Club); Teralba (Teralba Community Hall); Tighes Hill (Tighes Hill Technical College); The Junction (Hunter Theatre); Toronto (Toronto Community Hall); Wallsend (Wallsend Community Hall); and Wickham (Wickham Basketball Stadium).
A number of local surf clubs were also used as spaces for live music. These included: Blacksmiths (Surf Club); Merewether (Dickson Park Surf Club); Swansea Caves Beach (Surf Club); and Swansea /Belmont (Surf Club).

Such spaces, as noted by Connell and Gibson (2003) are important for popular music performance in that they:

*can be seen as an integral part of the process by which spaces are created for social interaction, entertainment and enjoyment, including the plethora of sites designated exclusively for the production and experience of music, such as small live venues, nightclubs and discos... and even spaces not normally associated with music, but where the broadcast or infiltration of music serves various political or commercial intents (2003, pp. 15-16).*

Ruth Finnegan (2007) too found that pubs in Milton Keynes in the UK were 'important locals for music, not only for their physical facilities but also as organised settings within which group and individual definitions were worked out, with music as a reference point' (2007, p. 231). As far as Newcastle NSW is concerned, the combination of the relatively high populations of young people living in both LGAs, together with Newcastle's large geographical spread, meant that live music was not concentrated in one specific geographical area. Large numbers of suburbs and high numbers of young people corresponded with a large number of licensed venues, represented by a mix of pubs, clubs, nightclubs and taverns. Similar to Finnegan’s (2007) findings in terms of music activity in Liverpool hotels, audiences in Newcastle organised themselves around different venues (pubs, clubs, nightclubs and taverns), also using music as a reference point. At the same time, a growing number of local bands formed to take advantage of the local live music spaces that became available for performance, and given its close proximity to Sydney, Newcastle also became an attractive destination for many bands emerging in other areas to perform.

Gibson (2002) also found that this was the case for an area in the Far North Coast of New South Wales, when bands that were making a name
for themselves in the larger cities of Sydney and Melbourne toured the regional areas of the state, impacting on the region in terms of 'spawning a breed of local pub rock bands... who performed a mix of original music and cover versions of well-known songs' (2002, p. 345) and also in terms of a growth in venues that emerged to support the increased music activity (ibid.). Gibson also suggests that population demographics also played a role in the development of music activity in that area, which he said was 'heavily influenced by new waves of migrants and tourists keen to hear live sounds from local and touring bands' (2002, p. 345).

Geographical placement and population demographics have also been offered as being important factors in the development of live music in other areas, albeit in quite opposing ways to that of Newcastle. For example, in the case of Darwin, in the Northern Territory, factors such as its isolation and lack of critical mass have been cited as major factors in the way that city's music scene developed (Luckman et al, 2008). Similarly, Stratton's (2007) observations of Perth, in Western Australia, also reference that city's lack of critical mass as an important factor in its live music development and Smith (2005) claimed its isolation was also a significant factor. Connell and Gibson (2003) moreover, argue similarly for music development in Dunedin, New Zealand. In contrast, Newcastle's large population of young people and its close proximity to a major capital city were significant factors in how its live music developed. This latter point was referenced by Gibson (2002), who noted the importance of the 'linkages to cultural production in Sydney, Melbourne and overseas' (2002, p. 337) in music production in the Mid North Coast of New South Wales. That being the case, it is relevant to begin to explore the ways in which the factors of Newcastle's large population of young people and its close proximity to Sydney impacted on Newcastle's live music development.

4.6 Patterns of participation

Newcastle audiences tended to organise themselves in terms of convenience to venues and/or connection to a particular music scene(s)
centred around the suburbs with which they identified. For example, a number of those interviewed for the study spoke of the importance of living within close proximity to a venue. They specifically felt most comfortable in spaces that were close to home and which provided an opportunity for them to spend time with friends. These last two points are consistent with the opinions of Fiske, Hodge and Turner (1987) and Becker (2004) respectively. Fiske, Hodge and Turner (1987), for example, have discussed local pubs in terms of them representing 'a home away from home' (p. 5) whilst Becker (2004) reported from his time as a jazz musician in Chicago, that people came to the venue principally to socialise, with the band providing the background music.

Whilst it was an expectation that a live band would form part of an evening's entertainment, for a number of participants this was secondary to the social aspect of a night out. That said, a number indicated they would occasionally travel to specific venues outside their home suburb to see bands they particularly liked - 'obviously if there was a good band on, or you heard that it was a good band, then you made an effort to go there' (AP, 004, personal interview, August 2006). For others, distance to venues was an issue. One audience participant, who claimed that Australian band *Cold Chisel* was his 'no 1 favourite' (T Bush, personal interview, March 2007) and a band he 'absolutely loved' (ibid.), and despite him being a non-drinker, nevertheless felt that the Mawson Hotel in Caves Beach, approximately 27km or 40 minutes by road from the Newcastle CBD (http://www.whereis.com, accessed 30 October 2012) (was too far for him to travel. As he explained:

> I know *Cold Chisel*, in their very early stages, played a lot at the Mawson Hotel, which is in Caves Beach, which was too far for me to travel, so I never saw them out there but I know they were there... I suppose Caves Beach was only 20kms which is nothing but living in the inner city I didn't drive too far (ibid.).

Other audience participants indicated their willingness to travel to venues to see bands they particularly liked but claimed it was dependent on where
they lived. An example of this came from Adrienne Haddow who explained about the patterns of participation for herself and her partner:

[Terry] lived at Charlestown so he did all of that way. I lived in Mayfield so we were all townies. The furthest we would go would be the Bel-Air unless there was something on you really wanted to see, like Caves Beach pub or something, then you’d go out there (A. Haddow, personal interview, February 2007).

While Dick Hebdige (1979) and Will Straw (1991) have discussed groupings of participants in terms of, respectively, subcultures and scenes, both of which are relevant to the current discussion, the current study also provides information about the reasons why patterns of behaviour occurred in audiences as they did, not just that they did occur. This behaviour can be related to the way Newcastle suburbs originally emerged, where people connected first and foremost with their communities, where convenience and comfort within their surroundings were paramount. The evidence suggests that the close connection to place manifest in cultural differences for the inhabitants, which also supports Braudel's assertion about 'the different cultures that existed in different geographical circumstances' (in Watson, 2002, pp. 558-559) and is also apparent in the different areas of Newcastle.

Where Hebdige's (1979) and Straw's (1991) work is important for this current study is in regard to specific venues perceived to have quite distinct codes of practice, such as the Jolly Roger nightclub in the inner-city of Newcastle, about which one audience participant claimed: 'not that there is anything against it, but for example, the Italians and Greeks and the Macedonians who would go there, they wouldn’t be surfies. We’d all hang around with the ones that were surfing' (interview no. 8, personal interview, February 2007). Another elaborated: 'I didn’t like the crowd either. It was just a different crowd… probably more from the West. They weren’t from our area' (interview no, 9, personal interview, February 2007). A further comment suggested:
it was more segregated to the community you were in. People, if they were coming out from Wallsend, they were really called the Westies. It seemed like Wallsend was far far away and I know that some people would come in and they’d clearly be dressed with their checked shirts and you could distinguish who was coming from what part of town (B Coleman, personal interview, February 2007).

Such comments can be explored in terms of subcultures and scenes, as it is clear that audience participants were closely connected to venues within their own communities, and where they felt a similar degree of comfort. As evidenced below, this was an important consideration in patronising particular venues. A number of venues, not just the Jolly Roger, for example, were perceived by some as venues where distinct codes were apparent. Some people patronising them, for example, utilised different styles to mark them as 'other'. In the instance below, for example, particular venues were identified as those where there were a lot of 'surfies' or 'jocks'. Hebdige's (1979) work has included the idea that distinct groups adopt specific codes and signifiers to illustrate them as belonging to part of a subculture. He borrows from Stuart Hall to describe this in terms of 'maps of meaning', about which he says:

“They cut across a range of potential meanings, making certain meanings available and ruling others out of court. We tend to live inside these maps as surely as we live in the 'real' world: they 'think' us as much as we 'think' them, and this in itself is quite 'natural'. All human societies reproduce themselves in this way through a process of 'naturalization'. It is through this process - a kind of inevitable reflex of all social life - that particular sets of social relations, particular ways of organizing the world appear to us as if they were universal and timeless (1979, p. 14).”

Straw (1991), on the other hand, recognised that people also move in and out of different music scenes and spaces, depending on a variety of circumstances. For Straw scenes have a less rigid set of boundaries than does the concept of a subculture. Scenes then are 'the cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilisation' (Straw, 1991, p. 373). What is important about the concept of scene is that it recognises the
creation and consumption of musical interaction that is not necessarily oppositional or disruptive. It does, however, recognise that there are boundaries erected around these 'scenes'.

Homan (2003) claimed that in the case for Sydney, clashes between the rockers and surfers 'prefigured later hostility based on geographical snobbery (the 'westies' versus inner city youth)' (2003, p. 65). The term 'westie' originated as a description of the western suburbs of Sydney, a term which Homan (2003) asserts Dianne Powell (1993) identified as being associated with a set of negative connotations. This term was also adopted in references to the western suburbs of Newcastle, indicating the cultural differences about which Braudel (in Watson 2002) refers to in his ideas of the cultural differences between people that inhabit different geographical spaces. In that case it was in regard to the differences between coastal and mountain dwellers, and in this case, those who lived in suburbs closest to the beaches as opposed to those who did not. As the example about Newcastle above also suggests, it may also be apparent in people who, on the surface, appear to share similar cultures or scenes but reside in different suburbs.

In the case of Sydney, Homan (2003) argued that differences could be noted between rockers and surfies, the former about whom he said 'persisted in their style of long greasy hair, black jeans, t-shirts and leather jackets', (2003, p. 65), whilst 'the surfi type consisted of short bleached hair, tight black trousers, pointed shoes and black sweaters' (ibid.). Craig McGregor (1997) describes such differences as partly 'a conflict of class styles' (1997, p. 296), 'between middle-class beachside surfers and working-class westies' (ibid.).

This argument is further supported by the example of two hotels in different suburbs of Newcastle, that of the Bel-Air Hotel in the suburb of Kotara and the Mawson Hotel in Caves Beach. The hotels were geographically placed approximately 22 kilometres apart (http://www.whereis.com/nsw, accessed 10 October 2012). Both venues
were described by participants as 'surfie' pubs and frequented by people who identified with the 'surfie' culture. Despite that, each reportedly attracted quite different 'types' of patrons, with the two 'types' not appearing to be a natural fit, despite surface indicators to the contrary. The vignette below presents an example of how those differences manifested between the hotels, where it was perceived that one hotel was dominated by a subculture of surfies, more in keeping with Hebdige's definition of subculture, and on the other hand, where it was perceived a mixture of people from different scenes co-existed, in keeping with Straw's definition of scene. This suggests that rather than scene theory having replaced subculture theory, both are relevant. Underpinning those arguments however, is one that suggests that the highest level of comfort for audiences was found in venues that were most closely aligned with what Pierre Bourdieu (1984) has coined habitus. This, he suggests, is the acquired knowledge and understanding of how structures and systems operate within particular fields which allow these people to operate in that field. In this case, the field is that of popular music in Newcastle. It explains why people tended, at least during the early period under study, to frequent venues where they felt the highest degree of comfort. As one audience participant claimed:

> from my own perspective, you were a bit circumspect of groups and crowds and making sure that maybe there was a biff up of some sort, that you wanted to avoid... some places you feared, depending on where your comfort zone was. I know at the Mawson, I never felt as comfortable in the Mawson as I did at the Bel-Air... I didn't like confrontation and there were certain pubs I wouldn't walk into by myself unless I had friends there (T Haddow, personal interview, February 2007).

Another offered an explanation of the reasons that may account for this. She said: 'The Mawson was pretty heavy surfie guys that always had something to prove, whereas it was a mixture of people at the Bel-Air' (A Haddow, personal interview, February 2007). Bourdieu (1984) suggested that:
the habitus apprehends differences between conditions, which it grasps in the form of differences between classified, classifying practices (products of other habitus), in accordance with principles of differentiation which, being themselves the produce of these differences, are objectively attuned to them and therefore tend to perceive them as natural (1984, p. 167).

In the Newcastle examples, it could be argued that different cultures learnt to co-exist in different spaces, such as at the Bel-Air Hotel, where it was claimed that ‘a mixture’ of cultures co-existed. In comparison it was reported a specific culture was said to have dominated (‘surfies’) at the Mawson Hotel, and members of this scene were territorial of that particular space. Differences too, could be accounted for, in part, in terms of proximity to the beaches at which these individuals surfed, ie the Mawson Hotel at Caves Beach was situated at an actual beach, that of Caves Beach, whereas The Bel-Air's proximity to any beach was no closer than approximately ten kilometres. Shank (1994) found that in the case of Los Angeles, ‘territorial, musical and cultural distinctions’ (1994, p. 118) accounted for the distinct music styles that emerged in different areas there. In Newcastle, the territorial and cultural distinctions, if not musical distinctions, may have been accounted for by geographical differences, with the Mawson Hotel being an outer suburb in the Lake Macquarie LGA than was Kotara, in the Newcastle LGA where the Bel-Air Hotel was situated. Similar divides were also noted by other local musicians, one who said:

Eastlakes, from Belmont to Caves Beach was the entertainment centre of the world. They were the groovy places, hip. Whereas town was town. In town had the variety, from the nightclubs, the rock nightclubs – The Castle, The Ambassador and later on, Fanny's, but then there was all the pubs that had their variety of things and then you had your straight registered clubs... (LGully, personal interview, September 2006).

Another elaborated:

And [suburbs out of town were] more hippy and surfie, whereas in town, especially in town with the onset of punk coming in, you’d get some of the attitudes... (P Gully, personal interview, September 2006)
The above discussion has highlighted the different ways that audience participants organised themselves around particular venues, for particular reasons to do with convenience, comfort, fit, and the opportunity to socialise with friends, using, as Finnegan (2007) also found, music as a reference point. This situation indicates that a number of factors exist that account for the way in which live music develops in particular spaces and these can be linked to geographical and historical factors that support Braudel's and others' observations. One of these factors was Newcastle's geographical placement in being north of Sydney and only two hours drive by car. It is to this aspect that the discussion will now turn.

4.7 Proximity to Sydney

The close proximity of Newcastle to Sydney situated Newcastle 117kms north of Australia's largest city, with the distance between the two being a little over two hours by road. This proximity represents a marked difference from the distances between Sydney and other major Australian cities and musical centres, such as Perth, Darwin, Adelaide and Brisbane, all of which are geographically remote from the major centres of both Sydney and Melbourne. Homan (2003) has argued that the rapid growth of live popular music in licensed venues in the period under question – a period dominated by the phenomenon that has been termed 'Oz' or 'Pub' Rock - developed in licensed venues in a number of capital cities of Australia. According to him, the phenomena occurred primarily in hotels and spread from the city to the suburbs. As he claims:

On first appearance, the increasing popularity of ‘Oz Rock’ during the 1970s signified the extent to which musicians and audiences had become comfortable with their own sounds and venues... [which saw] the consolidation of the Australian pub as the 'home' of Australian rock as it moved beyond the inner city and into the western suburbs of Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne... The suburban hotel provided the location for the much discussed Oz Rock sound with the resurgence of the basic blues format of loud guitar, drums and bass (2003, p. 83)

This corresponded with a rise in interest from Australian audiences in Australian bands and music, enhanced by a growing population of young
people. Whilst Newcastle’s music scenes developed primarily in the suburbs, not the inner city, and was geographically isolated from Melbourne (by approximately 820kms), it was its proximity to Sydney that can be seen to have also influenced how live music in Newcastle developed.

In some ways it appears as if Newcastle was treated as if it had been a suburb of Sydney and as such, had the associated ability to attract bigger name bands to the area, as agents saw the benefits of including Newcastle on a touring ‘circuit’ centred on Sydney and travelling north along the East Coast of NSW and Queensland. Thus Newcastle’s geographic placement to the north of Sydney enhanced it as a destination for travelling bands. Newcastle’s close proximity to Sydney also allowed relatively easy access for Newcastle bands to performance and recording sites and opportunities in Sydney. At the same time, the space between Newcastle and Sydney could also be measured in terms greater than those related simply to geography, as they manifested culturally and socially as well. Sydney booking agents, for example, rarely travelled to outlying areas, even in Sydney, to see bands perform, meaning that Newcastle bands did not exist metaphorically within any cultural framework connected with those making decisions in the important musical centre of Sydney. As a result, Newcastle was culturally displaced from the signifiers of that city. Moreover, Sydney, being Australia’s largest capital city, was seen to overshadow Newcastle in other ways which seems to have created a perception of ‘cultural’ inferiority on the part of Newcastle. Don Wright (1992) spoke of a number of reasons that accounted for this supposed cultural inferiority, such as the lack of ‘worthwhile libraries’ (1992, p. vii), limited opportunities for education and cultural poverty prior to World War II (1992), as well as its proximity to Sydney, which ensured it ‘lived constantly in the shadow of the capital and was dominated by it, economically, politically and culturally’ (1992, p. vii).
Such an observation was supported by a statement made by Dr Howard Dick (in Sandner 2009) at a 1996 multidisciplinary symposium on the ‘imaging’ of the city where he claimed that:

Any newcomer to Newcastle soon realizes how much the identity of ‘us’, ‘Our Town’, is defined in relation to ‘them’, meaning above all Sydney (The State Government) and Canberra (The Federal Government). Novocastrians are acutely aware of being twice removed from the centres of power (in Sandner, 2009, p. 134).

Sandner refers to this as Newcastle’s ‘defensive identity’ (2009, p. 132), which she argues has been 'historically constituted' (ibid.). Her claim is that:

the idea that Newcastle’s ‘character’ is likely to feature an ‘inferiority complex’ and a recurring expectation to substantiate the local worth of its environment and its people, remains a consistent discursive theme in its ongoing identity construction... (2009, p. 135).

Part of the problem is what Andy Bennett, Jon Stratton and Richard A Peterson (2008) have argued is the way ‘Australian’ histories have traditionally tended to be privileged over local histories in history-writing. This allows little room for interrogations of place to occur which may challenge the understood perceptions of place that exist. One such perception that this thesis critiques, for example, is what David Kent (in Stratton, 2007) acknowledged when he spoke about the Sydney-centric nature of the portrayal of Australia's rock music history, which ‘is most often portrayed from the point of view of its Sydney origins and presented to readers as being representative of Australian history' (2007, p 8).

Gibson (2002) has also made this point. As he says: 'non-core cities, regional areas and rural locations are residual consumption arenas, are largely overlooked as sources of production, and are assumed by many to be bereft of high quality creativity’ (2002, p. 343). Bennett, Stratton and Peterson, have similarly argued that:

In postcolonial terms, such an approach writes from the core, from Sydney and Melbourne, colonizing the periphery through an assertion that the music produced outside of Sydney and Melbourne only has worth in relation to its national popularity – a popularity dominated by
The notion of a 'cultural cringe', a term 'coined by A.A. Phillips in 1950' (Zion 1988, p. 213) has a particular applicability to this aspect of Newcastle's relationship with Sydney, specifically in terms of musicians from Newcastle being viewed or viewing themselves as somewhat inferior to bands emerging from Sydney. As local musician Les Gully claimed: 'the access to Sydney was there if you wanted it but also you were always the little brother that got pushed away by Sydney, plus they'd come here and steal our gigs…' (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006).

Another local musician, Chris Herdon from local band Bowser, was cited as claiming that it was the way that local audiences perceived local bands, compared to how they viewed bands from Sydney that was problematic. Speaking for the band, he claimed:

We want people in Newcastle to accept that local bands aren't inferior to bands from Sydney… People here don’t accept the quality of musical talent in their own home town. We’re just pushing for an acceptance of local talent (in Della- Grotta, The Newcastle Sun, 26 June 1980, p. 10).

Clinton Walker's (1996) claims, noted above, that relate to his view of the ideological boundary that separated Sydney's inner-city and outer suburbs which 'only let bands in, not out' (1996, p. 76), could be similarly applied to Newcastle's relationship with Sydney, where Newcastle experienced an influx of bands from outside the area but it was rare that Newcastle bands made inroads to any great degree in Sydney.

Such a 'cultural cringe' was not however, unique in the relationship between Sydney and Newcastle. It has also been reported for other cities in Australia where geographical distances and the sense of isolation that results have been argued as causal factors in the development of a 'cultural cringe' (Luckman et al, 2008; Smith 2005; Morrison 2010). In the case of Adelaide, for example, musician Don Morrison (2010) has argued that:
deep down in their hearts, the people of Adelaide really believe that nothing important can happen here and we need permission from bigger and better places before we can believe something has worth... by 1980 in Sydney and Melbourne, a band with only a modest profile could work five nights a week or more... Adelaide never really supported that sort of full time music activity...So many talented musicians left Adelaide to move to Melbourne or Sydney, never to return. It's a real shame to see a city stripped of its talent in such a comprehensive way but it's always been that way and probably always will be (2010, pp. 41, 44, 106).

Carley Smith (2005), also identified this prevailing culture of self-consciousness in the city of Perth. She argued that: [t]here is a stigma, instilled so deeply in our culture that we do not question its presence anymore, that Perth is the ass-end of the world' (2005, p. 82).

A similar sentiment is heard from Kim Salmon (in Stratton, 2007) from Perth band, The Scientists, who links Perth's isolation and self-consciousness which imbued inhabitants with a sense of parochialism. He claimed: 'Perth, being the most isolated capital city in the world, does harbour some parochialism. My main memory of it features a huge inferiority complex about what was referred to as the 'Eastern States'...' (2007, p. 116).

From those indications, it can be argued, the cultural cringe that was apparent in Newcastle was not simply a result of Newcastle not being a capital city. It is more likely that the sense of inferiority sprang from Sydney's status as Australia’s largest city and its geographical placement on the East Coast of Australia proximate to Newcastle itself. It mustn’t be forgotten that embedded in those ideas were the historical feeling Nancy Cushing (1995) had pointed out, which were associated with the colonial establishment of the city from its British roots in Sydney. For Newcastle, these factors presented both positives and negatives, similar in many senses to those reported by Luckman et al (2008) for the case of Darwin, where she argues that a combination of factors ‘both circumscribed and enriched’ (2008, p. 626) the way live music developed in that city. Newcastle was similarly both enriched and circumscribed as, on the one
hand, it was provided with a large influx of bands that were becoming popular on a national level, which in turn provided local musicians with opportunities to increase their skills and professionalism from which local audiences benefited, but on the other hand, presented a dilemma for Newcastle bands, who in terms of cultural isolation, were just as disadvantaged as those from the isolated areas of Perth, Darwin and Adelaide. The difference for Newcastle was that many musicians didn’t feel the need to relocate to Sydney, due to Newcastle’s close proximity to Sydney in geographical terms.

In summary, this chapter has argued that where a place exists geographically, the degree and quality of what can be seen as its physical conditions, how it develops, including where its inhabitants are located within a particular geographical space, as well as how they viewed their world historically, all have significant impacts on subsequent behaviours and ways of organising socio-cultural phenomena. This has been demonstrated by the ways in which the large number of young people who formed active local audiences participated in patterns of behaviour which can be argued emerged as a consequence of the way in which Newcastle’s geographical spread originally occurred, and by the ways in which Newcastle’s close proximity to Sydney produced both positive and negative effects in terms of similarities and differences, both geographically and culturally.
5.0 The importance of identity and place in issues of success

5.1 Introduction

Doreen Massey (1995) in *The Conceptualisation of Place*, has claimed that the way we have traditionally thought of place has been in terms of it being defined as a community or locality: 'with a distinct character - physical, economic and cultural' (1995, p. 46). She argues that such notions are invoked by phrases such as:

'a sense of place', 'no place like home',...and the notion of things being on occasion 'out of place', meaning they do not fit in with some pre-given coherence of character... places are unique, different from each other; they have singular characteristics, their own traditions, local cultures and festivals, accents and uses of language...(ibid.).

Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) ideas of place connect it to currencies that he argues are acquired over time. One of these, that of 'cultural capital', Bourdieu suggests, exists in three states, two of which are relevant to the argument being presented here - that of the *embodied* state, which he describes as existing 'in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (1986, p. 243), and the *objectified* state, which he argues takes the form of cultural goods, which may be instruments, books and/or art and the like. According to Bourdieu, 'cultural goods can be appropriated both materially - which presupposes economic capital - and symbolically - which presupposes cultural capital' (1986, p. 247). Social capital, he defines as the networks and relationships which one acquires, such that, according to Bourdieu, 'the volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize....'

(ibid.). Also important is the sense of agency an individual feels they possess. Agent or agency, he defines as '^[t]he idea that individuals are equipped with the ability to understand and control their own actions, regardless of the circumstances of their lives' (in Webb, Schirato and
Danaher (2002, p. ix). The types of agents that Bourdieu describes can be otherwise referred to as choice-making agents, which are distinct from other types of agents that are also discussed in this thesis, that of promotion or booking agents. Bourdieu explains that the way the types of currencies about which he refers, work, are in terms of habitus, which, he believes are historically driven. According to Bourdieu:

this *habitus*, a product of history, produces in individual and collective practices - more history - in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms... The *habitus*, embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history - is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product. As such, it is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respect to external determinations of the immediate present. This autonomy is that of the past, enacted and acting, which, functioning as accumulated capital, produces history on the basis of history and so ensures the permanence in change that makes the individual agent a world within the world (1990, pp. 54-56).

Gillian Rose (1995) views such a concept in terms of a person's identity and explains it in terms of the experiences and feelings associated with one's lived experience being 'embedded in wider sets of social relations' (1995, p. 88). Such suggestions are further explored in Russell King's (1995) ideas in *Migrations, Globalisation and Place*, in which he explores the meaning of place for migrants who relocate from their place of origin, and about whom he says, 'the meaning of place for a migrant torn from his or her roots is indelible' (1995, p. 27). He quotes Oscar Handlin's account of the migration of rural peasants to America in the twentieth century to make his point. Of them he says:

They spoke of relationships, of ties, of family, of kinship, of many rights and obligations. And these duties, privileges, connections, links, had their special flavour, somehow a unique value, a meaning in terms of the life of the whole (in ibid.).

In the current atmosphere of globalisation which Massey refers to as 'time-space compression' (1995, p. 50), a term borrowed from David Harvey
(1989), it is not difficult to imagine how such local links and connections could be disrupted. Massey agrees, arguing that ‘the changing social organization of space, has... disrupted our existing concepts of, place’ (1995, p. 54). While such a concept is similarly acknowledged by Sara Cohen (1994), she is quick to stress that the world is also 'rich with the patterns of intersecting group identities, local and historical significance' (1994, p. 133).

The above ideas put forward from a number of fields are important to the current study in several ways. It is argued here that many local Newcastle musicians, for example, as a result of growing up in Newcastle, acquired a level of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986), discussed as being the result of habitus and acquired over time, to allow them to operate within the wider sets of social relations that exist in their place of origin (Rose 1995). Local musicians thus developed a sense of identity both from their connection to their local environment - their connection to place - which they shared with other inhabitants of their place, as well as a local identity that developed as a result of their involvement in a local music scene(s), as defined by Straw (1991). The amount of social and cultural capital they acquired through their music-making was dependent on a number of factors, one of which was the length of time they had spent connected with music-making in Newcastle. According to one local musician, for example: 'anybody who you know has been around and playing since you were around and playing gets it - automatic respect' (D Soper, personal interview, April 2006). Whilst some musicians acquired greater amounts of these types of capitals, it is argued to varying degrees, that all local musicians had acquired at least some of the social, cultural and symbolic capitals that identified them with the local field of popular music-making. This could be achieved through the instruments they procured (cultural capital); their working knowledge of the networks of local musicians (social capital), and/or being recognised in terms of prestige or reputation (symbolic capital). Within these scenes, which can also be termed ‘activity spaces’ (Massey 1995, p. 54), that is, 'a spatial network of links and
activities, of spatial connections and of locations' (ibid.), issues of contention may arise. Bourdieu posited that struggles always exists in what he defines as the 'fields of cultural production' (1986, p. 247) or what Massey describes as activity spaces. Cohen (1994) found a similar effect for musicians performing in Liverpool, England, who she argued:

struggle for the success that would enable them to leave the city and achieve fame on a national or transnational level. At the same time they are embedded in webs of kinship and collective memory, located within a cognitive map defined by factors such as ethnicity and religion, within a city marginalised and ostracised in terms of power and resources on a national level... (1994, p. 133).

In Newcastle NSW, a number of bands sought to relocate to other seemingly more profitable areas, whilst the majority of musicians remained embedded in the local music environment. As discussed in the previous chapter, due to Newcastle's proximity to Sydney, specific links between the two cities had been forged, evidenced particularly by regular performances of bands from Sydney performing in Newcastle and Newcastle bands performing in Sydney. Such links did not however, constitute the necessary social and cultural capital that Bourdieu (1994) has pointed out is acquired over time, and as Massey (1995), Rose (1995) and King (1995) have indicated is specific to one's place of origin. A number of musicians who did attempt to relocate to other areas subsequently returned to Newcastle to form or join other bands, when the financial, social and cultural barriers that existed for them in other areas outside of their home city became seemingly insurmountable. The return to one's place of origin is a theme that has also been reported in the literature. King (1995), for example, has described such a phenomena in the following way:

For many migrants... the place of departure is also the place of return. Of course, not all migrants return to base... For many migrants, however, the return only has meaning if it is their place of birth and upbringing. Only there can they rediscover themselves, enjoy the warmth of family and kin, achieve some admiration and social prestige for what they have done and where they have been... the return is full of symbolic meaning. It is, above all, a return to the place
and the people that were held in the memory whilst away (1995, p. 29).

In 1997, writer John Doyle (1997) wrote of the place of Newcastle:

Newcastle had reached the critical mass of population so that anonymity was there should you so choose: it was big enough to be a city and small enough to be a country town... the chances are that it still has the robust texture it had when I was there... The local characters and ways of doing things and the means whereby friends are made is the glue of the city... Mercifully, a lot of the glue sticks, so much so, that students often don't want to leave... (1997, p. 267).

As noted above, Rose (1995) has linked the connection of place with the sense of identity it instils and argues that the feelings and meanings people have about a place 'are shaped in large part by the social, cultural and economic circumstances in which individuals find themselves' (1995, p. 89). These claims are closely related to Bourdieu's assumptions regarding the currency of the various forms of capital he identified. Rose claims that one way people identify with place is 'you feel comfortable or at home, because part of how you define yourself is symbolized by certain qualities of that place' (1995, p. 89). This sense of belonging and connection to place is what Jeannie Baker (2004) demonstrates in her book of illustrations, *Belonging*, which maps the changes that occur in a place over time, and what Mark MacLean (2009) describes in his works *The New Landscape*. In a later book specifically relating to Newcastle, in *A Year Down The Drain: Walking in Styx Creek, January to December*, MacLean (2011) has sought to reconcile historical and contemporary notions of place in Newcastle. Glenn Ryan (2007) also includes Newcastle in his investigations into a number of 'working man pubs', thematically emphasising people's connections to certain physical symbols of place. It is also that which Paul Walsh (1997) describes in his descriptions of Newcastle in *Novocastrian Tales*:

It was truly said that you can take a Novocastrian out of Newcastle but you could not take Newcastle out of a Novocastrian. Those who left nearly always returned, and wherever they travelled they carried the indelible stamp of their birthright as surely as a BHP grinder (1997, p. 317)
It is also what novelist Stedman (2012) meant when writing of how a place comes back together after a significant event, for example:

> gradually lives wove together into a practical sort of fabric in which every thread crossed and re-crossed the others through school and work and marriage, embroidering connections invisible to those not from the town (2012, p. 26).

The connection to the place of Newcastle that had been acquired through the sense of identity it inferred, also meant however, that access to the social and cultural identity with a place identified as 'other' was problematic, even when two cities on the surface seem to have similar cultural currencies that could be used as a connection point, such as similar music styles, venues etc. Such was the case with Newcastle and Sydney.

Rose (1995) picks up on this point, claiming that identifying with a sense of place is not only about personal feelings about a place but that it is also socially constructed. She says that 'all places are interpreted from particular social positions and for particular social reasons' (1995, p. 89). This point is similarly described in Bourdieu's ideas on embodied and objectified states (1986). Rose (1995) suggests that strong identification with a place can be conducted on a number of different levels, such as an emphasis on the local and regional, and, it follows, on a national level, where people identify themselves with a particular country of origin. In terms of local identity, Rose (1995) provides the example of local brass bands performing in local communities, where the community's inhabitants unite to watch the musical performances of these local bands. The same reasoning can be applied to local rock bands in Newcastle performing in licensed venues, whereby sub-sections of the community united to participate in popular music performances by local bands, both as a way to complement the socialising that was done with friends, and as a way to connect with local bands that were becoming known in particular spaces. In the same way that Rose claims the brass bands in local areas united a community in witnessing musical performance, where 'the importance of
the band to the identity of these towns and villages became very evident' (1995, p. 90), it can be also be argued that participation in the music scene(s) in Newcastle connected participants with a sense of community identity. As Connell and Gibson (2003) have argued: 'artists or even whole communities can represent themselves and their experiences of places through music, in much the same way as literature or art' (2003, p. 117). They also acknowledge that, 'music remains an important cultural sphere in which identities are reaffirmed, challenged, taken apart and reconstructed' (ibid.). This concept was also noted by Cohen (1994) who asserts that 'geographical variations in the background, culture and influences of musicians, although reflected in their music, also help to construct particular places and the ways in which people conceptualise them' (1994, p. 117). Ruth Finnegan (2007) has also explored local musical practices through her work in Milton Keynes, documented in The Hidden Musicians. One of the interests of her study was the musical pathways or routes upon which people embark. She found that for many of the musicians she surveyed 'their music-making was one of the habitual routes by which they identified themselves as worthwhile members of society and which they regarded as of somehow deep-seated importance to them as human beings' (2007, p. 306). This was also emphasised by musician Barry Shank (1994) who spoke of the impact on his identity in the process of becoming involved in the music scene in Austin, Texas, whereby he claimed 'his tastes, desires and interests changed' (1994, p. xi). A similar experience was also claimed by singer/songwriter Bruce Springsteen, in the Australian television programme Sunday (2007), in a conversation regarding the connection between personal identity and culture. In it, he argued that when music came along it opened up the world to him, connecting him with his culture and allowing him to explore what that meant for him. These examples support Simon Frith’s view that '[m]usic is no longer commenting on a community but creating it' (1981, p. 88).
Popular music then, being performed publicly in Newcastle’s licensed venues, could be seen to be an important signifier of social and cultural identity for those involved, particularly musicians, both at a personal and community level. Such local identities are connected to broader literacies adopted by those involved in music scenes. One such example is the use of the American term 'gig' which is used to describe performances by popular musicians. The use of this term, as H. Stith Bennett (1980) indicates, is associated with an 'acceptance of musicians' way of seeing the world' (1980, p. 83). These broader connections of identity through music, which have led to a certain 'star' status being attached to musicians, Bennett argues, is 'because musicians are now popularly recognized as cultural leaders whose styles of living are presumed to be worth emulating' (ibid.). Such broader recognition of the cultural importance of musicians which manifested in local identification and worked in combination with the social and cultural capital acquired that was specific to Newcastle’s habitus, was exemplified by one local musician who recalled:

I could walk into any venue in Newcastle and the guys on the door would say, 'Paul, in you go mate, no worries, you’re in' you know. I could walk in, I’d either know the band that was playing, I’d either know the crew that was working there, I didn’t have to go and sit at a table. I could walk up and just feel like I was a part of the scene and I really felt like I was apart of the Newcastle music scene for about ten or fifteen years (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009).

What is being argued then, is that the sense of personal and community identity and social and cultural currencies which connect people and place, currencies that are historically developed and driven and acquired over time, makes them peculiar to a particular place and tend to be broadly accessible to its inhabitants. The ways these operate in one place for example, are not easily transferable to other places, as a number of local Newcastle bands discovered when they attempted to relocate to cities outside their local area to achieve broader commercial success.
5.2 Leaving home

It is acknowledged that many factors contribute to a band achieving significant commercial success, not least of which Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1997) explains as '[f]avourable convergences in time and place' (p. 94), which he argues:

open up a brief window of opportunity for the person who, having the proper qualifications, happens to be in the right place at the right time... The point is not that external opportunities determine a person's creativity. The claim is more modest, but still extremely important: No matter how gifted a person is, he or she has no chance to achieve anything creative unless the right conditions are provided.... (1997, p. 94).

Gibson (2002) also acknowledges the many factors required for bands to achieve significant levels of success. According to him, these include:

initial talent, ability to travel, financial support for early national and international tours, management and promotional support, interest from major record companies - that vary from band to band, from time to time, and that can also rely on a large amount of luck in meeting the 'right' person or being 'in the right place at the right time (2002, pp. 353-354).

A musician in the current study similarly spoke about a window of opportunity that is either taken advantage of or missed. She claimed that:

[e]very musician will tell you, if you stay at it long enough and you're any good, eventually you get presented with a window, a little window of opportunity and if you miss it, it's often gone forever....' (D Soper, personal interview, April 2006).

In her book Pleasure and Pain: My Life (2005) Chrissy Amphlett, lead singer with Australian band, Divinyls, points to a number of reasons why bands fail to succeed, which she summarised succinctly as '[n]o luck, no opportunity, bad decisions, personality clashes, insufficient dedication, or, to be brutally honest, not enough talent' (2005, p. 121).

Closer to home, in his book Tomorrow Never Knows, the silverchair Story, Jeff Apter (2003) provides his opinion on a number of favourable conditions that existed for Silverchair, one of the more prominent bands to
emerge from Newcastle, when they became nationally and internationally successful. Apter claimed that:

> savvy management has ensured that the trio hasn't suffered from overexposure, the kiss of death at a time in rock & roll when a band gains veteran status if they make it past their first album. The timing of Silverchair's rise was perfect too: they surfaced as the grunge wave broke - and being all of 15 at the time, they had an irresistible hook for the music media (2003, p. 2).

The band's success was also a time when ABC radio TripleJ was broadcast nationally, something that was unavailable to local musicians in the 1970s and 80s.

Friend and colleague of local band *The Heroes*, Les Gully, believes that band missed an opportunity for international recognition by not taking greater advantage of its association with the 'riot', that occurred at Newcastle's Star Hotel in 1979 and which made headlines around the world. The band's decision, to wait until their song, *The Star and the Slaughter* (which had been recorded live on the night by radio station 2ii) could be recorded 'properly' (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006) was, according to Les, the missed opportunity. Gully recalled:

> I said to them 'are you releasing that?' I said 'you're on the news in London tonight. Why isn't your record being played on the radio over there tonight?' They said 'oh no, we're going to wait and do it properly'. I said 'you're nuts, that sounds fine and it's live, it's the real thing, you're there, this is a world event, be there'. By the time they brought it out, it was all a little lukewarm and now if you ask someone about the Star hotel, Jimmy Barnes was playing there (ibid.).

Les Gully himself recalls the difficulties his band *Armageddon* had in trying to become successful in the Sydney music scene:

> We played Chequers four nights a week about once a month; Manly Vale Hotel for a weekend pretty well once a month and a variety of other venues. I think we just ended up being Sydney's best support group... While *Rabbit* were trying to be Kiss, we were trying to be *The Eagles*, which was not groovy, it wasn't heavy and bluesy or anything else. If we'd hung on a couple of years, it was all in fashion (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006).
While the above comments suggest awareness of what may have occurred as a result of hindsight, the comments below from a number of local musicians indicate that they were aware that their dependence on their local habitus, while not expressed in these terms, would preclude them from making the sacrifices necessary to attempt the journey toward success. This situation may indicate a desire for the outcome of commercial success but an awareness, conscious or otherwise, of the lack of cultural literacy they possessed that would have ensured them equal access in Sydney to that of their Sydney counterparts. The following comments by two local musicians also reinforce the idea of the existence of a ‘cultural cringe.’ One local musician, for example, indicated that she knew that national success was not going to occur for the bands in which she performed, despite a desire for that to happen. As she said:

I would love that to have happened but deep down I don’t think that was ever going to happen to a band that I was in. I probably didn’t have the drive to do that. It would have been great I guess, but realistically I think deep down I knew that that was never going to happen to me. I think that would have been their aim [other members in the band]. That if they could have played for long enough and most of us had jobs at the time and were all working and I don’t think anybody was happy to give up their day job to just go and work on music so much that they would have been one day nationally famous so it probably took a lot more dedication and hard work than what we were willing to put in at the time, even though deep down people would have loved that to have happened. But it takes more than just playing in pubs on the weekend in my opinion, to become a nationally famous band. I think it would have taken luck, I think to be in the right place at the right time, to write maybe your own original songs, to have maybe a more pushy agent, more hard work, yeah, I don’t know. I think a lot of it has got to do with luck (J Sault, personal interview, 2006).

Mark Robinson’s experience suggests a similar degree of awareness of the cultural differences that existed, either implicitly or explicitly. In the following comments, he provides his views from watching bands on the national television music programme, *Countdown*:

You wanted to play in a band like they are. You sort of went ‘wow wouldn’t it be great to (be like that) yeah’. But you know in yourself, the songs weren’t good enough or the guitarist wasn’t good enough or someone’s got a day job, and he doesn’t want to come to
rehearsal. And this one’s stoned off their face. But if you had something back then and there are the five of you and you all thought ‘okay this is it, this is what we’re doing’ and the songs were there, no worries. But you’d feel that. It’s like if you’re in a relationship with someone you can feel it, you can feel the process, if there’s something here to go with, you know. And that’s obviously why people made it... Someone else might play in a band, and they might be better mates but you’re going nowhere... if the guys in the band are friends then you’d have to follow that to see what that’s about. And you make a bit of money, and you’d make that move. But if I was going to go and start, I’d make sure all the guys were going to put the effort in and not sort of hang around and not put the effort in (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006).

Such views were also found by Cohen (1991) in that '[t]he desire to 'make it' with a band could unite the members whilst at the same time straining their relationships' (p. 44). She referred to a musician in her study who, on leaving a band, cited the reasons that:

although he appreciated the music the band made it didn't accord with his own personal tastes, and whilst he thought the band had 'a formula' and might 'make it' if they worked hard, he didn't think the others had the right 'professional' approach (1991, p. 213).

As the above has argued, many factors are usually responsible for bands trying to achieve commercial success and Roy Shuker (2001) has proposed a number of reasons why bands may be willing to undergo the process. He claims that:

one reason, probably the dominant one, behind the willingness of so many rock musicians to enter the Darwinian struggle for commercial success, is the ultimate possibility of stardom, with its allure of a lifestyle of glamour and influence. This is not to ignore the appeal of gaining the approval of fans and critics, but it is clear that the majority of performers aspire to that and 'the money' (2001, p. 112).

The desire for commercial success is also connected with the desire to record material, in order to have a saleable product and which can be used for radio airplay. For a number of musicians in Austin Texas, Shank (1995) also found that the desire to make records was connected with a strong sense of their musical identity. Shank claimed that for these musicians: 'the desire to make records, so much a part of "making it" encompasses not only an economic and socio-ideological goal but also
the desire to inscribe, to leave behind a mark, to etch a trace in the history of rock'n'roll music' (1995, p. 173).

Shank found that for these musicians, the whole process of forming a band, rehearsing, composing, performing and touring were 'all subsumed under the goal of recording the band's material, seeing it turned into material objects that can be found in a store and hearing it come over the radio...' (1995, ibid.). Shank noted that the way this operated in Austin, was that 'only those bands who are trying to get a deal will be taken seriously by certain other music-related businesses' (1995, p. 175) and bands needed to be aware of the specific people whose attention they needed to attract and 'certain standards of achievement' (ibid.) that were required for this to occur. He argues this further by asserting that 'the extent to which a band will be taken seriously by these people is directly related to the extent of the band's professional ambition and how clearly this ambition is displayed' (ibid.). This example can be directly related to Massey's idea of 'activity spaces' (1995, p. 54), noted above, which may be seen as contested spaces, and what Bourdieu has said about struggles always existing in the 'fields of cultural production' (1986, p. 247). Tony Kirschner (1998) believes that a band's success can be measured by looking at what he calls a 'continuum of success' (1998, p. 251) and what Roy Shuker (2001) has discussed in terms of a hierarchy (2001, p. 112). Kirschner suggests that access is relative to those who hold the power and says that:

what makes the continuum of success a particularly useful tool... is that it is governed by the logic of access. Progress along the continuum is not available to the vast majority of those rock music-makers seeking upward mobility. The logic of access guarantees that the production of music is completely bound by relations of power (1998, p. 253).

Shank (1995) refers to a band recording its material as the 'minimal level of success' (p. 173), indicating that in addition to recording, for a band to be successful it also 'requires the complete participation in the systemic operations of the recording industry' (ibid., p. 174). Bourdieu (in McIntyre,
2008a) refers to this as the field - dynamic spaces which 'denote arenas of production, circulation and appropriation of goods, services, knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate and monopolize... different kinds of capital' (2008a, p.7).

There is much evidence to suggest that many musicians performing in Newcastle aspired to success on a broad national scale at some point in their careers, regardless of whether they had reached the stage in their careers of recording. A number of them however, despite being managed by Sydney-based recording and management agencies, encountered social and cultural barriers when relocating to areas outside of Newcastle. For example, local band Broadway (subsequently the Motels and then the Eighty Eights (or 88s), is a case in point. The band began as a Top 40 covers band and had performed in Newcastle for approximately four years prior to changing its name to the Motels in 1979 (The Newcastle Sun, 30 August 1979, p. 12) and its music style too (The Newcastle Sun, 5 January 1978, p. 10), with another change of name to the Eighty Eights (88s) and a relocation to Sydney. The band’s recorded product included an EP (extended play record) and a number of singles (45” disc recorded on vinyl) during its time together (Spencer, 1999). The band's debut album, Top of the World, reportedly made the lower reaches of both the Sydney and Newcastle music charts according to a local newspaper report (Sherry, The Newcastle Herald, 28 August 1981, p. 2). The band however, disbanded some time following this release. The explanation for the band's demise and the belief that what was required was a change from an emphasis on a recorded product to a live performance fan base, suggests that without having acquired the social and cultural capital that existed in the place to where they had relocated (Sydney), they had little understanding of the ways in which the field of cultural production operated to exclude them. According to one of the band's members:

For some time before we left for Sydney we were obsessed with scoring a record contract. That bit of paper was all that mattered to us... When we started playing in Sydney we realised a record
contract was worth nothing without a fan following who would identify the band and buy our product. Our tactics have changed: first the following, the recognition, and the record contract is bound to follow (The Newcastle Sun, 13 Feb 1980, p. 8).

The second name change for the band had reportedly become necessary due to an American band of the same name having released an album which was having success in Australia (ibid.). One of the band members had the following to say on the change of name:

We were hesitant to change our name again... A name change is a drastic step to take in a big market like Sydney, the word has to get around to a lot of people. 'So for a while it was ‘Hey, where have the Motels gone?’ and ‘Who are the 88s?’ (ibid.).

The above comments suggest that there was an awareness within the band that this development further impacted on its ability to generate a greater level of social capital in Sydney, and suggests a level of understanding of the need for the band to build social capital, particularly in terms of a base of audience members in order to have people interested enough in their music to buy their recorded product. Again, however, the subtleties of how the field operated in a different scene to the one they were used to would seem to have not been readily understood.

Another Newcastle band, Daniel, similarly found a lack of access to the variety of capitals that accrued in the field of another place when its members relocated to the city of Melbourne, again with the aim of achieving national acclaim. Formed around 1974, the band was reported in the local Newcastle press as having 'quickly become the city's premier outfit' (Della-Grotta, The Newcastle Sun, 28 December 1978, p. 12), and having gained a twelve-month regular performing role, a 'residency', in one of Newcastle's most popular inner-city nightclubs, the Ambassador. Band member, Jim Neal's comments on the band's experience in relocating to Melbourne in 1976 reveals the way the field of production worked to provide barriers: Neal gives his opinion that:

We were well-known in Newcastle, but Melbourne was a different thing... This made us aware that if we didn't play well, we wouldn't
eat. We did several support appearances with LRB, Ariel, Madder Lake and Jo Jo Zep and the Falcons. The band’s line-up had been steady right up to the split, which shows we had a stable attitude and were prepared to work together... Musically, we were regarded as a musicians’ band and not as a crowd puller. We were forced to take second place, so it wasn’t long before we had a bad dose of support band blues. Other musicians loved us and gave us support, but the promoters didn’t want to know us. The only time they’d want us was when some other support band couldn’t make the gig. The result was we were playing at places that didn’t suit our music, which meant a great deal of compromise on our part. We had to play music that we didn’t like, but we had to survive somehow... The album took twelve months to record and in the end we were as satisfied as we could be with the result... All the music was original, and the record company gave us plenty of money and time to complete the project. But what really knocked us over was that after all that trouble they were prepared to let it sit on the shelf and not release it!...Our manager had his own band and couldn’t devote all the time that he should have on us. That resulted in poor exposure for us, hence lack of record sales. So, in a nutshell, Daniel is dead because of promoters’ attitudes, a complete about-face by a record company and lack of record distribution. No one could survive with all that going against them (ibid.).

The experiences encountered by a number of other local bands, A Rabbit (later Rabbit) and The Heroes, provides a further way of seeing how the fields of production between the cities of Newcastle and Sydney operated differently. Both bands shared a number of members and whilst A Rabbit relocated to Sydney, The Heroes retained Newcastle as a base whilst attempting to achieve recognition on a broader scale. A Rabbit formed in early 1973, with a local newspaper report noting a few months later that the band 'have their own following' (Barton, The Newcastle Sun, 17 July, 1973, p. 29). A contract with international record company CBS was subsequently signed in 1975 and by 1976 the band had relocated to Sydney. Two albums and a number of singles followed. The band also appeared on ABC television's national music programme Countdown, and toured a number of capital cities, that included Brisbane, Canberra, Melbourne and Adelaide (The Newcastle Sun, 21 October 1975, p. 16). In Newcastle, Rabbit's progress was documented as a literal rise to fame in the local newspapers, with the members being referred to constantly as Newcastle's top group, with comments such as: 'A Rabbit, the local group that is making the national scene' (The Newcastle Sun, 14 January 1975,
p. 11) and Rabbit 'One of Australia's top rock groups' The Newcastle Sun, 27 August 1976, p. 2). In 1973 and 1974 the band also received a degree of symbolic capital in the form of accolades from their peers in a local survey conducted to determine the best musicians in Newcastle. Rabbit was voted first place in the best instrumental group category, Mark Tinson (the band’s guitarist) first in the best guitarist category; Phillip Screen (the band’s drummer) equal first in the best drummer category and the band was voted first place for the best stage act (The Newcastle Sun, 7 August, 1973 p. 12). Outside the local area, however, reviews for the band were mixed. A reader's letter published in the national music magazine RAM, while admitting that the band had a lot of talent, was unhappy with the seemingly copied style from another, more famous, band. The writer of the letter stated:

I'm always whinig about not seeing Kiss on tele enough. But I think I've just seem 'em, well a funkin' piss weak attempt to mimic 'em anyway. The offenders were a group who call themselves Rabbit. I don’t know who the fuckn' hell they think they are. They try to act and move like Kiss do (they should have saved themselves the trouble). They even dress like Kiss and go as far as ending off one of their songs like Kiss's Black Diamond. And if that isn’t enough one of them has even got the nerve to breathe fire like Gene Simmons. Well maybe Simmons wasn’t the first to breathe fire, so fuckin’ what? He does it with a style of his own. I can see that Rabbit have got a lot of talent. It’s a pity that they don’t use it to create a style of their own (Letter in RAM, 17 December 1976 no. 47, p. 39).

Also in RAM, a reviewer gave a mixed critique of the band’s recordings, claiming on the one hand ‘they put out a disastrous first album and single that sank without a trace’ (Burton, 1976, p. 11). This was, however, tempered by a level of encouragement in regards to the band’s stage performance, with the comment that ‘but now, under the production control of Peter Dawkins, they’ve got some of the electricity of their stage performances on record…’ (ibid.). The band disbanded in 1977 however, and a number of members from that band returned to Newcastle and formed The Heroes. Guitarist for both bands recalled the experiences of living and working in Sydney:
funnily enough, you know, whilst we could earn a living up here, it was just, as soon as we left Newcastle, with Rabbit and with The Heroes, it was like suddenly our income decreased by about 60 – 70%... I just think there was so much competition (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

The Heroes emerged from the remnants of local bands A Rabbit and Armageddon and as noted above, retained Newcastle as its base, while nevertheless aiming to gain success on a national level. The band secured a recording contract with Alberts Music in Sydney (The Newcastle Sun, 24 January 1980, p. 8) after gaining notoriety as the last band to perform on the night of the Star Hotel riot, where, it was reported, 'bottles and bricks flew, blood flowed and vehicles burned when 2000 to 3000 drinkers clashed with police and pelted firemen' (The Newcastle Sun, 20 September 1979, p. 1; see also Homan, 2003) on the last night of trading at the venue. The Star Hotel in Newcastle's inner-city represented an important cultural space for young people in Newcastle, with the night of its closure in September 1979 subject to opposition by patrons in the form of an internationally-reported riot. Its role was also important in the career trajectory of local band, The Heroes. According to band member, Mark Tinson, following the 'riot' the band 'became more famous' (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006). Mark claimed as a result of that notoriety the band secured a record contract with Alberts, working with well-known producers, Harry Vanda and George Young for the band's nationally successful single Baby’s Had A Taste. Mark went on to say that:

Well, if the Star riot hadn't occurred chances are we wouldn't have created the interest that we did... Basically we had two offers. One to go with Alberts and one to go with Rob E Porter's label who had Rick Springfield and Air Supply and a few other acts. We decided to go with Alberts because of their history with AC/DC and Rose Tattoo and the Angels... we did Countdown and we were able to tour nationally to a certain degree as a result. We didn't get over to the west coast but we certainly toured the length and breadth of the east coast and quite successfully in most areas. In Sydney we had a good following. Queensland we had a good following. Melbourne was a harder nut to crack. I meant people had heard of us everywhere we went. That was the beauty of Countdown... (Tinson in Clott, 1997, p. 8).
Further evidence of the influence that shows like *Countdown* could have on the career trajectory of artists comes from Peter Wilmoth (1993) who stated that:

> Before the advent of *Countdown* there was no truly national TV program to create interest in a band outside its own home town. It is highly improbable, for example, that a Melbourne band would attract an audience in Sydney. *Countdown* changed all this. The breadth of the ABC’s transmission meant that it was possible to tour the hinterland - Townsville, Dubbo, Port Augusta - and then sweep into Sydney like blooded marauders (1993, p. i).

Tinson's band later disbanded however, which he blamed on a lack of support from the band's record label as one of the factors for this: He said: 'we had a record company who had so many acts on their books and so little time to deal with them that they just kept saying 'you haven’t got the songs for the next album' and we’re going 'well how many do you want?'" (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006). In addition Mark recognised that their management structure had failed them, leaving the band ‘fifteen thousand dollars in debt with vehicle expenses or agency fees or whatever projected costs we had…so we went to Queensland and toured for about ten days, made the money back and said let’s call it quits, now’ (Tinson in Clott, 1997 p. 8).

From Mark Tinson's comments it can be understood that the lack of a shared culture in terms of the social and cultural capital required for the band and record company to relate in a mutually beneficial way was lacking. It may have been that the band was unable to see that the record company thought the band's songs were not up to the standard they required for an album, or more likely, the record company was not prepared to give the band the necessary support as it chose to privilege other bands over *The Heroes*. This experience can be related to Bourdieu's (1993) idea of field whereby power in the field is unequally distributed and where a choice-making agent with more power, determines 'whether the innovation is worth making a fuss about' (Csikszentmihalyi in McIntyre, 2007, p. 11).
Cohen (1991) reported similar findings in her study on Liverpool in the UK, where, due to the market becoming controlled by a small group of international companies, she said:

the type of contracts offered to bands changed. Whereas in the past companies might have taken on a band with the intention of nurturing it for a while to allow its music and image to develop, many now had little incentive to develop or even pay much attention to their relatively new, unknown artists since so much of their profit might be generated by only one or two others (1991, p. 105).

This lack of acceptance by members in the field of production in regard to bands relocating to other areas, sits in contrast to the level of popularity and acclaim many of these bands found in their home town. This ongoing popularity was due, in part, to their having had enjoyed a level of social and cultural capital prior to leaving their home town, as well as accruing more as they gained success further afield. In Newcastle for example, Mark Tinson describes *The Heroes'*, experience of Newcastle:

we were working seven days a week. I mean there was a two-year period around that time where we worked literally seven gigs a week, every single week and I think we only missed one gig through ill health and we actually turned up there and did one set before we stopped so, and funny enough, in the whole time that we worked as *The Heroes* in Newcastle, which is a five-year period, we accepted, I think, one agency gig, so we were an independent band and we were the most popular band in town at that time (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

Mark's comments illustrate the deep divide that existed between the two situations. On the one hand, the social, cultural and symbolic capital the band had acquired in their home town led to them feeling comfortable in that space, something that he remarked upon when reflecting on the reasons for the demise of the band. He claimed:

I think we ran out of money. We made a great living, then we started touring. And we did some terrific stuff. We supported AC/DC when they first returned to Australia with Brian Johnson… We did Brisbane and we did Melbourne… but we couldn't command the same sort of money from the outside areas because they didn't know us... I think that's part of or one of the problems with Newcastle when you look back is that you can make such a comfortable living here that when you get out of your comfort zone, it's just all a bit hard (ibid.).
On the other hand, the social and cultural capital encountered by them in other places, as Tinson remarks, resulted in them being out of their 'comfort zone'. Such experiences are directly related to Bourdieu's (1993) ideas on habitus where he argues that 'habitus is sometimes described as a 'feel for the game' (p. 97) and is 'a long process of inculcation, beginning in early childhood, which becomes a 'second sense' or a second nature' (ibid.). The contrast of the band's experiences of success locally and the experiences of attempting to gain access to other places have been reported elsewhere, notably, in the case of Australian band Cold Chisel, on that band's aims of gaining access to the American market, after having achieved considerable national acclaim in Australia. In response to a question on the issue, singer Jimmy Barnes reminded an interviewer that the band had only ever travelled to America for one six-week period, whereas bands like AC/DC and INXS had toured consistently to build up a following in that country. Barnes claimed that the members of Cold Chisel had spent their time building up a following in Australia and that by the time they considered a tour of America, the band really 'couldn't be bothered' (A Current Affair, 2012) doing it all again. Tony Mitchell from nationally known band Sherbet, indicated a similar weariness with touring and moving onto different priorities. Mitchell indicated that when that band's popularity in Australia started to wane, they were beginning to have international success in America, but by then their priorities had changed and they 'were all into marriages, babies, families [and] it was too late' (Mitchell in Pressley 2002, p. 32). For the band Dragon, on a European tour as the opening act for Tina Turner, at a time when the band was reportedly 'hitting prime form' (Apter, 2011, p. 213), and performing to large crowds, the band's biographer claims that:

> whenever they reached a new city, having played to another huge crowd the night before, they'd swing by the local record store, checking for copies of their new album. They were nowhere to be found' (Apter, 2011, p. 213).

Brian Cadd (2010) has also spoken of how important his contacts were (Australian friends of his that had moved to Nashville a few years prior to
him) to his success on his arrival in Nashville. As he indicated: ‘once again, I had landed in the right place at exactly the right time’ (2010, p. 220). This was in stark contrast to Cadd’s earlier experience of England where he reports being in the wrong place at the wrong time:

If only there had been the internet. The band we built and the music we made was about as wrong for England as anyone could imagine. But, had we only known, it was so very right for America! If only we could have googled ‘country’ rock bands!’ (2010, p. 83).

Local Newcastle bands were similarly attempting to replicate the success of bands such as Cold Chisel, but from a local to a national level. Conversely, the reasons Mark Tinson saw for the greater success of bands such as Cold Chisel and INXS on the Australian national level than for local Newcastle bands is similar to the one argued by Barnes’ in relation to bands that achieved greater success on an international level. According to him:

I think bands like Cold Chisel and INXS I saw up at the Ambassador, I don’t know that they were much better bands than what we had here. They were more famous and they were touring nationally and I mean they kept going. I think that’s probably the difference, they kept at it, and we couldn’t be bothered (M Tinson, personal interview, April 2006).

As Tinson intimates, the aspects of the way the field of production operated presenting barriers to local Newcastle bands attempting to achieve greater national success, could also be seen to have worked similarly for bands that did achieve greater national success. According to the official website of Australian band INXS (n.d.), for example, it also suggests that the factors in that band’s success was related more to their motivation to continue touring than to any greater access to the field:

It is this initial dedication of INXS to touring that helped to establish their credentials and begin to create a solid fan base of support. It is estimated that they were playing nearly 360 shows a year in the sweaty pubs of Australia during their early years… (http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/inxsbiography/7438b4d6de158182482568d80002da73).
Moreover, Cold Chisel, a band that originally formed as Orange in 1973, relocated from Adelaide to Melbourne, and then Sydney. In 1976, according to Ed Nimmervoll (2004) 'things hadn’t improved' (p. 118) for the band, suggesting a level of struggle encountered by the band to negotiate the social and cultural capital required in another place, similar to that experienced by Newcastle bands. This is a view that was reinforced by comments on Cold Chisel's website (n.d.), where it is suggested that, 'for the next four years the band tries to get a record contract, playing in hotels and halls in every corner of Australia’ (<http://www.coldchisel.com.au/history.html>). It is further reinforced by Barnes’ comments at a Cold Chisel reunion concert in December 2011 at the Newcastle Entertainment Centre, where he thanked Newcastle audiences for saving the band from 'starving' in their early years' (Barnes, 2011). Cardiff Worker’s Club and the Mawson Hotel feature significantly in this band’s formative narrative. McIntyre (2007) has claimed that, 'Cold Chisel can be seen as creative but can only be so, like all other creative units before them, within a specific sociocultural framework' (p. 12). He argues, that '[t]he field is thus an active object that is related to the social organisation of the knowledge world the person operates in' (2007, p. 12). This was similarly the case for a number of Newcastle bands attempting to relocate to other areas, including A Rabbit, The Heroes, the 88s and Daniel, discussed above.

Similarly, in his book *Blood, Sweat & Beers: Oz Rock From The Aztecs To Rose Tattoo*, Murray Engleheart (2010) claims a number of factors were significant in the trajectory of Australian band Rose Tattoo’s success in Europe. As he said:

> Working out why the Tatts had made such an impression so relatively quickly after years of crushing struggle in Australia wasn’t rocket science. Firstly, for once, it was all about the right timing…The resurgence of interest in the grass-roots heavy metal scene… along with the aftershocks from punk rock, and the rise of the more aggressive Oi punk scene…The other key element was that under Margaret Thatcher, the UK was a seething class war, and Angry [lead
singer] was a hero just small enough to hoist onto the shoulders of the workers… (2010, p. 274).

The experience of Australian singer/songwriter/performer Russell Morris is also worth retelling. An article by Paul Culnane (2007) claimed that Molly Meldrum was apparently ‘incensed’ at the ‘apparent act of career self-sabotage’ when Morris decided to travel to England to support the release of his hit single ‘The Real Thing’, rather than to America, which was where Meldrum wanted him to go, as there, it was claimed, ‘without any promotional support from Morris, ‘The Real Thing’ became a hit in several American cities, reaching #1 in Chicago, Houston, and New York' (http://www.milesago.com/artists/morris.htm). In England, however, the Decca label on which the single was released, ‘did little to promote the record’ (ibid.). Culnane concluded:

In retrospect it's hard not to surmise that Molly probably had a better grasp of the reality of where the music business was heading at that time, but the all-pervasive influence of the British invasion was still dominant and many Australian musicians spent -- some might say wasted -- a lot of time and effort trying to break into the notoriously impenetrable British music scene. Ultimately, as LRB and Men At Work were to prove, the future lay with America (ibid).

Morris did subsequently go to New York, but whereas whilst he was able to record, he was unable to promote the songs as it was two years before he was granted a Green Card which enabled him to perform and tour, according to his official website. By then, the website states: 'any chance of an American career had bolted' (ibid.).

To sum up these experiences, Cohen (1991) has described what she found were the 'three stages that bands were filtered through during the transition' (p. 131), the transition being from 'a local name to being a national' one' (ibid.). As she describes:

Bands at the first were still 'local' and unknown. Many aimed to ‘make it’ and sought a record contract to help them do so. A small percentage of them actually achieved a contract thus reaching the second stage, involving negotiations with the record industry. But few of those ever made it to the final stage to become successful stars of the rock music world (1991, p. 131).
The characteristics that were significant in Newcastle's development, such as its large population of young people, its geographical spread and its close proximity to Sydney, made it an attractive place to either remain or return. These desirable features may have been coupled with what Sandner (2009) refers to as Newcastle's 'defensive identity' (p. 132), which may have added to the desire to remain and work in Newcastle. Sydney was within close enough proximity to provide access to attractions and what a bigger city has to offer, as well as a degree of access for Newcastle bands to perform.

But what Newcastle offered to its own musicians was access to the necessary social, cultural and symbolic capitals connected to that place, as well as to a population large enough to support them and a variety of music scene(s) that could offer enough of an appeal to make it a viable option to relocating to Sydney and Melbourne. This is in contrast to what Smith says about Perth, where she claims 'local acts have little opportunity to remain' (2005, p. 82). The following discussion presents how this manifested for local bands in Newcastle.

5.3 Social and cultural capital at home

A number of Newcastle musicians gained a stable identity through their connection with their place of origin and also as a result of being engaged in local music-making, indicated in the literature discussed above (Finnegan, 2007; Shank, 1994; Cohen, 1991 and 1994), as it assisted them in their self-identification as worthwhile contributors to the local music scene. This was particularly the case for those who, at different times, enjoyed reputations at the top of the hierarchy of Newcastle's bands. These included bands such as Armageddon, The Marshall Brothers Band, Mata Hari, Maya, Delta, Crazy Otto, Daniel, Meccalissa (later DV8), A Rabbit (later Rabbit), The Heroes, Nodes Levity, Benny and the Jets, Total Fire Band and Atlantis. Tony Kirschner (1998) acknowledges that success 'is not a simple issue' (p. 251) and one local Newcastle musician likened it to 'chasing a car... I think everybody would like it but I’m not sure
they knew how to get it’ (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006). It can be argued that the connection to place for many Newcastle musicians and the stable sense of identity it provided, compensated for the lack of greater musical achievement outside of the local area. A similar situation was found in the late 1970s in Austin Texas, where Shank (1994) argued that the musicians in Austin were forced to leave the city when:

they could no longer subsist on live performance earnings only and because they could not win recording contracts while performing only in central Texas. In the absence of a dominant musical aesthetic, a central headquarters and effective gatekeeping by club owners, the quality of music in Austin had declined. The good musicians were forced to leave town, to go to where they could earn more money (1994, pp. 88-89).

While such conditions also existed in Newcastle to some extent, in other ways, many Newcastle musicians combined band work with other paid work, further indicating their connection to place, and suggests a reason for the low desire to relocate to other areas. Moreover, many bands accumulated the necessary social and cultural capital required to be seen as successful in their home town. Many local bands for example, secured regular residencies at different venues in Newcastle across the period under study and many built up significant followings of audience participants. A small number of examples of this were Daniel, a band that secured a twelve-month residency at the Ambassador nightclub in 1975 (The Newcastle Sun, 11 March 1975 p. 8), The Heroes, DV8, Atlantis, Benny and Jets, and Nodes Levity that secured a number of residencies across the time those bands were together (database); Suspect, at ‘the Hunter, Criterion, Bel-Air and Mattara Hotels as well as several university and technical college gigs’ (The Newcastle Sun, 8 November 1979, p. 10), and many more.

The evidence suggests that for local audience participants, enjoyment of performances was often linked to the venues in which their favourite bands performed, suggesting a further embedding of community identity and place, which was complemented by a level of acclaim and recognition
directed at local bands who played there. One audience participant, for example, thought that local band DV8, were:

one of the most potential bands that Newcastle has produced and... I used to see them play at the Ambassador quite a lot, and if they were on at the Ambassador, I’d just go there, because I loved DV8.... they also had a raw element to them as well.... Very gutsy but very tight in their riffs. And DV8 was one of those bands that, you know, I could go and get off on and have a really good time with... (K Edwards, personal interview, January 2006).

Another audience participant similarly connected his favourite bands to particular venues, and also the female supporters the band would attract:

Total Fire Band... I was a bit of a fan of theirs because I liked the music they played and they played in kind of, you know, good venues and they attracted heaps of women, young hippy chicks...(P Constable, personal interview, January 2006).

Finnegan (2007) has explained the importance of such practices:

The local pubs and clubs and the groups who played there can be seen as the counterpart, at the local and amateur level, of the professionals who have 'made it' and play in public entertainment venues in the national context. But local pub and club playing is more than just a pale reflection of those well-known groups which to some scholars and admirers have seemed more 'real' because picked out by the limelight of the national mass media. Bands in the local pubs and social clubs have an essential role in feeding the national scene, both directly in the groups that come up through local circuits, and indirectly through the moulding of an audience’s perceptions and interests initiated or enhanced at the local level. These local venues, furthermore, and the musical performances that take place there, have their own reality too: not just the foundation for or reflection of commercially successful groups, but a locally expressed and tangible manifestation of music in its own right (2007, p. 235).

The level of social and cultural capital built up over time, giving a connection to place and proving foundational to identity, is also evidenced in the following examples by a number of local musicians. Paul Jenkins, for example, claimed of performing at the Newcastle Workers Club, a popular inner-city venue:

Newcastle Workers Club was one of my favourites because we played there once a fortnight for about eighteen months, Friday or Saturday night... we had crowd records and bar records there and after playing there for about a month, it was like my lounge room. I
could walk in and it was just friendly faces, people there, they knew what they were going to get. Once we started, the place went off (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009).

Jenkins also, at times, took on roles of managing the lighting arrangements for stage performances for a number of bands performing in Newcastle from outside the area, assisting with the relocation of band equipment into venues. As he reported, this resulted in him coming into contact with a wide range of people involved in music from outside of the area:

there was about four or five of us that had a lot of connections in town that were all big blokes and because we got to know the crews that worked with the Angels and all them, when they came to Newcastle, they used to ring us and say 'look, we need ten or fifteen luggers and we'll pay you $50 for the day and you can bring a friend to the show'. So we used to go and help them lug in but then they knew that I could help them rig lights, or I could help set up drums, or plug in guitars and tune guitars, so they'd pay us more money to stay there with them. And we got to get into the clique, so we were working with lots of big bands... (ibid.).

As well as this chance to become immersed in the trade aspects of musicianship, support for local music was also acquired through the local print media which was a generous source of help to local bands. Typical comments in the print press were those such as: 'DV8 is quickly becoming THE band of the moment in Newcastle, drawing large and loyal crowds wherever it performs' (Della-Grotta, The Newcastle Herald, 11 September, 1981, p. 2) and 'Atlantis is one of this city's better bands in terms of national potential and songwriting talent' (ibid.). Apart from this necessary publicity generating symbolic capital for the bands mentioned, the importance of local connections between local musicians, in short, social capital, was also important. As one local musician recalled: 'you knew all the other bands, the musos would get together, you’d know them' (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006). Newcastle musician Mark Tinson also claimed that members of bands would go and watch other bands perform:
Well we would go and see, when I was in *Rabbit*, we would always make a point to go and see *Armageddon* if we could and two of the guys in *Armageddon* and two of the guys in *Rabbit* got together to form *The Heroes*. We’d go out and see *The Marshall Brothers* occasionally. *Delta*, we’d go out and see occasionally, you know, a lot of them were our friends as well. I mean there was quite a big community and friendly community of musicians and we just liked going to see each other play and even hang out with each other (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

Another remembered:

We all seemed to know each other and even the ones we didn’t know were always friendly towards each other. It was like a family, a real tight knit family and I found that there were places where we used to go and meet after our gigs, particularly a venue called Night Moves. A lot of musos always went there at the end of the night after they finished playing, if they weren’t actually playing there themselves and we all used to drink together and get on. There were a few coffee shops that were opened really late at night… There was one in Hamilton that we used to go to frequently late at night and we’d all get there and there was a lot of musos’ there… Lot of camaraderie. Band members used to hang out together. The rock pub bands would get together after gigs (personal interview, no. 5, March 2006).

Social and cultural capital was also acquired through what could be seen as mentoring, whereby bands that were seen as more popular would inspire other bands, evidenced in the following comments:

The Heroes when they were around, we’d sort of learn off them and we’d focus too. So, they sort of lead that charge. We were never going to be *The Heroes*. *The Globes, Jukebox - Atlantis* was another band. We’d go around and try and do the same thing. Try and be professional. *The Heroes* were up here and we’d be down here but we’d sort of lift up from down there, upwards and that created that very healthy scene, created the whole scene (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006).

What is being argued then, is that the formation of a musical identity is strongly connected to local habitus with a number of types of capital, such as those that relate to social, cultural and symbolic capital being built up over time. These connected musicians with audiences and venues that became an important component in the formation of their own musical identity. The social, cultural and symbolic capital that is acquired and assists in identity formation is not easily transferrable to other areas and is the result of a deeply imbued sense of connection to the place from which
people originate. What Newcastle came to offer local musicians was the ability to use to its full extent the social and cultural capital available to them in their home town.
6.0 The field of production

6.1 Introduction

The degree of social, cultural and symbolic capitals which musicians acquire is relative to the amount of power they are able to wield in the field of cultural production. The variety of capital possessed by musicians has been illustrated in terms of their importance and how they function between different places. It also needs to be noted that musicians also act as 'agents' in a field of cultural production and it is of equal importance to explore the way the various forms of capital function in relation to other groups who also act as 'choice-making agents' in the field. Bourdieu's (1993) theory of the cultural field, as argued by Johnson, can be seen as taking into consideration:

not only works themselves, seen relationally within the space of available possibilities and within the historical development of such possibilities, but also producers of works in terms of their strategies and trajectories based on their individual and class habitus, as well as their objective position within the field... (1993, p. 9).

These producers of works, or agents, according to Bourdieu (1993) 'do not act in a vacuum, but rather in concrete social situations governed by a set of objective social relations' (Johnson, in Bourdieu, 1993 p. 6), hence the development of his theory of 'field' to account for these situations. According to his view, 'any social formation is structured by way of a hierarchically organized series of fields (the economic field, the educational field, the political field, the cultural field etc)' (ibid., p. 6). For him, '[a] field is a dynamic concept in that a change in agents' positions necessarily entails a change in the field's structure' (ibid.). In his chapter, 'The Field of Cultural Production', in The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory, Bourdieu (1994) writes of 'social universes in which relations of domination are made, unmade and remade, and remade in and by the interactions between persons' (1994, p. 184).
Csikszentmihalyi (1996) is similarly concerned with a field of cultural or
creative production. He defines a field in relation to a model of creativity
comprising three main components - that of the domain, the field and the
person. Csikszentmihalyi's domain consists 'of a set of symbolic rules and
procedures... nested in what we usually call culture, or the symbolic
knowledge shared by a particular society' (1996, pp. 27-28). In
Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) model, the domain, for the purposes here, is
that of popular music, the field for him is that which 'includes all the
individuals who act as gatekeepers to the domain' (ibid.) and decide
whether an idea or product should be included in the domain, and the
individual person, he claims, uses 'the symbols of a given domain such as
music...' (ibid.), ie those who produce the necessary novelty value or
songs that are selected for inclusion in the domain. Csikszentmihalyi's
definition of the field is similar to Bourdieu's ideas of the site of creative
works, 'in which general social relations can be represented and
negotiated' (Webb et al, 2002, p. 155). However, the two present slightly
different interpretations of the term field. Bourdieu's definition describes
the actions that arise in terms of influence and power and what he refers
to as the struggle that ensues according to the principles of hierarchization
(Bourdieu, 1994. p. 60), whereas Csikszentmihalyi's notion of field looks
more closely at individuals who use the symbols of the domain to act as
gatekeepers (Csikszentmihalyi 1996). This thesis adopts aspects of both
Bourdieu's and Csikszentmihalyi's understanding of field to explore the
ways these ideas are applicable to live music in Newcastle's popular
music.

Their application has been examined by McIntyre (2008a) through an
analysis of the power relations that exist in a recording studio during the
process of recording. What he found supports Bourdieu's claims
regarding the struggle that exists in the field, in that issues of contestation
that arise between those involved in the process of recording, are directly
related to the degree of certain capital they either possess or are able to access and which in turn they contribute to the process. McIntyre argued that:

the changes that occur in a field, the struggles that take place in this arena of social contestation, are often built around a distinction being made not only in a person's reputation, as seen in the operation of their symbolic capital, but also the amount of economic, social and cultural capital they can bring into play (2008, p. 6).

For McIntyre's work, this meant, that:

a record producer, engineer, musician, or A&R [Artist and Repertoire] person who possesses the social, cultural or economic competence to operate within the studio environs will have greater leverage than those who don't (2008, p. 6).

The possession or accrual of various types of capital occur as a result of immersion in the field. Giddens (in Haralambos and Holbern 1995) claims that accruing this type of power 'increases the freedom of action of the agents who possess it' (in McIntyre, 2008, p. 8). In other words, '[w]hat restricts one person, enables another to do more' (ibid.). It follows then, that the greater capital a person holds, the greater is his or her ability to influence the field.

As noted previously, agents, as referred to by Bourdieu and others above, are different from other sorts of agents, that of promotion or booking agents that also operated in the field of production. To differentiate between the two, the agents to which Bourdieu and others refer will be hereafter referred to as choice-making agents, and the others, promoters or booking agents. It should be noted, however, that booking agents also acted as 'choice-making agents'.

The ideas above can also be applied to the current study by exploring the influences of different capitals possessed by those members of the field involved in music-making in local licensed venues in Newcastle which helped constitute the actions of the musicians, promoters/booking agents, venue managers/owners and audiences involved. In addition to identifying
the different influences that existed in the field of popular music in Newcastle, it was also important to explore the ways those influences impacted on developments in the field. In terms of the music industry, for example, Keith Negus has observed that it 'frequently appears as villain: a ruthless corporate 'machine' that continually attempts to control creativity, compromise aesthetic practices and offers audiences little real choice' (1996, p. 36). Negus points out the importance, however of also looking at the activities of popular music more broadly than simply in relation to 'the industrialized relations of record production' (1996, p. 53). Here he borrows from Joli Jensen's (1984) work to argue that 'culture should be seen much more broadly as the means through which people create meaningful worlds in which to live' (1996, p. 59) and further argues that:

in studying the music industry, we need to do more than understand culture as a 'product' that is created through technical processes and routine practices. Culture, from this perspective, should be understood more broadly as the constitutive context within and out of which the sounds, words and images of popular music are made and given meaning (1996, p. 62).

How specific spheres of influence enabled the development of live music in particular locations is equally as important then as exploring the way that power relations operate.

This thesis so far has argued the significance of geography, history and habitus and how these act on the way live music develops in particular spaces. This chapter will further draw on Bourdieu's ideas to illustrate the interaction between how this production worked at the local level in Newcastle, which, it is contended, occurred as a result of what Bourdieu has argued to be 'the history and structure of the field itself, with its multiple components, and in the relationship between the field and the field of power' (Johnson, in Bourdieu, 1993, p. 9). As Bourdieu has suggested, what is produced in the field is as a result of all of these components interacting, and as McIntyre claims, it 'is the interplay between agency and structure that actually makes practice possible'
(2012, p. 71) and 'what connects agency and structure is *habitus*' (ibid., p. 72).

### 6.2 The Newcastle experience

The live music scene operated in Newcastle within structures that allowed musicians, venue owners/operators, audiences and booking agencies to both influence and enable certain developments to occur. Following Bourdieu's propositions, these groups were the choice-making agents in the field that had the ability to both influence the field, and following Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) understanding, to act as gatekeepers. Operational structures were built around and within structured government regulations that enabled live music to operate in Newcastle as it did, which included the operation of licensed venues and the actions that occurred between venue operators, bands, audiences and promotion/booking-agents. These latter groups are what Bourdieu refers to as agents (choice-making agents) who operated in the field and who acquired capital from their immersion in the field. McIntyre has argued that:

> in essence, agents make choices out of the available conditions on offer to them, but these conditions, echoing Marx, are made for them. That is, the social and structural conditions both delimit and provide the possible choices seen in action (2012, p. 73).

As also noted above, choice-making agents do not operate in a void but within the set of social situations that exist at any one time (in Bourdieu 1993, p. 6)

The different choice-making agents involved in live music production in licensed venues in Newcastle, at different times, not only reacted to but also participated in the construction of the structures that existed for them. They were able, at different times, to influence and enact change to those structures. In the case of Newcastle, as noted above, such 'agents' included venue operators, musicians, audiences, and booking agents. The changes that were enacted by these choice-making agents included those that arose from the shifting socio-cultural needs and expectations of
local audiences; technological changes that resulted in changing ideas on how authenticity was defined for music styles (discussed in detail in another chapter); economic changes such as through venue operators seeking diversification in the entertainment they provided; political changes including regulatory changes imposed by governments; as well as changes to existing structures that occurred as a result of the rise and influence of promotional/booking agencies. Understanding the ways that each of the choice-making agents operated, those who were making decisive choices in the industry, is important in gaining an understanding of how the field of production coalesced to create the structures that existed during this period.

It has been argued previously, that the way Newcastle suburbs originally developed, together with the large number of young people residing throughout the two local government areas of Newcastle and Lake Macquarie, meant that audiences could choose from a large number of licensed venues to listen to popular music. As such, they tended to patronise venues that were close to where they lived and where they felt most comfortable. These developments provided them with a degree of influence in the field, as venue operators sought to provide them with the types of entertainment they wanted and expected. Many of the audience participants interviewed for this study indicated that music was often a secondary consideration to meeting and socialising with friends, a point also made by Becker (2004) who suggested that his band 'provided background noise for the socializing that went on in the bar' (2004, p. 25). There is evidence however, that participants retained a level of discernment about their choices, as the following examples suggest, about whether to leave a venue if they did not like the band that was performing or to remain. One participant, for example, gave his view:

I think most of the time once I was at a particular place, I stayed there. I didn’t sort of, go to The Savoy, didn’t like the band then move to Tyrrell House or whatever. I think I stayed, regardless of what the band was, but if there was a band I didn’t know here and a band I liked there, obviously I was going to go to that. I may have liked The
Savoy better than Tyrrell House, but if the band was better at Tyrrell House, I'd go to Tyrrell House (G Frost, personal interview, April 2006).

Another said 'we'd just go somewhere else' (P Constable, personal interview, January 2006). Becker (1951) had also reported from his study of professional dance musicians, that they had found that if audiences did not like the songs being performed, they would not return. Musicians in this study were similarly aware of the importance of the audience. Many interviewed, for example, claimed they would change the songs they performed if they were found not to be popular with audiences. Chris Mudge for example said about the bands in which he performed: 'we had a set and if it wasn’t going over, you’d always change it' (C Mudge, personal interview, January 2006). Paul Jenkins said similarly: 'if the song wasn’t working, we’d just drop it and learn something else' (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009).

On examining the trajectory of one inner-city nightclub in Newcastle, the importance of the audience is well-illustrated. In March 1973, for example, it was announced that the inner-city Palais venue was closing down. A local newspaper report indicated that:

In recent years, the dance centre has had to rely on a very fickle bunch of young people. Big names in the pop world – Daddy Cool, La De Dahs, and Billy Thorpe – were engaged by the promoters. Dozens of name artists passed through the door – but all to no avail. Now poor attendances have forced the closure of this very well-known location (Soul, *The Newcastle Sun*, 23 January, 1973, p. 25).

The report indicates that the owners were seemingly at a loss to understand the lack of patronage to the venue, which can be connected to the inability to understand a changing trend as a contemporary participant rather than from an historical understanding. It can be speculated that with the growth of live popular music at the start of the Oz Rock period in many suburban locations, audiences had begun seeking entertainment, as noted earlier, at venues that were closer to their homes rather than regularly travelling to inner-city entertainment spaces. Moreover, the
growth of live popular music in local hotels represented a transition from
live popular music predominantly being performed in non-licensed venues,
such as community halls, theatres and school dances, such that,
transitioning to licensed venues could be seen to have represented
novelty. It could also be argued that the type of venue that the Palais
represented, ie its nightclub status, afforded it the ability to charge higher
prices for drinks and perhaps admission, than what would be expected in
local hotels. This, together with the Palais' location in the inner-city of
Newcastle, rendered it vulnerable to the widening variety of music
available to local audiences and their changing choices. The Palais
reopened in later years and became a very popular space for live music, it
could be speculated, at a time when the novelty of a constant diet of local
venues had waned and audiences once again sought to broaden their
entertainment choices.

The example of another inner-city nightclub, that of the Ambassador,
highlights not only the way audience choices impacted on the venue's
trajectory, but also is an exemplar of how the choice-making agents in the
field, in this case, the audiences, venue operators and booking agents,
contributed to changes in the venue's operational structure over time. The
Ambassador nightclub began as the Ambassador Club Restaurant in
March 1973 (The Newcastle Sun, 7 March 1973, p. 26), with a licence that
allowed it to remain open until 3am (The Newcastle Sun, 7 March 1973, p.
25). In January 1974, it was leased by Zurich-born Erwin Lehmann and
Werner Schaad who, it was reported were:

following the latest European style which caters for two different
groups of clientele... From 6-11 pm they cater for a clientele who
enjoy good food, good service and pleasant surroundings. Then they
turn to the young well-dressed crowd who want to dance and enjoy
themselves in a place that has atmosphere and good music (The
Newcastle Sun, 4 June 1974, p. 11).

By September 1975 the venue's name had been changed to the
Ambassador Night Club, and was reportedly, 'cashing in on the current
upsurge of soul and funk music' (Jameson, The Newcastle Herald, 19
Two years later, in September 1977, the venue reportedly had an entertainment manager, Willie Fennell (*The Newcastle Sun*, 8 September 1977, p. 3), and under Fennell’s direction, the venue included more rock music in its entertainment. The venue also had a new manager, Trevor Jones (*The Newcastle Sun*, 11 May 1978, p. 10).

Entertainment throughout this period included jazz and cabaret style bands with guest vocalists. In 1974, local group *Daniel* had begun a weekly residency, reportedly the venue’s first resident rock band (*The Newcastle Sun*, 10 November 1978, p. 10; database), and other local bands had begun performing there. By 1978, the club was also employing rock bands from outside the area that were becoming popular on the national circuit in the mainstream music scene. These included *Cold Chisel*, *The Angels*, *Dragon*, *Stylus* and *Ol’55* (*The Newcastle Sun*, 10 November 1978, p. 10). In July 1978, a local newspaper report indicated that a new entertainment manager had been employed, and one of the latest ideas at the club was for an 'all-style dance competition' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 29 June 1978, p. 9). Subsequently, the lessees of the club, Lehmann and Schaad, conducted an extensive tour of Europe to investigate the latest trends developing in entertainment in other countries. This resulted in changes being implemented at the venue on their return. Trends they encountered overseas resulted in a 'move away from the rock ‘n’ roll image it has had' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 10 November 1978, p. 11), whilst retaining a disc jockey and a focus on 'show bands and harmony groups, people with floor shows' (ibid.). They stated: '[w]e want people to be able to dance of course… but we also want people to be able to sit and talk without being drowned out by the band' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 10 November 1978, p. 11). It was also decided that:

Tuesdays and Thursdays will be ladies nights, when the women ask the men to dance, an idea that is apparently working well in Europe. Wednesday nights will be party nights, an idea picked up in England. The club will be transformed into one big party with everyone being given a present and party hats. Jugglers, ballet dancers, films and cartoons will be part of the evening. Professional dancers have been employed to demonstrate and teach the latest dances... Fashion
parades, dance competitions and other ideas from overseas will be introduced gradually into the club... (*The Newcastle Sun*, 10 November 1978, p. 11).

An insight into the reasons behind this change, in addition to implementing ideas from overseas, can be gleaned from the following comment: 'I did not see one fight, one brawl, one bouncer. People went out to enjoy themselves, not to punch someone on the nose. That is how we want it to be here' (ibid.). Two months later, however, in January 1979, it was reported that the venue was 'to become a full-on rock venue with five bands each week' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 11 January 1979, p. 8). This latter change coincided with the use of a new booking agent for the venue, Ian Beazley. The newly-introduced entertainment included both local rock bands and those from the larger cities. They included the Kevin Borich Express, Rose Tattoo, Mi-Sex, Ayers Rock, The Heroes, Mike Rudd’s Instant Replay, Midnight Oil, Gunther Gorman’s G-Force, Supernaut, Swanee, Jimmy and the Boys, Russell Morris, Split Enz, Sidewinder, and The Radiators (*The Newcastle Sun*, 11 January 1979, p. 8). Booking agent, Ian Beazley, said of the changes:

The club is going to be a full-on rock ‘n’ roll venue, similar to the Bondi Livesaver in Sydney. Everyone in Newcastle is booking showbands. The Castle is doing it, so is the Jolly Roger. No one is interested in rock ‘n’ roll. Now there will be a good venue playing just rock. We are planning to make the Ambassador the biggest rock venue outside Sydney. We will also be looking at booking overseas acts. The Ambassador, which holds about 800 people, has been booking showbands for a week, or even two weeks, at a time. The club will relax its dress regulations to go with the change of image and jeans and tidy sports footwear will be allowed... (*The Newcastle Sun*, 11 January 1979, p. 8).

These changes represented a turnaround from the club’s intentions of just two months previously, when the operators stressed the focus was away ‘from the rock ‘n’ roll image it has had’ (*The Newcastle Sun*, 10 November 1978, p. 11), with, in addition, loosening its dress regulations. It can be speculated that the changes were precipitated by the unpopularity of the club’s previous policies, and/or the changes being related to the timing/influence of the booking agent, Ian Beazley, in convincing the
operators to implement policies that two months previously had been something the operators had been moving away from. Regardless, it represents changes that occurred through different choice-making agents exerting their influence, i.e., audiences not engaging with the entertainment offered at the venue and/or booking agents exerting influence by re-introducing live rock music styles.

Toward the end of April 1979, the venue stopped featuring support acts (Della-Grotta, *The Newcastle Sun*, 5 April 1979, p. 7), with a local newspaper report blaming audiences for this development – ‘[w]ell, public apathy has done it again’ (ibid.). The club’s operator, Werner Schaad also blamed the audiences, claiming it was due to poor attendances in the early part of the evening (ibid.). Rather than disinterested local audiences, however, it could be speculated that the reason why audience numbers had fallen at the club during the week was that the main bands did not begin performing until midnight and did not finish until 1.30 am (*The Newcastle Post*, 28 October 1981, p. 19). Subsequently, the venue began featuring their main acts from 9 pm (*The Newcastle Sun*, 19 April 1979, p. 9), again indicating different choice-making agents’ ability to influence operations at the venue, again, at this juncture, local audiences.

At the end of May 1981, the venue introduced an ‘Underground Rock Night’ every Wednesday night (Squires, *The Newcastle Herald*, 21 May 1981, p. 11) and in November 1982, it was indicated that Rock City Promotions had begun acting as the venue’s booking agent (*The Newcastle Post*, 24 November 1982, p. 5). In February 1984, the Ambassador introduced a ‘Non-Stop Dance Club’ on Tuesday nights, reportedly following ‘the explosion of dance clubs in Sydney’ (*The Newcastle Post*, 22 February 1984, p. 19). Dance clubs in the 1980s represented the combination of both live and recorded music. The recorded music was played by DJs, who mixed sounds from different tracks, as opposed to simply playing a record in the old disco style (Whiteoak & Renzo, 2003, pp. 245-246). The live music component
represented a move away from what mainstream rock music offered, towards bands that performed music that was not of the style that was currently being played on mainstream radio. At the same time, a comedy night and comedy competition was introduced. Thursdays continued as a free live rock music night, with Friday and Saturdays seeing a move 'away from the same, straight rock that every Newcastle venue offers and will have some of the strongest up-and-coming, happening, innovative bands' (*The Newcastle Post*, 22 February 1984, p. 19). Comments in a local newspaper about the Ambassador (commonly known as The Bass) advertised the changes:

Now, a lot of people know The Bass only as the sort of place where head-hangers go to have their eardrums pierced. Bikies, rough-heads, molls, the sort of stuff which can put a damper on your night if you don’t groove on getting involved in all-out brawls. It has come as a shock to more than one or two that the head-bangers no longer totally dominate The Bass. The Non Stop Dance Club is thriving on Tuesday nights with the sort of music you'll never get from Rose Tattoo. More of your New Wave, less of your plug ugly thug in leather… (*The Newcastle Post*, 11 April 1984, p. 16).

At the end of May 1984 however, it was reported that the venue had had little success in building up audiences at its Tuesday night Dance Club and would return to offering local rock bands (*The Newcastle Post*, 30 May 1984, p. 12). Low numbers to the Dance Club were blamed on the 'wrong bands being booked for the wrong venue' (ibid.). A spokesman for the venue's booking agency, Rock City Promotions, claimed that 'The Bass previously experimented with a number of bands which worked against Tuesday nights being styled as a dance club' (ibid.). In August 1984, the Ambassador closed, and reopened a week later as Quivers. It was promoted as being 'a lot more up-market' (*The Newcastle Post*, 15 August 1984, p. 12). Rock music no longer featured in the entertainment, and 'middle-of-the-road' (ibid.) bands and artists were introduced. New entertainment was advertised to consist of a dinner and show package, with more 'cabaret' style entertainment. Quivers retained the Wednesday night comedy nights and the 'all male review for women on Thursdays' which had recently been introduced (ibid.).
Changes to differentiate it from its previous history as a rock venue began at the front door, where 'guests walk into a foyer, place their coats in the cloakroom, and are welcomed to Quivers. Upstairs, lounge chairs and slats give a modern, but comfortable atmosphere' (ibid.). The latest changes lasted six months before the venue reverted to its old name and returned to its previous format of live rock, again featuring national and local bands. In July 1988, the venue again changed hands, the new owners closing the Ambassador and re-opening the club as Bombay Rock (reportedly named after a nightclub in Surfers Paradise) ('Newcastle’s New Nightclub – Bombay Rock' (The Post, 27 July 1988, p. 18). It was also reported that the owner had surveyed young people in Newcastle about what they wanted for their city in terms of night life, and subsequently developed a concept for the venue based on their responses (ibid.) which may have led to greater success for the club, at least in the short term. By then however, an ever-increasing number of larger venues could feature national acts on a much larger scale, making it more difficult for smaller businesses such as the Ambassador to cope with the competition.

The above examples illustrate the field at work and the way different agents were able to influence the field at different times, particularly, in those examples, between audiences, venue operators and booking agents. It is also evidence of what Giddens (1979) referred to as the ‘transformative capacity’ (p. 8) of different choice-making agents at different times to influence and impact on the field. In the above examples, audiences were able to be influential because of the large array of live music venues available for them in Newcastle. In short, they operated within the structures that were available to them (Bourdieu, 1993, Giddens, 1979, Shuker, 2001) which at those times favoured audiences. The examples above, contradict to a degree, the ideas of Adorno (1990) who was of the belief that audiences were at all times at the mercy of the music industry.
As well as being vulnerable to the expectations of their clientele, at different times, as the above examples have illustrated, venue operators were also vulnerable to regulatory changes at different times. This is thoroughly documented in Homan's (2003) account of the regulation of licensed venues in Sydney. In Newcastle, a number of these factors also had significant impact on the structures venues operated within and these are explored further below.

6.3 Regulatory changes

A number of threats to live popular music in licensed venues occurred in the 1980s. One of these was a change to the State of NSW's *Liquor Act* as a result of a fire that had occurred at an amusement park in Sydney (Luna Park) in June of 1979, in which seven people died (*The Newcastle Sun*, 14 June 1979, p. 9). Changes were introduced via the establishment of the *Liquor (Entertainment Areas) Regulation* of 1985, which Homan has reported was primarily concerned with 'specific numbers of people attending performances; their entrance and exit to the site; and the type of performers within the venue' (2003, p. 122). As Homan has pointed out however, '[w]hile commendable for flagging the more dangerous practices of venues (band equipment blocking exits, lack of fire fighting equipment, exit signs etc), the regulations had significant flaws' (2003, p. 123). Reportedly, it was the *aggregate widths of exits, not the total number of exits, [that] was a prime concern in assessing the egress of venues* (ibid.). This meant that older venues which may have had a large number of exits were found not to comply if the widths of their exits did not meet the new standards (ibid.). Moreover, the regulations applied only to those sites that provided entertainment and as such, venues that attracted equally large numbers of people to their premises but which did not provide entertainment, were not subject to the same regulations (ibid.). Change to noise regulations was another significant threat to the development of live music in licensed venues, and in Newcastle, as in other venues in the state, both of these developments impacted significantly on licensed live
popular music sites. To address the issue of noise, hotel operators moved away from employing primarily live bands, to a prominence of smaller groups of musicians, such as duos and soloists being employed in their stead, as it was thought these smaller ensembles did not produce the same volumes as larger bands or attract the same amount of security required to contain some of the more undesirable aspects of providing live bands, as reported above as having occurred at the Ambassador, and as Bob Phillips (1998) reported as having occurred at the Newcastle Workers Club (1998). The response to changes in the building regulations resulted in even greater diversification of musical choices in licensed venues, such as the expansion of disco, the use of music videos, increased dining options, and the use of big-screen TVS to televise football games.

Complaints about noise from late night venues in Newcastle was not new - the closure of the Savoy theatre restaurant in the suburb of New Lambton in 1975 being a case in point. This venue’s closure was partly as a result of suburban residents’ complaints about noise regarding both the volume of music that was performed at the site, as well as complaints about noise from revellers outside (Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners Advocate, 18 March 1975, p. 1). From 1980 onwards, however, complaints about noise impacted significantly on a number of other major Newcastle venues. These included the closure of the Winns Shortland Room in the inner-city, following complaints from residents of the Brown Street Retirement Centre in Newcastle (The Newcastle Sun, 25 January 1980. p. 5) and changes to entertainment at the Delaney Hotel in the inner suburb of Cooks Hill, to ‘three-piece bands or single musicians’ (The Newcastle Sun, 18 March 1980, p. 3), following complaints to police by the Cooks Hill Residents’ Group about excessive noise (ibid.). Comments made about the opening of a new venue upstairs in the Castle Tavern in the inner-city in March 1980 moreover, suggests the type of entertainment programme introduced, consisting of a mixture of live bands, comedians, disco and jazz music ‘all in the lower decibel range’ (The Newcastle Sun, 20 March 1980, p. 12), may have been due to problems with noise.
In 1982 the issue of noise was addressed by government regulations in the form of a new 1982 *Liquor Act*, introduced in July of that year and effective from December, rendering the ability of bands to perform loud rock style music, particularly after midnight, difficult (Homan, 2003). Homan has noted how the 'increasing strength of residents' powers' (2003, p. 119) was evidenced in challenges to existing rock venues in Sydney and this can be equally argued to have been the case in Newcastle. In May of that year, there was reportedly a 'furore over claims of excessive noise, anti-social behaviour and parking congestion around four hotels in the Cooks Hill area' (*The Newcastle Post*, 5 May 1982, p. 1), indicating further evidence of tensions that had arisen between public and private spaces. Managers of the hotels responded that they 'had bent over backwards to comply with the residents' objections' (ibid.), claiming they had been approached around twelve months previously regarding the problem of noise and had 'immediately put a 10pm curfew' (ibid.) on the music performed there. The Delaney Hotel in Darby Street in the inner suburb of Cooks Hill was one of the hotels named in the complaint, which elicited the following response from the wife of the licensee of that hotel, Mrs Morley:

> To suggest closing the local pub because of a few people is to forget about the many who enjoy its atmosphere and social life... there had been no approach to that hotel in more than two years from anyone complaining about noise. There was a protest prior to that time and we made the concession of going for solo acts rather than six-piece bands. Then we stopped all entertainment for nearly a year and only started again six months ago with duos... (ibid.).

Noise problems similarly surfaced at suburban venues, again from residents living in close proximity to live music sites. Complaints were made regarding noise at the Broadmeadow Basketball Stadium, for example, following the first of a number of rock concerts planned for the venue. The first concert resulted in the circulation of an anonymous handbill describing the concerts as noise pollution and demanding the concerts be moved elsewhere (Bevan, 1984, pp. 1-2). Operators at the Caves Beach Hotel, formerly the Mawson, had similar complaints made
against them, forcing the employment of rock bands at that venue to cease in 1986. A local newspaper commented: `[p]lagued by noise problems, management has opted for the quieter side of life and plans to stick with duos for Friday night entertainment' (The Post, 10 Sept 1986, p. 18). Similarly, it was reported that the Duke of Wellington Hotel in the suburb of New Lambton had to cease employing rock bands due to noise complaints (The Post, 5 Nov 1986, p. 17).

These regulatory laws and resident complaints affected the existing structures of how venues had operated up until that time, with venue operators forced to employ strategies to diversify the live music options they provided. Prior to that time, it can be argued that, with the willingness of local audiences not withstanding, venue operators held a degree of power and influence in determining what occurred in these spaces, specifically in the decision to support live bands. Ryan (2007) raised the issue of loss that occurs when particular sites are removed to make way for other leisure activities in a place. Such loss can also be applied to changes that occur within specific sites, such as those that occurred when music activity shifted from predominantly live band performances to soloists and duos, in spaces where audiences and musicians had connected closely both within and with those spaces. Smyly (2010) was interested as a result of his study of the ‘interconnectedness of the participants and how shared experience builds the ‘space’” (p. 221).

6.4 Venues and styles

The degree of power and influence afforded to venue operators prior to the regulatory changes, discussed above, according to Turner (1992), meant that ‘[b]ands starting out lack the power to deal effectively with pub owners, while the pub owners’ dominance of the industry allows them plenty of options’ (p. 19). For Turner, ‘most bands are simply afraid to negotiate with their employers for fear of losing a gig’ (ibid.). He argued therefore that vendors have an economic influence they ‘can exert on the nature of the band’s material, on the gender composition of the band, what
members wear and so on’ (ibid.). Turner’s assessment appears valid to a point but it does not allow for the enabling aspects applicable to a number of venue operators. In Newcastle, venue operators and bands constantly negotiated for the space they utilised, occurring, as Bourdieu outlined, ‘within the space of available possibilities and within the historical development of such possibilities’ (1993, p. 9). This operated the way it did due to the ‘strategies and trajectories’ (ibid.) of the producers of works that were ‘based on their individual and class habitus as well as their objective position within the field’ (ibid.). In other words, the music entertainment choices made by venue operators provided both encouragement for some styles of music and rendered others vulnerable. This was seen in the above examples as a result of noise complaints but at times changes were made to a venue’s entertainment with the arrival of new owners or managers who at times implemented changes to the entertainment roster based on personal preferences. An example of this can be seen in the plans for entertainment by a new owner of the Hunter Hotel in the inner-city in 1978, reported in a local newspaper article:

Brian McDermott, the new owner of the Hotel Hunter, in Hunter St Mall, plans to feature music from disco to rock music to jazz to country to folk to anything else he can think of! "Most pubs with entertainment seem to put on rock ‘n’ roll but I want to get away from that idea and provide a lot of variety," he said. “I want to book people like Mike McLellan and get a jazz scene going like the Star Hotel had. "I’d love to introduce some Australiana, a sing-along, 1940s music, bush bands, anything completely different” (The Newcastle Sun, 23 November 1978, p. 13).

Such changes were also implemented in other venues, such as the suburban Shortland Hotel, where, with a change of management of the venue, the emphasis shifted away from live bands, to family and other entertainment, which included a hypnotist, guitarist, a country rock band, comedian, a bikini parade and an erotic dancer (The Newcastle Post, 14 September 1983 p. 12). Expansion of venue operators into areas that included non-live forms of music, mentioned earlier, such as disco and music videos, increased dining options and the playing of televised football on big TV screens, all impacted negatively on live music. A review of a
concert at the Bel-Air Hotel, that featured the bands the *Eighty-Eights* (formerly of Newcastle) and the *Dugites*, a national touring band from Perth, illustrates the competing interests with which performers at this time had to contend.

It was a matter of priorities. Watch the live telecast of the Sydney rugby league grand final or performances by two of Australia’s best pop groups… It was a very imaginative double bill that deserved a bigger audience. (There were as many young people crowded around the hotel’s two television sets as there were watching the bands) (Shelley, *The Newcastle Herald*, 2 October 1981, p. 2).

The impact of venues diversifying entertainments was profound. Local musician Mark Tinson repeated a conversation he had with a local promotion/booking agent about the idea of reforming his band, *The Heroes*, to perform at a well-known club. The booking agent’s response illustrated the shift that had occurred in the minds of venue operators who were able to take advantage of the increasing diversified entertainments available. According to Mark, the booking agent suggested:

> you know Mark, the club doesn’t really want a successful Friday night. Well you know, they’ll have trouble with noise and they’ll have to put on extra security staff, this and that and this and that. At the end of the day they’re not going to make much more money out of it and the money they do make out of it will just be swallowed up with security and blah, blah blah so they’re pretty much happy to continue on as they are with the poker machines just paying the way (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

The evidence also belies the perception of Newcastle as a city dominated by heavy rock bands. The reality was that live popular music was always vulnerable to venue operators introducing other entertainments in licensed venues. It was also the case the there were many styles of live music performed. Other entertainment types and live music styles included discos, variety/cabaret, comedy, strip shows, hypnotists and dance competitions, as well as jazz, bush, country and western, and folk styles. According to one local audience participant:

> there were lots of alternatives. There was the folk music clubs, so there were all the folkies that used to get together. We used to dip, because you had such a wide circle of friends, that you might go to
the folk club or one of the folk venues this weekend because
someone was playing, so I guess there was an alternative to the rock,
yeah, there were lots of alternatives to the rock... a friend of ours was
a jazz player so he might play by himself at a club so yeah, there was
a lot of stuff going on but then you had to know where to go and it
wasn’t always the same place (A Haddow, personal interview,
February 2007).

As well as folk music being available, others were referred to in the local
press or referred to themselves in other styles. Local bands Rabbit, Rockit,
Alibi, Rox, Armed Forces, Mata Hari, the Idols, and Powerstrike, for
example, were referred to as pop or rock bands (database; The Newcastle
Sun, 24 August 1976, p. 15; 22 June 1976, p. 15), but others, such as
Armageddon were defined as a ‘soft’ or ‘melody-rock’ group (The
Newcastle Sun, 23 April 1974, p. 12; 11 June 1974, p. 10). The music of
local band Opal, moreover, was described as ‘jazz rock’ (The Newcastle
Sun, 9 September 1975, p. 23) and local band Gemini was reported as
performing music from Santana to that of guitar harmonies (The Newcastle
Sun, 14 August 1973, p. 28). Members of the Beachcombers described
their music as middle of the road (The Newcastle Sun, 4 June 1974, p. 9)
and local bands Argyle, Alma Road and Early Times all performed
country rock (The Newcastle Sun, 30 July 1974, p. 23; The Newcastle
Sun, 7 January 1975, p. 11). Local band Zenith reportedly preferred
performing soft rock but had ‘to give over half its show to disco music to
satisfy the paying customers’ (The Newcastle Sun, 13 October 1977, p. 3)
and Maya, once described as playing music that was ‘rocky’, later
switched to music that was ‘more soft rock and soul music’ (The Newcastle
Sun, 3 August 1974, p. 28). Benny And The Jets, Newcastle Flyer and
Gold Cadillac all performed music considered in the rock and roll styles
(50s and 60s music) (Hardman, 1974, p. 10; The Newcastle Morning
Herald, 18 December 1980, p. 14) and Atlantis was referred to as a rock
band but indicated a variety of styles, including ‘varying from funky styles
like the Average White Band to country influenced rock like the Doobie
Brothers and Steely Dan’ (The Newcastle Sun, 19 October 1976, p. 14).
Ram was reported as performing a repertoire ‘ranging from country rock to
disco funk' (Porteus, *The Newcastle Sun*, 29 December 1976, p. 12) and in a further report, Mark Tinson, said of The Heroes: 'we might start one night with some soft stuff, then progress to a few funky numbers and a bit of heavy rock' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 8 February 1977, p. 10). Majella, which began performing what was described as 'light, cabaret style music, often at weddings and private parties' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 12 July 1979, p. 11) changed its name to Baron and the emphasis shifted to 'heavier, raunchier music' (ibid.). A member of Damien similarly indicated that band performed '[d]isco, 50s rock, jazz rock, heavy rock you name it, we probably play it' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 18 May 1978, p. 11). Rick Pointon's Legendary Minmi Beach Band performed 'cowboy rock', incorporating instruments such as banjo, flute, harmonica and violin (*The Newcastle Sun*, 10 May 1979, p. 9), and Rat Salad's music was referred to as boogie (Della-Grotta, *The Newcastle Sun*, 27 September, 1979, p. 9). Rosalinda were reportedly 'heavily into jazz and the blues' (Della-Grotta, *The Newcastle Herald*, 18 October, 1980, p. 12) and in 1981, country rock band Argyle reported that 'rock stopped being the band’s bread and butter years ago... [having] turned to cabaret' (*Newcastle Morning Herald*, 2 July 1981 p. 13).

Newcastle's *Musical Flags* too offered a different style, incorporating both actors and singers (*The Newcastle Post*, 30 September 1981 p. 23). A band member of the Musical Flags, Alvin Fox, described the band as 'an 'anti-band' who appealed to 'anti-rock fans"', and described the band's style as performing 1960s surf songs (*The Newcastle Post*, 25 November 1981, p. 11). Vegemite Reggae, despite its name, reportedly performed jazz/funk pop (*The Newcastle Post*, 08 August 1984, p. 12), while local band *IN Camera* were reportedly a band that performed 'a spectacular rock show combining the colour and movement of theatre with the dynamic sound of contemporary rock music' (*The Post*, 25 September 1985, p. 17). The band's show reportedly 'has its own set and uses slide projection to enhance the action on stage. Each song has a new set of costumes and some songs contain dance and mime' (ibid.). A Bit Sus
reportedly delivered a ‘repertoire of punk-meets-rock cover versions’ (*The Newcastle Post*, 27 January 1982, p. 9) and other bands referred to themselves or were referred to as performing an alternative style of music. These included the Castanets, Pel Mel, Yes Commissioner, the Embers, Housequake and others.

As is being argued, local bands that performed a wide range of styles were embraced in the licensed venues in Newcastle. Such evidence raises questions regarding the literature on scenes, as it suggests that not only did people move in and out of scenes (Straw, 1991), but that in Newcastle, what has traditionally been discussed as one music scene (ie the local rock/pop music scene), actually encompassed bands performing a variety of styles. The evidence presented here resonates with similar evidence from Michael Brocken (2010) in *Other Voices: Hidden Histories of Liverpool's Popular Music Scenes, 1930s-1970s*, who concluded from his research that people making music choose from a 'communal repertoire' (2010, p. 228) and ‘develop musical and social connections conditioned by the situations in which people met the music, rather than by the so-called ‘quality’ of the music itself’ (ibid.). As he continued: ‘there is/was no centrality, only networks, connections, contingencies, convergences’ (ibid.). Brocken quotes Keith Jenkins who claimed 'I think there are no centres as such, but local patterns of dominance and marginality, which are all historiographically constructed and which must be historiographically read' (in ibid.). In the Newcastle study, as the evidence illustrates, not only were there co-existing scenes, but styles such as cabaret and rock music, for example, which were at times, performed by the same bands. The evidence from this local study has also served to support Philip Hayward's view, writing in 1992, when he claimed '[t]he continued promotion of the 'Oz Rock' tradition... of the white male perspective' (1992, p. 7), was ‘a narrow and restrictive perspective’ (ibid.).
There was also the opportunity for musicians to impact on venue operators regarding entertainment options at venues. An exemplar of how change occurred in one inner-city venue as a result of negotiations between one band member and venue operator is that of the Star Hotel, which changed from offering predominantly jazz music to rock and roll and then rock music styles.

Rock and roll was introduced at the Star in October 1974. Local musician Rick Pointon had formed a fifties and sixties revival band, Benny and the Jets. Pointon approached the publican of the hotel, Don Graham, about work for his band at the hotel. Graham, however, declined the request, as at that stage the jazz bands that performed there on Thursday nights and Saturday afternoons reportedly continued to draw big crowds. Graham was noted as saying 'we didn’t feel we could handle another big night,’ (in Druham, Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners Advocate, 10 May, 1975, p. 7). Graham’s wife indicated however, that 'every time the phone rang Rick was on the other end. We finally gave in and asked him to come down' (in ibid.). Following the band's preview performance at the venue on a Monday night, it was invited back for a Friday night performance and two weeks later was booked for Wednesday nights and then subsequently in addition, Friday nights. The band reportedly built up a following of around five hundred people to the bar on each of those nights (ibid.). Other bands performing in popular music styles followed. Benny and the Jets then, played a pivotal role in the introduction of a different musical style at the hotel. The Star, no doubt, underwent a cultural shift to accommodate the new style, whilst effectively managing and maintaining its jazz traditions, as jazz continued at the venue until February 1978 (The Newcastle Sun, 9 February 1978, p.14). Responsibility for the shift was a combination of Pointon’s determination and perseverance to bring a different style to the hotel; the manager's eventual agreement to allow that to occur, and the venue’s audiences in participating in the broadening of the cultural space and allowing and embracing the co-existing musical genres to exist and thrive.
A similar approach to secure work was made by Mark Tinson who approached a venue operator, this time at a suburban venue, the Clinker Tavern (Belmont Hotel) before forming a band. This example provides an indication of the necessary capital, both social and symbolic, Mark had acquired within the local community through the reputation of his previous bands, most notably A Rabbit (Rabbit), that enabled him to secure work on his name alone. It also demonstrates that such capital manifest in his band, aided in securing subsequent work through their reputation.

According to him:

I went and got a gig then put a band together. It was at the Clinker Tavern which I think is now the Belmont Hotel. We just started there on a Friday night and then it became a Friday/Saturday and then they went 'what about Wednesday/Friday/Saturday?' because we were filling the place and the people from the Star Hotel came and said 'oh would you like to work Tuesdays and Thursdays and maybe Saturday afternoon'? And the Castle went 'hey would you like to work here every blah, blah, blah', so suddenly we had enough resident gigs to fill our calendar almost and then we would just do three-week residencies at different clubs like that. We'd play one week, three weeks later we'd play again on a roster with another couple of bands, so I mean it was just a matter of booking it for the year really (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

These comments also suggest the way Giddens (1979) 'transformative capacity' (p. 8) was enacted by choice-making agents. In developments prior to the time with Tinson's band, Les and Pam Gully indicated that the band in which they were members performed at the same place.

According to Les:

We played the Clinker Tavern which is the Belmont Hotel. We were there for a year, which was an interesting venue because we stayed in one place. It was a residency too and then after a while everybody came there (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006).

According to Pam Gully:

then after that folded, The Heroes actually took over the venue, that's where they formed The Heroes and they played every Friday night or whatever, for about 6 months, tightened their act up, built the place up. There were people falling out of the door and then finally [they] took it around the venues in Newcastle (P Gully, personal interview, September 2006).
These are examples of the way local bands and musicians were able to demonstrate to suburban venue operators the viability of offering live entertainment at a time before such developments had become prominent or the 'norm' in Newcastle. It is also evidence of the way bands were 'allowed' the space to 'build' their skills and reputation via their connection to particular venues.

A further example, where a particular venue was responsible for taking a chance with bands was with local band Crisis, which later became the popular Total Fire Band, that had reportedly been finding it difficult to secure work before being offered a Monday night residency by, ironically, the owner of disco venue, Pax Nite Garden (The Newcastle Sun, 21 September 1978, p.22), as discos were traditionally associated with recorded rather than live music. Comments by one local musician indicate a further example of the readiness of some venue owners to take a chance on unknown bands. According to him:

The Hunter River Hotel at Maitland... all of us played there and the pub took a lot of chances. It did, it took a chance with Baron. Who the hell were we out there? No-one knew us. There was a point where no-one knew you, you know. There was a point where you were absolutely new everywhere (L Della-Grotta, personal interview, August 2006).

Responding to a question regarding the demise of the prevalence of live popular music in licensed venues, Leo mused: 'noise restrictions closed a lot of the places down. But I think people just stopped taking chances. Maybe that's the answer' (ibid.).

Such examples also contradict, to a degree, what Finnegan (2007) found in her study. She asserted:

that the 'local musical pathways were established, already-trodden and, for the most part, abiding routes which many people had taken and were taking in company of others... for any given individuals the established pathways were in a sense already there, as a route at least to begin on: they were part of the existing cultural forms rather than something that had to be calculated afresh each time... (2007, pp. 306-307).
Although in the Newcastle study, the evidence was that popular music performance was not new *per se*, and so in a sense local musicians and bands were travelling along already established pathways, the route to success was also new in the sense that the spaces where live performance was taking place were new and as such, different pathways needed to be developed and negotiations had to begin anew.

It has been argued, that different groups at different times were able to negotiate access to live music spaces and thus participate in a local cultural change. The above has argued that audiences, musicians and venue operators all contributed to the development and changes that occurred to shape Newcastle’s live popular music during the period under study. For local bands, at this time, there was no single and consistent way of procuring work. Bands negotiated differently for engagements within the existing structures with which they were presented. The level at which local bands could procure work was, for some, related to particular time periods. The mid to later 1980s, for example, were found to be a more difficult period for bands to find work, an issue that is discussed more fully below. It was also dependent on the style of music bands were willing to perform, as the broader the style, the more able they were to appeal to a larger audience base. This was similarly found by Bennett (1980) who claimed that musicians who had the ability to please multiple employers and audiences were able to sustain their musical identities and in addition, were held in the highest esteem by colleagues.

The degree of work bands were able to procure was also dependent on the willingness of bands to travel outside of the area for work and/or the willingness to work as a support band for other more well-known acts, and to accept work from booking agencies. There were also reports of local

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5 Support bands are bands employed to perform before the main band at any given event. They are utilized as a strategy to engage the audience for a time-limited period and as a way to build anticipation for the performance of the main band or bands. The role of support band is undertaken by a band or bands less well-known than the band or bands considered the 'main' or 'headlining' act(s).
band competitions playing a role in local bands procuring work (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009; Chisholm, n.d.). While the opinions on the value of such competitions were mixed, they did provide exposure for newer bands, with one local newspaper reporting that "[q]uite a few people believe that Total Fire Band was born at the 1979 Raworth's Battle of the Bands' (The Newcastle Herald, 26 February 1981, p. 12).

One local musician indicated that the band in which he was a member, Bowser, decided to enter a Battle of the Bands competition when the band had just formed, as a strategy to secure work. He claimed that through that avenue, local promoter Ian Beazley heard the band perform and 'was really impressed and we just started working for him straight away' (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009). Another example came from John Chisholm, who worked for local band Mata Hari as part of that band's road crew. He argued that the publicity that resulted from Mata Hari coming second in a Battle of the Bands' competition was responsible for the band working in venues such as the Town Hall dance, the Bel-Air Hotel, Tyrell Hall dance, the Mawson Hotel, and many high school shows (Chisholm, n.d.). For another local musician, whose band won a local Battle of the Bands competition in the early 1980s for best rock band, the win 'was important and a big thing in Newcastle at the time. It was important to be recognised' (personal interview, no. 5, March 2006). This latter point also suggests the competition's importance in assisting in the development of a musical identity.

There were also reports of bands needing to change or broaden their repertoires in an effort to reach greater numbers of audiences and secure more work. Many examples exist to support this, including a comment from a spokesman for local band Rosalinda, who claimed that when that band formed 'there were too many bands doing the same thing' (Terry Latham, lead guitarist, in Newcastle Morning Herald, 16 October 1980, p. 12). As such, the band members incorporated jazz songs into their repertoire. Local band, Nodes Levity were also willing to perform music in
the style of ‘anything from heavy rock to old time dances…’ (The Newcastle Sun, 6 August 1974, p. 13). This ensured them regular work.

Willingness to travel was also seen as broadening opportunities for work. According to Les Gully 'the money was good enough to bother travelling' (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006), while Paul Jenkins said it was 'nice to be able to go away for a run, be out of town for a couple of weeks and then come back' (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009). Greg Carter gave his opinion that 'in certain bands you would [travel] simply because you wanted to go on that trail of success. If you wanted to climb up the ladder you had to work around' (G Carter, personal interview, September 2006). Another however, did not consider some venues outside of Newcastle worth the effort:  ‘you’re travelling up into the sticks. Who wants to be the best band in Muswellbrook?’ (personal interview, no 7, May 2006). Conversely, it could equally be argued from the point of view of Sydney or Melbourne 'who wants to be the best band in Newcastle?’, as the way bands build audience followings towards a national level is town-by-town and tour-by-tour. As Shuker, claims '[a]s with club and pub gigs, concerts, usually part of a tour, expose performers and their music to potential fans and purchasers, building an image and a following (2001. p. 107).

In 1980, local band Nodes Levity had been together for more than thirteen years, changing styles to suit changing trends. The band's drummer, George Georgeff, provided insight into the hardships often faced by local bands and that band's strategy to address the issue:

It’s important for a musician to be an all-rounder because, let’s face it, you can’t play rock for ever… That’s the entertainment game – you’ve got to cover all bases and keep up with the Jones’... When we started playing it was mostly for fun and a few laughs, but the young guys today have to take it very seriously to get anywhere… Clubs won’t touch inexperienced bands, most pub jobs pay peanuts and equipment costs are astronomical. It’s a costly business and there are lots of headaches to go around for those who take it on… (The Newcastle Herald, 7 August 1980, p. 13).
The above example aptly supports evidence for Bennett's (1980) claim that '[t]he most flexible musicians achieve the greatest financial success (by being able to work for a variety of employers)' (1980, p. 209). Different experiences were also reported regarding the length of time bands stayed together. Whilst some bands experienced relatively stable membership, many others experienced a high level of turn-over in members, with it appearing quite common for bands to break up and form or join other bands. This was a phenomena also reported by Finnegan (2007) who stated: 'another characteristic of these local bands was their transience, with 'new' bands constantly emerging from a reshuffling of existing players under different names' (2007, p. 107). Evidence for this in the Newcastle study, comes from, for example, a local newspaper report that indicated that local band ‘Harlequin was formed in 1974 and played successfully around Newcastle until 1980. During those six years 30 different people played in the band’ (The Post, 19 March 1986, p 47). It had frequently replaced members with others who were known from other bands (ie from members of other local groups Maya, The Marshall Brothers Band and Apollo) (The Newcastle Sun, 16 December 1975, p. 19; The Newcastle Sun, 29 June 1976, p. 12; The Newcastle Sun, 10 August 1978, p. 9). There are many examples to demonstrate the degree to which this reorganisation occurred, with, at times, local journalists working hard to keep up with reporting the changes that occurred. The following examples from a local newspaper are cases in point:

One of Newcastle’s newest bands, Damien is: Milton Miller, vocals; Greg Sullivan keyboards, vocals; Paul Meredith bass and vocals; Bob Smith guitar and vocals; Steve Russell guitar and vocals; Alex Sazdanoff drums. The spokesman for the band Milton Miller, said all the boys except Alex had played in various outfits around Newcastle. Milton is ex-Appollo (sic), Broadway and Harlequin, Greg is ex-Nodes Levy, Paul is ex-Zenith, Bob is ex-Maya and Steve is ex-Hooch. No one could exactly call them new to music (The Newcastle Sun, 18 May 1978, p. 11).

And this:
NEWCASTLE’S rock scene could rate well as a soap opera, considering the changes and switches that have taken place among some bands in the past fortnight. Ian Bennett, former Unleashed front man, is now with Rox. He was replaced by Chris Herden who fronted the now defunct Bowser. Back in the Rox camp (I’m getting dizzy), drummer Chris Farley has hung up his sticks in order to manage the band. Ian Crawford, formerly of The Singles, now keeps the Rox beat (*The Newcastle Post*, 3 August 1983, p. 12).

Evidence also that new bands were constantly forming comes from a further report in a local newspaper regarding the formation of new band in 1981, Buzzwell, its members having indicated their hope to ‘find more work’ (*Della-Grotta, The Newcastle Herald*, 2 April 1981 p. 10). The comment from local journalist Leo Della-Grotta to ‘[j]oin the queue’ (ibid.) would suggest that work at that time was becoming harder to find. A local musician recalled the time:

> There just seemed to be more and more bands, even to today, there just seemed to be that many bands coming along. Like when I first started, it didn’t seem that many, you know. It really seemed like there was enough for everybody, enough venues and everyone was happy and then as time progressed on, it just seemed to explode. Everyone wanted to be a muso, everyone wanted to play in bands. I don’t think it was ever for the money either. It was never for the money in those days, only as time marched on into the 90s it became an issue of money and then the introduction of sequences and things like that also killed a lot of the musos out (*personal interview, no. 5, March 2006*).

Further evidence of this is that the number of bands performing in Newcastle’s licensed venues grew from approximately seventeen (17) in 1973 to over one-hundred and forty (140) by 1987 (database).

A number of musicians interviewed for the current study reported that performance work was relatively easy to secure for the bands in which they performed (Greg Carter, Jayne Sault, Paul Jenkins, Chris Mudge, Mark Tinson). While indicating that the number of nights bands performed varied, musician and promoter, Greg Carter, for example, claimed that by combining working locally with work outside of Newcastle, the bands in which he performed secured as much work as they wanted. As he said:
in Newcastle Flyer (1980) we started off working four nights a week. Rockit (1975, 1976, 1977) would be two to four, it depends. In those days you could work seven nights a week. Thursday night shopping started meaning Thursday night bands at pubs, which was good, so there was Friday, Saturday night, the occasional Sunday afternoon, Thursday nights, and in the Rockit days, we did a lot of school dances so they were always mid-week (G Carter, personal interview, September 2006).

Bass player with a number of local bands, including Bowser and Unleashed, Paul Jenkins, concurred with this view:

we might have played four or five nights… I’d go out and just introduce myself to club or pub owners and just say we had a band and in those days, they’d say 'yeah mate, no worries. You can come down and play here on Wednesday night or Thursday night and if you go alright, I’ll get you back' (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009).

In Newcastle, then, finding work was dependent on how bands operated within existing sets of structures or acted themselves as agents of change. This is explained by looking at the types of capital which bands and musicians possessed and employed in the strategies they undertook to 'play the game' (Johnson in Bourdieu, 1993). It was due to the sorts of capital to which they had access, or their willingness and/or ability to operate with them within the musical structures, that was typical of the world they inhabited and the way that business was done in Newcastle. These behaviours support Bourdieu’s claim that:

to enter a field..., to play the game, one must possess the habitus which predisposes one to enter that field, that game, and not another. One must also possess at least the minimum amount of knowledge, or skill, or 'talent' to be accepted as a legitimate player. Entering the game, furthermore, means attempting to use that knowledge, or skill, or 'talent' in the most advantageous way possible. It means, in short, 'investing' one's (academic, cultural, symbolic) capital in such a way as to derive maximum benefit or profit' from participation. Under normal circumstances, no one enters a game to lose... (Johnson in Bourdieu, 1993, p. 99).

Acquisition of the various forms of capital to which Bourdieu refers was achieved in a number of different ways for Newcastle bands. As a reminder, it can be seen, again, that the way Newcastle suburbs originally developed was a significant factor in accumulating specific types of capital
as particular bands were arguably more popular in some venues or areas than others. This issue has been raised by John Fiske, Bob Hodge and Graeme Turner (1987) who have claimed that:

> [m]ost bands develop from the establishment of an audience in one locality or group of localities, and their audience constructs a strong identification between it and the pub in which it started... a band's particular relationship to the pub itself tends to be both personal and ritualised (1987, p. 24).

This was not necessarily the case for all bands, as some may have started out in a number of venues at the same time, or built up the necessary acquisition of social, symbolic and cultural capital from initially performing in a support band role. The point remains however, that some bands may have built up specific capital in particular venues that were connected with specific locations, where the style of a band may have been a more natural ‘fit’ in some venues than others, where the habitus of the band corresponded well with the habitus of the audience. It may also have occurred that some bands may have been more popular in clubs rather than pubs, for example. Comments from one local musician suggest that the band in which he performed had acquired quite a high degree of social and cultural capital in a number of different venues in the inner-city. He claimed that:

> nearly every band played in all the same venues but we actually played a lot at The Castle, The Ambassador and at Night Moves which were the three main venues in town at that time and we seemed to sort of just rotate around those. Like once a week, we were in either one of those venues, if not, twice a week or sometimes three. We did the three in the one week and then the other venues spread out around Newcastle on every other night. We were playing like you know, four and five nights a week sometimes. It was really good in those days. You could actually play a lot (personal interview, no 5, March 2006).

This musician's further comments indicate however, that in other areas of Newcastle his band was not as popular and therefore had not acquired a high level of the necessary cultural or social capital needed to be seen as popular in those places:
The Ambassador, The Castle and Night Moves... they had much better atmosphere than what you could find in say Caves Beach Hotel. Those places were okay but the crowds just weren’t quite as responsive or you know, quite as accepting to whatever you were doing. They wanted to hear more straight covers of whatever bands were around at that stage... we definitely felt much more comfortable in the city (ibid.).

Bands, it would seem, acquired social, cultural and symbolic capital along what, as mentioned prior, Kirschner refers to as a 'continuum of success' (1998, p. 251) and what Shuker (2001) and Bennett (1980) also discuss in terms of a hierarchy. Considerations along that continuum or within the hierarchy for Newcastle bands included those that aspired to success outside of the local area, some of whom relocated to other areas and were admired for their ambitions, in much the same way that King described occurred for migrants on returning home, where they 'achieve some admiration and social prestige for what they have done and where they have been...' (1995, p. 29). Bands that performed as the 'main' or last band on any given night, when the night's entertainment involved more than one band performing, were also seen to have gained a significant amount of kudos or capital. These bands were recognised as the more popular band of the night and as a consequence were aligned with being at the top of the hierarchy of bands or considered the most popular bands in Newcastle.

In regard to economic and cultural capital however, Fiske, Hodge and Turner (1987) point out that these capitals are complicated 'by whether they have been inherited or acquired' (p. 31). Such a statement can be related to band members who acquired personal cultural and symbolic capitals due to their longevity in the field but not necessarily in the same band. They were then able to carry this acquired capital with them into subsequent bands in which they performed. Those bands, it could be argued, had then also accumulated the highest degrees of symbolic capital, ie the 'degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour' (Johnson in Bourdieu, 1993), that on their own mean nothing, as
they ‘depend on people believing that someone possesses these qualities’ (Webb et al, 2002, p. xvi).

Longevity in the local music industry was another way of being regarded as having gained a significant degree of capital. One band, Nodes Levity, performed throughout the study period (1973 - 1987) and were seen to have acquired significant amounts of capital. Their reputation or level of distinction was recognised in their longevity. Another, Meccalissa (later DV8), were noted to have performed for approximately twelve of the years under study and there were also others that acquired distinction in this way. According to one local musician, as previously noted:

[j]n general, when you’ve been in the scene for a long time, time served and ability equals respect. You might not have had a hit single, you might not have played with somebody who is thought of as noteworthy, but time served in the biz equals respect (D Soper, personal interview, April 2006).

Local musician Mark Robinson agreed: ‘[w]ell obviously now, success would be basically runs on the board... I’m 48 and still playing. I’ve never been out of work’ (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006). He also indicated the importance of recording and being a self-starter. As he said:

We could have been the band in Newcastle that had more gigs than anybody else but if you haven’t recorded a time capsule, you’re just a memory. If you’re a self-promoter, like Johnny O’Keefe - he wasn’t the best singer and he just went down and pioneered things and created things. Those guys - if they had waited for someone to do it for them, they’d still be sitting there (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006).

Bourdieu (1984) has suggested that ‘the relationship of distinction is objectively inscribed within it, and is reactivated, intentionally or not, in each act of consumption...’ (1984, p. 223) and is ‘a matter of the affirmations of difference’ (ibid.). These ideas can be seen in the distinction conferred on those bands whose longevity distinguished them from other bands.
Such sentiment was found in the support provided in local newspapers, where it was implied that bands with a certain degree of influence had the ability to transform the local music scene. This transformation could be seen in the way that audiences began to seek out bands they liked and follow them from venue to venue to watch them perform. This change in audience orientation represented a marked shift in culture from audiences seeking out their local venues where it was more important for them to meet with friends to socialise. Mark Tinson recalled: ‘the same people would come to see you three and four times a week and you’d go ‘that’s extraordinary’ (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006). Such developments support Alan Merriam’s (1964) notion in *The Anthropology of Music*, of musicians as ‘social specialists’ (p. 125). There he claims that as a musician ‘he must be acknowledged as a musician by the members of the society of which he is a part. This kind of recognition is the ultimate criterion...’ (ibid.). This recognition was reflected in Newcastle, not only in the way musicians were discussed in the local print press, but also in the way they were viewed by local audiences, captured in such comments as ‘you know, you were at an age where you kind of thought ‘I just wanna do what he’s doin’” you know. When you’re that age, a young bloke, it’s that, I don’t know, it’s a male thing, I wanna be a lead singer in a band’ (P Constable, personal interview, January 2006).

Merriam (1964) cited George Murdock (1956) who claimed that cultural change ‘begins with the process of innovation’ (1964, p. 303). Merriam understands this to be where:

> an individual forms a new habit which is subsequently learned by other members of his society... An innovation remains an individual habit, however, until a second process occurs, that of social acceptance, in which the innovation spreads from the originator to other persons until it may become universally practiced by all members of the society. But every socially accepted innovation must also undergo the process of selective elimination in which it enters into "a competition for survival"; here the rewards associated with it are weighed against the rewards given by alternative behaviours, ideas, or things. Finally, the socially accepted innovation which has withstood the process of selective elimination is integrated with other
elements of the culture and becomes an accepted part of the functioning whole (1964, pp. 303-304).

The above discussion continues to explore the way a systems approach to cultural production works, such as Csikszentmihalyi's (1997) and Bourdieu's (1994) and the way they operate. In Newcastle, such approaches to analysis could also be applied to the way that music practices became accepted and were continued by others. Local band *The Heroes*, for example, became one of the generally-accepted most popular local bands, with their musical influences being drawn from overseas bands and artists. As such, there were a number of other local bands that were said to 'model' (P Gully, personal interview, September 2006) themselves on The Heroes. According to local musician Les Gully, 'Heroes did really dominate the town then, through that period... [and] there were several, probably six bands that were in the same style' (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006). This was despite what The Heroes' guitarist, Mark Tinson, said about the songs the band performed: 'if another band played one of our tunes, that would be a good enough reason for us not to play it ever again' (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006). The distinction then came in the form of acknowledgement and prestige bestowed upon the band by other local bands. One local musician described the achievements of *Rabbit* and *The Heroes* in that way:

> having an album with CBS which was a major thing for a band from Newcastle to get that... For Tinno [Mark Tinson] to have a band and to get a CBS recording, it's amazing, 'cause it wasn't the go, it wasn't the norm. The foresight, aim here and get that. We're going to do this genre, we're going to be professional, so that's amazing... (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006).

The above comments indicate that rather than mimicking the songs or style of bands like Rabbit and The Heroes, the 'modelling', at least for one musician, took the form of learning from the bands' attitude and professional approach.
7.0 Cultural change

7.1 Introduction

Understanding how the field of popular music operated in licensed venues in Newcastle, which has been presented in detail above, can also be understood through an exploration of the cultural changes that occurred within that field. One of the initial changes pertinent to popular music of this period was the move away from unlicensed to licensed venues in the early part of the 1970s through to audience members seeking their entertainment in venues that were close to home and where they were provided with an opportunity to socialise with friends. This situation evolved into a process of seeking out favourite bands and following them to different venues to watch them perform. In this way, audiences could be seen to be participating in the shaping of the hierarchy of bands, and as a consequence, helping to shape the culture of live music in licensed venues in Newcastle, confirming the active participation of audiences in cultural production.

The development that heralded the shift of audiences to licensed venues was not, however, without its challenges from within other areas, and these tensions impacted on how the field operated. Whereas booking-agents increased in value to the industry at a later time, in the earlier years of the study, booking agents failed to grasp the changing milieu of audience needs, as younger people came of age to drink in licensed premises. The booking agents at these times continued their attempts to shape entertainment for young people around community halls and theatres. Exemplars of this can be seen in the following cases of failed attempts to implement new dances in unlicensed venues. According to a local newspaper report:

recent attempts to start dances at City Hall, Wickham Basketball Stadium and Wallsend have all failed because of lack of
attendance... [promoters] are stumped for reasons why public dances are not catching on (*The Newcastle Sun*, 21 September 1976, p. 13).

Promoter for the dances, Ian Beazley, was reported as saying that there had been 'an average attendance of around 120 at each dance' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 6 July 1976, p. 13), prompting the following comments:

> It's crazy when you think that between 600 and 700 would turn up for the dances they used to hold at City Hall,” he said. “I don't know where we can be going wrong. We have top Sydney and Newcastle bands and the dance is certainly well publicised (ibid.).

Such shifts in audience activity are easier to understand when viewed from an historical perspective and also when it is understood that the tradition of live music had existed in Newcastle for many years and so wasn't new. For example, Newcastle had long been home to popular waltz bands in such local venues as The Palais Royale and Tyrell Hall and in early 1957, Bill Haley and his band, the Comets, opened their Australian tour in Newcastle, reportedly, 'before several thousand spectators' (Sturma, 1991)\(^6\). Other American artists such as Little Richard and Johnny Ray had also performed in the city, albeit not in licensed venues (*The Newcastle Sun*, 30 October 1973, p. 8) and variety acts had been popular in club venues.

A review of the NewcastleBandsDatabase website, established as a reference to local bands and artists that existed from the 1950s to the 2000’s in Newcastle, indicates that live music was performed in a number of venues in the 1950s and became even more prevalent in the 1960s. Local venues for live music cited for the 1950s included the Boolaroo Community Hall, the Stockton Hotel, the Palais Royale and Tyrell Hall. Four local bands are referenced on the NewcastleBandsDatabase as existing at that time. By the 1960s, the number of venues where live music was being performed had grown to include Bus Stop Disco, Shindig

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\(^6\) Haley and his band returned to perform at the Broadmeadow Basketball Stadium on 12 January 1974. They were supported by the late Australian entertainer Johnny O’Keefe. The 1957 concert was the first time the band had played outside North America.
Village, The Cavern, City Hall, Adams (upstairs at The Palias), Flamingo, Acropolis, Latec House, Pinochios, the Terminus, Golden Eagle and Orana and Clarendon Hotels, Sound Lounge, Tom Thumb’s, The Foco Disco, Henry Mousetraps, Belmont North Hall, Teen Village, the Palais, Snoopy’s Hollow, Lord Kitchener’s Lighthouse, and Windmill Disco. The website cites no less than one hundred and eleven local bands that existed between the years 1960 and 1969). By 1973, many of those venues no longer existed, although local community halls and converted movie theatres were particularly popular in the early 1970s. Many of these venues were unlicensed and catered for young people under the age of eighteen. Licensed clubs had long been supporters of live music but this had traditionally taken the form of old time or 50/50 dance music, and/or cabaret/variety acts with featured artists.

From the information available, it can be understood that quite a large number of groups that played popular music for young people existed at the beginning of 1973 or formed throughout that year. An article in *The Newcastle Sun* indicates that local groups Bluegrass, Mata Hari, Custom 57, Armageddon, Crazy Otto, Gemini, Maya, and Pagan existed at March 1973 (*The Newcastle Sun*, 12 March 1973, p. 11). Other groups - Zachariah, Delta, The Beachcombers (or the Beachcombers), Mountain Jack, Hiawatha, Tasherie, Locomotive, Rabbit, Centaur, Sage, Badger, Locomotive, Headband, Father Mouse, Stonehenge, Scarpa Flow, Electric City, Eureka, Fire, Nodes Levity, Midusa, K9, Special Taxi (or Taxi), Jim Beam and Sweet Bazil are also documented as having existed in that year (ibid.). This information indicates that over thirty groups existed locally in 1973, performing in licensed and non-licensed venues, suggesting that strong local live music activity was already evident at the beginning of the period under study. These bands embraced a range of genres, from jazz, old time (cabaret/variety), rock and roll and rock music. The venues where they performed also varied – from clubs, and nightclubs, to converted

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7 A further spelling for this group was also found to be *Custom Five*. 
cinemas, the local town hall and other community-type halls, and the occasional hotel. Early promoters in the field then, were simply carrying on with the way business had been done in Newcastle previously and did not notice the cultural shift that was occurring between non-licensed and licensed venues.

Such a cultural shift had a profound impact on the operations of popular music in Newcastle at that time as that process of band promoters attempting to stage events in both un-licensed venues continued over several years. It also occurred to an extent at outdoor daytime events as well. McIntyre's (2012) advice here is sound as he suggests that: '[i]nstead of looking at the separate elements in the creative process these are incorporated within an interactive and non-linear system which can be studied by investigating moments within it' (2012, p. 77). Shuker (2001) expands these ideas of production and creativity to also include meaning, arguing that 'the nature of meaning in cultural products and practices must be located within the dynamic interrelationship of the production context, the text and their creators, and the audience' (2001, p. 241). And as Jason Toynbee (2003) has succinctly argued: 'the making of meaning remains incomplete until the text is apprehended by an audience' (2003, p. 103). It is only by examining the developments around and within this process that a greater understanding can take place of the reasons that underpin such developments and their meaning.

Another group that also acted as choice-making agents in the field in Newcastle and was instrumental in helping to shape the field, that of the local print press, and could also be seen to act as gatekeepers in certain situations, actively engaged in helping to create the conditions under which bands operated within the hierarchy. As Shuker has argued: '[p]opular music critics construct their own version of the traditional high-low culture split, usually around notions of artistic integrity, authenticity, and the nature of commercialism' (2001, p. 96). An example of how this operated in Newcastle was in the length of time and under what conditions
it was deemed acceptable by the local print press for bands to be engaged in support work. On the one hand, it was acceptable for bands to seek support work when they were initially starting out as a means of gaining exposure. On the other hand, they were criticised if it was perceived they were engaging in too much of this type of work or if it was thought that enough time had passed whereby it was perceived they should have moved on to secure performances in their own right.

Local band, *Shy Boys*, for example, whilst reportedly having only been together for three months as a band at the time, were given credit in a local newspaper article for their achievement of going from supporting other bands to securing their own shows in popular venues. The report said: ‘During that time the band has had an almost unbelievable rise from playing support to other bands to getting their own gigs at places such as Tubemakers, the Ambassador, the Palais, Rosebuds and the Bel-Air’ (*The Newcastle Post*, 23 November 1983 p. 17). On the other hand, local band, the *Idols*, were criticised for not making the shift quickly enough from support to main band, with a report indicating that the band had ‘the potential to go far in the music business… [B]ut what they should do as soon as possible is shake off the unhealthy support band image’ (*Newcastle Morning Herald*, 9 January 1980, p. 14). The article did however, concede that ‘support work had helped to mature the band’ (ibid.). In another local newspaper, ‘[a] chance gig’ (*The Newcastle Herald*, 13 November 1980, p. 12) for another local band, *The Locals*, to act as support to The Heroes at the Ambassador nightclub, had reportedly given the band ‘a taste of ‘the big time” (ibid.) and as a result of the encouraging reaction from the audience at the show, the band ‘planned to record three of its original songs’ (ibid.). Local band *Spurs*, moreover, were seen to have noticeably improved their performance by the experience of supporting more well-known acts that performed in Newcastle. A local newspaper indicated that ‘playing support to top bands like Cold Chisel, Stylus and Finch has sharpened them up quite a bit’, (*Della-Grotta, The Newcastle Sun*, 2 November, 1978, p 12).
Newcastle’s close proximity to Sydney and the resulting incidents of large numbers of bands from outside the area performing within the area, meant that acting in a support role had other advantages. These advantages were also achieved by bands being given the opportunity to support other local bands, as reported above. This advantage was in relation to increased levels of skill in the areas of musicianship, performance and stage management, which were all valued by local musicians. At a time when knowledge about many aspects of performance and stage protocols and techniques was relatively limited, visiting bands provided the opportunity for learning about such aspects. Local musicians recalled the impact of watching bands perform in terms of their own knowledge-building and the resultant increased professionalism of local musicians. One saw this in terms of learning about stage preparation in the aspects of lighting, stage and sound technology, and developing song lists by observing musicians and road support staff (often referred to as ‘roadies’) from other bands (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006). Local musician and journalist, Leo Della-Grotta claimed that one valuable aspect learnt in this way from bands that had the reputation of being the more popular bands in Newcastle, was learning how to put together ‘a show’ (L Della-Grotta, personal interview, August, 2006). Such knowledge saw a shift where bands were employed to provide entertainment for anything up to five hours (usually forty-five minute ‘sets’, with regular breaks), to those who were known as the more popular bands developing an on-stage uninterrupted performance time of approximately one-and-a-half hours, and the resultant employment of another band or bands to act in a support capacity. According to musician Greg Carter, such knowledge reflected a growing professionalism of the local music scene:

I think it had a great impact on the professionalism of the local scene. The local band would go and see a national band regularly and you’d just pick up on the quality of their sound and the professionalism and the production and you tried to bring that into what you were doing on the local level. It was a good influence (MI, Carter, personal interview, September 2006).
Another local musician similarly viewed the opportunity in terms of being able to incorporate new learning into his own performances:

I think we were a little bit isolated in a way. It was good to see a Sydney band… It was like you just don’t pick a guitar off the shelf and play it like that forever. You can do things to it to make it sound different, so yeah, I was educated a bit by going and seeing these bands… So for us to go and see some of that was a real good influence. It was something different from say if we went to a venue here and watched a Newcastle band you know, you could only learn so much. You could either go ‘well we’re already doing that’ (personal interview, no 5, March 2006).

Cohen (1991) found similarly in her study, citing a band member, whose opinion was that ‘if you see local bands you tend not to expect very much. You appreciate good local bands because they are better than all the crap - but they are still not wonderful... What you want to see is something that you can't do’ (p. 94).

Local musician Mark Tinson saw benefits for both sides, indicating the cross-fertilisation, which Straw (1991) refers to and which occurred between local and visiting bands. Mark Tinson believes that bands from outside the area set a series of benchmarks to which local bands aspired. He also asserts that bands such as AC/DC, The Angels, Cold Chisel and Midnight Oil all had good followings in Newcastle that Mark believes they built up from performing in Newcastle. As he says:

I thought a lot of the national acts liked playing up here because I guess we’d trained them up. Trained the audiences up you know and I guess they delivered as well…It wasn’t just a case of ‘hey we’re on TV so come and see us at the Entertainment Centre’. It's like ‘hey we’re on TV but we’re out at the Mawson tonight’ (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

Tinson’s remarks here indicate that local musicians played an important role in providing an environment whereby local audiences were already well-versed in engagement practices related to behaviour and interaction with bands.
Other musicians who weren’t averse to acting in a support role when it was offered proffered opinions about the opportunity such work presented:

One local musician claimed:

you’d always try and get on the support thing ‘cause that could be your break to stardom you know, you might get noticed there… You’d learn from it, whatever you could pick up, so that was it, you’d break your neck to get the support (C, Mudge, personal interview, January 2006).

Similar sentiments were expressed by a number of other musicians (Robinson, Jenkins, Sault), one of whom claimed there was much to be learnt from being around musicians from other areas:

Oh, well I liked supporting them all really because you always learnt things from them. You learnt different techniques, different sounds, what gear they were using…what their management was doing for them and who they were using to supply PAs, you know, who was doing the best posters around… (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009).

Another local musician, who saw the role as an opportunity, spoke of the morale boost it afforded:

I know it gave our band a morale boost to be playing for somebody, you know, playing with somebody that was already famous so it made us feel well we’re good enough to support them, we must be okay. I think it worked really well, even though we may not have always been acknowledged by the national band, deep down it gave us a buzz (J Sault, personal interview, January 2006).

Exploring the perceived differences between those bands that were seen to have acquired higher levels of cultural, social and symbolic capital and what it was about them that set them apart, provides important information about how types of capital are acquired and behavioural change occurs. A local musician offered the following regarding this:

Popularity with the audience I guess… Probably the songs and the image… Well before The Heroes, Rabbit was another band but that was basically The Heroes as well. They were the glam rock days so they used to dress up to play, they had a stage show. We always took presentation seriously. Our singer was British and blond-haired and very much the blond pop star style guy, so that probably helped a bit. Rabbit were the same. They were a glam rock band and as The Heroes became glam rock. DV8 were never a glam rock band but
DV8 had a real special bit of magic amongst them musically and an uncompromising attitude towards what they played. I always had a lot of respect for Greg and Mark... They would be doing originals that others probably wouldn’t have had a shot at but they kept slipping them into their repertoire until they became popular (G Carter, personal interview, September 2006).

Another local musician claimed that it was those 'bands that were more recognisable than anybody else that you’d know their name more than anyone else' (personal interview, no 5, 12, March 2006) who were those that were thought of as being in the top or most popular bands and recognised in the field by musicians in other bands, local audiences, venue operators and the local print media. A local newspaper described how this manifested for another local band, DV8:

If ever there was a rock band synonymous with Newcastle it has to be DV8. They are one of the longest-surviving bands on the local scene, a three-piece outfit which has consistently attracted capacity crowds to its powerful performances. Whether playing the legendary Star Hotel back bar as Meccalissa in the band's formation days, or any of the hundreds of venues between Brisbane and Sydney, DV8 has always packed a room with people from all walks of life, eager to lose themselves in the energy and excitement that flow from their performances... The songs have the depth to transform an audience from a seething mass of energy with numbers such as I Want Your Body to wide-eyed silence in a matter of seconds when Greg wraps his soulful vocals around his ballads such as Dry Your Eyes... (The Post, 6 March 1985, p. 14).

The above is an indication of Stokes' (1994) claim about the generation of meanings that arise from musical practices in different places. As he claimed: '[m]usic does not then simply provide a marker in a prestructured social space, but the means by which this space can be transformed' (1994, p. 4). In this regard Shuker (2001) claims that '[t]here exists a status hierarchy among performers, a hierarchy endorsed by critics and fans, as well as by musicians themselves' (1994, p. 112). Shuker suggests that '[t]he bases for such evaluations remain tantalisingly vague, and the status of particular performers frequently varies among critics and over time' (ibid.). As such, exploring the opinion of study participants was important in determining their views as to whom they believed fulfilled certain criterion to be considered at the top of the hierarchy in Newcastle.
throughout the period under study. It was also important to explore their personal criteria for such evaluation. Understandably, there was a tendency for study participants to offer the names of those bands that were popular within the space of time in which they themselves were most prevalently engaged in watching live performances. That notwithstanding, responses were useful in gaining a snapshot of those thought to be the most popular at different times, again supporting Bourdieu's 'hierarchization' (1994, p. 60) principle, related as it is to the hierarchy of bands that achieved a degree of the necessary capital required to influence the field. It can also again be related to Kirschner's (1998) notion of a 'continuum of success' (p. 251) and Shuker's (2001) and Bennett's (1980) views on the process involved in achieving greater success. Giving his opinion about bands thought to be at the pinnacle of the hierarchy in the early part of the 1970s, musician Greg Carter claimed that:

Benny and the Jets were the top band of that era. Before that, Rockit were up there, The Heroes, Meccalissa which became DV8. In the early 70s Armageddon were pretty popular, that was Pete De Jong and Steve Cowley. Steve Cowley was the first guitarist in Rockit. And in the early part of that there was a band called Mata Hari which were pretty popular (G Carter personal interview, September 2006).

For another musician, 'Rabbit, Maya, DV8, Atlantis, Baron, Benny and the Jets, Gold Cadillac, Mata Hari... were the ones that sort of hit that little bit above the rest of them' (C Mudge, personal interview, January 2006).

Another musician who identified The Heroes and DV8 as the two top bands of the era, nevertheless indicated a great degree of difference in those bands' approaches. The example is also interesting as it suggests a second tier level of bands that were also popular. As this Newcastle musician explained:

Well Heroes were there. Heroes were sort of like the middle-class sort of clean sort of boys no matter what they tried to do... and then you had DV8, rough three piece, but were more accessible... They were more organic I think, more rough, edgier rock and roll. You know, whereas The Heroes did power pop versus, you know like these bands like You Am I and Hoodoo Gurus - rough. They've got
more cred, more street cred, and maybe that might have been the case. That’s only my opinion. Well then you sort of went down, you probably had that because they played original songs, then you would've went down to the popular bands which most people would have seen around town, which would have been The Globes for probably a two year period, Atlantis and Jukebox. We all had a record out and we were all getting the same gigs and following each other around (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006).

Those bands considered to be those with the most forms of capital in Newcastle, it could be argued, presented conflicting images. The point is, as claimed by George Lewis (1987), music does not belong within any structured social parameters and cannot be pinned down into groupings of age, class or education and that ‘within the same social area, structurally defined, there may be many varied, and competing, musical taste groupings’ (in Lull, 1987, p 204). Lawrence Grossberg (1992) similarly argues that: ‘the audience of popular culture cannot be conceived of as a singular homogeneous entity; we have to take seriously the differences within and between the different fractions of the popular audience’ (1992, p. 53)

The views of audience participants interviewed for the study indicate the degree to which a connection was made with particular bands. From one: ‘I followed Rat Salad, and Total Fire Band, definitely a fan of Total Fire Band’ (K Edwards, personal interview, January 2006). Another indicated ‘Harlequin was a pretty big band at the time. We used to see them at The Star, Adamstown Rosebuds. Benny and the Jets, I used to see them down at the Star’ (personal interview no. 18, October 2006), and from another - ‘Ward 10, Meccalissa, Total Fire Band... Greg Bryce would just kind of play it, like play it’ (P Constable, personal interview, January 2006).

As suggested, analysing local newspaper articles was also a helpful way to gain insight into which bands were being written about in terms of levels of popularity and as a result those that appeared to have acquired significant social, cultural and, particularly, symbolic capital. This was gleaned in comments such as:
[t]he crowd-drawing ability of rock bands in certain Newcastle pubs has had an impact on other proprietors, who are beginning to realise the advantages of paying wages for musicians rather than rent for machines. Bands like Ward 10, Mecalissa, Heroes, Atlantis and Broadway are attracting hordes of young people' (Biggins, *The Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate*, 26 January 1979, p. 4).

And this: 'Top Newcastle band DV8 - No one can help but cheer DV8 who have gigged constantly and hard to get where they are – at the pinnacle of this city's music scene' (*The Newcastle Post*, 2 March 1983).

These accolades afforded Newcastle musicians a sense of identity, a consequence raised in a previous chapter, where it was reported that Finnegan (2007) found that music-making for musicians 'was one of the habitual routes by which they identified themselves as worthwhile members of society and which they regarded as of somehow deep-seated importance to them as human beings' (2007, p. 306). Shank (1994), moreover, also noted previously, wrote of feelings of 'pleasure, belonging, loyalty' (p. xi) in his experience of being a musician in Austin, Texas. These sentiments were similarly elicited from comments made by local musicians in Newcastle. Mark Tinson, for example, said that:

> if you're in a popular band, you have a level of approval I guess and you're considered to be an exciting person about town and you know, you probably get to experience you know more exciting things than what other people do' (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

This supports Keith Negus' (1996) idea that:

> [s]ongs and musical styles do not simply 'reflect', 'speak to' or 'express' the lives of audience members or musicians. A sense of identity is created out of and across the processes whereby people are connected together through and with their music (1996, p. 133).

Alan Merriam (1964) moreover, claims that musicians play 'a specific role and may hold a specific status within his society... and their behaviour is shaped both by their own self-image and by the expectations and stereotypes of the musicianly role as seen by society at large' (1964, p. 123).
Due to a number of bands having built up the necessary social, cultural and symbolic capital needed to negotiate better financial options for themselves, that is economic capital, other, less well-known bands as a consequence may have had more difficulty finding work in the more popular venues. That this was a factor is evidenced by comments in the local print regarding a proposed period of leave the band *The Heroes* planned to take. The comments below also indicate however, the preparedness of some venue operators to provide an opportunity to lesser known bands, which can be argued to be a form of ‘fostering’ of local bands, something that was also found by Gallan, (2012) in his study of a venue in Wollongong: The local report claimed that:

> While Heroes are relaxing, fledgling bands will have a chance to take over their three weekly spots at the Star Hotel in Hunter St. These are on Tuesday and Thursday nights and Saturday afternoons. Star licensee Don Graham said today he was starting immediate evening auditions, before live audiences, in his middle bar. Any bands that showed potential would stand in for the Heroes in their regular slots at the Star. Mr Graham said some unknown bands could even clinch a regular spot at the hotel (*The Newcastle Sun*, 7 June 1979, p. 12).

Rick Pointon, bass player and lead singer with local band *Benny and the Jets* also spoke of the hierarchisation that existed in the local music scene. He was quoted in national rock music magazine *RAM* as saying:

> There’re a lot of bands in Newcastle... A lot of really good bands. Unfortunately, a lot of them aren’t working all that much, ‘cos everyone wants to book either us, or one of the other three top bands. So that’s one of the bad things about our success in Newcastle, sometimes it means other bands miss out on chances to build up some popularity (in Guthrie, 1977, p. 33).

Regarding Newcastle's Star Hotel, Homan (2003) indicated that '[l]ong residencies by local bands fostered a sense of community within the pub...' (Homan, 2003, p. 106), and that '[t]he venue also served local performers who avoided the larger circuit, content to play before friends, family and regular drinkers’ (ibid.). The evidence suggests however, that although there were exceptions, many local bands would have ideally
wished to move from a local level to a national level had circumstances permitted.

As explored earlier, factors related to the amount of work bands were able to access included then the degree of capital bands or musicians had acquired, ie whether they were relatively new to the local music scene or were known from previous bands, their longevity in the local music scene and whether they had access to performance work in venues later constructed as more prestigious (such as in the inner-city), where a band’s prestige was associated with the prestige of the agency of particular venues or bands. This represents a significant point of difference between the inner-city of Newcastle and that of Sydney. In Newcastle, bands performing in the ‘mainstream’ and those that identified more closely with performing ‘alternative’ styles were able to negotiate access to both inner-city and suburban gigs, whereas Walker (1996) has argued that whilst the bigger ‘mainstream’ bands were given access to performances in both the suburbs and inner-city of Sydney, ‘there was a slew of bands that never crossed the divide the other way’ (p. 76), indicating those performing more in alternative styles were primarily centred in the inner-city of Sydney. Thus the prestige which Bourdieu suggests allows for distinctions to be made was seen in Newcastle to exist between different bands but was not, as was the case in Sydney, made on particular music styles. That is not to say, however, that particular music styles did not play a role in distinctions that were made between bands. This is evidenced by the following example:

Like in the Globes. The Mawson Hotel, we didn’t go so well out there. Too commercial, not edgy enough. Powerpop, we were too nice. They were getting sort of like Cold Chisel out there and then they might’ve been getting Rat Salad, you know, earthier, more bluesy Newcastle stuff... the Bel-Air Hotel - people who tended to go there were from Cardiff, you’ve got a twenty minute radius there so it’s sort of okay. But until this day, that is the same. Like we play Finnegans, Delaney, Beaches, no worries, that’s our crowd. They go off. You go out to Belmont, Hotel Metro, it’s rougher out there, and it’s still the same to this day. Toronto, Warners Bay, yeah, it’s working class (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006).
The argument being made is that local Newcastle bands operated within the accepted structures which were constructed for them and which they, of course, helped to structure. Venue operators too participated within the industry structures that existed and helped to shape and change those existing structures. Bands meanwhile, acquired different types of capital through a number of different avenues which gave them greater influence to negotiate with venue operators, while bands with less capital acquired work by accepting the opportunities available to them while at the same time being excluded from a number of opportunities afforded more popular bands. This situation reinforces the idea that a field, such as that in operation in Newcastle was an arena of social contestation where struggles for places in the hierarchy took place which are dependent on distinctions ‘being made not only in a person’s reputation, as seen in the operation of their symbolic capital, but also the amount of economic, social and cultural capital they can bring into play’ (McIntyre 2008a, p. 6). All, at different times, were vulnerable to the influences of the others.

Participation and identity-forming for different musicians was however, not the same for everyone. In particular women performing in bands in the local music scene reported significant differences. Moreover, perceptions about the value of women performing in bands was mixed. Men were able to exclude women from bands in which they performed, resulting in much fewer women in bands and this tendency to structure rock music around the participation of men has traditionally allowed the contribution of women to be seen as token. In her article, ‘Saluting Our Seminal Woman Rockers’ Claire Hedger (1998) reminds us that women have always played an essential role in an Australian rock history narrative. Her hope is that: ‘[m]aybe soon, an integrated history of our musical heritage will bring women out of the sidelines and into their rightful place in the heart of Australian rock history’ (Hedger, 1998).
The experience of women in local Newcastle bands is important to document as it adds important information to the literature of how women experience popular music-making differently to that of male musicians.

### 7.2 Access for women

The academic literature has tended to cast the period of Oz Rock music, perceived as the dominant musical form in the 1970s and 80s in Australia, as the villain that both consolidated and continued to perpetuate its misogynist leanings, perhaps implying that the musical styles that followed were more inclusive. In his chapter in Homan and Mitchell (eds) *Sounds of Then, Sounds of Now*, Caleb Kelly (2008) compares the characteristics of Oz Rock music to that of experimental music, which he argues, emerged in Sydney in the 1990s. In doing so, he highlights the common features both music forms shared, that of being primarily male dominated in terms of musicians and audience composition and having both begun in local pubs. Holly Kruse (1999), moreover, in her article on gender in *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture*, suggests that 'no popular music in recent years has been as explicitly coded as male in popular discourse as rap' (1999, p. 86). Cohen (1997) similarly found the 'indie' rock scene in Liverpool to be 'predominantly male' (1997, p. 18). This suggests that whilst women in the period under study in Australia were excluded, the reason is not because of the particular music styles being performed, as this exclusion has also been reported in other music styles, both nationally and globally. Kruse's urgings then for more useful questions to be asked regarding how 'popular music helps to construct gendered identities and gendered understandings through both its systems of signification and situated practices' (1999, p. 100) is relevant. She also asks that questions be posed as to 'how other forms of identification cross-cut, work against, and/or reinforce gendered identities and meanings' (ibid.). These are also suggestions that Cohen (1997) seeks to address. She found that rock music in Liverpool is:
created apart from women... For some men involvement in the scene might offer close and intense social interaction and male companionship free from the pressures of relating to women; for others music promises status, identity, success and the possibility of attracting women... (1997, p. 21).

In Newcastle, the impression from a number of local male musicians regarding the exclusion of women from their bands suggests that it was not something that occurred to them to consider. Musician Les Gully offered that 'girls weren’t allowed in bands then. A band was kind of a boys gang' (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006). Gully claimed that it was not a conscious thing to leave women out of bands: 'we just didn’t consciously do it. You just wouldn’t consider it' (ibid.) A number of male musicians articulated the exclusion of women for practical reasons, such as a woman’s inability to equally contribute regarding the carrying of heavy equipment, and as such their perceived inability to equally contribute (Robinson, May 2006; Jenkins, April 2009). According to one: 'It’s male dominated but I suppose when you think about it, you know girls can get up and sing whereas usually you’ve got to be lugging gear and doing all that sort of stuff and it’s a lot of hard work’ (M Robinson, personal interview, May 2006). This musician did go on to qualify this statement, however, saying ‘there’s a lot of girls out there. It’s not male dominated anymore. No, it’s good now’ (ibid.). Singer, Tex Perkins, on discussing why one of his early bands, the Dum Dums broke up, was according to him 'because I wasn’t helping to lug enough gear. Well, you know, I’ve got a microphone! It’s one of the reasons you become a singer!' (Perkins in Stafford, 2004, p. 143).

Another cited the accommodation arrangements when a band travelled if there was a woman in the band:

Well with us, it was, once you had a girl in the band then there was change room problems, you went away, five boys were all quite happy to crash in the one room together. Some girls didn’t like that. As far as lugging gear around and all that went, a girl can walk in with a microphone stand and a microphone, while us two blokes are carrying double W bins, you know. So it was more or less dollars and cents really and the fact that when you were travelling, you didn’t
have the facilities to accommodate having a lady in a band, you know (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009).

This musician further argued that music performed in a heavier style, rendered women redundant: 'in our opinion, and for the style of music we played, we didn't need a girl singer', saying:

unless you're an exceptionally talented woman with an unusually strong powerful voice. Women are great doing backing vocals, you know, but you get someone like Aretha Franklin or you know, Annie Lennox, some women come out, they've just got this presence and they don't sound like a woman's voice in a lot of ways. You know, a big powerful brilliant voice. I love to listen to them, but my favourite bands, one of my favourite bands would be the Eagles, and where are the chick singers in that band. When you've got five guys who have got great voices, you don't need girl singers (ibid.).

Musician Pam Gully provides a contrast to the views of the male musicians in the examples above, as in her experience she was singing Led Zeppelin songs 'because boys in bands in those days wanted to do that style of music but nobody could sing it, because the range was far too high for them, so I was allowed to do guest spots in bands...' (P Gully, personal interview, September 2006). Pam gave an example of a three-piece, all-male local band, in which she performed a number of songs with the band at shows where they needed an extra member. When the band decided to increase band membership to include a specific lead singer however, a male member was chosen. Pam said that even though she had performed with the band singing guest spots 'still and all, it wasn't good enough' (ibid.) and a male singer was chosen to be the permanent member. Pam was able however, to form an identity around her gender: 'I think pretty much I would have been the first female rock and roll vocalist in Newcastle, to my memory anyway. I can't think of anybody else' (P Gully, personal interview, September 2006). Pam 'loved' the idea of being the first female rock and roll vocalist. In her word's - 'absolutely, that's my stage and I'm on it. I'm here till you knock me off' (ibid.).

In his book Running with the Devil, Robert Walser (c1993) looks at power and gender in heavy metal music. In it he claims that masculinity in heavy
metal music is forged and that rather than it consisting of 'a set of abstract qualities' (c1993, p. 135) inherent in the music it is a 'social construction... defined through the actions and power relations of men and women' (ibid.). Frith and McRobbie (1978/1990) similarly makes the point of rock having been constructed as masculine, pointing out that:

[n]ot only do we find men occupying every important role in the rock industry and in effect being responsible for the creation and construction of suitable female images, we also witness in rock the presentation and marketing of masculine styles (1990, p. 374).

Cohen (1997) found similarly in her study of Liverpool musicians in the UK, that:

Liverpool's rock scene is not naturally male or a reflection of pre-existing gender roles and ideologies and a pre-existing male culture. Rather, it is actively produced as male through social practice and ideology... (1997, p. 34).

This situation was similarly seen in the case of the actors involved in the site of live music at the time, ie licensed venues, primarily pubs, having at different times throughout their history constructed music as either male or female (Wright 2003). Another participant offered the view that he did not think women were all that interested in being involved in styles of music prevalent in licensed venues:

it takes a certain amount of self promotion and ego to put yourself into that position. I mean it goes for anybody in a band situation. You need to really push yourself to do the performance and to get involved and to do the whole process and that can be very difficult for anybody concerned, but then if you're a woman out of four blokes or something like that trying to get yourself into that same situation, it makes it harder again (P Stefancyk, personal interview, March 2007).

Mark Tinson suggested that the songs in rock music were another reason why women may not have been as prevalent as men:

as far as the songs we wrote, they were just standard rock fare you know, it was about girls and it was about, I don't know, probably mostly about girls more than anything else. So that may be another reason why females in bands weren't very prevalent at that time, because most of the songs were about girls, so there wasn't a lot of female rock songs out there, so I guess if there was a band with a
female rock singer, they were stuck doing a pretty small repertoire of stuff you know, it’s like I’m sure we’d hear Hit Me With Your Best Shot over and over again… (M Tinson personal interview, February 2006).

Tinson’s comments about women being limited in their range of available material is not borne out, as the above comments by Pam Gully attest. Women had the ability to sing songs traditionally sung by men, whereas it was unlikely that men would sing songs traditionally sung by women. This suggests the struggle was more to do with men limiting access to performances by women, unwittingly or otherwise, rather than an inability on the part of women to sing a wide range of songs.

There were musicians however, who embraced the idea of female performers. Musician Greg Carter for example, articulated some of the benefits women offered:

It opened up the repertoire of bands to do more girl-orientated songs and in those days there were a lot of females coming onto the Top 40 that were doing good rock music. There was a lot of good songs coming out at that period so if you had a female singer, if you had a good female singer, you could do anything. If you had a male singer, you’d tend not to do female songs, whereas if you had a female singer, women didn’t have a problem doing male songs. Which is rather odd, isn’t it, when you think about it. Rather sexist (G Carter, personal interview, September 2006).

Audience participant Garry Frost supports the above claim, saying that women:

added a different aspect to the band… bands that didn’t have a female in it were restricted in what they played because there’s a lot of songs where a female song sounds a lot better with a female singing it, the whole thing, the whole band together, not just the female singing but with the harmonies and everything, with a female voice in it, is a lot different than just having an all male band – a completely different sound…because what it does is when you introduce a female into the band, it broadens what they can do (G Frost, personal interview, April 2006).

On a different level, another participant offered insight about the fear of losing the perceived closeness between a male performer and their female fans:
Well back in those days…the culture was…when you did a gig it was sort of foreplay…that’s what it was all about and places like the Star Hotel and other pubs, your job used to be basically not just to entertain but to get everybody excited I guess, so by the end of the night and they’d all get full of alcohol or whatever and at the end of the night there’d be a lot of accolades from chicks mostly, and blokes and that too, but yeah mainly chicks and that’s what you used to like and that’s what it was about so with a chick in the band it used to make that harder…(MI, 002, personal interview, January 2006).

This musician went on to say that

when Madonna first come on the scene I didn’t like her. I thought she couldn’t sing and didn’t like her and it was a bit of threat I guess in the back of your mind and I thought hope this doesn’t take on too much because I came from the Led Zeppelin/Deep Purple type male genre you know, and they [women] came and I thought I don’t want to get involved in that sort of shit…(ibid.).

He also said, however, that having performed in bands with female members, he enjoyed those experiences (ibid.). This similar theme was elaborated upon by another musician interviewed in the context of being in a band where there was a female singer:

Well obviously they get a little bit more attention just because, like on the physical side of things, they get a little bit more attention in that way, and I suppose if you’re a muso, you could take that the wrong way. Like you could think “oh well”, because you’re thinking musically as a member of the band, you think “oh why do they get so much attention” but it’s not really, that’s not really what they’re getting the attention for. They’re getting the attention because they are a female and it’s from males, so if you’re young you can get misconstrued there, you can sort of think “well you know, why are they getting that attention” but I don’t think I’ve ever really too bothered by it after working in the first band with a female I learnt a lot of good lessons. I was educated very quickly I think and so from then on it became a little bit more easier (MI, 005, personal interview, March 2006).

The female musicians interviewed for the study provide a somewhat different perspective than that given above. One female musician, Jayne, claimed she had: ‘always loved and preferred to see females in bands… I always preferred watching them because of my involvement in music and I guess I got inspiration from female performers’ (J Sault, personal interview, January 2006). Jayne elaborated:
it was just more interesting to watch than just all guys maybe... a new dimension to the music... it just seemed more logical... because females have got a lot to give when it comes to music... different to watch, can do different songs to guys. So if you've just all guy bands, they're just gonna not be able to do the same things as bands with girls in them either... I don't think we went out of our way to do anything really different, although we were different at the time... (ibid.).

For one musician, who thought Newcastle female singer Pam Gully was okay: 'I didn't mind Pam... She was always okay 'cause she used to sing like a bloke. I should say I didn't mean that in a demeaning way, she knew how to sing rock and blues...' (personal interview no 2, January 2006). These comments may suggest, it could be argued, that the way for this musician to reconcile women in bands at the time was through comparing her with a male singer. For an audience participant:

Pam was like a real, one of the forerunners, for me anyway, in Newcastle, for women singing and she could really belt it out... but it was unusual in Newcastle. ‘Cause you know like, I suppose rock bands in pubs was really a real masculine thing I suppose. So women were there kind of like as something to do after the band finished kind of thing, I suppose, which is really sexist but it seemed a bit, in hindsight it seemed a bit like that anyway and the women served beers and that kind of stuff... (personal interview, no 16, January 2006).

One musician also felt that including women in bands would cause problems for couples. He claimed that from his experience of observing what happened with a lot of men he knew in bands was that: 'a lot of' (personal interview, no 2, January 2006) wives or girlfriends would cause problems 'because a lot of the partners or hangers on couldn’t accept that because of mistrust and that must be the nature of the beast or the nature of the whole industry I guess, I don’t know. I saw that a lot...' (ibid.). From a female perspective, Dana Soper explained, that for a woman in a band, dating a man who wasn’t in a band was as difficult:

when I was a single lady being in a band was a problem... you’re not some super human rock goddess anymore, you’re just a normal everyday girlfriend, except this girlfriend gets up in front of hundreds of guys and struts her stuff and that’s hard to take for a lot of men. Everyone says hi to her not them and they’re always working on the weekend. Then the band becomes a problem and they suggest that
what you’re wearing sends the wrong message, or they think you are too close to another member of the group, or you just don’t have the time to spend with them so you should maybe think about quitting the band... It takes a very secure man to be with a confident woman, particularly one who’s often the centre of attention. Often they just feel inferior, or they cause problems through jealousy. It was very hard being a single woman in a band. Unless you hooked up with a muso or someone who saw you on equal footing, it was very very difficult (D Soper, personal interview, April 2006).

Dana also spoke about male audience members: ‘You’ve got one extreme to the other there too. I mean some men would try to grope you as you walked past them to get to the bar, they saw you as an easy target, whilst others would revere you and you know, have trouble coming anywhere near you’ (ibid.).

As discussed, at particular points throughout the period under study audiences had the ability to influence and transform the field of popular music in licensed venues in Newcastle and they also participated in the creation of the hierarchy of bands that emerged in the field. It has also been indicated how those bands formed identities around being seen in particular ways by both their peers and audiences. Those identities that were formed were assisted in the perceptions held of women as well as the perception that women held of themselves. In addition to these ideas, other aspects of the industry women faced different experiences to men was their involvement with male venue operators, some of whom it was reported, refused to engage with a woman, something that Dan Soper claimed ‘happened quite a lot back then’ (D Soper, personal interview, April 2006):

when we would arrive at a new venue, being a singer and having very little gear to set up or unpack I was usually the one delegated the duty of liaising with the manager or owner. Unfortunately though sometimes these people often weren’t interested in speaking to ‘a woman’, and then you know, you have to make those choices, whether you go along with that, or whether you know, you take issue with it and possibly pay the price. I always tried to have the attitude of ‘okay, I’ll just play it by ear’ and if ever a problem did come up then I just tried to back out of the situation gracefully and let somebody else take over on that occasion...(ibid.).
Cohen (1991) provides a similar example. She reported an incident by one performer in her study who:

approached the manager of a venue to discuss arrangements for her performance and he had insisted upon addressing his remarks to her boyfriend who accompanied her, even though the latter pointed out that it had nothing to do with him but was her affair (1991, p. 206).

While the attitudes of various operators and the different influences that shaped the development of live music in Newcastle emanating from the actions of bands, venue operators, audiences and promotional and booking-agents, another group, the booking agents/promotion agencies, were also seen to influence and control at different stages the way music developed. It also however, can be seen to have contributed in a positive way as the following discussion will argue.

**7.3 Promotion/booking agencies**

An indication of the way agency, the ability to make choice through action, worked in Newcastle during the period under study was with the introduction of a new set of structures within the pre-existing field that comprised live music in licensed venues. This occurred in the form of a new promotions booking and management agency and recording studio in 1981. The founder, Peter Anderson, had acquired a significant degree of social, cultural and symbolic capital within the field as a result of his role as lead singer and manager for local popular band Atlantis. As a result, he had accumulated and was able to utilise his knowledge of the field and the recognition and acceptance he had acquired in those roles, which was significant in his ability to establish the promotion agency he called Rock City Promotions (*The Newcastle Post*, 14 September 1983 p. 14). In doing so, he created a viable professional industrial structure within an already existing music industry structure.

Anderson had influence in the field of popular music in Newcastle. He harnessed the prowess of those bands and artists that had, it could be argued, acquired a certain level of recognisable capital in the field, as
evidenced by Anderson's assertion that 'each band on the card has great talent, a large Newcastle following and a future on a national level' (The Newcastle Herald, 12 February 1981, p. 12). According to a local newspaper report at the time the agency was established (early 1981), it had 'exclusive management of four top local bands, Total Fire Band, DV8, Atlantis and the Idols' (ibid.), reportedly with structures in place 'to have a liaison with the independent bands Heroes and Jukebox' (ibid.) and 'a liaison with Sydney agencies to handle the bands on a national level when they feel they are ready' (ibid.). The report went on to say that Anderson's success with Atlantis and the running of the Bel-Air's [Hotel] musical programme, led to him being 'approached by other bands and venues' (ibid.), further evidence of his relationship with bands, acquired knowledge of the field and the symbolic and social capital he had acquired.

Anderson also influenced the field by his ability to secure booking rights to a number of Newcastle venues. According to a local newspaper report, '[a]fter working on behalf of the bands for some time, Peter found that the venues were clamouring for an expert to help them with a rapidly growing entertainment business' (The Newcastle Post, 14 September 1983, p. 14). In 1983 he was reportedly 'responsible for booking acts into venues such as the Newcastle Workers Club, the Jolly Roger and the Ambassador' (ibid.), although the report indicated that '[a]ccording to Peter, there are very few major venues in Newcastle that his booking agency, Rock City, does not deal with exclusively or in part' (ibid.). Anderson also had a broader vision for Newcastle, 'to establish Newcastle as a regular stop for top national and overseas talent' (ibid.). To this end, it was reported that in the previous twelve months, his agency had delivered '$1 million worth of entertainment business in Newcastle' (ibid.), with such international acts as 'the Motels, Joe Cocker, Simple Minds, Roberta Flack, and 10CC' (ibid.) and organising the last performances at that time for Australian band Cold Chisel. Moreover, the promotion agency, together with a recording studio he established, was 'trying to promote Hunter Valley
talent such as DV8, Tony Johns and Margeurite Ashford on an Australia-wide scale' (ibid.).

Anderson therefore, can be seen to have established his agency and the infrastructure it entailed based on his immersion in the field, coupled with his educational knowledge, in the form reportedly of studies in commerce which, it is argued, would have equipped him with the necessary business acumen to manage the financial and business aspects of a booking agency, together with the required social, cultural/symbolic and economic capital he had acquired (The Newcastle Post, 14 September, 1983 p. 14). These all also translated to the amount of power one is able to exert in the field (Johnson, in Bourdieu, 1993). It included his ability to understand and use the legal structures that were required to manage such an organisation, as well as negotiate the social, cultural and governmental conditions that prevailed, within a specific historio-geographical landscape that was also dependent on being familiar with the habitus pertinent to Newcastle and its inhabitants.

While Anderson's ambitious project was crucial in changing the various scenes that operated in Newcastle, it did not occur in an historical vacuum, that is, the advent of promotion and booking agents and recording studios did not arrive in Newcastle with the establishment of Rock City Promotions, as there existed a variety of individuals and agencies that worked in this capacity in the years prior to Anderson's Rock City Promotions being established. There were also a number of recording studios which opened and closed over the time. The effect of a number of these earlier attempts at both influencing and enabling the local music industry is illustrated in the following examples.

Individual promoters and booking agents were present very early in the period under study, and were responsible for the pioneering of new ideas (such as outdoor concerts) which had varying degrees of success. Early booking agents, it would appear, were perceived as being responsible for the well-being of local bands, with later booking agents and agencies
perceived to work for both specific local bands and also local venues. Views of these local booking agents are mixed, with both benefits and drawbacks reported for those connected with these agencies, and both benefits and drawbacks for those not connected with these booking agents. There is no doubt, however that the influence of booking agents had a significant impact on the local music scene. In 1981, the establishment of Rock City Promotions, and shortly after the establishment of a recording studio, saw a shift to a more consolidated approach to music-making in Newcastle. It also represented what can be seen as a cultural shift in ideology, whereby, due to his belief that local bands could gain national success from Newcastle, local bands began to look to its own capabilities, rather than outside. Promoter and manager Glenn Wheatley, reports a similar shift in focus on returning to Australia from time spent in the USA and London. He claimed:

> Once we were back in Australia there was something I was fired up to achieve. I was going to find a band that I could manage and take to the world while still being based in Australia - in contrast to what the Bee Gees had done, what Olivia Newton-John had done. I wanted to do it from Australia (1999, p. 75).

Whilst Wheatley’s aim was in taking a national act and making it an international name, Anderson wanted to achieve the same at a more localised level, ie taking a local Newcastle band to the national level whilst maintaining a local base. As such, this represented a shift in thinking, away from the belief that local bands needed to relocate outside of the city to gain national success, to a belief they could ‘make it’ from Newcastle. This is evident in his comments to the local print media when he was the singer in local band Atlantis:

> I don't think any band in Newcastle has to slave in Sydney for recognition... We can score recording contracts without leaving the city. The attitude of ‘paying your dues’ by living and playing for next to nothing is false. We can make it from Newcastle and we’re going to do it (in *The Newcastle Sun*, 22 March 1979, p 12).

This shift represented a marked difference to that of other urban or regional musical areas, whereby it continued to be the dominant ideology.
that bands needed to relocate to the larger centres to gain commercial success (Cull 2005; Smith, 2005; Morrison 2010; Luckman et al, 2008).

Today, the roles of booking agents, managers and promoters may be much clearer than their roles in 1970s and 80s' Newcastle and more broadly. Shane Simpson (2002), for example, states that the primary function of a booking agent is:

> to find, negotiate and conclude contracts for the professional engagement of the artists on their books... Secondary functions include receiving fees and security deposits for engagements, arranging publicity keeping proper records and accounting in relation to the work, forwarding payments to the artist and generally providing career advice (p. 73).

This is in contrast to the role of a manager. Simpson asserts that traditionally managers were often friends and/or admirers of particular bands, and/or having started out 'as a musician or road crew and to learn the trade by long exposure to the real world' (2002, p.82). Fundamentally, the difference between a booking agent and a manager was that booking agents tended to work for both the bands and the venue owners, something that Simpson claims is a tendency of Australian agencies generally. Simpson describes booking agents' roles in acting for venues as being that of 'venue consultants' and argues that there exists 'an inherent conflict of interest in this dual role (2002, p. 72). As inferred, agents are also referred to as booking agents. Peter Garrett describes two separate entities, that of 'agent' and 'booker' but it can be assumed that these described the same role. Garrett's experience of both venue owners and agents (booking agents) and their attitudes towards performers in the early experiences of *Midnight Oil*, highlights the conflicts between them. According to Garrett:

> Every band has only itself. It's got its art, it's got its songs, it's got its performances, it's got the thing it's put together that it wants to do; it's very precious and very special to that band. But to an agent, or a booker, or a publican - you are just another product to them, you're just another commodity (in Milsom and Thomas, 1986, p. 27).
Managers, on the other hand, according to Simpson (2002), were traditionally employed by the band to represent the interests of the band(s). Simpson also discusses band promoters, primarily in terms of tour deals for bands. In the local study, these differences were less defined. While promoters from outside the area secured both national and international acts to Newcastle, local promoters carried out that role, in addition to acting as booking agents for local bands, and at times contributed to the lack of clarity, as terms such as agent/manager/promoter may have, at times, been used interchangeably and did not clearly represent what role was being undertaken. The evidence does suggest, however, that the roles themselves were interchangeable in Newcastle in the 1970s and 80s. Rock City Promotions would seem to have been established to represent all of these aspects - that of a booking agency that worked for bands, and as 'venue consultant'; that worked for venues, as well as undertaking the role of management, and also that of promoter, to bring acts from out of the area to Newcastle as well as assisting local bands in the touring aspects of band performance. Some of those involved took on a career as promoters and became booking agents and managers. Even up to thirty years following the period under study, in 2003, Simpson was writing: '[you don’t need any formal qualifications to call yourself either an agent or a promoter. They are relatively unregulated. There is no real industry supervision of standards' (p. 125). Cohen (1991) reports that a band in her study debated 'whether it was better for a manager to be a friend of the band, who would be more personally involved and loyal, or a complete outsider, who might be more objective, neutral and pushy' (p. 59). And from Guy Morrow's (2006) point of view:

The balance of power in the relationship between artist and manager is unique as the artist manager works for the artist while at the same time the artist works for the artist manager. Throughout an artist's career trajectory, this balance of power tends to shift as success accumulates. A rise in the level of success will see the power balance shift in the artist's favour. However, in the period before success and after a decline in success the power balance will be in the artist
manager’s favour. This power balance is constantly evolving, and differs across genres; it must therefore be considered on a case-by-case basis (2006, p. 4).

7.4 The early years for promoters

In Newcastle, interest from booking agents and promoters began early in the period under study, as Newcastle was increasingly recognised as a potentially lucrative performance site, possibly as a result of what was reported to be an influx of 'overseas concert attractions now flocking into Sydney and Melbourne' (Hayes, The Newcastle Sun, 14 January 1976, p. 8), with the 'flow-over' (ibid.) effect seeing Newcastle included as a destination site. Interest in attracting musical acts to Newcastle came from both outside the area as well as within, with early trials with a number of international and national acts by promoters from outside the area reportedly as a way to gauge the interest in Newcastle for such acts (Jameson, Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners Advocate, 16 January 1976, p. 2; Biggins, Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners Advocate, 1 January 1979, p. 5). A concert by international act, Ike and Tina Turner in 1976, was one such example, held at what was then known as the International Sports Centre in the Newcastle suburb of Broadmeadow (Jameson, Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners Advocate 16 January 1976, p. 2). In a local report on the concert, reporter Neil Jameson urged Newcastle audiences to patronise the concert, regardless of whether or not they were particular fans. Jameson advised that local support for the concert would 'guarantee that the International Sports Centre would be included on the venue lists of some of the world’s top rock acts' (ibid.). A concert at Wyndham Estate Winery in the Hunter Valley north of Newcastle, in 1979, was similarly reportedly as being held 'on a trial basis to determine the practicality of bringing overseas artists to the Hunter Valley for performances' (Biggins, Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners Advocate, 1 Jan 1979, p. 5). Undertaking such endeavours (ie the examples of pioneering outdoor concerts), had the potential to place promoters at significant risk however, in terms of being able to pre-empt
the types of events audiences may want to attend. Errors in misinterpretation had the potential to lead to significant financial loss.

Whilst the Ike and Tina Turner outdoor concert was considered a success, this was not the case for the Wyndham Estate Winery event, again held outdoors, which reportedly had disappointing attendance (Biggins, *Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners Advocate*, 1 Jan 1979, p. 5). This disappointment followed a similar disappointment the previous year, with the cancellation of another outdoor concert, this time by *Little River Band* at the Broadmeadow Showground (and re-booking of the band at the Civic Theatre, an indoor space), due, that time, to a disappointing attendance at an earlier concert held at the venue the previous month (which attracted reportedly only two hundred people). That concert, which had seen performances by bands and artists which were relatively well-known from outside the area - Richard Clapton, Stars, Geoff Duff and Ayers Rock, was again 'an experiment to test the public’s response to open air rock shows at the showground' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 4 April 1978, p. 18). The concert had been the work of local promoter, Ian Beazley and his entertainment manager, Graeme McKee of the Mawson Hotel, at Caves Beach, who, it was reported, 'needed a crowd of 1800 to cover the $9000 cost of staging the concert' (ibid.). Instead, they were reportedly left $8000 in debt.

National promoter, Michael Chugg, as well as another from Melbourne had reportedly attended the concert, which, if it had been a success, had 'intended bringing to Newcastle major rock acts who normally only tour capital cities' (ibid.). Local promoter, Ian Beazley claimed that 'he and his partner and the promoters would never dare stage an open air concert in Newcastle again' (bid). Beazley, and McKee were reportedly attempting to establish the showground as a rock venue. To break even, they had estimated that they would need crowds of three thousand at the Richard Clapton concert and ten thousand at the *Little River Band* concert. They had already been planning a third concert starring the *Kevin Borich Express* and making plans to attempt to secure a Bob Dylan concert in Newcastle. Beazley reportedly, was ‘hoping to stage one rock concert a
month on average at the showground' (*The Newcastle Sun*, 16 March 1978, p. 12). Beazley had suffered similarly a few years before, when attempting to establish rock music dances at a local basketball stadium (*The Newcastle Sun*, 6 July 1976, p. 13). At that time, (mid 1976), four dances had been reportedly held at the venue 'and organisers had lost heavily on each dance' (ibid.). Several years later, in 1981, when only one hundred people bought tickets to the Smokey Robinson concert at the Civic Theatre, leading to the show being cancelled, a local newspaper report claimed 'it should have been the concert of the decade' (*The Newcastle Post*, 4 November, 1981, p. 13). Ian Beazley himself claimed: 'Newcastle missed a great show... even if only 400 people had bought a ticket, the show would have gone on and lost money. But only 100 people booked a seat' (ibid.).

The above examples demonstrate the fragility of particular ventures at particular times, and the financial vulnerability to which promoters were exposed when attempting new ideas.

Such losses were not however, confined to local promoters and events. In his book *My Story*, promoter, Harry M Miller tells the story of negotiating for David Cassidy to tour parts of Australia in 1974. Miller reported however, that between the approximate nine months between the beginning of negotiations for the tour and the actual concerts, Cassidy's popularity in Australia had 'nosedived' (1983, p. 215). Miller also admitted to looking to Cassidy's public profile when choosing that particular artist, rather than the expenditure he generated in terms of record sales, which he reported as having 'never been strong' (ibid.). A further error Miller reported was in the promotion strategy, where he said that 'by bruiting our expectation of vast throngs we fell into the trap of frightening off parents, nervous that their children would get trampled'. Miller concluded that 'the whole enterprise was a costly embarrassment' (ibid.). Others report successes with artists but tell of what can go wrong. Tour manager, Max Moore (2003), who was responsible for bringing a number of international
acts to Australia, repeats a story of Sammy Davis Jnr, who refused to fly from Brisbane to Newcastle in a DC3 plane (a two-engine model that was the only type of aircraft that serviced the route between Brisbane and Newcastle at that time). Whilst Sammy Davis Jnr was subsequently flown to Sydney on a larger plane and on to Newcastle via limousine, Moore retells what was occurring at the venue site in Newcastle, where Davis was due to perform. As he said:

Newcastle is a mining city and the tin stadium there was a pretty rough venue. Two shows were scheduled, 6 and 8.45, and we started the show with the support acts at 6... there was no sign of Sammy. The support acts kept performing and finally, the audience started to boo, because they wanted to see the man they had all paid for... Nine o’clock came and went, with an agitated 8.45 audience still waiting outside the venue, so they were admitted too. It was bedlam. Both audiences in the stadium together! People were sitting on knees, sharing seats, sitting on the floor and standing around the wall. They were hot, crowded and irritable. I knew these were all the elements necessary for a riot and that I would be the target! I locked myself in the manager’s office at the back of the building, which had a large shoot-bolt to hold the door closed. People were pounding on the door and on the walls. There was nothing to do but pray that the door would hold. This wasn't the way I wanted to go! Eventually I heard gravel hit the tin wall of the stadium, which, thank goodness, was from Sammy’s limo arriving. Saved, I wandered out to greet the star as he emerged from the limousine... The audience forgave Sammy for their long wait... Sammy wasn’t as forgiving towards us, however, and fumed as he stormed off stage. He wasn’t the least bit impressed with the small plane, the winding roads or arriving late at the show... (2003, pp. 89-90).

On the other hand, promotion work could be very lucrative, with some decisions relying on luck. Promoter Ken Brodziak, for example, was responsible for the 1964 Beatles tour to Australia. Stuart Coupe (2003) claims that Brodziak signed the band in 1963, reportedly ‘without ever having heard them’ (p. 55). Coupe argues that:

the sixteen-day tour was agreed on for a verbal contract price of 1000 pounds a week on 5 July 1963, and by the time it was actually signed on 10 January 1964 the price had gone up to 1500 pounds. Meanwhile, the band’s manager, Brian Epstein, was being offered up to fifty times that amount for another American tour (ibid.).
By that time 'the world had experienced Beatlemania' (p. 56). Coupe tells that Brodziak claimed he hadn't actually set out to tour the Beatles, saying he had been offered:

a package of six British beat groups [and] didn't really want them so I thought I'd take a chance on one. I looked at a scrap of paper that Cyril [the Beatles booking agent]... had written the names on and decided that I liked the sound of the Beatles best. It was as simple as that (ibid).

Ian Beazley moved into promoting bands (and later became a booking agent) whilst working as the publican at the Mawson Hotel in Caves Beach, a venue which provided local rock bands at the venue from 1974. He secured performances from bands outside the local area, such as Cold Chisel, the Angels and Kevin Borich from 1977 and 1978 (database) and subsequently moved into promotion and booking agency work for bands. In a local newspaper article it was claimed that Beazley and his organisation, Central Booking Agency, had been responsible for bringing acts such as The Cure, Ian Drury, Split Enz and Rodriguez to Newcastle (The Newcastle Post, 21 September 1983). For him, as stated in a local newspaper, the role of an agent [booking agent] was 'to look after touring bands, find out the availability of acts and advise venues on the type of entertainment they should have' (ibid.). By 1979 he had also become what Simpson refers to as a venue consultant, at that time having undertaken that role for the Ambassador nightclub (The Newcastle Sun, 11 January 1979). A local report in 1983 described the successes that Beazley had achieved and his impact on the development of Newcastle's music scene:

Go into Ian Beazley's office and he will proudly show contracts where groups such as Midnight Oil, Cold Chisel and Mondo Rock agreed to play for four hours a night for $400 and $600. The year was 1978 and Ian was publican of the Mawson Hotel at Caves Beach, one of the first places to have big rock concerts three nights a week. Five years later in 1983, Midnight Oil and Cold Chisel can command $6000 to $7000 for 1½ hours. Ian Beazley got his break into promoting and booking bands during those Mawson days when he put on a concert with Little River Band and Australian Crawl at the Newcastle Motordrome. The show was sort-of a failure but everyone
got paid and Ian’s reputation as a reliable promoter who stood by his word was made... *(The Newcastle Post, 21 September, 1983, p. 12)*.

In 1983, Beazley and his agency, Central Booking Agency, held the booking rights at Cardiff Workers Club, The Venue at the Bel-Air Hotel and, in part, for Belmont 16ft Sailing Club (ibid.). Beazley also predicted at that time that:

> the future in Newcastle music is... a shift away from hard rock and into more innovative music... As well as more modern rock, bands such as the Allnighters and the Castanet Connection (sic) which injected theatre and comedy into music, were the acts of the future ...

*(The Newcastle Post, 21 September, 1983, p. 12)*.

A statement such as that above, raises the question as to the degree of influence and ability of booking agents to pre-empt and/or drive current music trends, as well as to create local trends. Following an absence, Ian Beazley again entered the local music scene, this time being described as 'managing The Palais' (Della-Grotta, 1988, p. 16). His choice of music at that time, to host the bands and artists Stevie Wright and Hard Rain, *Swingshift* and *Spy V Spy*, suggest a reversal of his earlier statement in 1983, back to a preference for rock music.

Other local booking agents it appeared, started from inauspicious beginnings and ended up with established booking agencies. Local musician Les Gully believed that for an earlier entrepreneur, Roy Duffy, becoming a booking agent 'was kind of a hobby' (L Gully, personal interview, September 2006), as it was for others, including Steve Hicks, who he believed started his career as an agent when 'some mates who owned pubs said to him: 'I can’t deal with bands, can you deal with them for me?' and 'he’s Steve Hicks Entertainment these days' (ibid.).

According to Gully, (n.d.)*<http://www.newcastlebandsdatabase.com.au/>.>, and Tinson (personal interview, February 2006, the Quadra agency was established in Newcastle as a result of promoter Roy Duffy’s work with a number of local bands. The agency, according to Les, was a co-op of four Newcastle
band's, Armageddon, Bluegrass, Delta and Sage, and began circa 1971. It also subsequently booked work for other local bands, Crazy Otto, Mountain Jack, Gemini, Rabbit, Mata Hari and the Marshall Brothers (The Newcastle Sun, 7 August 1973, p12; 6 November 1973, p. 6; 18 June 1974, p. 12). Gully reported Quadra's impact as significant in terms of its ability to influence and enable increased conditions of production by raising the performance fees for those bands, ‘from $50 up to $100’ (The Newcastle Sun, 18 June 1974, p. 12). Mark Tinson claims Roy Duffy put the Quadra Agency together due to what he saw as the inequity for bands locally. Tinson recalls:

I remember the first gig clearly I had with Roy Duffy. We were doing The Mechanics Institute and I forget who we were working for but we were getting $80 for the band, that's '69 I think and he came and offered us $90 and we were ‘you're the man’ and that was the beginning of our relationship… He went to all the venues we were working at and said 'I'm putting the band's money up' and it was fairly hefty, you know at least 50%, so instead of like $200 we'd get $300 or something like that and he knew at the time they couldn't say no ‘cause we were filling their rooms for them and if they said no, we’d just go down the road ‘cause there was another pub down the road. So he actually got our money up and the scene was a lot better run when he was doing it… (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

The agency was also able to secure work for local Newcastle bands in Sydney.

The district's four top bands – A Rabbitt, Armageddon, The Marshall Brothers and Mata Hari – are loaded with Sydney engagements… The rash of Sydney work was negotiated by Quadra agency, which handles bookings for each of the bands. Quadra has exclusive booking rights to one of Sydney's biggest rock venues, a North Shore hotel, and it will work a Newcastle band there each weekend (The Newcastle Sun, 18 June 1974, p. 12).

While both the Quadra and Rock City Promotions agencies worked within the music industry structures that existed at the time, they both could be seen to have had influence in bringing change to those structures, reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1994) claim of the struggle between those that dominate the field. What was also significant about Duffy was the perception musicians had of him. For at least one local musician, Roy
Duffy was perceived to work for the bands he represented, evidenced by
the following comment: 'he didn’t care about the venues, he wasn’t
working for them, he was working for us' (M Tinson personal interview,
February 2006). Other actions by booking agents however, can be seen
as imposing a set of conditions that effected a change to what had
preceded. An example of this was found on the
NewcastleBandsDatabase, where comments by a ‘roadie’ 8 for local band
Mata Hari, were made about the amount of pressure the band faced in the
1970s to relinquish some of its engagements to other local bands.
According to the member of the Mata Hari road crew:

We were now being 'run' by a booking agency, along with every other
band in town, and they were putting pressure on us to give up some
of our Sunday afternoon Salamander Bay Hotel gig’s (sic) to the other
bands in the agency. We held out for a while, but finally had to relent
and do it once a month, instead of every Sunday… (John, n.d,

The biggest shift, however, to the structures that existed in live music in
licensed venues in Newcastle, occurred with the establishment of Rock
City Promotions. Roy Duffy and others had conducted similar roles,
secured work for Newcastle bands and also those from outside the area to
work in Newcastle and at least in the case of Roy Duffy, for Newcastle
bands to secure work in Sydney and other areas outside of Newcastle.
There also existed entertainment managers, individuals who were
employed at some venues to secure entertainment for that place. At other
venues the venue’s manager undertook this role. What Anderson did, was
to consolidate the process under a new set of structures, taking over the
management of some local bands and offering casual work to others,
securing booking rights to many local venues, networking with venues in
other areas, bringing overseas bands to Newcastle and establishing a
recording studio. Underpinning the process, as mentioned earlier, was

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8 the term ‘roadie’ is an abbreviation derived from the term ‘road crew’. A road crew were a group of
people, usually men, employed by a band to operate the necessary sound systems and lighting rigs
and this often necessitated the carrying of band equipment in and out of venues.
Anderson's belief that bands did not have to relocate to other areas in order to achieve national success.

Both structurally and culturally then, this represented a significant shift in the trajectory of live music in licensed venues in Newcastle, as the model inscribed by Anderson came to fruition. Newer booking agencies to Newcastle then tended to adopt that model, with those that secured a significant amount of influence from making successful inroads into the field, being perceived as both controlling and enabling.

The biggest criticism was a perceived conflict of interest when a booking agency was seen to represent both bands and venues: According to one local musician:

you’ve got to laugh because they all wear two hats. They’re venue advisers, or entertainment advisers ‘cause they know so much and they’re also agents for their bands so somewhere in between they have to get a compromise between getting good money for their act and appearing to be doing the right thing by the venue by getting cheap acts, so what they generally do is get a cheap act, so they push the prices down for their acts (personal interview, no 3, February 2006).

Others agreed, with one suggesting:

they started controlling gigs and I think in the end you had to fit a formula to get it. You had to be a Delaney band or you had to be a Castle band. You had to have a theme and it had to have this and it had to have that and so it became very pre-fabish, not prefab from a talent point of view, people who joined these acts and put them together were very very good musicians, [who] unfortunately, had to operate within a constraint. So the maverick sense of forming a rock band and playing at the local pub, you could still do that. There were small pubs but it got back to that. It sort of did full circle. You could get a gig in a grungy pub setting up next to the jukebox and playing for 50 bucks again and it went backwards. By that stage, the early 90s, I’d left the music scene (personal interview, no 8, August 2006).

One musician described speaking with a booking agent about gaining work, saying:

I spoke to an agent and they said ‘Alright, just what we need then is just to get your set list – what the songs are you’re playing?’ I thought ‘you probably wouldn’t know the songs that I’ve picked to play’ and so
the agents actually don’t select bands on maybe a demo tape or actually coming to see the band perform, or past history or anything like that, they go ‘what songs do you play?’ and the first thing they’ll notice is Brown Eyed Girl’s not on there, and say ‘you don’t get a job, gotta play Brown Eyed Girl’ (personal interview, no 3, February 2006).

And from another:

The music scene, from a business point of view, it seemed to be all run by a mob called Rock City which seemed to control most of the venues in town and if you weren’t in with them, there wasn’t much of a chance of you getting a gig in most of the popular venues... It’s difficult to break in with the agents. There is probably only about three or four agents in town now and you have to go in and be all pally with them and give them all sorts of paraphernalia and sort of say ‘yeah, we’ll do it, no worries, whatever you say, yeah, yeah’ (personal interview, no 12, March 2007).

According to another, the difference between the local music scene prior to and with the advent of booking agents was that ‘you got paid at the end of the night. Now you wait six weeks’ (personal interview, no 9, November 2006).

Cohen (1991) reports similar conflicts in her study, whereby ‘[t]he better known local managers were subject to considerable scrutiny and criticism by others in the music scene’ (p. 61), leading to where ‘[o]ne such manager eventually ceased to run his label because it conflicted with his role as manager’ (ibid.). Gallan (2012) argues that in Wollongong, although the practice of booking agents acting as gatekeepers was ‘in one sense 'exclusionary'' (2012, p. 35), he claims it ‘also fostered bonds of community and belonging’ (ibid.) and that ‘gatekeeping practices... were pivotal to the longevity of the music venue and scene’ (ibid.). That view also existed in Newcastle. According to one local musician, for example:

Let’s go back to the time when Newcastle had one pizza joint. You know, we’re talking about really late 70s, mid to late 70s... Now in those days, there was one pizza joint and probably one band manager in town and a million gigs and a million musos and a huge live scene and I think people from Sydney started to get the idea that the boys who are coming from Newcastle were mixing it and doing pretty well... The art of management in those days was very very
young and a guy who saw the light was Peter Anderson (Della-Grotta, personal interview, August 2006).

When viewed from this perspective, had live music in licensed venues remained unregulated, it may have fallen victim to the same fate as what occurred in Austin, Texas, where according to Shank (1994), as a result of ‘the absence of a dominant musical aesthetic, a central headquarters and effective gatekeeping by club owners, the quality of music in Austin had declined’ (Shank, 1994, p. 89). Shank indicates that from the point of view of the operator of one of the city’s venues, ‘bad music had driven out the good, through the inflationary pressure of too many musicians and too many clubs’ (in Shank, 1994, p. 89). Whilst influencing them by gaining significant control over the structures of Newcastle’s live music, practices by the booking agencies can also be seen to have been transformative. Such transformation has been recognised by a number of local musicians, evidenced in comments such as ‘[i]t organised them better, really, it organised the whole industry better and made bands learn how to be more professional because really it was a hobby that became a professional thing’ (L Gully, personal interview, November 2006). Conversely, those musicians no longer involved in the local music industry, aside from this comment by Les Gully, who continues to work in the music industry, were more able to articulate appreciation for the role of booking agents, although perceptions were still mixed regarding the positive impact they had. According to one local musician:

In a way Newcastle’s music scene was as good, if not better, than Sydney. The only thing Sydney had were the recording studios and more organised promoters… until Peter Anderson… decided to put in an agency, and they had recording facilities, they went out and contacted people all through the state and tried to arrange gigs for Newcastle bands. Up until that point, all you could [aim to] be [would be] most probably become in the top five bands in Newcastle and you had a lot of work, within Newcastle, the Hunter Valley and the Central Coast, right, but then after eighteen months, people got sick of you because it was the same faces doing the same songs (P Jenkins, personal interview, April 2009).

Musicians performing at the time of interviews for this study were less likely to report positive impacts of booking agents on the live music scene.
The development of the perception of bands needing to become ‘a Delaney band' (personal interview, no 8, August 2006) or ‘a Castle band' (ibid.), as explored above, suggests that changes may have occurred whereby bands formed to conform to specific requirements of particular venues that booking agencies had enforced, or changed their style to conform to these structures. It had long been the case however, that local bands often utilised a diversity of styles to broaden their ability to get more work. Local band Jukebox, for example, described in Chris Spencer’s (1999) Rocking and Shakin’ in Rock City as ‘heavy metal exponents' (p.12) changed its style to encompass a Top 40 format in order, reportedly, to appeal more to clubs to broaden its scope for work (The Newcastle Herald, 04 September 1981, p. 2). Subsequently, however, the band changed its name to the Jukes and relinquished its commercial pop leanings 'in favour of harder-edged music' (ibid.). This latter point is an example of what Bourdieu (1984) has suggested occurs between intellectuals and artists, who, he claims:

are thus divided between their interest in cultural proselytism, that is, winning a market by widening their audience, which inclines them to favour popularization, and concern for cultural distinction, the only objective basis of their rarity; and their relationship to everything concerned with the ‘democratization of culture' is marked by a deep ambivalence which may be manifested in a dual discourse on the relations between the institutions of cultural diffusion and the public (1984, p. 226).

What occurred with the influence of booking agents however, was their perceived ability to influence awareness of the most popular local bands. According to one local musician:

Absolutely the agents in town determine who became the popular bands, absolutely... in the old days you had so much more colour and the cream would rise to the top and you’d go and seek that out which really did sort of keep this scene active evolving and alive (personal interview, no 6, April 2006).

This argument fits with Bourdieu’s (1994) theory of the struggle between ‘the two principles of hierarchization' (1994, pp. 60-61), that being:
the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically... and the autonomous principle... which those of its advocates who are least endowed with specific capital tend to identify with degrees of independence from the economy... (ibid.).

This musician, mentioned above, went on to argue that as time went on, bands connected to booking agencies that were perceived to have significant amounts of acquired cultural and symbolic capital, were conferred with the status of the agency they worked for. This musician explained it in the following way:

When you don’t know people and you haven’t seen them perform, you judged them by their agency or by where they were working, or by what those you respected thought of them, which was wrong... Some bands would come onto the scene and be pretty ordinary compared to a lot of others getting around, but if they had a gorgeous lead singer and did the right Top 40 stuff, if they got themselves with a decent agency and had good promo, they got the work. Then, if your band wasn’t working where they were and you thought you were as good as or better than them; well you had a problem with that, because it seemed unjust (personal interview, no 6, April 2006).

A further cultural shift had then occurred, from whereby musicians indicated it was relatively easy to find work, to changes in the hierarchical system that meant work became increasing difficult to secure, with, at some venues, bands needing to fit a particular formula to satisfy a specific set of criteria. In the Newcastle study, it could then be argued, that it wasn't so much what Homan (2003) argued was the tradition of tribute and cover bands that eroded rather than supported the process of becoming a professional musician (Homan, 2002), but rather the inability of newly formed bands to learn their craft from the opportunities afforded them through negotiation with venue operators. This illustrates the significant changes that occurred in the way the field operated in Newcastle - with the field originally being dominated by bands negotiating directly with venue operators for work, to booking agents dominating the field and mediating the conditions. As has been argued, such changes can be seen to have had both negative and positive impacts. Specific cultural changes then
had occurred in the field of cultural production that had profound impacts on the way the field in Newcastle operated.

As the above vignette suggests, competition between bands from different booking agencies resulted in some conflict between bands. This was spoken about in terms of a 'clique', and appeared to be perceived to be as a result of certain bands' connection with certain booking agencies. One participant gave his opinion that:

Different agency bands used to be cliquey, you know, the upper echelon ones... had different agents and they were the ones that got a lot of the good prestige gigs around... certain guys would only talk to you if they wanted a cigarette (personal interview, no 2, January 2006).

Moreover, whilst it was noted that there was a level of camaraderie between many Newcastle bands, and musicians would go and watch other bands perform, it was also the experience for at least one local musician that this was also done as a way of intimidating bands they came to watch perform. The comment was made that 'there used to be some guys who'd come and watch you just to intimidate you... Stand up the back with their arms folded and grin and laugh and you know whatever. Come for ten minutes and leave... ' (ibid.). Such a strategy was not unique to Newcastle however, also being reported by Morrison (2010). When his band, The Bodgies, for example, performed as the opening act for Midnight Oil at a concert in Melbourne, Morrison claimed he and his band members did similarly to the band Hunters and Collectors that also performed on the night. When Hunters and Collections began their performance, Morrison described how he and a number of his band members behaved:

We stand, arms folded at the back of the hall.
'They're a joke', I scoff.
'They'll never get anywhere!' laughs Geoff.
'How'd they get on after us?' Brian is incredulous (2010, p. 74).
The above discussion has argued that at particular periods throughout the period under study different groups negotiated the available spaces, with different agents, that is choice-making entities, having influence and power at different times. This situation supports Bourdieu's ideas of power and agency and how different agents within a field have the ability to effect how the field operates at different times. It also supports Anthony Giddens (1979), view, that choice-making agents, active decision-makers operating in the field, have the potential to transform it. It is able to be posited then, that all of the agents, the choice-making individuals operating in the field of production in Newcastle at the time period under study, made important contributions to the way live music in licensed venues developed.
8.0 Privileging the local

Habitus and the acquisition of specific social, cultural and symbolic capital have been argued to be significant factors in the way people operate successfully in relevant fields of production. The importance of geography and the layout of place in the way particular views of the world emerge has also been argued as highly significant. The time period in which people live and their experiences is also equally important to how they view their world. Relative to all of these is the way people make meaning and authenticate their experiences.

Views that recognise authenticity as relative to time and space have so far not been dealt with at any length in the literature. It could be argued, that this, in part, is due to the tendency to focus on Australian studies which generally privilege local independent music scenes, with an inclination to overlook mainstream scenes (Hayward, 2000). The academic field is aware, from Homan's (2003) contribution, for example, that Oz Rock contributed significantly to Australian music history in the 1970s and 1980s, yet little to date has been done academically to investigate the meaning and contribution of such scenes at any depth.

Felicity Cull (2005) has also noted the tendency for Australian music history to favour the larger cities of Sydney and Melbourne. She claims for example, that:

Perth bands seemingly arrive in Melbourne or Sydney as fully fledged performers and the band's history is commenced from their arrival in the Eastern States. The part that Perth played in a band's beginnings is often absent from popular knowledge... band's play live, hone their skills and become established before being signed to a label. This process has tended to produce musicians of high calibre and experience (2005, p. 20).

David Kent (in Stratton, 2007) similarly suggested that 'Australian rock music cultural history is most often portrayed from the point of view of its Sydney origins and presented to readers as being representative of Australian history' (Kent in Stratton, 2007, p. 8).
Another reason for not seeing authenticity as relative to time and space is the tendency for some researchers to write about place in a way that privileges original music produced in local contexts over the tradition that was prominent at one time, that of bands performing songs written by other people. This has produced a lacuna in the exploration of authenticity of popular music in local contexts. Investigations of how authenticity has developed from historically generated discourses, such as those being discussed, where authenticity is generated through the performances of songs written by other people, have received little attention. The emphasis on research into the development of original music in local contexts has meant that music scenes that did utilise the tradition of performing other people's songs has remained largely unexplored in terms of seeing it, firstly, as an authentic musical practice, and secondly, as having its own criterion of what constitutes authenticity. There is, nonetheless, some evidence (in addition to the current study) to suggest that it played a large role in local music scenes. Gibson (2002), for example, has indicated that in an area of the Far North Coast of New South Wales:

[h]ard rock styles were first heard when urban bands such as Midnight Oil, Spy V Spy and the Radiators drew large crowds at the Lismore RSL and Workers Clubs, spawning a breed of local pub rock bands including Vacant Lot, Bourbon Street and Rockola, who performed a mix of original music and cover versions of well-known songs. During the 1980s, a range of new venues opened up for popular music in the region, in part related to the growth of the pub rock circuit throughout New South Wales, but also heavily influenced by new waves of migrants and tourists keen to hear live sounds from local and touring bands (2002, p. 345).

This is just one example of where the Oz Rock period had a significant impact on a place and it could be assumed there are many more. This then warrants further academic investigation.

Implicit in a number of views from those writing on popular music is an understanding of how authenticity is relative to the time and space in which it is constructed. Howard Becker's (2004) view of authenticity, for
example, is connected to the social constructs around particular spaces and, as such, he argues that they have 'been socially defined: defined by its expected uses, by shared expectations about what kinds of people will be there to take part in those activities, and by the financial arrangements that underlie all of this' (2004, p. 20). Cohen (1991) has also suggested that:

different societies and cultures and the various social, cultural, geographical, and age groups within them adopt their own musical forms and styles and react against or respond to each other's. They also hold their own particular criteria of musicianship and excellence, concepts about music, music-making, musicians, and relationships between performers and audience; and emotional and other responses to music (1991, p. 192).

Moreover, Tia DeNora (2000) found that:

the past, musically conjured, is a resource for the reflexive movement from present to future, the moment-to-moment production of agency in real time. It serves also as a means of putting actors in touch with capacities, reminding them of their accomplished identities, which in turns fuels the ongoing projection of identity from past into future. Musically fostered memories thus produce past trajectories that contain momentum... 'the music itself' is active in the constitution of the shape of subjectively and self-identity (2000, p. 66).

This being the case, it is important to explore how authenticity is defined and utilised in different periods and in different spaces.

8.1 Defining authenticity

Authenticity has been defined lexicographically as being:

of undisputed origin and not a copy; genuine... made or done in the traditional or original way, or in a way that faithfully resembles an original: based on facts; accurate or reliable: an authentic depiction of the situation (in existentialist philosophy) relating to or denoting an emotionally appropriate, significant, purposive, and responsible mode of human life (Oxford Dictionaries, <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/authentic>).

While each of the uses in the above definition is helpful, it is particularly the last that is perhaps the most useful for the purposes of the argument being developed here, for where better to judge what is 'an emotionally appropriate, significant purposive, and responsible mode of human life'
(ibid.) than at the local level of music practice and engagement. Further exploration of the lexicon (e.g., Sykes 1982) reveals that when we describe something as authentic we usually mean that it is reliable, trustworthy or it is genuine and of undisputed origin. The word is derived from the Greek *authentikos* which itself means principal or genuine. When we ‘authenticate’ something we ‘establish the truth or authorship or validity or genuineness of [it]’ (Sykes, 1982, p. 59). Bendix (1997) provides a slightly different etymology, explaining that it derives from the Greek ‘authentes’ which carries the dual meaning of ‘one who acts with authority’ and ‘made by one’s own hand’ (1997, p. 15). Bendix (1997) explains that [o]ne definition of authenticity, used in the realm of art and antiques, refers to the clear identifiability of maker or authorship and uniqueness of an artifact, relying on the ‘made by one's own hand' etymology' (ibid.). On the other hand, she says that:

Folklorists in a peculiar reversal, for a long time located authenticity with the anonymity of entire social groups, or the "folk." Lack of identifiable authorship, multiple existence over time and space, variations of the items, and the social and economic circumstances of the "bearers of tradition" served, instead, as ways of testing folklore's authenticity. Once individual performers or makers of artifacts entered the discussion, the criterion of authenticity could have rendered itself obsolete... Folklorists since the eighteenth century have used them to circumscribe the longed-for quality that they saw encapsulated at first in folklore tests and later in folklore performance (1997, p. 15).

For Sarah Thornton (1995) authenticity is:

arguably the most important value ascribed to popular music. It is found in different kinds of music by diverse musicians, critics and fans... Music is perceived as authentic when it *rings true* or *feels real*, when it has *credibility* and comes across as *genuine* (1995, p. 26).

Comparisons such as the ones in the examples above can equally be ascribed to the case of popular music performance in both Newcastle and the broader context, between musicians 'covering' other people's songs and people writing and performing their own compositions.

Bourdieu (1996) makes the same point, describing authenticity in terms of the boundaries within which it is defined. For him: ‘[t]he struggles over
definition (or classification) have *boundaries* at stake (between genres and disciplines, or between modes of production inside the same genre) and, therefore, hierarchies' (1996, p. 225). He goes on to say that:

To define boundaries, defend them and control entries is to defend the established order in the field. In effect, the growth in the volume of the population of producers is one of the principal mediations through which external changes affect the relations of force at the heart of the field. The great upheavals arise from the eruption of newcomers who, by the sole effect of their number and their social quality, import innovation regarding products or techniques of production, and try or claim to impose on the field of production, which is itself its own market, a new mode of evaluation of products (1996, p. 225).

The classification or marking out of boundaries in the field between or within genres (Bourdieu 1996), for the purposes here, can be related to meaning between 'mainstream' popular music and 'alternative' music. We should at this point remember that Alison Huber designates mainstream music as music that ‘is culturally dominant because of practices that coalesce to produce that dominance; there is no inherently "mainstream music"’ (in Homan and Mitchell, 2008, p. 272). Similarly, as Roy Shuker (1998) argues, at its ‘historical heart... alternative music was an aesthetic rejecting the commercial music industry, and placing an emphasis on rock music as art or expression rather than as a product for sale for economic profit’ (1998, p. 9). With these necessarily constructed understandings in mind, this section of the thesis explores Martin Stokes’ (1994) ideas about meaning, authenticity and place and uses them in relation to consumers of live music in licensed venues in the Newcastle context and in the context of the above definitions of authenticity. It will be argued that practitioners of music in the local context found meaning and authenticity through the historically generated discourses about musicianship and, eventually, what it was to be mainstream and/or alternative. The argument will be made that consumers also found meaning and authenticity (a sense of the music being genuine and trustworthy) through their connections with local sites and familiar sounds which themselves were related to the time in which they were experienced and the spaces in which they occurred.
The struggles over definition which Bourdieu writes about, and by extension, definitions for authenticity, are exemplified in the debates regarding definitions for rock and pop music and the privileging of some musical styles over others. Howard Becker (1982) makes a similar point in regard to art worlds. He points out where '[p]articipants in the making of art works may agree as to whose intentions - author's interpreter's, or audience's - take priority... the issue creates no theoretical or practical difficulty' (1982, p. 21). It is only when participants disagree on whose intention, and therefore interpretation, is privileged that issues arise. Such a view can also be related to popular music, where competing groups assume the role of deciding which songs and musical styles are authentic and which are not.

Adding to Becker's (1982) ideas, Shuker (2001) raises the issue of the connection between what is privileged and as a result, what then becomes available. As he argues:

[t]he commodity form which music takes, and the capitalist relations of mass industrial production under which most commercial music is created, significantly affect the availability of particular texts and the meanings which they produce' (2001, p. 241).

This understanding appears congruent with the ideas of Adorno (1990) who believed that audiences were at the mercy of what music recording companies allowed to become available. As Shuker continues, however:

such determination is never absolute: meanings are mediated, the dominant meanings of texts subverted, and 'alternatives' to 'mainstream', commercial music are always present. Accordingly, popular music must be seen as a site of symbolic structure in the cultural sphere. It then becomes a question of the specificity of particular sites of production, texts, and consumption, and the changing nature and relative importance of these (2001, pp. 241-242).

Moreover, Finnegan (1989) found in her study 'that each musical tradition - classical, rock, jazz or whatever - can be studied in its own right. When no longer judged by the criteria of others, each emerges as in principle
equally authentic and equally influential in shaping the practices of local music’ (1989, p. 6).

This broad set of ideas point to a question for the music performed in Australia during the Oz/Pub rock era, arguably the dominant discourse for Australian music during the 1970s and 1980s. By looking at the ways this particular music phenomenon has been perceived in terms of its definitions and authenticity, a greater understanding can be gleaned of how notions of authenticity are constructed differently in different time periods and within different spaces. As noted by Shuker, the particular sites where the music was experienced and the ‘relative importance of these’ (2001, p 242) becomes the focus of the problem. As noted in the prior literature review, attempts at defining Oz Rock have included those derived from investigations of a particular Australian sound (Turner, 1992; Homan and Mitchell, 2008; Hirst in Hutchison, 1992; through attempts to define its features (Homan, 2002, 2003; McIntyre 2005; Belfrage & Whiteoak, 2003; Zumeris, 2003; and Mitchell, 1996), delineating it through specific time periods (McIntyre, 2004; Homan and Mitchell, 2008;) seeing it as a contribution to nation-building or nationalistic features (Stratton, 2007; Kelly, 2008; Brabazon 2005); as a subculture (Fiske, Hodge and Turner, 1987); investigating its relationship to a broader Australian culture (Hayward 1992; Turner 1992), and identifying it via its claims to authenticity (Barber, 1991; Ed St John 2006).

Homan (2003) suggested that Oz Rock’s authenticity was articulated through its specific features of gaining respect ‘through the constant honing of skills through live performance’ (2003, p. 97) and linking it to its existence as a live phenomenon. Writing from a different perspective, Sydney journalist Lynden Barber (1991) claimed that a ‘bedrock myth of Australian rock is its claim to authenticity’ (p. 41). Barber’s reasoning for this view was the perception for him that Oz Rock was a ‘corporate creation’ (1991, p. 51). Stating his opinion on Oz Rock, Bronitus Zumeris (2003) claimed it was ‘more an attitude than a clearly identifiable musical
form’ (p. 495). The problematic nature of definitions is even more clearly understood from the example below, from a review of Australian band You Am I’s, #4 album, which aptly demonstrates the reviewer’s struggle to categorise specific elements to describe that band’s music:

I have always thought of You Am I in the same vein as Crowded House, an immensely popular ensemble that doesn’t quite fit into any particular category. They are pop but not like the Spice Girls; they are rock but not AC/DC; they’ve got cred but not like Nick Cave and they have both had success overseas but not like Kylie Minogue (Paul Fidler, 1998, p. 90).

Digging a little deeper, Simon Frith (2003) connects authenticity in popular music with identity. He claims that people enjoy popular music ‘because of its use in answering questions of identity’ (2003, p. 38). He continues, believing that:

we use pop songs to create for ourselves a particular sort of self-definition, a particular place in society. The pleasure that pop music produces is a pleasure of identification – with the music we like, with the performers of that music, with the other people who like it. And it is important to note that the production of identity is also a production of non-identity – it is a process of inclusion and exclusion. This is one of the most striking aspects of musical taste. People not only know what they like, they also have very clear ideas about what they don’t like and often have very aggressive ways of stating their dislikes (2003, p. 38).

He further suggests that rather than becoming too involved with defining authenticity, what ‘we should be examining is not how true a piece of music is to something else, but how it sets up the idea of ‘truth’ in the first place’ (2003, p. 36). As Shuker (2001) asserts, evaluations around questions of authenticity ‘reflect personal preferences and matters of taste’ (2001, p. 96).

Keith Sawyer (2006) also looked at ‘authenticity’ in terms of recorded music and claimed that a band performing covers of other people’s songs is no different and no less authentic than a modern symphony orchestra performing a piece by Beethoven. Authenticity, he would argue, depends on what the consumer considers more authentic, the performance or the composition. For David Grazian (2004), the:
sliding scale of authenticity not only represents how musicians, consumers, and cultural critics manufacture authenticity through their reliance on stereotypes and urban myths, but also demonstrates how they rank venues and their locals in relation to one another according to those subjective measures (2004, p. 34).

Martin Stokes' (1994) has argued that the term authenticity does not have an essentialist definition. More correctly it has simply become a way of marking boundaries and delimiting the self, ideas that support those of Bourdieu (1996) and Frith (2003). For Stokes, boundaries 'define and maintain social identities, which can only exist in a context of opposition and relativities' (1994, p. 6). Given this relation to the position of judgement taken by those doing the authenticating, it then becomes difficult to argue that the music itself, or even those who perform it, has some essential 'authentic' property. Stokes investigates how questions of authenticity lead some 'social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries, to maintain distinctions between us and them, and how terms such as authenticity are used to justify these boundaries' (ibid., p. 6). He asserts that:

clearly notions of authenticity and identity are closely interlinked. What one is (or wants to be) cannot be 'inauthentic', whatever else it is. Authenticity is definitely not a property of music, musicians and their relations to an audience... Instead we should see 'authenticity' as a discursive trope of great persuasive power. It focuses a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike 'this is what is really significant about this music', 'this is the music that makes us different from other people (ibid.).

Slobin (1993) found similarly from his studies, where groups of people claim 'certain musical styles, instruments, songs' (p. 9) etc as 'somehow "ours"' (ibid.). As a result, Slobin claimed what was 'ours' was always set apart from what's not: 'mine', 'theirs', or 'everybody's" (1993, p. 9). In this case, Stokes (1994) proposed that a more useful way of defining musical systems and structures is to look at the ways people seek and find meaning (and therefore authenticity) in the music with which they engage. He has argued that 'music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them' (1994, p.4). He goes on
to say that social performances do more than simply reflect underlying cultural patterns and social structures - they are where meanings are generated - 'they provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed' (ibid.). Stokes cites Waterman (1990) who has argued that 'music and dance in these kinds of rituals are not just seen as static symbolic objects which have to be understood in a context, but are themselves a patterned context within which other things happen' (in ibid., p. 5). Stokes provides examples of ritualistic symbols in different areas, arguing that they:

point to the crucial relationship between the music and ritual. Without these qualities, however they are conceived in a particular society, the ritual event is powerless to make the expected and desired connections and transformations...This kind of perspective enables the interested anthropologist to see music less as a fixed essence with certain definable properties than as a wide field of practices and meanings with few significant or socially relevant points of intersection. Without understanding local conditions, languages and contexts, it is impossible to know what these practices and meanings are... (pp. 5-7).

In this regard Negus (1996) maintains that, as music making 'occurs through multiple ongoing historical processes and human relationships, so the writing of music history should be approached with an awareness that this involves a process of re-presentation' (1996, p.137). Turner (1992) also argues that some consideration needs to be given to the contexts in which music is 'produced and consumed' (1992, p 21).

Following these lines of reasoning it can be argued that authenticity in popular music is established through the contexts by which one experiences a musical world and the beliefs one holds about that world. In this case, the persuasive power of authenticity is established and reinforced by particular historically generated discourses that themselves allow the construction of different points of view to be legitimised and therefore authenticated. In this way, it can be understood how various social actors authenticate their own lives and their behaviour by constructing a framework for making sense of the world they inhabit, one
of which is via the music with which they engage. By understanding the different frameworks that are constructed by different individuals and groups in different time periods, and by examining the historically generated discourses that such individuals and groups adopt, a greater understanding is generated of the ways in which each discourse manifests itself as inherently authentic to those who believe it to be so. Just as particular behaviours of inhabitants can be linked to particular geographical space and the layout of that space, as was argued prior, so too particular features and behaviours can be linked to certain music periods, and aligned with particular constructions of authenticity. As Stokes (1994) has argued, by understanding the different historically generated discourses that are used for different music periods by different individuals and groups, a greater understanding for the ways in which those individuals and groups legitimise and authenticate music in those particular time periods can occur.

Exploring meaning and authenticity at a local level becomes even more important when understanding that, similarly to definitions of musical styles, the way authenticity is perceived also changes over time and can be seen to be relative to the time in which one lived and the spaces in which one participated with particular music styles, that is, it is context-dependent. Moreover, the same features used to support arguments for the authenticity of particular styles by individuals or groups, can, at the same time, be used in arguments against authenticity of particular styles by other groups.

An example of this is the representation of singer Bruce Springsteen. On the one hand, Frith (1996) argues that it is the representation of his music that is important, the 'authenticity of feeling' (1996, p. 98) rather than 'authenticity of experience' (p. 98). That same representation however, has also been used to argue that his music is inauthentic. Strausbaugh (2001) for example, sees his image as 'a regular guy' (2001, p. 193) as manufactured, claiming he produces 'middle-of-the-road fake-rock' (2001,
p. 193). Similar arguments have been claimed in regard to Jimmy Barnes' interpretation of the song 'Working Class Man', where it is both celebrated and rejected in terms of its authenticity. From one reviewer, the song was claimed as Barnes' 'anthem' (Lyssenkoff, n.d) and that he had 'made the song his own' (ibid.). Barnes' interpretation was rejected by the CEO of Warner Music at the time however, because the song's lyrics were in the American, rather than Australian context. Understanding then, how authenticity is perceived for individuals and groups in local contexts becomes far more useful than attempting to establish which groups and individuals have the greatest 'entitlement' to define what it is to be meaningful and therefore authentic.

8.2 Popular music in Newcastle

One of the important features responsible for the way music developed in the city of Newcastle was the means through which its young people engaged with popular music. This exposure was via the sources of local radio (which offered both Australian and overseas content), as well as regular exposure to bands from outside the local area that included those making a name for themselves in the larger Australian cities of Sydney and Melbourne, many of which had songs being played on local radio. Exposure was also encountered through the national music television programmes of the time, namely Countdown and Sounds Unlimited, and the national music magazines, RAM (Sydney) and JUKE (Melbourne).

People's exposure to Australian music content on the radio was assisted in 1976 when the quota for Australian music to be played on Australian radio was raised to 20% (Homan, 2002). Due to this exposure to popular music on the radio, local audiences' expectations were for bands to perform songs with which they were familiar, continuing the historically generated discourse which connected live performance with musicians performing songs written by other people. In other words, it was an authentically acceptable practice for dance bands historically, to play
songs written by songwriters who were often themselves not performers. Felicity Cull found similarly in Perth where she has argued that:

most of the bands played sets entirely formed by covers of popular songs. If bands wanted to be hired, their play list had to be similar to that of the radio stations. Few working Perth bands at the time composed original material (2005, p. 21).

In Newcastle such practices were also utilised when live music performance moved into licensed venues and were enhanced by regular performances from bands outside the area performing songs that were being played on the radio. Newcastle musicians throughout this time drew on those traditional notions of authenticity in their performance, tending to include large numbers of 'cover' versions - ie songs written by other people, in their repertoires. For local audiences, affirmation of authenticity was achieved by the connection with the music they received via the media landscapes of radio, television, and live performances of bands from other areas, a connection which extended to the content and experience in local band performances. Such practices served to make local music-making meaningful, acceptable and authentic to both local mainstream musicians and audiences alike during this period, supporting the claims by W.I Thomas (1995), that 'if people define a situation as real it is real in its social consequences' (W.I. Thomas, in Haralambos and Holberne, 1995. p. 657).

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, there has been a tendency for research to be focused on mainly original music scenes. There has been little written that valorises music scenes post 1960s that adopted the tradition of performing other people's songs and little therefore that explores how people make meaning from participation in such scenes. Cull cited a local Perth musician, for example, who claimed that:

Perth, in general, was known as the cover band capital of Australia. If you were an original band you went to Sydney, Melbourne, any other place, but Perth notoriously had fantastic cover bands (Wayne Hosking, Perth musician, cited in Cull, 2005, p. 22).
Cull goes on to say that the economic demands on Perth’s bands to play covers meant that bands that performed original music were in a position ‘where they had to relocate. Perth’s original musicians have therefore had their origin and locality pruned from accounts of their history’ (2005, ibid.). This would be even truer then for the ‘fantastic cover bands’ (in Cull, 2005, p. 22) that emerged in that city, whose histories have remained invisible. Michael Brocken (2010) cites a similar case for Liverpool, England, where he says the range of popular music scenes that emerged in Liverpool between the 1930s and 1970s, including those of country, jazz, rhythm and blues and cabaret, have remained hidden, due, he argues, to the popularity and emphasis on the Beatles in discourses about popular music in that city, despite the Beatles’ themselves beginning their careers as what would now be called a ‘cover’ band. Attitudes to this practice have of course changed over time. Rather than privileging particular musical styles or particular traditions over others, the view taken by this thesis acknowledges authenticity as it existed in the place and the time period it was performed and in the spaces where engagement occurred.

8.3 Authenticity relative to time

It has been argued above that aspects of geography and an existence that was, in part, conditioned by the spatial layout encountered in those places, are significant factors in the way particular views of the world emerge. This chapter proposes that the time period in which people live and the experiences they have is equally important to how they view their world and, therefore, act in that world. It is suggested that an understanding of the major role that historical factors and experiences play in the formation of perceptions of authenticity provide a greater understanding for how perspectives of authenticity are developed. Theodor Adorno is a case in point. If we look at the time period in which he lived and his experiences of that time, as Keith Negus (1996) has done, we can begin to understand the impact those factors had on his opinions about popular music. Negus has explained how Adorno - a member of a group that comprised
predominantly Jewish scholars from the Frankfurt School (therefore an educated, middle-class Jewish man) - was forced to flee Germany when the Nazis took control. By exploring Negus' retelling of the period in which Adorno lived and his experiences, we begin to see how he arrived at his view of his world and his view of the role of popular music at that time. Negus has argued that Adorno's pessimism was derived:

partly from observing a period of considerable political turmoil. Adorno had lived through the futile bloodshed of the 1914-18 war, the failure of the working-class revolutions that had spread across Europe after the Russian revolution of 1917 and the growth of fascist parties from the 1920s. When the Nazi party seized power in 1933 Adorno had to flee Germany, and eventually relocated in the United States. Adorno was also living at a time when technological changes had led to the improvements and increasing popularity of recorded music on the phonograph disc and when radio broadcasting and the introduction of sound in cinema had provided opportunities for commercial marketing and political propaganda. While the Nazi party were making maximum use of these media technologies in Germany, Adorno arrived in the United States to find the same media being used to produce and distribute forms of commercial culture. Adorno was thus writing at a formative moment in the development of the modern communication technologies and mass media that have had a major impact on the production, distribution and consumption of popular music (1996, pp. 8-9).

From these experiences, Adorno developed his framework for authenticity, characterised by features which he could use to explain why a particular style of music was authentic and another was not. As the technologies being used in Germany to promote propaganda were the same as those being used in America to promote popular culture, in Adorno's mind, this meant the technologies themselves were inauthentic. From this premise, Adorno differentiated between the music that had predominantly existed in his experience (what he referred to as 'serious' music) to that which was perpetrated in Germany when the Nazis came to power and what he encountered in America. If we look at this in terms of WI Thomas' (1995) point about the way people define something as real means it becomes real in its consequences, we can see that Adorno's point of view about popular music generated an entire discourse that fitted the framework he had developed and provided a way for him to make sense of his world and
what had occurred in it. For Adorno, the features that characterised each form of music he encountered was important, with it being more than simply the difference between "lowbrow and highbrow," "simple and complex," "naive and sophisticated" (Adorno, 1990). He argued that the differences could not 'be adequately expressed in terms of complexity and simplicity' (ibid.). For him:

In serious music, each musical element, even the simplest one, is "itself," and the more highly organized the work is, the less possibility there is of substitution among the details. In hit music, however, the structure underlying the piece is abstract, existing independent of the specific course of the music. This is basic to the illusion that certain complex harmonies are more easily understandable in popular music than the same harmonies in serious music. For the complicated in popular music never functions as "itself but only as a disguise or embellishment behind which the scheme can always be perceived... Popular music is "pre - digested" in a way strongly resembling the fad of "digests" of printed material (ibid., p. 22).

As a result, his framework for authenticity was that popular music was never authentic, due to what he described as its standardisation, by which he meant the repetition in popular songs from song to song (ibid.). He believed popular music was produced for the masses and required little active participation from listeners, driven as it was by the music industry and its concern with commercial consumption, similar to the way Nazi propaganda was being propagated in Germany. As Negus (1996) points out, Adorno's perspective of popular music emerged from his experience of what he saw was control and manipulation of popular music.

Such reflections continue to highlight what is being argued in this chapter, that definitions of authenticity exist within the contexts in which they emerge. A further example comes from Neil Nehring (1997) who, writing from a different time period and within a different set of constructs for authenticity, partially agrees with Adorno, acknowledging that indeed popular music has the 'the imprint of corporate bosses, A & R men, producers, and lawyers' (1997, p. 67), features that led Adorno to argue that popular music was inauthentic. Nehring argues, conversely using a number of the same features to put an opposing view, that is, that popular
music’s authenticity lay precisely ‘in its repetition or circulation, as it enters into actual lived experience’ (ibid.). Again, this highlights the importance of understanding the role of the time period in which a person lives and the different experiences they have in how views of authenticity are generated. Nehring’s comments provide support for the need to further explore how meaning and authenticity are defined at the local levels of performance and consumption. To expose the construct of authenticity in located local practices this chapter explores the ways in which local Newcastle musicians and consumers made meaning and constructed authenticity from their contextually based practices and consumption.

8.4 Existing understandings of authenticity

Keightley’s (2001) explanation for the differing points of view for authenticity in rock music can be seen in what he refers to as ‘Modernist authenticity’ and ‘Romantic authenticity’, two competing discourses which can be seen as a continuation of those with which Adorno was concerned in the period in which he was writing (distinguishing between ‘serious’ and ‘popular’ music). Keightley’s explanation is useful for understanding how different perceptions of authenticity can depend on personal experiences and exposures in over-lapping time periods. Even when these two seemingly delineated viewpoints are espoused however, Keightley is forced to acknowledge that even then the lines are blurred. While he identifies the former (Modernist perspective) as tending to be found more in music that exhibits ‘experimentation and progress… openness regarding rock sounds…[such as in] classical, art music, soul, pop styles, [and] celebrating technology’ (2001, p. 138), and the latter (Romantic perspective) as having tendencies that connect it to the traditions of a ‘core or essential rock sound [based on] sincerity, directness…and liveness’ (ibid., p. 137), he also acknowledge the complexities in such definitions, claiming that whilst ‘most performers or genres will line up on one side or the other… [m]any will move back and forth across the table’
(2001, p. 139) and that [n]umerous rock genres or performers work with hybrid versions of authenticity' (ibid.).

The notion of 'hybrid versions of authenticity' here is interesting, and is further evidence for attempting to understand authenticity in the ways it is defined in local contexts. Understanding authenticity from Keightley's (2001) explanation, however, also allows us to continue to make sense of the different arguments that arise with respect to authenticity.

A number of musicians in the current study viewed authenticity from the Romantic perspective, rejecting what has become a postmodernist perspective of music, where 'celebrating technology' is a legitimate form of authentic expression. These local musicians tended, although not always, to have begun performing in the earlier part of the years under study, when live music in licensed venues was just beginning to develop, and when the historically generated discourse was for live music performance to be privileged over the incorporation of 'other' musical practices (such as disco music\(^9\) or later technologies that allowed for the programming of instruments and the use of drum machines\(^10\)). The habitus of these musicians and their experiences could be argued to have been different from those who performed at a later time, when such technologies were more accepted. In this case the different times in which they lived and the different experiences they had, can be argued to have influenced their view of the world and conversely, how they viewed authenticity. The views of these musicians who tended to define authenticity through a Romantically authentic perspective, similarly viewed recordings of their live performances or studio recordings through this lens of authenticity, meaning that no conflict existed between their live performances and the recording of their music, as the foundations that underpinned those activities were also steeped in the features and traditions by which they

\(^9\) Whiteoak, J. (2003) says of disco: 'In the mid-1970s the popularity of disco, a new kind of dance music, drove a vogue for public dancing to recorded sound under the direction of deejays' (p. 237).

\(^10\) Which allowed for the programming of drum beats, and therefore, the ability to replace live drummers.
defined authenticity. For these musicians, authenticity was defined through the aspects of being able to perform 'live', in the sense of not being assisted by technologies such as programmable instruments and the like; high quality craftsmanship; and the ability to entertain an audience. The additional aspects of the use of technologies that were seen as replacing or removing the need for high quality craftsmanship, which were not incidentally, prominently used at that time, were viewed by those musicians as inauthentic. For some musicians in the current study, definitions of authenticity tended to remain wedded to the Romantic idea of authenticity. For others, perhaps performing at a later time or those who drew on different experiences, authenticity was defined differently. Still others, perhaps comprising those that performed across both the earlier and later periods under study, engaged in what Keightley (2001) referred to as a hybrid version of authenticity. These musicians tended to revise their original views as new meanings for authenticity were generated around them, with examples from a number of bands traditionally connected with one perspective of authenticity, seen to be adopting and using a different perspective. This, arguably, was due to the broader availability of a range of technologies, increased experimentation, and/or the desire to write and perform their own material as time went on, and also changes in attitudes, influenced by bands from overseas and in Australia that engaged with these technologies. The hybrid use of authenticity was also seen in a number of audience members who moved between what were considered 'mainstream'\textsuperscript{11} venues and those considered 'alternative'\textsuperscript{12} in line with the porous nature of scenes as Straw's (1991) work had explained.

\textsuperscript{11} Alison Huber (2008) has described 'mainstream' as 'music that is culturally dominant because of practices that coalesce to produce that dominance; there is no inherently "mainstream music"' (in Homan and Mitchell, 2008, p. 272).

\textsuperscript{12} Roy Shuker says that at its 'historical heart... alternative music was an aesthetic rejecting the commercial music industry, and placing an emphasis on rock music as art or expression rather than as a product for sale for economic profit' (1998, p. 9).
8.4.1 'Romantic authenticity'

The current study found a connection between time periods and experiences and views of authenticity. Such views were similar to those articulated by Cohen (1991) about activities in Liverpool, England. She too is of the view that particular time periods produce different developments in rock music. As noted above, in the Newcastle study, the main actors in this process tended to be those musicians who had begun performing in the earlier years of the study who related more closely to a 'Romantic authenticity' perspective. Such a view is summarised by one local musician:

On the weekend, you could probably go out and see anyone of maybe twenty really good bands all around Newcastle. I don’t know if there’s even twenty venues around now that have bands in them. You might have twenty venues that have got charlatans, you know playing along to backing tracks.... and what I find is for a serious musician, you want to play in a band, you don’t want to play along to a computer or a backing track, you want to play with a band. What’s happening is, if you can buy a duo for 450 bucks, that’s all you’re prepared to pay a full piece band, so the serious musicians are struggling. The ones that are happy enough to go out and play to a backing track pretend to play acoustic guitar, pretend to play keyboards. I saw one guy in a duo one night pretending to play a keyboard and I could see the power wasn’t even plugged into it and all his job really was to turn the backing track on and off so, it’s just outrageous. And what you’ve got is a whole pile of people like that actually in the music scene when they should actually be playing at their friends’ party and that’s all but they’re masquerading as professional musicians. They can’t play, they can’t sing, they’ve got nothing to add to the musical culture except to make our expectations so low that anything seems good and that may be a bit harsh but I’ve just got no time for it and I just think when we were playing in the 70s and the early 80s everybody was playing and you had to play good or people didn’t come and see you. And the bands that were good and stuck together were tight, played a lot, they learnt their craft, they learnt to play their instruments, they learnt to work an audience... (personal interview, no 3, February 2006).

From this perspective, it is easy to understand how those whose view of authenticity was developed through the aspects of 'live' performance (without the new technologies of programming instruments and similar) and the acquisition of high quality craftsmanship and the ability to entertain an audience for quite a substantive period of time, viewed the introduction
of aspects of technologies that became more accepted later as inauthentic methods in music practices. The features of what was perceived as the dominant national music form at that time, what became known as Oz/Pub Rock, then became the template for what was defined as authentic during this period, that being where: 'respect is gained through the constant honing of skills through live performance, undertaking the 'pub apprenticeship', and a distrust of keyboards and other programmable instruments' (Homan p. 2003, p. 97). Homan cited Simon Frith, who has argued that this situation occurred because some musicians regarded certain forms of technology as 'unnatural instruments in performance...simply because playing them takes so little obvious effort' (in Homan, 2003. p. 97). Tara Brabazon meanwhile, argued that 'Oz Rock is a genre of credibility, authenticity, guitars and drums' (2000, p. 102). Mark Tinson summarised how such a view of authenticity manifested at the local level in Newcastle:

they have to be good [bands performing in live venues] because it's really apparent, as soon as they step out on the stage, if they're not very good. In a dark time of my life, I used to work at Fanny's as the sound operator and just towards of the end of when they were having live acts there, there was a lot of disco guys coming in pretending to be entertainers by putting a record on, (makes a snoring sound). But what you notice is that there is a completely different feeling in the room when there's a live band on because there's interaction between the audience and the performer. When the disco guys try and do it, they try and get an audience reaction but the bottom line of it is, they are simply stuck with a record and no matter what they do to it, turn it up or turn it down or slow it down or join it up to something else, they're still just playing a record, they're just not very interesting. And you know, they have these set phrases that they yell out and go "let's get this party started" and "put your hands in the air like you just don't care", it's just like playschool for grown-ups, here take some ecstasy and drink lots of water and you'll have a really good time (M., Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

From that perspective, music that came in 'other' forms, and those that incorporated programmable instruments and similar, were reviled by a number of local musicians. Taking the example of disco music, one musician in the current study referred to it as: 'crap... it was prostitution of music basically...rubbish' (MI, Mudge, personal interview, January 2006).
A number of other local musicians agreed. The local Musicians Union moreover, attempted to protect live music performances against such developments at the time, a claim substantiated by a 'Keep Music Live' campaign. One local musician recalled:

the Musicians Union in Newcastle were coming down hard on them at the time, a lot of the disco operators, and even to the point of actually bans in those days when they started using drum machines... and saying 'you’re not a proper band, you’re just a duo with a drum machine. You can’t call yourself a band (personal interview no 12, March 2007).

Homan also reports intervention by the Musicians' Union in Sydney, blacklisting the Hilton Hotel 'for converting its live music room into a supper club with a disco jukebox' (2003, p. 98). Whilst the local branch of the Musicians' Union in Newcastle in the 1970s similarly attempted to ensure work for live musicians by threatening a number of bans in venues that used discos, it was of the same limited use as reported by Homan for Sydney. In 1973, for example, the union threatened the Registered Clubs Association (RCA) with 'black bans' if they continued to 'use recorded music instead of live entertainers' (Harrower, The Newcastle Sun, 15 January, 1973. p. 3) and local musicians themselves in 1979 refused to perform at the Newcastle City Hall, whilst ever 'the Newcastle Youth Council uses canned music at its Saturday night disco dance' (Hayes, The Newcastle Sun, 29 June, 1979, p.3). Venue operators, however, ignored the threats. One local venue, Western Suburbs Leagues Club, reportedly at the time, 'regarded as the most generous promoter of live entertainment outside Sydney' (Harrower, The Newcastle Sun, 15 January 1973. p. 3), counteracted by imposing a ban on musicians for a month. In the City Hall incident, the Town Clerk simply indicated that he was not inclined to support live musicians in events at the Town Hall, informing the musicians via the union: '[t]he wide support being received by the disco vindicates the council’s and the youth council’s current policy (on the use of pre-recorded music) and I see no need for any change' (Hayes, The Newcastle Sun, 29 June, 1979, p.3).
Such sentiments against 'other' forms of musical styles was not unique to Newcastle and Australia however. In the United States, as Hugh Barker and Yuval Taylor (2007) claim in *Faking It*, 'at the same time as it was becoming hugely successful, disco remained one of the most widely reviled musical genres of the postwar period' (2007, p. 236). The authors suggest a number of reasons for its vilification in certain circles, not least of which was that, for its critics: 'disco had reduced the dance beat to its most mechanical basics. Anyone could dance to disco because it was so simple and predictable - it pandered to the lowest common denominator and lacked a genuine groove' (ibid.). Such sentiments about disco music resonate with Adorno's views on popular music, found by Negus (1996) to be relative to the time and space within which Adorno was writing. For musicians who aligned themselves with the Romantic notion of authenticity, disco music and technologies such as drum machines and other programmable instruments, were inauthentic for exactly those features noted for disco music. Similar kinds of criticisms were levelled at the features of the music performed in the Oz/Rock period, by those performing at a later time, when the use of programmable instruments, drum machines and disco music were acceptable and being used to define a 'new' type of authenticity.

Over time, there has been a softening or blurring of the boundaries that define each set of features for authenticity, again arguably related to the time in which musicians now live with the benefit of hindsight. Giving his opinion on disco music, local musician Greg Carter stated that: 'over my career I've seen lots of music come and go. Everyone learnt to live with it eventually' (G Carter, personal interview, September 2006). Conversely, while live musicians reviled disco, principally it could be argued as it threatened their livelihood as musicians, local audience participants did not share the same perspective as a number of local musicians. A number reported that they derived enjoyment from both types of music, claiming that disco music was something they 'didn't mind' (Frost, March...
Also attributed to the blurring of boundaries over time was the number of musicians in the current study who identified more closely with performing in an alternative musical style, yet who responded to the advertisement for this study which called for participants who had performed or participated in the Oz/Pub Rock era, and who were expected by the researcher to have been involved in mainstream styles. Whilst comments by these musicians' indicate that they viewed themselves and the bands in which they performed at the time as very much apart from the 'cover' bands scene, by the time they were interviewed several decades later, it would seem they had come to view themselves as part of the same phenomena. This can be compared with Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) ideas about the systems model of creativity, where painter Raphael's work can be seen to have been privileged in some time periods and not others. It also supports Rex's (1992) suggestions about the reasons why Kylie Minogue was not perceived as authentic at the beginning of her music career - because her 'apprenticeship' had not been served within the accepted processes of authenticity of the time, which were defined in terms of '[m]aking it on the tough pub circuit' (Howitt, 1989, p. 139). These examples support the suggestion that issues of authenticity are relative to time and space, with a number interviewed for this study now indicating privileging the time period itself, as opposed to the delineation between bands performing covers and those performing original material that had occurred during the latter part of the period under study. One musician, for example claimed:

I think it was kind of healthy because there were a lot of venues for either style of band... you really had to have a good band and a good show... and I think as the '90s came in, you didn’t have to have that, it was more about the video... (personal interview no. 4, March 2006).

Another, an audience participant, recalled equally seeking out bands from both styles, mainstream and alternative bands as her reports indicate:
Cold Chisel, I followed Cold Chisel everywhere, Midnight Oil.. I saw Rat Salad, the Angels, the Radiators, Billy Thorpe and the Aztecs, Russell Morris, Little River Band, Total Fire Band, AC/DC with Bon Scott, Benny and the Jets, Jimmy and the Boys, Men at Work, Mental As Anything, Split Enz, always followed Australian Crawl, loved the Sports and always followed Stephen Cummings... Redgum and I wasn't fussed on them much and Kevin Borich Express EVERYWHERE. I saw the Raiding Party, Suspect, Hitmen, Dynamic Hypnotics, Waiting for Brasso, the Witchdoctors, Armageddon, Mi-Sex, DV8, Heroes, Ward 10, Ward 13, Leeroy and the Rats before they became Rat Salad, and Radar, Crazy Otto, Mecalissa, Nodes Levity, Rabbit, Rocket (K Edwards, personal interview, January 2006).

This situation resonates with Thornton's (1995) views about authenticity, whereby authenticity 'is attributed to many different sounds' (1995, p. 26). Furthermore, 'between the mid-fifties and mid-eighties, its main site was the live gig' (ibid.), where 'liveness' dominated notions of authenticity [and] [t]he essence of truth or truth of music was located in its performance by musicians in front of an audience' (ibid.).

Connell and Gibson (2003) have also argued that '[b]oth authenticity and credibility are constructed in relation to how continuity and change are perceived' (p. 43) and Shuker points to historically generated meanings, such that he argues:

[I]t[he value of historically locating the nature of meaning in popular music is important... First the accreditation of meanings generated by the very fact of the music having a history, a series of reference points for music industry personnel, musicians, critics and fans. Secondly, the utility of reconsidering this history to interrogate dominant myths about the development of the music; for example, the advent of rock 'n' roll is revealed not as purely the interaction of an outburst of creativity and the post-war baby boom, but also as a consequence of the reorientation of the music industry in the early 1950s (2001, p. 242).

In the time period being discussed (early to mid 1970s) and the particular view of authenticity (Romantic authenticity perspective) that was relevant to some musicians during this period, performing cover versions of other people's songs was an accepted and historically traditional part of live and even recorded performance and experience. There was also, as both Shuker (2001) and Bennett (1980) infer, an expectation that local bands
would perform songs that were familiar to local audiences. Shuker, for example, claims that "cover songs are literally the music to the ears of the managers of smaller venues like clubs and pubs, as they are tapping into a proven product that the audience can identify with" (2001, p. 113), and as Bennett (1980) states: 'the local audience, geared as it is to the standard of The Music, is likely not [original emphasis] to appreciate the absence of current hit songs from the repertoire (p. 208)

In a similar manner to Bourdieu's point about the struggles over definition of music styles which result in the construction of hierarchies (1996), for example, in his model of the field his first organising principle is that of binary relations, which Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) interpret as 'a series of paired terms in which one term is privileged over the other’ (p. 169). For example:

[W]hen classical music emerged as muzak in lifts and shopping centres, it immediately lost much of its symbolic value. But the terms, and the values attached to them, are used to organise and evaluate positions in the field (ibid.).

Shuker (2001) has also connected a relationship between authenticity and the idea of a hierarchy of performers. He sees the journey for bands from performing covers to original music in terms of a hierarchy which ranges from those in the early stages being 'largely reliant on 'covers'... to performers who attempt, with varying levels of critical and commercial success, to make a living from music' (p. 112). Shuker argues that cover bands are [a]t the base of this hierarchy' (2001, p. 112) and are 'generally accorded little critical artistic weight. The common view is that reliance on someone else's material concedes that you have nothing of your own to say' (ibid.). Shuker does acknowledge however' that 'bands starting out rely on cover versions for a large part of their repertoire out of necessity, while even 'original' performers will play a few covers...' (ibid.). Shuker suggests that ‘[l]earning such songs is part of the apprenticeship process in acquiring rock musicianship’ (ibid.). Shuker's views support those of Stith Bennett (1980) who had similarly argued that the journey from
performing covers to original material is a process and part of a necessary apprenticeship. What Bennett also found from his studies is that this process was also a part of musicians forming musical identities. Hence, he emphasised the importance of the apprenticeship stage. Bennett (1980) also recognised the necessity for bands to balance what may have been conflicting priorities, ie the need to produce original music to present to recording companies versus the need to satisfy audiences and venue operators by performing songs they knew. He also however, emphasised its value in providing musicians with the ability to evaluate their own levels of proficiency. Bennett believes that as a result of this necessity the 'criterion of personal satisfaction is invoked for the first time' (1980, pp. 207-208). What is also of significance to the current study is Bennett's (1980) assertion that not all bands aspire to success outside a local area, and that while they may 'have grandiose dreams of becoming rock stars' (p. 208), they may also have 'more modest expectations of continued local success' (1980, p. 208). A similar point was made by Frith (1981) who suggests:

The move from neighbourhood performance to mass production is not an ideological break. To succeed, rock musicians must be ambitious to begin with – they must want to make a musical living, to cut records, to reach unknown audiences (1981, p. 5).

Shuker's hierarchy can be seen to be true for those who are framing authenticity within a particular period in time and as both he and Bennett have argued, performing versions of other people's songs was a legitimate form of being authentic as it was seen as necessary to the carrying out of an apprenticeship. From another perspective, authenticity has also been seen through the historically generated tradition of paying homage or honouring a renowned band or artist. Local musician Mark Tinson used the music of Louisiana as an example of how authenticity has been derived through such a tradition. As he asserts:

you look at the bands there [Louisiana] and the funk bands, all pay homage to those that came before them and it's not a problem... they acknowledge their heritage and they honour them, their forebears,
and they recognise a good tune, you know. It's not about, 'well we must write our own songs'… (M, Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

These comments represent a different attitude than those expressed by musicians in Cohen (1991) and Finnegan's (2007) studies, whereby bands undertook the apprenticeship stage of learning to play covers but on progressing to writing their own material Cohen found that 'many were against performing a lot of covers because they felt that to do so showed a lack of creativity and initiative' (1991, pp. 184-185). Cohen found moreover, that due to the period in which one of the bands in her study had emerged, ie punk, they had the belief that "musos' who trained themselves in, and often became obsessed with, musical and technical skills had, in doing so, lost the right attitude...’ (1991, p. 173).

Focusing on authenticity in recorded music, Sawyer (2006) claimed according to composer, Igor Stravinsky, a performer's job was to 'communicate another creator's vision faithfully, not to be creative themselves' (in Sawyer, 2006, p. 232).

Deena Weinstein (1998) also discusses the various historical discourses that have developed and argued that paying homage to a prior tradition and prior performers developed in the 1960s for some musicians in the British rock tradition. For Weinstein, the performance of a 'cover' song presupposes an ideological element, that is, that the practice assumes that the "original" recorded performance is privileged, and that in some way the song belongs to that performance and by extension to the original performer' (1998, p. 138). Weinstein used the early British invasion in America as an example, arguing that these bands 'nodded to American black music at the same time that Americans were involved in the Civil Rights movement and Motown was supplying homegrown blackened pop' (ibid., p. 141). For this reason she says, The Beatles' early records contained what she claimed were 'an encyclopedia of Chuck Berry guitar licks, Buddy Holly harmonies, and Little Richard falsettos' (ibid.). She further claims that:
The Beatles chose songs that had been successful in the United States. Many covers found their way into their April 1964 album... including Chuck Berry's "Roll Over Beethoven," Little Richard's "Long Tall Sally", and the Marvelettes Motown hit, "Please Mr. Postman". In contrast, the Rolling Stones tended toward covers of songs found on the R & B charts, such as "Time is on My Side" by Irma Thomas, Slim Harpo's "I'm a King Bee," and Jimmy Reed's "Honest I Do" (1998. p. 142).

In the same vein, Cohen (1991) found that the period between the end of the Mersey Beat era and the beginning of punk rock in England was dominated by bands performing covers of other people's songs. As she claimed:

After the Mersey Beat' era much of the focus of rock music-making in Liverpool shifted to London and the number of bands performing on Merseyside decreased substantially, with hardly any playing their own material. That situation was reflected all over Britain... until the 'punk' phenomenon in the mid-late 1970s... (1991, p. 14).

Mark Tinson further reflected on the question of authenticity as it relates to the performing of other people's songs in the live situation:

See the notion of bands writing their own songs really came out of the Beatles and it didn't really take on I guess in Australia so much, as the only thing you did, until maybe the 80s because when I was in Rabbit we wrote our own songs but probably only 20% of our stuff was original. We were a cover band. The Ted Mulry Gang were a cover band with a collection of the same, maybe 20 – 30% of original songs. When I first saw the Angels they were like a rockabilly band, playing old style 50s rock and roll songs and any of the bands in Newcastle were mostly covers with a smattering of originals. Audiences would go “that’s pretty cool, that’s a good song”. If you played enough cover material that they liked and knew, you had an audience and you had an audience to teach your original stuff to but if you were just doing your own songs, that audience isn’t there because people, you know, God bless them, want to hear something they know and I’m the same. You know, if I go and see a band that I like, I wanna hear something that I know (M Tinson, personal interview, February 2006).

Those that tended to adhere to a Romantic view of authenticity then, were adhering to historically generated traditions that were replicated over time, where live performance, high quality craftsmanship and privileging cover versions over original material was an accepted and indeed historically traditional way of performing and recording. As time went and musical
styles broadened, greater technologies were developed in music-making, with many Australian bands writing and performing their own material. The Modernist approach to authenticity or hybrid versions of both this and the Romantic one then tended to become more prevalent. This development is succinctly captured by comments by an audience participant interviewed for the current study who said:

Now a lot of bands play all original music whereas the early 80s they had a handful of original tunes and a handful of covers and it used to work. Now a lot of people get turned off a bit by the covers scene but back then it was quite good (personal interview, no 5, October 2006).

It is to those developments and the Modernist authenticity construction that this discussion will now turn.

8.4.2 'Modernist authenticity'

In the later 1970s it became customary for a broader range of music styles to be utilised in the same spaces in Newcastle that in the earlier 1970s had been filled with bands that aligned themselves more with the perspective of Romantic authenticity. At this later time, in many Newcastle venues, it became common to have live music and disco music offered in combination on any given night. An example of this was at the Orana Hotel in Blacksmiths in 1977, where it was announced:

A new rock Cabaret aimed at the over-20 audience will begin at the Orana Hotel at Blacksmiths on Saturday. The venue will be known as the Starship Trooper Cabaret, and it will feature top bands from Sydney and Melbourne. Newcastle bands will also play at the hotel on some nights. Organisers have arranged for a Your Move light show and a disc jockey to spin records between the bands' sets, but they stress that the cabaret will be a rock, and not a disco, venue (Porteus, The Newcastle Sun, 15 February, 1977, p. 14).

Writing in a broader context, John Whiteoak has argued that this trend was later reversed, and 'it became common for bands to be employed just to fill in between disco sets' (2003, p. 237). Whilst such a trend was not specifically investigated in the Newcastle study, what was found was that as time went on it became conventional for some venues to provide disco nights without the inclusion of live bands. Later, the competing number of
alternative entertainments on offer saw live music in licensed venues become less prevalent, which was a development that also impacted on perspectives of authenticity. Such developments saw a number of Newcastle musicians resign themselves to the changes as they realised that despite the best efforts of the Musicians' Union to keep music performance adhering to the features of a Romantically authentic perspective, they were powerless to stop the growing trend. Musician Greg Carter shared his view of the changes:

I hated disco in those days but that was just a mental thing because I was a rock musician... people at a Benny and the Jets (name of local band) gig would start asking us to play a disco song, you know, it was just a ridiculous thing to ask a band to do. If you ask a rock band to sing a disco song, it's like asking a disco band to play a rock song, they just don't do it (G Carter, personal interview, September 2006).

The growth in music being produced more widely in Australia in the 1980s also played a role in the development of differences in the perception of authenticity, whereby a widening of influences and changes in expectations occurred. Stratton argues this was due to Australian bands and Australians generally becoming 'more comfortable and accepting of Australia as a cultural identity' (2007, p. 90). In Newcastle, this manifest in a number of ways, as some groups and individuals sought music that was supposedly less commercially-oriented and in turn, the holders of these ideas had the ability to influence others. Moreover, for a number of musicians who had tended to adhere to the Romantic view of authenticity, such developments represented an opportunity for greater financial benefit and for some, this led to an evolution in their notion of authenticity. Yet others accommodated themselves to the changes that represented a new era of music-making and practice. It is suggested that the reaction to the inclusion of a number of the newer technologies in music performance in Newcastle provides a clear indication of how deeply pervasive the Romantically-inclined perspective on authenticity had been in that city. The use of these technologies in 1982 was considered unusual enough at the time to be reported in a local newspaper:
It's happened under our noses almost before we could realise it. The much-trumpeted *new age* has dawned over South Newcastle beach. At the centre of the ruddy glow of the new non-storm is Red Orchestra, two boys and a girl who play guitars, synthesisers, saxophones and… a drum machine! *(The Newcastle Post, 24 February 1982, p. 8).*

For many local musicians, the reaction to the use of technologies was a mix of resignation and opportunism. The opinion of one local musician for example, was that: 'it's become more the norm, so to actually see a proper live band that's not using anything in the way of sequencing or drum machines or whatever else, can be a bit of a rare occurrence these days' (P Stefanczyk, personal interview, March 2007).

The financial opportunities that the new technologies offered were also not lost, as musicians realised they could be useful in assisting them to either add to their earnings by performing in duos in addition to their band work, or relinquishing band work altogether in favour of performing as a soloist or in a duo and integrating technologies such as drum machines into performances. This coincided with venue operators reacting to a range of developments (not least being complaints about noise at certain venues and changes to liquor laws), which made it more viable and commercially necessary for them to employ duos and soloists. These musicians then, needed to reconcile their previously held views with a view of authenticity that was, as Keightley asserted (2001 pp. 138-139), more Modernist in their approach to authenticity. As Peter Stefanczyk explained:

> It's a fact of life. It's economics. If you're doing a job with three people and then finding you can do it with one person less and you're paying for a piece of equipment and you're making more money, then obviously you're going to do it and by the same token, if you turn around and there is one person doing it with a whole heap of backing behind you, you're making even more money again and that's great too. That's what people go out there to try and make a living of (P Stefanczyk, personal interview, March 2007).

A further way that these developments and changes in approach to authenticity were manifest in the later period under study in Newcastle was in the growth of what was considered 'alternative' styles of music.
Such developments often resulted from the efforts of single individual(s), evidenced by the following vignette from a Newcastle musician:

It was through Wayne our drummer but he was from Inverell and came down to Newcastle and at that time he had an interest in the band called The Smiths and a lot of alternate sort of stuff, The Cure and bands like that, so I more or less joined that bandwagon and learnt songs that I wasn’t too familiar with. But we found as we played, there was a big underground following in Newcastle for that style of music and when we came on the scene, there was no-one else really doing it. We’d take songs like Tainted Love – Depeche Mode and do guitar versions of those songs and we learnt a fair few Smith songs and went from there personal interview, no 4, March 2006).

As the above comments suggest, even bands that were identifying as 'alternative' were at this point nevertheless performing 'covers', adhering to the traditional processes of 'apprenticeships' served through the learning of other people's songs.

Local bands performing in the 'new wave' or 'alternative' styles of music in Newcastle became more prevalent in the 1980s as a result of the growth in original recorded music being produced in Australia in the 1980s, and being heard from overseas; a widening of influences to incorporate a diversity of rock styles; and changes in technology. The advent of non-commercial radio station 2jj also helped, it being transmitted to Newcastle from 1980 onwards. 2jj was an initiative of the Whitlam Labor Government, with the instructions that 'success will be judged on the ratings among the under-25 group' (Bruce Elder and David Wales, 1984, p.6). The station provided radio airplay to many bands that were ignored by the commercial so called Top 40 stations, offering diversity and most importantly, Australian local content and opportunities to bands from rural centres.

There were, however, a small group of bands performing in the alternative style in Newcastle in the mid to late 1970s as a result of the development of punk music in the wider musical context. Such bands could be argued to have been adhering to a Modernist authenticity perspective from their conception, or moved from one to the other, or worked with what Keightley
refers to as a hybrid version of the two. Local band *Pel Mel*, for example, originated in Newcastle and reportedly formed in 1979. The band was noted to be one that 'insists on playing original material laced with covers of obscure songs' (Della-Grotta, *The Newcastle Sun*, 20 December 1979, p. 11). *Pel Mel* was embraced in particular venues in Newcastle, notably the Grand Hotel in the city, before relocating to Sydney. The editor of *Rolling Stone* at one time claimed how the band had coped 'with the provincialism in the NSW town of Newcastle…' (St John, 1985, p. 76), which may suggest the band's music was not widely embraced in Newcastle. A local newspaper report described the band's time in Newcastle as one where the band's members had been 'notorious second-wave punks who devolved the Ramones, started a ‘scene’ and became dangerously alternative in outlook' (*The Newcastle Post*, 24 February 1982, p. 8). At this time however, it remained traditional in Newcastle for local bands to perform a high percentage of other people's songs and also songs that were well-known to local audiences. It can be argued then that *Pel Mel* was developing the band's view of authenticity from a perspective of Modernist authenticity while it was still a dominant tradition in Newcastle for authenticity to be viewed from a Romantically authentic perspective.

Local band *Broadway*, on the other hand, moved through different periods of authenticity, beginning life as a 'Top 40 covers band' (*The Newcastle Post*, 30 August 1979, p. 12). The band later changed its name and broadened its music style, its members performing original material said to be 'influenced by the Cars, Joe Jackson and The Police' (ibid.). A local newspaper report stated that the band performed 'rearranged versions of 60s hits by the Yardbirds, Beatles, Rolling Stones and The Who' (ibid.). This suggests the band had moved away from its emphasis on a Romantically-driven perspective on authenticity, to one that embraced a more Modernist approach to authenticity, where both cover songs and original material was combined.
Local band Meccalisssa (later DV8), was a band whose mix of original music and covers was embraced by local audiences to the point where the band was described in 1985, as being 'synonymous' with Newcastle (The Post, 6 March 1985, p. 14). Formed in 1976, the band was performing original songs and recording them as early as 1978 (demonstration tape with songs, 'Rock 'n' Roll Cha Cha Cha' and 'Skag Freak' in 1978) (The Newcastle Sun, 10 August 1978, p. 9) and the single, 'Darby St Blues'/Kill The Warden' in 1979, written by singer/guitarist Greg Bryce (The Newcastle Sun, 23 August 1979, p. 12). While it could be argued that Pel Mel adhered to the Modernist perspective of authenticity that Keightley describes, and Broadway could be seen to have originally adhered to a Romantic perspective and subsequent moved to embrace a more Modernist approach, Meccalisssa (later DV8), it could be argued, utilised hybrid aspects of both and thus was embraced by audiences that moved in and out of different scenes (Straw 1991). Local musician Dana Soper summarised it in the following way:

There were some great bands around, great original bands, you know. When I wanted to go for a good night out... and we didn't go looking for a purely covers bands either and neither did any of my friends. See that's a mentality that's changed. You know, like if I wanted to go and see something that I liked but I wanted to see something fresh too, you could find it. You'd go to a certain couple of venues to look for a sound, you'd look for a certain style of music but you'd be hoping to hear some originals too. If you were into ska there'd be this band, this band and this band that you'd want to go and see you know. If you were into rock there was Powerstrike or The Idols or there was DV8. You'd have your favourites that you'd hope would be playing somewhere that night, so you could go and catch one of them, but they were all bands doing originals. Yeah, there were good purely cover bands too, but when you wanted a good night out, that's what you did. You looked for a particular band or you took a punt on a venue that usually had the sort of bands you liked (D Soper, personal interview, April 2006).

As noted above, however, whilst a number of musicians defined the music they performed as 'alternate', (suggesting an adherence to the Modernist perspective on authenticity), they nevertheless, still included covers of other people's songs in their performances, suggesting that a more hybrid approach to authenticity was being generated.
The above discussion has explored how authenticity is connected to time and how different time periods, with its different influences, have the ability to influence how authenticity is perceived. The following discussion will be devoted to exploring how authenticity is connected to place and how that also manifest in the Newcastle context, adding to, as Stokes (1994) has identified, a greater understanding for how, through 'local conditions, languages and contexts' (p. 7), meaning and authenticity are further established.

8.5 Authenticity's connection to place

As with particular views of authenticity connected to time, it can be argued that individuals, groups and bands' perception of authenticity was similarly connected to particular spaces where particular styles of music were heard. As noted previously, Homan (2002) has blamed the rise of tribute and cover bands for what he refers to as the erosion of the tradition of the pub apprenticeship, arguing that: '[t]he number of venues preferring tribute and cover bands has eroded the traditional notion of the pub “apprenticeship”, where audiences and venue owners exhibited a degree of patience in allowing performers to parade original songs' (2002, p. 46). Similarly, Marcus Breen's (1987) comments that mimicking the styles of other bands 'is a long way from independent developments, growing out of the need for people to express their lives musically' (1987, p. 213).

Merriam, however, discussed the findings of a study by David McAllester (1954) to make the point about the connection between music and the broader cultural context in which it exists and how they help to shape each other. As he asserts, 'music, in expressing the general cultural values, also shapes the culture' (1964, p. 249). This situation can be applied to all music, regardless of its origins.

In the musical culture that had developed in Newcastle, the content of the music was often dependent on the space in which bands performed. In most venues in Newcastle in the early period under study, the pub 'apprenticeship' began with bands predominantly covering other people's
songs, with it later becoming more acceptable in those spaces to combine both cover songs and original compositions, as was discussed above. At different times, specific spaces in Newcastle became those which supported bands performing in the alternative styles, often as the result of the efforts of an individual(s) looking to broaden music choice in Newcastle. Jim Duncan, for example, as the then president of the South Newcastle Boardriders (club), reportedly said that:

the idea for a music venue different from everything else first cropped up in a conversation between members of the surf club... We just wanted something different and we started with some shows in town with Pel Mell (sic) (Porteus, The Newcastle Post, 4 November 1981, p. 13).

In the same article, what became known as a venue for alternative bands, Norths Leagues Club, in the suburb of Mayfield, was described in the following way:

...when you walk into the door of Norths, the metallic edge of the scenery seems to somehow fit the 'happening' inside. And when you see the people who have gathered at the rugby club, it all starts to make sense – call them 'punks' or 'mods' or 'skinheads' or even 'rude boys' (or even 'rude' girls!) if you like, but the only label that really fits is 'different'. On most Saturday nights in the past 18 months, hundreds of Newcastle’s ‘misfits’ have gathered at the club to dance, check the bands and generally prove that they don’t miss fitting in with each other... Certainly both the looks and the music of the shows were heavily influenced by the modern music renaissance which swept Europe – but not Australia – in 1977 (Porteus, The Newcastle Post, 4 November, 1981, p. 13).

Another individual credited with instigating music in the alternative vein in Newcastle was Mark Cherry, about which it was claimed:

If you saw bands at Norths Leagues, Nite Moves and, more recently, The Venue, then you know how Mark Cherry was bringing alternative music to Newcastle long before anyone else. According to Mark, there is nowhere in Newcastle that local alternative bands can play or where modern Sydney bands will find a hearing (The Newcastle Post, 2 November 1983, p. 15).

These ‘do it yourself’ style venues also extended to music that engaged audiences through the playing of records, without the inclusion of a live
band. The following example demonstrates how an individual(s) proactively sought out to provide different music practices:

The Newcastle Bowling Club, with the help of three Newcastle art students, has started an alternative dance night every second Friday night at the club’s auditorium. A spokesman for the dance night, Jackie King, said the dance was started in response to people complaining about their Friday nights being boring. ‘People are always complaining how boring Newcastle is on a Friday night and that there is nowhere to go unless you want to dance to Top 40,’ Jackie said. ‘Now they have a choice and it gives them just a bit more to do.’ The music is definitely not Top 40 but it is totally danceable. With music by such artists as Japan, Cabaret Voltaire and the Motown performers dominating the turntable... Dancers are also invited to bring along their own records... (The Newcastle Post, 13 June 1984, p. 15).

Similarly, at Stumps Wine Bar in Hamilton in 1986:

Thursday nights at Stumps are Vinyl Nights... The nights are of course dedicated to records and each week a different act is chosen as the feature group... showing off bands like Dire Straights, INXS and the Rolling Stones... (The Post, 15 January 1986, p. 19).

The above examples illustrate that the styles of music were broadening and including other types of music engagement as well as mainstream music. In live music, for example, these were beginning to include bands that were influenced by overseas styles but which were not considered in the mainstream. On the recorded side, specific sites were offering something unique, as a way for certain individuals and/or audiences to control and shape the music in specific ways, hence, impacting on the local music scene. These developments illustrate Bourdieu's (1994) point of 'the struggle between the two principles of hierarchization' (1994, p. 60), which he refers to as:

the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically... and the autonomous principle... which those of its advocates who are least endowed with specific capital tend to identify with degrees of independence from the economy... (1994, p. 60).

The examples suggest that in particular spaces in Newcastle '[t]he state of the power relations in this struggle' (ibid.), to which Bourdieu refers, began
to shift. This was between the mainstream venues and those that were becoming popular for alternative styles, and which depended, if Bourdieu's ideas are considered, 'on the overall degree of autonomy possessed by the field, that is, the extent to which it manages to impose its own norms and sanctions on the whole set of producers' (1994, p. 60). The alternative music scene in Newcastle began to make inroads into the mainstream music scene, shifting the balance of power towards what can be described as a more hybrid scene. It did what Bourdieu said occurs when the degree of autonomy possessed is to the extent that it is able to 'impose its own norms and sanctions on the whole set of producers' (1994, p. 60), that is, it 'affects the whole structure of the field' (ibid.). One example of this occurring in Newcastle was with the inclusion of new music styles in a venue that had traditionally been considered one of the most popular venues for mainstream bands. A report in a local paper noted the change:

AFTER years of being known as a pretty basic Ocker sort of rock and roll venue, the Bel Air Hotel at Kotara is about to change its whole outlook... the days of basic rock, loud noise, crowds jammed into a stuffy atmosphere and generally a rough trade scene are about to be replaced by New Wave/Punk/Video/Disco...definite plans include the mega-group Deckchairs Overboard... followed by a DJ with New Wave rather than mindless disco/funk, video clips and a whole bunch of other goodies... (The Newcastle Post, 20 July 1983, p. 12).

And this the following week:

NEW WAVE, old-new-wave, punk, trendy, left-of-centre rock and roll and John Cooper Clarke plus Ignatuis Jones as a Disco Nun – yes folks, things are certainly changing out at the back of the Bel Air Hotel!... All of the above is part of the new image of the Bel Air’s room, which will indeed be known as The Venue, named for a nite spot in London which is the venue for people with tastes ranging from Culture Club to XTC to just about any British group at the front of the revolution (The Newcastle Post, 27 July 1983, p. 13).

The changes at the hotel, which amounted to a change to the music style on one night of the week (Fridays), was reportedly at the instigation of local promoters, General Booking Agency, along with Greg Acret from the hotel, the latter who said that:
bands such as Birthday Party, Hunters and Collectors, Laughing Clowns, Deckchairs Overboard, Machinations and Pel-Mel have been some of Australia’s most interesting exports, but there just hasn’t been a proper venue in Newcastle for them (The Newcastle Post, 27 July 1983, p. 13).

Again, these examples illustrate that within different time periods and in different spaces, different styles of music and ways of engaging were accepted and found to be authentic, with the growing influence as time went on of those that started off, ie ‘those of its advocates who are least endowed with specific capital’ (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 60), ie the purveyors of those styles that were considered as being outside the mainstream music scene, being able, as time went on, to impose certain styles onto the mainstream. This was due to the acceptance of these styles in the field of popular music more broadly, which worked itself out through local promotion agencies and also growing preferences from venue operators. This is what Merriam (1964) intimated when he suggested that:

the degree to which internal change is possible in a culture depends to a major extent upon the concepts about music held in the culture. This is, ideas about the sources of music, composition, learning, and so forth, provide the cultural framework within which change is encouraged, discouraged, or allowed (1964, p. 307).

The above discussion has explored Stokes' claims that social performances do more than reflect cultural patterns and structures - that they are spaces where meanings are generated. The hierarchies which Stokes, Bourdieu and Shuker variously suggest occur, are as a result of privileging particular music styles over others. What this chapter has demonstrated is that authenticity is relative to the time and spaces in which it is produced and experienced and, as such, cannot be defined by any specific or privileged set of criterion. This then provides evidence for Stokes' (1994) claim that it is the relationship between the music and ritual that connects and transforms. Added to this, is that this occurs only in so far as both are determined to be authentic by the participants.
9.0 Conclusion

Using a case study analysis of the city of Newcastle, Australia, this thesis has argued that the way local music scenes develop is underpinned by a place's geography, history, social structures, and culture. Additionally, it has demonstrated how and why this occurs.

Newcastle's history played a significant role in the way live music developed in the way it did. The unique way that Newcastle's suburbs emerged historically following the relocation of convicts away from Newcastle, and the dominance of mining companies that located pit heads in certain places, meant that discrete suburbs arose in independent pockets across Newcastle which was a significant factor in the way licensed venues subsequently emerged. As a result, particularly in the early years in the period under study, this meant that local audiences had an intimate connection to their own suburban neighbourhoods and were connected more closely with the suburbs in which they lived. As a result, these audiences sought entertainment in licensed venues that were close to home or those which were close to transport. In these early years of the study, it was also found that live bands were an expected part of a night's entertainment and were often seen as a backdrop to socialising with friends.

Newcastle's geography also played a significant role in how live music in licensed venues developed, principally in terms of Newcastle's proximity to Sydney which impacted on the way Newcastle inhabitants viewed themselves and their own music culture. This was found in the somewhat self-consciously reflexive response of being in such close proximity to the state's largest city, from where a number of bands were emerging that were achieving success on a broader scale. On the one hand, Newcastle's close proximity led to something of a 'cultural cringe' in Newcastle's relationship with the bigger city. Juxtaposed with this however, were the opportunities the close proximity afforded to Newcastle bands, audiences
and venue operators which served to enhance Newcastle's local music scene. For local musicians these opportunities included improving their own musicianship through watching more experienced touring bands perform and the opportunity to work as a support band for these bigger bands, with the hope of gaining increased exposure outside of the area. As a consequence, a number of local musicians came to compare their own performances and abilities favourably to those visiting bands from outside the area which aided them in forming positive music identities.

The study found that demographics were another factor in the way live music in Newcastle developed through the 1970s and 1980s, witnessed by the large population of young people in Newcastle at that time. Combined with Newcastle's geographic spread, this demographic reality meant that there were large numbers of young people that were able to support live music in a large number of venues across both the Newcastle and Lake Macquarie Local Government areas.

Conclusions from the Newcastle study, which support those from other studies that have reported on factors that play a significant role in how music develops in any particular place, reinforce the importance of studying music scenes, regardless of what music styles are performed. Studies such as these add important information to the literature across many domains of the importance of geography and history in how places are organised and how their inhabitants behave.

Furthermore, the ways in which the development of a particular habitus assisted with aspects of identity formation for Newcastle musicians was also a significant finding from the study. This finding supports the idea that there are usually a number of factors that contribute to bands attaining commercial success and that the formation of a musical identity is closely connected to one's habitus and the acquisition of a number of specific literacies or currencies, such as those espoused by Pierre Bourdieu. As was presented, these can be in terms of social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital. These act in a way that bestowed local musicians with a
particular esteem and sense of achievement which aided in the development of their musical identities. It was found, however, that these literacies, acquired over time and relevant to one's habitus, are not easily transferable to other areas. This became clear when a number of local bands attempted to relocate to the larger cities of Sydney or Melbourne as a way to further their musical careers. Viewing their world from within Newcastle may have blinded them to what their hometown offered in terms of a level of praise and acclaim for what they were providing to the local music community, to both audiences and to the cultural and social fabric of their home town. If any local bands retained, to any degree, a sense of a lack of achievement for not having made a larger commercial contribution to music-making, they could be satisfied in the understanding of their own particular habitus. With what amounted to disinterest from the larger centres in nurturing Newcastle bands, as well as the lack of a national commercial radio station to support local music, these factors made their chances of success limited, regardless of the talent they may have possessed and the skills they may have acquired. Newcastle's significance in that regard is only now coming to light, in the way that not only did it nurture its own bands, it was also a place where bands from other localities with a higher profile making an impact nationally, have later thanked Newcastle for supporting them, such as *Cold Chisel*, *The Radiators* and *Rose Tattoo*. Jimmy Barnes, moreover, thanked Newcastle audiences in 2011 for stopping the band in which he performed, *Cold Chisel*, from 'starving' (2011) in the band's early years. This reveals the local and national influence of Newcastle as a musical locality and hence, its significance. What Newcastle offered local musicians was an opportunity to enhance their musical identity through the esteem extended to them by the local music community, which was a result of the degree of social, symbolic and cultural capital they had acquired. For bands performing from outside the area, it also afforded a high level of support which offered a way for them to enhance their musical identity, at the same time, making Newcastle a sought-after place in which to perform.
This important musical period also had a significant impact on Newcastle's economic, industrial and socio-cultural trajectory. Bourdieu's ideas about power and agency in the 'field of production' suggest that different agents, choice-making entities within a field, have the ability to effect how the field operates at different times. These ideas were borne out in the Newcastle study, as was Bourdieu's (1994) and Giddens (1979) notions of agents entering, or existing in the field, having the ability to transform it. In the Newcastle study, particular groups at different times did hold significant amount of power and influence, while at the same time there was evidence of groups or individuals who displayed the ability to impact, change or influence the field. This was mostly evident in the way audiences or bands at different times either reacted against, or agitated for, change at particular venues.

Women musicians, it was found, however, had different experiences to that of male musicians, experiences which were argued, reflected society more broadly. The site of live music performances at that time, ie primarily hotels, was at that time constructed as male and hence also contributed to the differential treatment of women.

Cultural change was also evidenced in the early years under study, from the shift from audience patronage being primarily at non-licensed venues, to one where licensed venues were favoured. Shifts were also evidenced by audiences seeking out entertainment close to home, to more latterly expanding into other areas, specifically to seek out bands which they liked watching perform live. A further shift was seen later in the study, where government regulatory changes, in both building amendments and changes in noise regulations, resulted in a shift away from a predominance of live band performances, to smaller duos and soloists.

Shifts to the development of identity also resulted from the influence of promoters. Emma Webster (2011) and Guy Morrow (2006) have argued that promoters are necessary and in Newcastle, their rise both enabled and professionalised the local industry but at the same also restricted
some of the practices that had existed prior to the accumulation of the high degrees of power and influence they achieved. The benefits of their influence was that they were responsible, in some cases, for providing greater regularity of work and better remuneration for performances for bands not on the upper echelons of popularity who were not able to negotiate for themselves. For the bands the booking agents represented, their increased power also removed the necessity for bands to negotiate with venue operators. They also provided a wider range of performance sites, as a result of booking agents pursuing venues in other areas in which bands could perform. On the other hand, for bands wanting to operate independently of agents or were unwilling to deliver the type of music agents sought at different times, the move to control many of the venues already popular in Newcastle resulted in a number of bands being unable to access a number of performance sites. Some booking agents also acted as venue consultants and this alleged 'conflict of interest' was criticised for impeding a number of bands' commercial success.

In Newcastle, the influence of one promoter, Peter Anderson, particularly, effected ideological and cultural change and as a result further aided in identity development, both for local musicians but also for the local music industry more broadly. As a result of his influence, Newcastle musicians underwent a shift from believing they had to leave Newcastle to achieve national success, to one where they adhered to Anderson's belief that national success could be achieved whilst maintaining Newcastle as a base. Anderson's belief that this could be accomplished and his resultant attempts to establish the necessary infrastructure and frameworks for it to occur further enhanced the local music industry in terms of its economic and attendant cultural development.

Bourdieu's ideas then, about the way societies are structured and how they operate are relevant to the Newcastle study in the way that people as active choice-making entities involved in the music industry in Newcastle operated both within existing structures and in the forging of new ones.
The Newcastle study also found that issues of authenticity in popular music are relative to the time and the spaces within which the music is produced and experienced and cannot be defined by any specific objective set of criterion. Authenticity, therefore has been argued to be a constructed concept. This argument supports Stokes' (1994) claim that the ritualistic symbols in different areas:

point to the crucial relationship between the music and ritual. Without these qualities, however they are conceived in a particular society, the ritual event is powerless to make the expected and desired connections and transformations... This kind of perspective enables the interested anthropologist to see music less as a fixed essence with certain definable properties than as a wide field of practice and meanings with few significant or socially relevant points of intersection. Without understanding local conditions, languages and contexts, it is impossible to know what these practices and meanings are... (1994, pp. 5-7).

In the Newcastle study, as well as audiences who adhered to primarily mainstream or alternative sensibilities, there was also a cross-over of musical tastes by a number of audience participants, again relative to the time in which they were experienced, ie mid to late 1980s, whereby a number of bands such as DV8, immensely popular to local mainstream audiences, were also acclaimed by those who also sought out alternative genres of music. There was also cross-over the other way as time went on, with bands performing in alternative styles gaining access in the later 1980s to venues traditionally viewed as mainstream. This supports evidence by a number of writers in the field who suggest that authenticity is closely connected with the meaning that is made in music performance and engagement.

The above findings support theories that a place's history, geography, socio-culture, economic, industrial and political factors are all important in the way a place develops and the way specific music phenomena develops in that place. The thesis has emphasised that where people are geographically located and the way they have come to view their world historically, impacts significantly on behaviours and the way people
organise socio-cultural phenomena. It also posits that specific forms of capital, such as social, cultural and symbolic capital, are used as a way for musicians to form a musical identity; they are 'place' specific and bound to the specific habitus of people's home towns; and are not readily transferable to other areas. It has been argued, that not only do people operate within structures of power and control, with the ability of any newcomers to affect the structure of the field, there is also the ability of those not readily known to have high levels of power in economic terms to nevertheless, be successful in agitating for change. Finally, the ideas put forward in this thesis, that authenticity is relative to the time it is produced and experienced in, as well as in the spaces where it exists, adds to the knowledge of the way people make meaning from the music they hear and from their related experiences.

9.1 Recommendations for further study

While the current study sought to explore a wide range of aspects to do with Newcastle's mainstream music practices in the 1970s and 1980s, some aspects, due to the nature of the project, resulted in a number of factors being emphasised more than others, although were considered no less important. As such, it is hoped that this study will act as a springboard for further work to occur in this important area of study in the local area of Newcastle.

This study leaves further work to be conducted, for example, into the impact of local recording studios in the Newcastle region and the bands and artists that recorded in those spaces. Such work into the local recording music industry in the 1970s and 1980s could act as a prelude to the work conducted by Groeneveld in 1998. There is also scope for further research into the operations of licensed venues that operated during the period covered by the current study from the perspective of the venue operators. Moreover, research into how the 'mainstream' and 'alternative' music scenes in Newcastle functioned together in the later 1980s and beyond and how the local mediums of radio and press
impacted on the development of local music scenes would also be useful. Finally, there remains a great deal of work to do around the participation of audiences and the ways they engage and make meaning, and their criterion for authenticity as it relates to the music with which they engage and other music styles with which they interact.
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