Meanings and measures taken in concert observation of Bruce Springsteen, September 28, 1992, Los Angeles

Thomas J Rodak
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/rtds

Repository Citation
https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/rtds/3215

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Scholarship@UNLV. It has been accepted for inclusion in UNLV Retrospective Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Scholarship@UNLV. For more information, please contact digitalscholarship@unlv.edu.
INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700  800/521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
MEANINGS AND MEASURES TAKEN IN CONCERT
OBSERVATIONS OF BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN
SEPTEMBER 28, 1992, LOS ANGELES

by

Thomas J. Rodak

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Communication Studies

Greenspun School of Communications
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
August, 1996
The Thesis of Thomas J. Rodak for the Master of Arts in Communication is approved.

Chairperson, Barbara L. Cloud, Ph.D.

Examinining Committee Member, Stephen F. Nielsen, Ph.D.

Examinining Committee Member, Anthony J. Ferri, Ph.D.

Graduate Faculty Representative, Isabelle Emerson, Ph.D.

Dean of the Graduate College, Ronald W. Smith, Ph.D.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
August 1996
ABSTRACT

Since the mid-1970s, Bruce Springsteen's concerts and his rapport with audience members have attracted the attention of leading rock music critics. Witnessing the communication between Springsteen and audience members was the purpose of this study. On-site observation was used to explore the techniques that Springsteen uses to communicate with the audience during the concert.

A model, previously employed by Deanna And Timothy Sellnow to determine the effects of musical score upon the lyrics of songs recorded in the studio, was utilized with the on-site observation. The model had not been applied to a concert performance before this study.

The findings of this study identify the major measures and means Springsteen employs to diminish the distance between performer and members of the audience. The means he implemented are divided into performance aspects and musical aspects of the concert. Some of his strategies have since been emulated by other rock music performers, making this study of Springsteen an important addition to the field of communication by means of music.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE PREVIEW</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of the Thesis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Performing Legend</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critics as Reputation Builders</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER TWO COMMUNICATION, SOCIOLOGY AND MUSIC</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adapting Langer's Theory</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael McGuire</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Studies</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER THREE BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN'S BACKGROUND AND MUSICAL HISTORY</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolation, Doug and Bruce Springsteen</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding the Isolation of Presley</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music as Labor</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Music Matures</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Music in the 1970s</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death, Fragmentation, Heavy Metal, and Country Rock</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singer-Songwriters, a Search for the New Dylay</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A M Radio</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greetings from Asbury Park</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springsteen's Early Albums</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FOUR PERFORMANCE ASPECTS OF THE CONCERT</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising to Fame, from Bars to Arenas</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arena - Concert Observations: Non-Musical Messages</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Vari-Lite System: Morpheus Lighting</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic Clothing and Signals</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exdigenous Sound, Choir and Signals</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocals and Tall-Tale Stories</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the members of the faculty committee: Dr. Stephen F. Nielsen, for his support and wisdom; Dr. Anthony J. Ferri for his insightful comments and knowledge of rock music; Dr. Isabelle Emerson for her musical knowledge, and performance at critical moments.

I am forever indebted to my chairperson, Dr. Barbara L. Cloud for her wisdom, patience, focus, candor, and kindness. This study could not have been completed without her guidance.

A special thank you to Kathleen S. Eyster and Earl Burns for aiding me in the technical organization of this study.

This study is dedicated to my mother, Sabina T. Rodak, for her love, and her emotional and financial support. I will never meet a person more generous, not only to me, but to many others as well.

I thank Earl Burns and Rosa Mendoza for their patience and support, and Dr. Brad Chisholm for his encouragement.

Finally, I thank two musicians for friendship, fond memories, and sharing their musical taste and knowledge with me; my brother Joseph D. Rodak, who took the right road, and Buddy Campbell, who I wish was still here.

vi
CHAPTER ONE

PREVIEW

Bruce Springsteen is a rock composer and musician who has emerged as an astounding fixture in popular culture in the United States and Europe. He has been identified as one of the most prominent rock singers of the last two decades (Sellnow and Sellnow, 1990, 71). While much has been written about the artist’s career, there remain significant omissions and misrepresentations that fail to account for Springsteen’s growth as a cultural icon. Although his reputation among critics and fans has been most enhanced by his live performances (see Ennis 1992, 375), most scholarly studies on Springsteen have been based on an analysis of the music on his albums, compact discs and cassettes (McGuire 1981, Lyons 1981, Sellnow and Sellnow, 1989 and 1990).

The main thrust of this study will focus on Bruce Springsteen in concert. Through descriptive analysis of the concert experience, this thesis will seek to explain the attraction his live performances elicit among his fans.
Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one will establish Springsteen's reputation as a rock legend and the importance of his live performances. Chapter two of the thesis will consider scholarly studies of Springsteen from the fields of communication and sociology, and will discuss the history of rock music in general. Of particular interest are the studies by Michael McGuire, Timothy and Deanna Sellnow, Lawrence Grossberg, Joe Stuessy, Dave Szatmary, and Philip H. Ennis.

Chapter three will describe Springsteen's personal history and development as a musician as well as the influences on his music, writing and performance. Utilizing the vantage point of his fans, chapters four and five examine the concert experience from two perspectives, physically and musically, using a 1992 Springsteen concert performed in Los Angeles as a case study. These chapters will discuss the story setting and other physical characteristics and the musical aspects of the concert, including lyrics and manner in which the songs are presented. As part of this discussion, the Sellnows' model will be applied to Springsteen's choice of song order for the Los Angeles concert. The chief tool used is on-site observation, before and during the concert performance.

The concluding chapter will review findings focusing on the concert experience. The usefulness of surveys at concerts will be considered. Suggestions for further study
of Bruce Springsteen, rock concerts and rock 'n' roll stars will be discussed.

A Performing Legend

Rock 'n' roll -- rock music -- has completed its fourth decade and Springsteen has been recording for half of that period. Few rock legends have been prominent longer than Springsteen. Only Bob Dylan, the Rolling Stones, Neil Young, Pink Floyd, Billy Joel, the Moody Blues, the Grateful Dead (until Jerry Garcia’s recent death), and a few other groups have steadily performed with such longevity. While the Stones, the Dead, Joel, and Young are still commercial successes, most others are not. Most of the rock legends that formed in the late 1960s and early 1970s are either on the wane, or have disappeared from the pop charts. Numerous former stars are now relegated to playing the nostalgia circuit, performing mostly their former hit songs interspersed with a modicum of new material.

In contrast, most rock critics consider Springsteen’s two most recent albums to be as good as his previous efforts. Using a one- to five-star rating, five-star being reserved for only classic albums, Anthony DeCurtis critic for Rolling Stone magazine gave four stars (excellent) to Human Touch and a rare four-and-one-half star rating (excellent to classic) to Springsteen’s Lucky Town (April 30, 1992, 54+). Simultaneously released in early 1992,
both albums represent a maturity and growth of Springsteen as a lyricist while mirroring the same maturation in his personal life. In short, Springsteen may be the first rock singer to directly address the greying of the Baby Boomers while still drawing enough fan interest to reach near the top of the charts and sell out concerts.

In addition, at a time when it would be prudent to continue a winning combination, Springsteen told members of the E Street Band that he wanted to experience what it would be like to create music with other musicians. This band was comprised of friends who had backed him on tour and in his studio recordings since 1973 with few personnel changes. His dismissal of the band was not a callous act. Each band member was given an immense bonus; some rumors report the figure at $2 million per member (Buddy Campbell interview, January 21, 1993). Members of the E Street Band have since become involved in other projects in the field of pop music. In 1995, they again gathered at Springsteen’s request to perform newly recorded songs as well as make a few live appearances with him. They did not play with him three years earlier. This study will postulate a musical reason for the change in backing musicians.

In 1992, Springsteen embarked upon his first concert tour with a new group of musicians, including a choir of five, thus creating a dramatic break with his musical past
and risking his popularity as a rock artist. The risk appears to be worthwhile.

Bruce Springsteen has become an American icon. Consider the following. Springsteen won an Academy Award in 1994 for his song "Streets of Philadelphia," used in the film "Philadelphia." In June 1995, he, his wife Patti Scialfa, Steve Van Zant, and the last incarnation of the E Street Band appeared on "Late Night with David Letterman" to perform two new songs from the *Bruce Springsteen's Greatest Hits* compact disc. Paul Schaffer's house band began performing Springsteen's "Tenth Avenue Freezeout" to cut to a commercial. When the viewing audience was returned to the Letterman program, Springsteen and the E Street Band were giving an impromptu performance of that song, although they had not publicly played the tune in ten years. In May 1995, VH-1 (cable channel 33) aired a program, "Greetings from Bruce Springsteen," that offered interviews with Springsteen, the E Street Band members, and a retrospective of their careers. This was followed by a performance featuring the four new songs from the greatest hits compact disc, culminating in Van Zandt and Springsteen singing "Two Hearts (are Better than One)" from *The River* album.

For his final program on NBC, talk-show host David Letterman promised a never-before-seen guest. "It is someone in my life who has meant a great deal to me,"
(Late Night With David Letterman, Nov. 1, 1992). The guest was Springsteen. On November 2, 1992, Springsteen was in an "Entertainment Tonight" segment with ex-child actor, Gary Coleman. A few days later he gave an interview on the same program. ABC ran a promotion for NFL Monday Night Football in which an actor states, "I'm an American. I like Springsteen. I like football. Hey, I'm a fan." On January 17, 1993, his song, "Human Touch," was played in its entirety for the opening of "The Switch," NBC's Sunday night feature movie of the week.

An essay in an English textbook compares Springsteen/patriotism to Rambo/nationalism (The MacMillan Writer, "Stallone vs. Springsteen," 1991, 324-327). A recent MTV promotional video for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Rolling Stone magazine featured sound bites of only four songs; one was Springsteen's "Born to Run."

The October 26, 1992, issue of Sports Illustrated printed "Pass the Pacifier," an in-depth story about rookie hockey sensation Eric Lindros. Austin Murphy notes that "he (Lindros) drives a four-wheel-drive truck. He listens to the rock group Asia and he likes Bruce Springsteen (53). This is but a scintilla of the latest coverage by the world of print and television; it is not a new phenomenon. Springsteen has attracted more than his share of attention for years.

In 1976 Springsteen simultaneously appeared on the
covers of *Newsweek* and *Time* magazine, the fifth non-political figure to achieve that status. During the 1984 presidential campaign his *Born In The U.S.A.* album’s message was both misinterpreted and mentioned in speeches by President Reagan and New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley. Political columnist George Will wrote about a Springsteen concert he attended. *In Glory Days: Bruce Springsteen in the 1980’s*, rock critic and Springsteen biographer Dave Marsh (1987) states that Will totally misunderstood Springsteen’s songs yet "on September 13th, Will’s syndicated column was published under the headline 'A Yankee Doodle Springsteen’" (254-260). In that year, *Newsweek* again put him on its cover.

At the height of his popularity in 1984 and 1985, there was an abundance of magazine and newspaper articles concerning Springsteen. Ten books about his career were published in those two years. At the time Marsh (1987) noted that "politicians are quoting his lyrics, claiming to be lifelong fans...Just the other day *People* plugged him on its cover just so it could run three pages of photos from his stadium tour and speculate about what turn his career might take next (363).

**Critics as Reputation Builders**

Critics writing for established rock magazines during the 1970s, including *Rolling Stone*, *Musician*, *Creem*, *The Real Paper* and a few others, developed their analytical
skills in these magazines. By the mid-Seventies, a group of "baby boomer" writers had fanned out into the world of metropolitan dailies. By then, rock criticism had matured along with its subject, rock music.

Springsteen has clearly had a great amount of attention, and the commentary of the serious, seasoned rock critics must be considered in any analysis of his place in American music. In "Rock and Popular Culture" (Socialist Revolution, no. 31, January 1978,) Simon Frith raises "questions concerning the analysis of rock music as a form of mass communication, questions that are begged in the numerous attempts to assess the political significance of the counterculture" (309). Frith notes that books by Jon Landau (formerly a rock music critic, now Springsteen's manager-producer), Greil Marcus (at that time with Rolling Stone) and Robert Christgau (writing for The Village Voice), as well as Lester Bangs and Dave Marsh, (of Creem magazine), "are not only intelligent and incisive," but also "teach their readers how to listen to and respond to music," (309). Frith says that "in contrast to the usual hack pros of the record business, they seek to establish rock as a serious area for both artistic and social criticism" (1978, 309). Scholar Philip K. Ennis (1992) confirms the importance rock critics have played in establishing rock music as a legitimate musical stream (313) and (341-343).
Since the Seventies, these critics have honed their craft and a network of rock n' roll magazines has expanded as has a plethora of knowledgeable rock critics. Clearly, any academic analysis of Springsteen should take advantage of the wealth of information concerning concert and album reviews, interviews, and history the rock writers provide. At present, scholarly studies concerning Springsteen do not adequately acknowledge the contributions of the rock critics.

Timothy and Deanna Sellnow (1990) state that Marsh’s two books about Springsteen "can best be classified as tributes as opposed to scholarly analysis" (70). They add that "most articles written about Springsteen and his music consist of either personal interviews, tributes to him or reviews of his albums and tours" (73). Yet this is the very passel of knowledge scholarly explorations have utilized.

Marsh and Robert Hilburn are insiders by virtue of their journalistic proximity to Springsteen. Marsh has written two books about Springsteen, *Born to Run: the Bruce Springsteen Story* and *Glory Days: Bruce Springsteen in the 1980s*. The former was first published in 1979 and updated in 1981 to add insight concerning The River Tour in 1980. Hilburn, music critic for the *Los Angeles Times*, seems to have interviewed Springsteen more often than any other writer. While both men may admire Springsteen, and
have developed friendship and trust with him, their books and articles contain valuable observations and commentary that cannot be classified as mere tributes.

For some time, popular writers who critique rock 'n' roll music have had valid points to offer. In 1976, rock critic Greil Marcus published *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music*. Marcus meticulously investigates music and myth, probing and presenting detailed research which he combines with quotes from D. H. Lawrence, Walt Whitman, Leslie Fielder, and others, blending beads of rock history into the rosary of American myths and beliefs. *Mystery Train* is one of the best books written about rock. It explores a portion of the American experience that rock music has opened for articulation. The book can be considered a watershed work as it solidified the role of rock critics. Though *Mystery Train* does not discuss Springsteen, as the book was written early in his career, it does explore American myths by discussing major contributors to rock and roll, who themselves have become myths or icons.

When taking into account all of the books and articles concerning Springsteen, it is best to consider the reputation of each author while assessing his observations. Springsteen's importance to music, communication, and American myth is nearly universally accepted by baby boomer rock critics. Perhaps
paradoxically, in attempting to explain the "meaning of Bruce" and projecting his image as "a regular guy," the critics have made him a living American icon.

The rock books that provide the most personal insight into the subject of this thesis are Marsh’s two books, Hilburn’s *Springsteen*, and Patrick Humphries and David Hunt’s *Springsteen: Blinded by the Light*. Two additional books are significant: *Down Thunder Road* (1992) by Marc Eliot (with commentary by Mike Appel, Springsteen’s former manager), and Charles Cross’ *Backstreets* (1989). The latter contains the best of a magazine (of the same name) edited by Cross. *Backstreets* is concerned with Springsteen’s "music, not the man" (15). The book contains lists of songs Springsteen sang in concert from 1970 to 1988 as well as interviews with those associated with Springsteen.

Articles written by established rock critics are also of value. Record and tour reviews, and interviews of Springsteen by *Rolling Stone*, *Spin*, and *Musician* magazines provide valuable insight into the artist and his music. One must note though, that Hilburn and Marsh are the two writers who have most often contributed information about Springsteen to the world of popular music journalism. However, during the late 1980s and the 1990s, in-depth interviews of Springsteen were conducted by Kurt Loder of *MTV*, Bill Planagan of *Musician* magazine, and James Henke.
and Mikale Gilmore of *Rolling Stone* magazine. There is a general agreement among these rock music critics regarding what Springsteen is saying, how important concerts are as Springsteen communicates his messages, and what influenced his career development. His concert performances are mentioned more by critics than are those of any other performer of rock music.

What may most interest these writers is their ever-growing subject. Springsteen is a living process that changes, but he is also a product and a producer of products consumed by listeners. He is both a maker of product and a maker of art. In turn, his concerts are up-to-date artifacts composed from albums that are themselves artifacts and products interestingly interspersed with an occasional new Springsteen song, or a cover version of another artist's song. Most pop articles about Springsteen by rock critics are written while he is touring and most articles attempt to review his legendary, marathon concert performances.

For nearly two decades, no matter the physical size of the club or arena, Springsteen's concerts have been consistently critiqued as "very good" to "spectacular." Rock writers generally acknowledge that his albums are good but pale in comparison to his live performances.

Springsteen, the Beatles, and Elvis Presley can be considered milestones in rock 'n' roll, but the Beatles
and Presley found that their success eventually isolated them. Presley was literally killed by drugs after living a life far removed from the fans who idolized him, a fact not lost on Springsteen.

The Beatles quit touring rather than be held captive in their hotel rooms, the only place they would not be mobbed by their fans. They complained that they could not be heard above the roar of the audience at their concerts. They were trapped in their own public image. In addition, the Beatles stopped touring as they started to record songs with sounds they could not duplicate in concert since stage technology was then quite rudimentary. Retiring to EMI’s Abbey Road Studios, The Beatles created better, more musically complex songs. Experimenting with and expanding the form and nature of rock music took precedence over the financial benefits rock concerts could provide them. According to Paul McCartney, "The idea for [the] Sergeant Peppers [album] was that the record would go on tour" ("The Making of Sergeant Peppers" Disney Channel 28, September 13, 1992.)

As it was for the Beatles, music, not market, is Springsteen’s chief motivation, but Springsteen uses the concert to develop his music as an art as well as product. He also uses the concert format to strengthen his close bond with his fans. Unlike the Beatles, Springsteen is considered at his best in concert. both his fans and the
critics seem in awe of his in-concert performances. One general statement sums the opinion of Springsteen admirers: "He is unique. There has never been a performer like Bruce."

Concerts seem to be his natural musical element and habitat, yet scholarly studies of Springsteen confine their analysis to his albums (artifacts.) Academic studies mention his charismatic stage appeal, then proceed to categorize and interpret themes from his albums. However, the essence of Springsteen as communicator and performer should best be revealed by examining his actions in concert.

It was the live performances early in his career that built his reputation and persona and forced Columbia Records to promote him as an artist. More than any other rock performer, there would be no Springsteen phenomenon without live performances. This study will focus upon Springsteen's concerts and the strategies he employs to communicate effectively with his audience.
CHAPTER TWO

COMMUNICATION, SOCIOLOGY AND MUSIC

Timothy and Deanna Sellnow have published two academic articles applying Suzanne Langer's theory of aesthetic symbolism to Springsteen's catalogue of songs: "The Appeal of the Tragic Rhythm: Bruce Springsteen as a Case Study" (1989), and "The Human Relationship from Idealism to Realism: An Analysis of the music of Bruce Springsteen" (1990).

Their studies focus both on Springsteen's music and tragic/comic lyrical messages and what makes the songs appealing to listeners. Additionally, Deanna Sellnow's 1991 dissertation employs Suzanne Langer's theory of aesthetic symbolism to categorize the entirety of a song, both musical score and lyrics. Langer believed music to be a representation of human feeling. The Sellnows test the effect of musical score on lyrics and the inter-relationship of musical score to the words sung. The importance of the Sellnows' work lies in the fact that other studies typically do not provide a systematic analysis of both score and lyrics. James Lull (1987) noted that "both lyrical content and musical score must be
addressed for one to better understand the communicative meaning of music" (26).

Adapting Langer's Theory

Essentially the Sellnows divide music into two basic categories -- lyrics and musical score. Each of the categories contains further subdivisions. Some confusion may be caused by the fact that in both lyrics and musical score categories the word "rhythm" is used in different ways. The lyrics category contains the first rhythm. That rhythm must be defined as comic or tragic and can be in either what Langer and the Sellnows call the poetic or dramatic illusion, but it cannot be in both illusions. Thus rhythm is a division of lyrics and, being part of the illusion, is not a musical term.

However, the second rhythm is a musical term indicating a subdivision of musical score. The Sellnows then indicate whether the second rhythm is either driving or smooth. As will later be shown, the second rhythm, the musical term, can alternate between driving and smooth within certain songs. Much of the latter (musical) rhythm is the result of what in musical terms are called texture, timbre, volume, and tempo. These particles of a song create its form. In layperson's terms timbre is the selection of instruments played during a song. Timbre would affect texture.

According to Joe Stuessy, (1994) texture can be seen
as a continuum in which two singers singing a duet with, perhaps, one acoustic guitar would be quite thin. On the opposite end of the continuum, a full orchestra playing several vocal melodic lines would be exceedingly thick (15-16). Timbre involves what instruments are used in a song, where they are used, and what part of the instrument is to be used. To provide a useful example: A guitar may be used in a song as a lead instrument, it may play only in certain portions of the song, and where on the frets it is fingered (played) during playing are all examples of textural restraints. Tempo refers to the speed of a song, that is, the beats per minute.

The Sellnows (1989) state that

Langer sees drama as a product of history and morality. She describes drama as an artist’s attempt to communicate a semblance of history through a rhythmic structure....rhythmic structure is thematic. The two themes available to the artist (through that structure) are comedy and tragedy...a drama is composed in either the comic or tragic rhythm (39).

According to the Sellnows, Langer discusses both the comic and tragic rhythm. She describes the former as equivalent to an organism struggling to maintain balance. The Sellnows (1989) add that "the comic rhythm as seen by Langer, is a symbolic representation of the endurance and persistence people display when meeting adversity" (38). Meanwhile, tragic rhythm involves ideals and the most important element of the career concept, "self-realization." In turn, self-realization acknowledges
that each person has a "limited potential personality given at birth" (40). The Sellnows interpret Langer's theory to mean that "in the tragic rhythm, then, this self-realization fosters the view that destiny is predetermined fate" (40).

The second (musical) rhythm is used by the Sellnows as one of the four subcategories under musical score. That rhythm is either smooth or driving. A driving rhythm supports a comic rhythm theme, while a smooth rhythm would support a tragic rhythm theme.

In their second Springsteen study, (1990) the Sellnows divide into categories all of Springsteen's songs on albums up to and including 1987's *Tunnel of Love* album. Lyrics are either poetic (backward-looking) or dramatic (forward-looking.) Within each of those illusions, poetic and dramatic, either a comic or tragic rhythm is employed. They argue that the type of music selected by the composer can affect the feelings, understanding, and reaction of the audience to the lyrics of the song. The Sellnows contend that a systematic application to both score and lyrics is necessary to understand the communication of feelings. A musical score represents a "virtual time" and "is the pattern or form of human feeling, worked out in pure measured sound and silence" (75).

They subdivide musical score into rhythm, (driving or smooth) harmony (either tonic or modulates), and
instrumentation (broad or stark). In musical terms broad or stark would be closely related to timbre and directly related to thick or thin texture. The Sellnows' adaptation allows one to define whether a song is performed in either a rock or a folk style and in a major or minor key (tonality), with the latter usually conveying a more tragic feeling. Rock songs are however rarely performed in a minor key. The Sellnows may have realized this by their second article when they charted seventy-one songs from six Springsteen albums and found only seven songs situated in a minor key. Five of those were on the Nebraska album; Springsteen's stark, depressing "isolation" album, which can be classified as a folk album rather than a rock album.

By tracing Springsteen's songs the Sellnows follow how Springsteen's perception of the human relationship changed from his *Born to Run* album in 1975 through *Tunnel of Love* in 1987. They conclude that "as Springsteen grew as a songwriter and a person, so did his interpretation of the human relationship. His illusion shifted from idealistic dreams toward a more realistic, paradoxical vision" (81).

This study assumes that if the Sellnows' approach is beneficial in analyzing Springsteen's albums, it can help with analysis of his songs in concert as well. Their summary states that "choice of musical elements can even
alter the same poetry from a comic rhythm to a tragic rhythm, from a dramatic illusion to a poetic illusion. The complete musical work must be analyzed" (82). In concert, Springsteen alters the musical accompaniment of some of his songs, at times drastically. The Sellnows' approach should, with some modification, be a useful tool in examining the musical aspect of Springsteen in concert.

Michael McGuire

Other than the Sellnows, few communication scholars have looked at Springsteen's work. One exception is Michael McGuire. He used a rhetorical analysis of three thematic units -- despair, optimism, and responsibility -- that bind together Springsteen's songs on three albums, *Born to Run*, 1975; *Darkness on the Edge of Town*, 1978; and *The River*, 1980. McGuire (1984) contends that "despair is optimism's failure, while optimism is the drive to escape despair" (241). He contends that responsibility is the middle ground where optimism and despair meet. This echoes the Sellnow's findings.

McGuire noted that "the voice speaking to us out of the songs of optimism encourages us to dream and promise, and to flee, to run, in pursuit of those dreams and promises. But if we do...we may end up feeling that it's all lies" (245). Additionally, Springsteen has recorded and performed many songs that critics would term light-hearted and upbeat rock music. McGuire (1981)
contends that on Born to Run, Darkness on the Edge of Town, and The River, Springsteen gave us "a glimpse of the rhetorical aspects of music not written expressly [McGuire’s emphasis] to advocate social changes" (248).

McGuire was the first academic writer to identify responsibility (realism) as a main theme in Springsteen’s songs. He notes that the complexity of the lyrics does not contain much meaning for teenagers, therefore Springsteen’s message defines and limits his audience. This seems incorrect given his popularity among teens during the mid 1980s unless the Born in the U.S.A. tour was an anomaly. Like the Sellnows, McGuire relies on listening to a limited number of Springsteen’s albums and does not attempt to incorporate the concert experience into his study. I believe that tour was an anomaly. McGuire also does not attempt to join the meaning of lyrics with musical score. Rather he concentrates on the lyrics in a select number of songs taken from three Springsteen album. The Sellnows and McGuire have done the most significant work relating to Springsteen but there are additional studies worthy of mention.

**Additional Studies**

There are three noteworthy histories of rock music by Szatmary, Stuessy and Ennis as well as some less comprehensive studies. Szatmary’s text (1991) dains to be "a social history of rock-and-roll," [that] "places an
ever-changing rock music in the context of American, and

to some extent, British history from roughly 1950 to 1990" (xiii). The first portion tracks music from the birth of
the blues, through gospel and rhythm and blues to the
birth of early rock 'n' roll.

Szatmary notes that "by the mid-1950's the baby
boomers had become an army of youngsters who demanded
their own music" (xiv). That music was rock’n’roll.

Szatmary acknowledges that rock music has been "entwined
with the development of the music industry," but "though a
business, rock music has been rebellious" (xv). In fact,
rock has more than its share of rebellious artists and
audiences, starting with sideburns and fast cars during
the 1950s, the civil rights and anti-war movements of the
"longhair" 1960s, punk rockers of the 1970s to the
fragmentation, MTV images, technopop and angry inner-city
gangster rappers of the 1980s and 1990s. Szatmary's
history covers all rock eras.

Asserting that Springsteen "sang about Americans that
had fallen upon hard times" (270), Szatmary gives a short
history of Springsteen, noting that his first album
"though touted as a masterpiece by the 'new Dylan' sold
only 25,000 copies," the second, "sold only 150,000 copies
in nearly a year" (271). Szatmary praises the 1975 release
of the third album,

Springsteen displayed his many influences in
Born to Run. Beside the obvious Dylan elements
that surfaced in his rapid-fire lyrics and harmonica playing, he borrowed the dramatic stylings of Roy Orbison, the wails of Little Richard, and the operatic sweep of Phil Spector, which he labelled 'the sound of universes colliding.' The Boss also adopted the pounding piano of Jerry Lee Lewis, the intensity of R & B (rhythm n' blues) exemplified by the honking sax of Clarence Clemons, and Chuck Berry's chugging guitar sound and his preoccupation with girls and cars (272).

Actually, Springsteen's songs contained colorful characters similar to Dylan's songs, but Szatmary is wrong when noting "the Dylan elements" on the Born to Run album. Instead lyrically, Springsteen was influenced by Dylan on his first two albums more than on Born to Run. What Szatmary seems to be saying is that Springsteen managed to incorporate much of historical/traditional sound of rock music, rework the sounds, and produce something refreshingly different yet unconsciously, immediately recognizable to rock listeners. This observation has been made by rock critics.

Szatmary insists that "after his thirtieth birthday in 1979, Springsteen begin to change along with other baby boomers" (272). Szatmary continues,

Springsteen's music reflected his changed attitude. Rather than dealing exclusively with cars, girls and ...street toughs, his music began to deal with the plight of average Americans trapped by circumstances. This transition started with Darkness on the Edge of Town, which in addition to such Beach Boy-type paeans as "Racing in the Street," included such songs as "Factory" that, in the words of the Boss [Springsteen] described "people going from nowhere to nowhere" (272).
Significantly, Szatmary agrees with the popular biographers of Springsteen, like Marsh and Hilburn, regarding the changing mood of Springsteen's albums through *The River*, *Nebraska* and *Born in the U.S.A.* Regarding the latter album, "The album dealt with the loss of innocence experienced by an aging baby-boom generation during the 1970s" (273). In his text Szatmary includes one quote by Springsteen given to *Musician* magazine in 1985 that explained his shift from a idealistic dream to a more realistic, paradoxical vision;

> These are not the same people anymore and it's not the same situation," he told *Musician*’s freelance critic Dave Marsh.... "But like I said it's ten years down the line. I wanted to make the characters grow up" he continued...."It was something I wanted to do right after *Born to Run*. I was thinking about it then. I said, Well how old am I? I'm this old, so I wanna address that in some fashion, address it as it is, and I didn’t see where that was done a whole lot (273).

Other rock writers -- Marsh comes to mind -- note that Springsteen is all of the characters on *Born to Run*, characters that have a universal appeal and recognition from the audience; therefore, as Springsteen has evolved in the process of growing up so have the characters, and the situations they encounter are familiar to the audience. The characters are universal and also reflect the maturation process of the baby-boomers. Thus Springsteen has been called by pop critics an "Everyman" for the baby-boomer generation. Clearly he is more an
"Everyman" for baby-boomer rock critics (Larry King Live, 1992).

Szatmary continues, "Despite an unadorned realism, Springsteen sought a renewed commitment to a 1960s social consciousness" and "the Boss backs his words with actions" (273). Springsteen donated time and hundreds of thousands of dollars to local food banks during his 1984-85 Born in the U.S.A. tour (Marsh 1987; Ennis, 1992).

Where Szatmary concentrates on developing a picture of the social circumstances surrounding rock music, Stuessy gravitates toward the various musical forms that have developed in rock history. For this study, the most pertinent point in Stuessy's (1994) rock music text is his explanation and changing definition of the term "mainstream rock". He notes the genre "seemed on the verge of extinction in the early 1960s," but "the British invasion brought with it the return of mainstream rock, with the Beatles on the gentler side ...and the (Rolling) Stones on the harder side" (172). He maintains that "the fork in the road created by the Beatles and the Stones, is central to the history of rock since the mid-1960s," but the groups had a "common stem in the 1950's rock style of [Chuck] Berry, [Buddy] Holly, [Elvis] Presley, and Little Richard" (172).

Stuessy notes that one American counterpart to the mainstream British groups was John Fogerty, lead
guitarist, vocalist, composer and keyboardist for the late 1960s group, Creedence Clearwater Revival (1994, 317). It is no coincidence that in a review of Springsteen in Stere Review (April 1974) Steve Simels stated that "clearly we are dealing here with a highly individual auteur and I might add, the first big American rock talent since John Fogerty" (68).

Two and one-half pages of Stuessy's text are devoted specifically to Springsteen. He rhetorically asks;

Whatever happened to just plain mainstream rock? Amidst all the hyphens and adjectives, was there anything left that consisted of a gutsy singer, a drummer, some guitarists, a piano player and maybe a saxophonist playing good old dead-center rock and roll? The answer was "yes," but it was a rather well-kept secret until the 1980s (372).

By references to the Rolling Stones and Creedence Clearwater Revival, Stuessy links Springsteen's music with the harder type of mainstream rock as opposed to the softer-sounding, more experimental music of the late Beatles albums.

The voice of Springsteen is described by Stuessy as "raw and unsophisticated, as with Dylan, Joplin, Hendrix and others [it] is either loved or hated" (1994, 372). The Sellnows and rock critics have called Springsteen's voice "raspy." Woody Guthrie sang with a nasal twang that Dylan emulated. Both Guthrie and Dylan, in his folk period, performed songs about the struggles of the working class. Joplin and Hendrix sang in a blues and soul style, both
styles deriving from gospel roots. Soul, blues and folk in turn derive from pain and suffering. Springsteen vocals fit in this category. Stuessy (1994) suggests,

Springsteen's lyrics, contain references to the frustrations, confusions, dreams, and disappointments of the average working-class person. The themes of unemployment, social issues, the difficulties of Viet Nam veterans, and the rage and frustration of being unable to beat "the establishment" pervade almost all of Springsteen's songs. In that way he is related to the heritage of the folk-rock trend of the 1960s (372).

Except for the feminist movement, during Springsteen's period of popularity, 1975-1988, the massive and visible political youth movements of the 1960s dissipated. Thus, Springsteen's lyrics are apolitical and social in nature. His early lyrics advocated that individuals take chances to escape the mundane drudgery of daily life. Springsteen's characters run into the difficulty of adult responsibility, the fear of isolation, as they witness the destruction of adolescent dreams and betrayal of ideals on his succeeding albums from The River 1980 through his present albums.

Stuessy presents a number of editorial statements that form an overview of rock 'n' roll. Three, in particular, are critical if one is to understand Springsteen; "The audience for rock is getting both older and younger. Rock is no longer the counterculture, it is the culture (emphasis is Stuessy's) Music, including rock and roll, affects behavior" (396).
Stuessy ends by suggesting that some rock music has gone too far;

Rock and roll has gradually become something different in kind, not simply different in degree .... Certainly there is an element of hatred in much of today's music that simply has not been present in any style of music previously (397).

A genre of music that once caused a celebration now intimidates. During certain rock subculture performances, moshing and slamdancing, where people literally smash into each other, rowdy fan behavior, and violent/sexist lyrics have replaced the more joyous (if somewhat more inebriated and stoned) behavior at concerts during the late 1960s and well into the 1970s. In comparison to other present subgenres of rock music, Springsteen's songs and his concerts are more socially responsible and non-threatening.

While Szatmary and Stuessy concentrate upon the development of rock music through its brief history, Ennis (1992) presents a more thorough explanation of the evolution of rock music from out of the six other American streams of music that existed before and contributed to the birth of rock 'n' roll in the 1950s. He then identifies how and when each of the streams contributed to the growth and maturation of rock 'n' roll until it came to be called rock music. The streams are; gospel, folk, jazz, popular, country pop, and black pop. Springsteen has drawn upon aspects of all six streams during his musical
career, but most heavily from black pop and folk. Ennis places Springsteen's contribution to rock music in his overview of the seventh musical stream:

But it is Bruce Springsteen who has inherited rock's crown and who wears it lightly as 'The Boss.' Certainly Springsteen's credentials are blue-ribbon rock....Undoubtedly, Springsteen has paid his dues in the record business, surviving lean days and creating in the E. Street Band a distinctive sound and a stage presence that earns for him the respect of a critical and engaged audience. As writer-performer, moreover, his work from "Born to Run" to 'My Hometown' evince the authenticity manifest in rock performers of the days just before the pause point in 1970. His physical presence on surprise occasions, with free performances at a benefit for striking workers in an Asbury Park, New Jersey, gives that authenticity a stamp of modesty and commitment all too rare at the moment, (375-376).

Lawrence Grossberg (1989) maintains that each genre of music and each star has strategies and "the most compelling and most successful strategy is the position occupied by Bruce Springsteen" (266). Grossberg attempts to determine the reasons why Springsteen can cross demographic barriers of audiences with a diversity of videos shown on MTV that "defies any generic identification of musical and visual style" (266). He concludes with four major observations that make Springsteen seem heroic.

First,...Springsteen has explicitly created pop images of the postmodern condition. Second, his own image is that he is just like us, an ordinary person with the same emotional experiences. Third, his image of authenticity is artificial, and his fans know it (although they constantly avoid admitting it). His performances
are extraordinarily well-rehearsed and planned, his gestures and stories repeated over and over again. But this does not interfere with his authenticity (although it obviously should) ...Finally, what makes Springsteen different is that anyone can see that he cares more about rock and roll, and his fans, than any other contemporary performer. In the perfectionism with which he produces records, in his concerts, and in his lifestyle (he refuses the pleasures of the rock and roll life so that he can make better rock and roll), Springsteen’s ‘sentimental inauthenticity’ (which he shares with other stars like Sylvester Stallone) celebrates the magical possibility of making a ‘difference’ against ‘impossible’ odds simply on the basis of the intensity of his commitment to ordinary activities (267).

Grossberg notes that Springsteen employs "the most successful strategy" as his fans cover a broad spectrum of "age, class, gender and national boundaries" (266). Grossberg maintains that Springsteen’s fans need not identify with the particular narratives he [Springsteen] constructs in order to feel a "sense of immediacy" with the singer. Grossberg suspects that Springsteen and Sylvester Stallone both project a personae of "sentimental authenticity" (287).

Journalist and author Jack Newfield disagrees, linking the two stars, but as opposites, in Stallone vs. Springsteen, an essay that first appeared in Playboy magazine (1986) and now appears in The MacMillan Writer. Newfield (1991) notes that "beneath the surface...these two American heroes of the eighties are sending opposite messages...offering two competing visions of the American future" (324). Newfield says that he supports George
Orwell's suggestion that nationalism and patriotism are opposites. Stallone's characters in the fantasy Rambo and Rocky movies are nationalistic, full of violence and revenge on a stereotyped enemy with no remorse, doubt or guilt. His Vietnam veteran is deranged.

The worst features of Stallone's nationalism are the values it enshrines and reinforces: racism, violence, militarism and -- possibly the most subversive of all -- simplicity. Nationalism, as defined by Orwell, is an intoxicating but essentially negative emotion because it is...intolerant (326).

On the other hand Springsteen "retains his idealism in spite of everything, because his patriotism has room for paradox. At a Springsteen concert, one song makes you want to cheer for America, the next makes you want to cry for America - and then change it" (326). Newfield believes the values Springsteen sings of in his songs are old-fashioned virtues dealing with family, community, honest labor, dignity, and perseverance. Newfield asserts that Springsteen's "fundamental theme is the gap between America's promise and performance and his resilient faith in the eventual redemption of that promise" (326).

The findings of academic studies concerning idealism, responsibility, and realism in Springsteen's lyrics and musical score are echoed by Springsteen's own comments and by rock critics. The critics note that Springsteen has changed the focus of his lyrics, swinging from youthful idealism to realism. His performances and commentary during
his 1980s and 1992 concerts, and the characters that have grown up in his songs clearly straddle a fine line between romance and realism. He is an important rock performer because he is a popular American rocker who writes and performs songs meaningful to a broad spectrum of fans. He seems down-to-earth while managing to enjoy a more than reasonable amount of fame and fortune. In short, Springsteen seems to not have lost his origins and grass-roots persona despite achieving financial success. He is thus positioned to deeply reflect and to influence the views of a certain segment of society, his fans, with his rock music.

Chapter Three will examine the performer and his work in the context of the history of rock music and attempt to answer the following questions. What emotions does Springsteen convey? What in Springsteen’s life causes him to compose and perform songs as he does? Why has he been so well-received by rock critics? In essence, what has influenced his musical composition and lyrical style?
BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN'S BACKGROUND AND MUSICAL HISTORY

Bruce Springsteen was born on September 23, 1949, in Freehold, New Jersey, to Adele and Douglas Springsteen. He was the couples' first child; he has two younger sisters: Virginia, born in 1950, and Pamela, born in 1962. Springsteen is a Dutch surname, but his father is mostly Irish, his mother is Italian, (Stewart 1984, 6) and (Hilburn 1985, 18-26).

Freehold is a town in Central New Jersey eighteen miles from the shore town of Asbury Park. Springsteen would develop as a guitarist in Asbury Park clubs during his late teen years. Hilburn (1985) calls the area "depressing, both towns living in the past with little hope of a better future" (14). Springsteen "attended St. Rose of Lima grade school (a Catholic school) ...and later went to Freehold Regional High School and took a few classes at Ocean County Community College" (26). Marsh and Hilburn both note that Springsteen was quiet and a self-described loner with little intellectual stimulus.

Isolation, Doug and Bruce Springsteen

One of the most important factors that drives
Springsteen’s stage life is a sense of isolation, caused by his childhood, particularly his relationship with his father, Douglas. His guitar playing caused tension between the two. As Hilburn notes;

In a famous monologue between songs during the Born to Run Tour he (Springsteen) told the story, "I use to slick back my hair real tight so he couldn’t tell how long it was getting. And try to sneak through the kitchen. But the old man, he’d catch me every night and drag me back into the kitchen. He’d make me sit down at the table in the dark and he would sit there tellin’ me...In the wintertime he used to close all the doors and it got real hot in there and I can remember him just sittin’ there in the dark, him tellin’ me, tellin’ me, tellin’ me...and I could always hear that voice, no matter how long I sat there. But I could never, ever see his face" (29).

In the late 1970s, Springsteen, noting how Doug Springsteen often spent time alone, reflected, "my father was always like that. I lived with my father twenty years and never once saw a friend come over to the house. Not one time" (121). Many of the stories Springsteen told at concerts during his tours over the years centered on his parents, particularly his father’s attempts to discourage his musical aspirations. In one story his parents follow him to California, trailing him for six years, from concert to concert. Sometimes Springsteen would say, "I think they’re somewhere in the house (audience) tonight, trying to get to me, telling me it’s not too late to be a doctor or lawyer. Hey ma, dad, give it up!" (Springsteen concert broadcast, KMET F M, Los Angeles, July 7,1978). In other stories his father turns up the stove, whose heat...
and smoke go directly to Bruce's room. "I'd be playing my guitar and he'd be yelling at me to turn down the goddamn guitar. It was never a Fender guitar or a Gibson guitar; he always called it 'that goddam guitar.' Then he'd try to smoke me out of the house" (November 3, 1980 Los Angeles Sports Arena).

Springsteen relates these and similar tales to concert audiences utilizing a light-hearted demeanor, drawing laughs and cheers from the audience, but beneath that veneer exists a sense of shyness and isolation. The tales carry more than a grain of truth. Springsteen told James Henke, "I tend to be an isolationist by nature. And it's not about money or where you live....My dad was certainly the same way" (Rolling Stone, August 6, 1992). Eliot (1992) notes a friendship that developed on the 1988 Amnesty International Tour between rock celebrity Sting and Springsteen; "Both had troubled childhoods marked by uneasy relationships with difficult fathers" (255).

Moreover, Springsteen has addressed his father in songs on each album, starting with the songs "Adam Raised a Cain" and "Factory" from 1978's Darkness on the Edge of Town, and on subsequent albums with the songs "Independence Day," "My Hometown," and "Walk Like a Man." Hilburn (1985) believes that Springsteen loved his father but hated what he felt had happened to him. Springsteen once saw a photograph of his father in uniform taken just after World War II. He recalled;
he looked just like John Garfield in this great suit....I couldn't ever remember him looking that proud or that defiant when I was growin' up. I use to wonder what happened to all that pride, how it turned into so much bitterness. He had been so disappointed, had so much stuff beaten out of him by then...that he couldn't accept the idea that I had a dream and I had possibilities (29).

As Springsteen matured, the stories, though still somewhat humorous, were delivered with more intensity and seriousness. Since the birth of his own son and daughter, Springsteen has resolved much conflict with his father. Springsteen told James Henke,

I'm closer to my folks now...My pa particularly. There must have been something about my own impending fatherhood that made him feel moved to address our relationship. I was kind of surprised; it came out of the blue" (Musician, August 6, 1992, 70).

Clearly though, Springsteen's family relationship and his painful shyness in school left its mark, so much so that throughout the seventies and early eighties, playing rock 'n' roll music became his temporary salvation, and his bond with live audiences through music and tales supported the most important relationship in Springsteen's life.

Avoiding the Isolation of Presley

After seeing Elvis Presley on The Ed Sullivan Show in 1957, eight-year-old Bruce asked his mother for a guitar, but did not seriously attempt to master the instrument until he saw the Beatles on television seven years later, in February 1964. Presley was also an early influence.
Springsteen says when he was nine he saw Presley on the *Ed Sullivan Show*, and told his mother, "I wanna be just like that." Later, however, he saw what happened to Presley and said, "but I grew up and I didn’t want to be just like that no more" (Los Angeles Coliseum Concert, September 30, 1985).

In Los Angeles, during his next-to-last concert performance on the Born in the U.S.A. tour, Springsteen spoke of Presley, in effect saying he couldn’t understand how someone like Presley could give the world so much entertainment and enjoyment and yet end up so sad and alone. Springsteen told Marsh (1987) that "the danger of fame is in forgetting, or being distracted...The type of fame that Elvis had, and I think that Michael Jackson has, the pressure of it and the isolation...I wasn’t going let that happen to me" (75).

Springsteen perceived an isolation surrounding his father and encircling Presley, yet he admits he was a loner himself until he started playing in bands around Freehold and Asbury Park, New Jersey. Later in the early 1970s, Springsteen performed as a soloist in Greenwich Village, singing the original compositions that he was writing. He recorded some of that material for his first album in 1973. During the 1970s and much of the 1980s he clearly believed most of his acceptance by society could be attributed to his on-stage musical accomplishments. He would finally address musically the isolation of the
individual from society in his 1982 *Nebraska* album.

In Springsteen's magazine interviews and on-stage stories between songs, he frequently mentions the word "connections" -- connections to family, to a community and to the audience. Connections to those entities are his salvation from isolation. In *Blinded by the Light*, (1986) Patrick Humphries states, "Like the songs themselves, Springsteen's long stage monologues reminiscing about growing up are the means of establishing common ground with the audience" (70). It gives them a perception that he shared problems similar to their problems.

**Music as Labor**

The rock critics' perceptions of Springsteen as a working-class rock fan who happened to become successful in show business, stem in part, from how Springsteen sees music as a job. Springsteen often describes the E Street Band as a bar band accustomed to playing five 45-minute sets a night. Watching Springsteen through binoculars the viewer will witness Springsteen exhausting himself, sweating until his shirt becomes drenched. Talk-show host Larry King asked former "E Street Band" drummer Max Weinberg, "What is Bruce like to work with?" "Oh it's intense. Trying to keep up with his energy...it's amazing. He gives his total energy every night" (*Larry King Live*, October 21, 1992).

Marsh (1987) notes, "Playing music was a job. You sweated while you did it; it was (or at least Bruce made
it) an extremely physical form of labor" (92). Hilburn (1985) states, "Bruce often describes what he does as a job" (222). Before introducing a slow, acoustic version of Born to Run, Springsteen tells the audience; "You know before we come out on the road this time, we wanted to sing a new song, that's my job" (Bruce Springsteen Video Anthology/1978-88, 1988).

On stage, Springsteen often performs with a smile on his face. From most fans' perspective, Springsteen seems to enjoy his performances which offers visual encouragement to the audience to enjoy his music. In early radio interviews, (mid-70s) Springsteen stated that he was nothing before he picked up a guitar. After he picked it up he did one thing, performed. "I'm just a working stiff...rock gave me everything and I feel I have to give everything in return. It's like a pact, a vow" (Goddard, 1985, 14). This and similar comments suggest that Springsteen's intensity and fervor on stage can often create the aura of a gospel revival meeting. Thus, Springsteen seemed to believe he could avoid personal isolation by breaking the rock star barriers that normally distance performer from the audiences.

**Rock Music Matures**

While Springsteen's early images and song melodies as text were tempting to rock critics looking for the "next rock hero," the context of rock music in the early 1970s, when Springsteen first appeared, enhanced their views of
the New Jersey artist. To the rock critics, Springsteen represents a return to all that was exciting and correct in rock between 1964, the year of "Beatlemania," and 1970. As Springsteen recently said: "I grew up in a small town. The Top 40 radio was your vocabulary. It was what reached into my house and reached me" (VH-1, May 18, 1995).

Artistically, Springsteen was most influenced by the period when rock 'n' roll matured into rock music. To understand that era, one can turn to the studies of Philip K. Ennis.

A scholar and musicologist, Ennis (1992) describes how and when rock 'n' roll evolved into a mature rock music stream;

In 1965, at the culmination of the widespread experimentation with the guitar, there was a crystallization of rock'n'roll's resources. Rock'n'roll was maturing into rock. Such an efflorescence in any artistic stream requires that all four elements be functioning at a high level. In the case of rock, its separate audiences were blended into a single one, and musical materials and performers from the separate streams (pop, black pop, country pop, jazz, folk and gospel) were combined to form a new and different musical idiom with its own artists and its own music. There was also the creation, from previous performance and distribution vehicles, of a new and distinctive rock infrastructure. Finally, a critical apparatus was emerging, a self-conscious, self-proclaiming voice of rock (313).

Ennis explains that Elvis or Frankie Avalon could not grow into mature rock'n'roll performers; "they were to come as close to being permanent teenagers as their audiences would permit" (314). However, a different fate awaited younger performers Bob Dylan, the Beatles, the
Rolling Stones, and other Sixties rock music performers.

They transformed rock music. Ennis says that,

As the youngsters grew up and changed, their music changed as well, reaching down to and enfolding the succeeding generations of teenagers. It did so by the incorporation of folk and jazz elements into its canon and by the expansion of the youth category to include kids from a wide range of ages (314).

Many budding American musicians of high school age, including Springsteen, were influenced and inspired by the influx of rock groups that comprised the British Invasion, particularly the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. Ennis observes that "the Beatles, nevertheless, provided a powerful and constraining model that thousands of young American garage bands found exactly to their liking. The Beatles were not only British, they were white. They formalized in 1964 the live performance rock band led by a writer/performer" (332). Springsteen was in a number of garage bands, culminating in the original incarnation of the E Street Band. Garage bands are also called bar bands. They were local young combos who played cover versions of songs in the rock hit parade.

In turn, the early influence on the Beatles, Rolling Stones, Yardbirds, Animals, Kinks, the Who, and lesser proficient British groups was black American music, including the blues, and rhythm and blues stylings of early rock artists such as Chuck Berry, Bo Diddley, Howlin' Wolf, Muddy Waters, Ray Charles and Little Richard. Additionally, many of the early songs performed
by the British groups were cover versions of current songs being sung by black American soul singers, for example, the artists recording for Berry Gordy's Motown label in the mid-1960s. Generally, the British combos that invaded America in 1964-1965 sang their own compositions, containing hidden influences of American soul, as well as cover versions, were the rock bands that survived and were influential to younger American musicians.

The American audience watched British groups play their interpretation of black American music on American television, in concerts and on record albums. Many fans in the American rock music audience were not aware of the roots of the music they were listening to. The British musicians knew the roots of the music.

Further, cross-currents developed between British groups and Americans within rock music itself. For example, folk artist Bob Dylan influenced the Beatles to write more meaningful lyrics, while the Beatles helped convince Dylan to use electric instrumentation in his songs, thus creating folk-rock. Smokey Robinson and other Motown soul songwriters took note of what the songwriting teams of Lennon and McCartney (Beatles) and Jagger and Richards (Rolling Stones) were creating both musically and lyrically.

From mid-1965 to at least 1970, a mass youth market in America listened to and bought a wide variety and increasingly complex form of rock music including black
southern soul, British and white American blues and rhythm and blues, psychedelic music, Motown soul, folk-rock, and jazz-rock. Prominent female performers who were singing a secular form of gospel music, such as Aretha Franklin and Janis Joplin were also popular. A bar band, such as Springsteen and the E Street Band, would learn songs from each sub-genre of rock music. While the core of maturing rock music came from rhythm and blues, there were important contributions to it from the other American musical streams.

According to Ennis, formal rock criticism of both albums and live concerts emerged during the same period. Ennis states of Rolling Stone magazine that "it was a major incubation point for the new and developing language of rock criticism," (342). Regarding rock ‘n’ roll’s period of evolution into rock music Ennis maintains that,

Rock’s critical establishment flourished, expanding its mission beyond sorting out the junk and telling the news to laying down the history of the stream and interpreting its artistic canon in the light of larger cultural and political events. In sum, the period 1965-1970 was the classic age of mature rock. It had all its own vehicles in place, . . . . It had worked through the most complex problems of its artistic life, finding its own way. . . . Rock was large and untidy enough to gather underneath its banner every sector of its audience - teenagers, college kids, working youth of every political tendency…. all found a place in rock’s capacious halls and in its darkest cellars. The seventh stream was also a world music of youth (343).

Springsteen’s approach to rock music was strongly influenced by the classic age of mature rock music. He
consumed the vitality and musical commitment of that era, without imbibing the drugs and alcohol prevalent among musicians during that era. It would make him an anomaly.

**Rock Music in the 1970s**

After the highly creative period of rock, 1965-1970, most rock historians lament the 1970s as a decline in creativity. Stuessy (1994) refers to this period as "the new me-ism" (301) decade when both audience and performers changed. According to Stuessy, "Society fragmented into hundreds of self-interest groups....a complex array of demographic clusters" (301). Ennis (1992) agrees: "The rock situation in 1970 was such a mixture of puzzling change and despair" (353). He also states that rock in the 1970s and 1980s gradually took shape as arena rock and punk. Starting around 1976-77, punk was performed in small clubs, the same route Springsteen’s career had taken three years earlier before his national emergence in rock music. Of arena rock performances Ennis says;

> The arena concert audiences were younger, the musicians more conventional, the performances more outrageous - the heavy metal rave up, guitar smashing, bizarre costuming, high-tech light shows exploding sets, all the paraphernalia of 'a helluva show' without the assembled people. The music became flashier with louder and more familiar guitar riffs, augmented with elaborate keyboards and exotic percussion. The lyrics carried somewhat residual menace and passion, spiced with satanic or occult overtones (366).

> In short, Ennis is describing concerts that focus on the entire spectacle of a concert rather than simply on...
the performers' music. Most arena concerts were the antithesis of Springsteen's performances during the same period in rock music, as the performers cloaked themselves in elaborate setting and distanced themselves from their audience during the spectacle of performance and concert.

**Death, Fragmentation, Heavy Metal and Country Rock**

During the mid-sixties through 1971, FM radio was eclectic and exciting, but sobering events during that same period changed rock. Brian Jones, founder of The Rolling Stones, died in 1969. Rock's acknowledged greatest guitarist, Jimi Hendrix; the queen of psychedelic blues, Janis Joplin; and Doors lead singer, Jim Morrison, all died between September 1970 and July 1971. All four were 27 years old at their time of death. Moreover Stuessy (1994) writes, "The Beatles, musical and spiritual leaders of a generation, announced that they were disbanding [in 1970]; millions of fans reacted almost as if there had been a death (which in a way there had been.)...The youth movement of the 1960s was over" (301).

Other than fragmentation, the reason the rock scene changed in the mid-1970s was the consolidation that occurred in the recording industry. Corporate rock came into existence with record companies consolidating in America while gaining fantastic amounts of wealth through a dramatic increase in records sold world wide. Venturesome independent record firms failed during this
period of consolidation. Record firms were more interested in duplicating success than in signing bands whose sound might not fit a certain mold or were too innovative. Szatmary (1991) says that "by 1973 it [record industry] was almost completely controlled by seven majors - CBS, Capitol, MCA, Polygram, RCA, A&M and Warner Communications" (222).

Rock music was classified into genres. Little value was placed on music as art. Stuessy maintains that most rock music became a "product" advertised by formatted radio airplay. He lists a number of genres and trends within fragmented rock, as does Szatmary. The following are all trends of the 1970s followed by examples of artists who, generally speaking, fall under that trend.

Heavy metal as a genre of rock music evolved around 1970, and at present maintains some popularity. Early heavy metal is a descendent of the driving hard rock of the Rolling Stones and other blues-based bands. Led Zeppelin were the originators. Other early examples include Black Sabbath, Deep Purple, and Kiss (Stuessy, 306-309.) Regarding heavy-metal, Stuessy asserts;

Musically, heavy-metal began as an exaggeration of the hard-rock side of mainstream. If hard-rock was loud, heavy metal was louder; if hard-rock was simple and repetitive, heavy-metal was simpler and more repetitive; if hard-rock singers shouted, heavy-metal singers screamed" (306).

Robert Walser (1993) musician and musicologist, notes that "Eddie Van Halen revolutionized metal guitar
technique with the release of Van Halen's debut album in 1978" (11) and merged classical knowledge with his guitar player virtuosity (26-45). At the time Springsteen appeared, however, most heavy metal was simple, loud, and repetitive.

Glitter rock was started by David Bowie. It was nearly as loud in volume as heavy-metal. Bowie, Stuessy maintains, "began to project a purposely androgynous image" (310), in 1972 creating a character named Ziggy Stardust who wore orange hair, facial make-up, and a glittery space-suit. Stuessy says that "when describing Bowie, most writers speak of his theatricality, his symbolic role and his complicated psyche...he seemed to be more of an actor who used rock as his medium of communication" (310).

Much of the theatrics and fashions of glitter rock influences not only present heavy-metal bands, but many popular stars such as Madonna, Prince, and Aerosmith who attempt, in varying degrees, to create a visually overwhelming spectacle at concerts. Stuessy (1994) says, "He [Bowie] was putting on a show, it was not real, it was theater" (310). This theatrical style affected many 1970s performers including Elton John, Alice Cooper, Kiss, Iggy Pop, George Clinton, Boy George, Marc Bolan, Queen and Mott the Hoople. Bowie's style and spectacle of performance affected even the mainstream Rolling Stones as well. In dramatic contrast, Springsteen has continually
avoided theatrics and glitter, thus he seems approachable, a performer plucked from the streets of New Jersey and transported to the rock music stage.

By 1968 the first folk-rock group, the Byrds, had recorded a country-rock album entitled "Sweetheart of the Rodeo." Rock music in the early 1970s then fragmented into Country Rock led by the Band, 1969-1976; the Eagles, 1972-1977; and Linda Ronstadt in the 1970s through the mid-1980s. In 1971 the Allman Brothers led a Southern Rock sound featuring two drummers and two lead guitars with extensive instrumental interplay between the guitarists using the eight and twelve-measure bar blues as a basic form. But country music's influence on Springsteen is limited to his listening to Hank Williams when Springsteen was in his late 20s, and though he has always traded lead guitar instrumentals in his live performances, he does not rely upon that style of performance as much as, for example, the Allman Brothers.

From the American Midwest and Great Britain, Pink Floyd, Kansas, Yes, Emerson, Lake and Palmer, and the Moody Blues emerged playing what was labelled Art Rock or Progressive Rock. Again the emphasis was upon the entire spectacle at concerts. Stuessy (1994) notes the music involved "longer, more complex works they [the groups] hoped could be taken as seriously as classical works" (329). This genre contributed a combination of keyboards, electronics and computers that influences today's rock
sound more than any other invention -- the synthesizer with sequencing. Stuessy (1994) says that a keyboard player could modify sounds with a synthesizer so much so that it can sound like many other instruments. Those sounds can be programmed into memory so they can be played at any time during a concert (25).

Steven Jones (1992) confirms the invention's importance: "Sequencing is, in essence, a method of recording control signals that are fed to synthesizers (or any other equipment capable of responding to the signals) that can cause synthesizers to perform a given task, be it playing a note, changing volume, or changing a wave form" (81). Even today many pop-stars who emphasize movement as much as voice will pre-record part of their vocals, and again this is a tactic Springsteen would spurn as unauthentic. Springsteen's musicians use little sequencing in concert. The only song during the 1992 Los Angeles concert that heavily relied on sequencing was "57 Channels and Nothing On."

**Singer-Songwriters, a Search for the New Dylan**

By the mid-seventies disco was becoming popular while soul music, such as that performed by Motown and Atlantic Records singers, virtually died. Stuessy claims that soul singer Isaac Hayes became, perhaps, the father of disco; "Somewhere the soul sound got lost. The catchy wah-wah guitar effects in 'Shaft' and the simple, repetitive,
insistent dance beat evolved into disco" (213).

Among listening audiences, the two categories that contained the most "hit" products were soft-rock and singer-songwriters. Soft rock was popular and profitable when performed by pop stars such as the Carpenters, James Taylor, Carole King, and Neil Diamond. But record companies were still looking for the next Bob Dylan; hence the loose genre, singer-songwriter, came into vogue. Stueessy states that the performers in this category were "often a solo act, (and the music) was folk or folk-rock. It is a broad definition" (326). Other people in this category include Paul Simon, Carly Simon, Cat Stevens, and Billy Joel. At that point in the brief history of rock music, into the office of Columbia's talent scout John Hammond walked Bruce Springsteen. He would be labeled the "next Dylan."

However, Springsteen could not be classified as a singer-songwriter, even though he performed solo in Greenwich Village during the early 1970s. His musical influences, like Dylan's, spanned the breadth of rock music. Springsteen also seemed more comfortable with the E Street Band backing his songs. Because his admiration for arranger-producer Phil Spector's orchestral "Wall of Sound" that dominated the girl-groups' songs from 1962-1965, Springsteen's tunes required the texture and timbre his musician-friends added to his live concert performances and first five studio albums.
After seeing the Beatles early television performances in America and hearing their songs saturate the radio airwaves, Springsteen bought his first electric guitar in 1964, practicing daily as he listened to the few records he could afford and to the top 40 songs on AM radio. Marsh (1981) says that for Springsteen "the radio was an encyclopedia of music. He bought few records, but his instincts, while idiosyncratic, were excellent" (28). His biographers and other rock critics claim he liked classic rock artists: Elvis, Chuck Berry, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, "and the second line of the British Invasion, the Animals, Manfred Mann's early records with Paul Jones as lead vocalist, the Byrds' folk-rock, and the Who's power mad singles" (29). Marsh also says that Springsteen was influenced by soul hits of "Sam Cooke ... and the rest of Motown, Sam and Dave, Eddie Floyd and other Stax [a Southern soul label] artists, and Mitch Ryder and the Rascals' white twists on white rhythm and blues" (29).

Hilburn (1985) states that "Bruce loved the classic Top 40 rockers: the lonesome romanticism of Roy Orbison, the exuberance of Gary U S Bonds...the (orchestral flavored) sweeping innocence of (record producer) Phil Spector's hits," (29). AM radio was the prime source for Springsteen to hear old rock 'n' roll and the maturing rock music while he was in his teens. Michael Stewart...
(1984) sums up the sources for Springsteen's brand of music:

Springsteen represents nearly four decades of American tradition. He has an acute love of black sixties soul which is usually meshed with the primal depths of his white rock and roll roots; add to this the muscular heritage of America - beat, country and western, dustbowl folk music, rockabilly and blues (5).

Springsteen explained to Charles Cross (1989) that he was most influenced by AM radio from approximately 1964 to 1972. He listed numerous influences, as well as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, but he heard "their early stuff between the ages of 17 and 24. I never had a record player. So it was like I never heard any albums that came out after like, '67'' (59). Springsteen, then, would hear the Top 40 hits played on AM radio, but not be influenced by the album format of FM radio. Only a portion of Dylan's career influenced Springsteen.

"I never listened to anything after John Wesley Harding (a country-rock album.) I listened to Bringing It All Back Home, Highway 61 (Revisited) and Blonde on Blonde. . . . There was only a short time when I related" [to Dylan] (Cross, 57).

The albums mentioned cover Dylan's lyrically surrealistic rock 'n' roll period (1965 to 1968). These albums spawned what can be called "cerebral" rock. Like the Beatles and Rolling Stones, Springsteen's lyrics were influenced by Dylan's imagery and symbolic lyrics. In 1988 Springsteen delivered the speech that inducted Dylan into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Eliot (1992) writes,
Bruce recalled that "the first time that I heard Bob Dylan I was in the car with my mother and on came that snare shot that sounded like somebody’d kicked open the door to your mind—'Like a Rolling Stone.'...Bob’s voice somehow thrilled and scared me...The way Elvis freed your body, Bob freed your mind and showed us that just because the music was innately physical did not mean that it was anti-intellect" (252).

The rock persona inspiration for almost all white rockers of the Beatles, Dylan’s and Springsteen’s age, is Presley. However, the paramount musical influence of mainstream rock guitarists is not Elvis Presley. It is Chuck Berry. Inspiration aside, defining mainstream rock musically involves instruments used as well as the musical style played. Guitar is the most important instrument in mainstream rock music. Berry is a rhythm and blues guitarist, composer, and lyricist who crossed over to rock ‘n’ roll in the mid 1950s. His guitar style and lyrics are considered the most important of all early rock ‘n’ roll artists (Stuessy, 1994, 63), (Szatmary, 1991, 20). All rock guitarists are at least indirectly influenced by Berry. Guitar is an important instrument to Springsteen. It is his musical instrument by choice. In New Jersey, he was known as a guitarist in Asbury-Park before he sang or wrote songs.

Greetings from Asbury Park

Springsteen’s home of Freehold and Asbury-Park, fifteen miles away at the New Jersey shore, offered industrial work in the 1930s through the 1950s to those,
black and white, who migrated from the South. The shore scene was a melting pot of races and styles of music. The roots of gospel and rhythm and blues music came with the migration. In the early 1970s, competition among musicians in Asbury-Park was fierce but friendly in the dingy clubs where rock musicians met and jammed with one another. Long-term musical bonds were formed in these sea resort clubs, Cross (1989), Hilburn (1985), and Marsh (1981).

Springsteen joined his first group, the Castiles, in 1965 as a lead guitarist. Hilburn says, "By 1967 they were playing bars throughout New Jersey, and they even got some dates in New York’s Greenwich Village. But the Castiles couldn’t get a record contract" (30). Springsteen formed Earth in 1968, Child in 1969, Steel Mill in 1971, followed by Dr. Zoom and the Sonic Boom and the Bruce Springsteen Band. According to Hilburn, it was in joining Steel Mill that Steve Van Zandt became not only a musical comrade of Springsteen - both sharing the same musical direction, a fusion of rock and rhythm and blues - but his closest friend as well, (36-37). Many of Van Zandt’s musical ideas would surface in "Born to Run," Springsteen’s breakthrough album. Springsteen continued writing songs and performed solo in Greenwich Village after a race riot in 1971 devastated Asbury-Park’s boardwalk area (Hilburn, 44).

By this time (1972) Springsteen had also formed the first version of the E Street Band 1972 - 74 (Cross, 32-33), although they were not called that name until a
1974 tour. Gradually his songwriting had attracted a band of Asbury Park musicians. The original E Street Band included organist Danny "Phantom" Federici, keyboard-pianist David Sancious, and Vini "Mad Dog" Lopez on drums. Additionally, Gary Tallent played bass guitar, Clarence "the Big Man" Clemons played saxophone, and Springsteen played lead guitar, sang the lead vocals, and wrote the band's original songs. The names and characters Springsteen would create in the songs on the band's first two albums were based on the band members and an amalgamation of the people who inhabited the local music scene in Asbury-Park, New Jersey. In 1974 "Mighty" Max Weinberg took over the role of drummer, and "Professor" Roy Bittan replaced Sancious on keyboards, piano and synthesizer. Van Zandt was added as a guitarist in 1976 and replaced by Neils Lofgren in 1984. In spite of these changes, the personnel was relatively stable for a rock group.

John Hammond of Columbia Records, auditioned Springsteen on May 3, 1972. Springsteen played a few of his compositions on piano and guitar, (Hilburn, 1985, 46). Hammond, later admitting he did not want Springsteen's abrasive manager, Mike Appel, to know what he thought, scribbled a note to himself on paper that read, "the greatest talent of the decade" (MTV Rockumentary, Nov. 11, 1992). At 22, Springsteen signed his first recording contract. Columbia Records thought it had signed a
singer-songwriter, but when Springsteen came into the studio to record his first album he brought his Asbury-Park friends who became the E Street Band.

Springsteen and the E Street Band reconstructed rock music infusing familiar, yet new sounds to the mainstream structure. Federici would occasionally play accordion and glockenspiel (evident on the song, "Born to Run.") Briefly in 1974-75, the classically trained violinist, Suki Lahav, was in the E. Street Band. Sancious was trained in classical and jazz formats. Bittan had classical training and Van Zandt added "soul," an additional guitar and an astute ear in the recording studio.

**Springsteen's Early Albums**

Springsteen’s first two albums contained lyrics reminiscent of Dylan, among other rock composers, and vocal phrasing similar to Van Morrison, but he interjected his own characters, and his music was reminiscent of the mainstream rock and soul music of the 1950s and 1960s that had surfaced on AM radio. However, neither album sufficiently captured the exuberant, youthful spirit of the band’s club appearances. From August 30, 1972, to December 8, 1974, Cross (1989) verifies that Springsteen and the E Street Band gave over 150 performances, usually in clubs, small theaters or on college campuses (171-174).

Rock critic Dave Marsh persuaded a fellow critic to attend a Springsteen and E Street Band’s club appearance. "On May 9, 1974, Bruce Springsteen delivers a performance
at Boston’s Harvard Square Theater that inspires Rolling Stone editor/critic Jon Landau to exult, ‘I have seen rock & roll’s future and his name is Bruce Springsteen’” (Rolling Stone Rock and Roll Almanac, 1983, 228). Soon Landau would become Springsteen’s manager.

During his early E Street Band days, playing in small club venues, Springsteen was essentially a singing jukebox of cover versions of rock music, while his own songs reflected the familiar yet eternal sound of previous genres of rock, adding their own distinct elements with the assistance of the E. Street Band. Considering the context of the time (early Seventies) with the glitter, the loud, simple heavy metal, and the soft-ballad supper music that dominated the airwaves of both FM and AM radio, one can understand how the text Springsteen delivered live influenced many jaded rock critics and turned them into early fans.

In August 1975 with both Landau and Appel co-producing for Springsteen and the E. Street Band, their third album, Born to Run was released. Of the hit single of the same name Springsteen (1995) said,

> When we recorded ‘Born to Run’ I was trying to make the greatest rock record ever you know. I wanted it to explode in people’s homes and minds, change peoples’ lives and make them want to get out of bed, run out of the house, and do something, anything, ‘cause that’s what the pivotal rock records did for me... so I had aspirations to do the same thing. Try to get people to walk in somebody else’s shoes a little bit, you know. (VH1, Channel 31, May 18, 1995).
Springsteen simultaneously made the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*. The answer then, to Stuessy's question "whatever happened to mainstream rock?" (16) was, as Stuessy asserts, Springsteen.

Springsteen's "Born to Run" album established him as a major force in rock music. Rock critics found a champion whose lyrics, music, and live performances seemed to embody the cream of the 1965-1970 maturation of rock music. Springsteen recorded eight more albums between 1978 and 1995. None contained the youthful exuberance, optimism, and romanticism of his 1975 album. Instead, the studio work sought a middle-ground, balancing and pitting the hope and dreams of youth against the responsibility, disappointment, and failure that could occur to any American. This balance is hinted at on the 1978 "Darkness on the Edge of Town" album and is prevalent on "The River" album (1980), as noted by McGuire and rock critics. The desolate and sparse folk-album "Nebraska" addresses isolation. Springsteen's "Born in the U.S.A." album released in 1984, and the subsequent World Tour 1984-85, arguably propelled him into becoming the most important rock performer of the 1980s. The November 4, 1990, cover of *Rolling Stone* magazine proclaimed Springsteen "Voice of the Decade".

Springsteen's "Tunnel of Love" album (1988) focused on the disillusionments and dissolution of his first marriage to Julianne Phillips, while both of the "Human
Touch" (1992) and "Lucky Town" albums, particularly the latter, celebrate his successful second marriage to Patti Scialfa, a New Jersey native, and his fatherhood, and lyrically returned to the struggle between youthful dreams, responsibility, and a somber vision of America’s reality.

More than for any rock music artist, it is Springsteen’s marathon live performances - his tours - that built his reputation through word-of-mouth among rock critics and fans. From September 1, 1972, through the Tunnel of Love tour in 1988, Springsteen and the E Street Band gave at least 836 live performances. Unlike the Beatles, who gave concerts lasting from 30 to 45 minutes, or the Rolling Stones who played approximately 90 minutes, Springsteen and the E Street Band played an average of three to four hours nightly.

When Springsteen toured with a new set of musicians in 1992-93, his concerts still lasted over three hours. At present, there is no way to verify the exact number of tour dates, but they exceeded 100 performances. This study is concerned with one of those concerts.

Springsteen is currently touring by himself. The venues are more intimate. He is using only acoustic guitar and harmonica. His present concerts are somewhat shorter than those with the E Street Band or the 1992-93 Tour.

Patrick Humphries (1986) says

Unlike most other rock stars, it is his [Springsteen] live shows that have made his
name. And it is in these that he comes across as rock's great unifier, a performer who remembers the power and passion of early rock 'n' roll. Despite the meticulous care he attaches to recording, such is the intensity of a Springsteen performance that afterwards the albums simply become pale souvenirs.

The focus of this study is a 1992 concert Springsteen performed after he parted musical ways with members of the E Street Band, explaining to the group that he wished to discover what his music would sound like with other musicians. At that period in his life, 1990, he was uncertain of his musical direction. By using musicians other than the E Street Band for his 1992-1993 tour, Springsteen placed himself in danger of losing many of his longtime, loyal fans.

What the new band lacked was Clemon's saxophone, an instrument important in most genres of early rock music. What Springsteen's 1992-1993 touring band contained that the E Street Band lacked was backing, gospel-style vocals, a choir. The choir, consisting of four female and one male added the element of call and response, a style that originated with slaves on plantations and became associated with Afro-American gospel music. Jazz-rock musician and rock historian Harold Stesch explains,

"Call and response is a basic form derived from African music. It is prevalent in black American music genres including blues, gospel, 1960s Motown soul and Memphis soul. The lead vocal sings a line, the call, and the background singers echo the same or a similar line, the response" (Stesch interview, January 8, 1992).

In Springsteen's 1992 concert, this addition of the
choir affects the texture and tone of Springsteen’s songs performed.

In the following two chapters, this study addresses are concert preparation and the concert experience. The concert experience is divided into two aspects, the performance aspect and the musical aspect.
CHAPTER FOUR

PERFORMANCE ASPECTS OF THE CONCERT EXPERIENCE

Those unfamiliar with rock music concerts may perceive the performance as a loud, dissonant, and incomprehensible "wall of noise" causing each rock group to essentially sound the same, with an incessant beat which causes the "tribes" gathered for the "ritual" to writhe in some strange dance. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Since the 1970s, rock music has continued to fragment and subdivide into many genres based on the sound created by choice of instruments used (or at times, as is the case of rap, lack of instruments used). Because of the potential volume produced by electric instruments and drums, musical score and lyrics can either compete and/or complement each other. Each genre of rock music contains the variables and values of each performer within that genre. Each genre carries a distinct attitude. In short, rock music is not discordant noise, although a portion of it has become exceedingly loud when measured by decibel level. But whatever the genre, the proficiency of
musicians who create melody, tone, harmony, texture, tempo, rhythm and timbre, can create a musical message that, in turn, creates a confluence with the lyrical and stage/lighting messages.

Live "mainstream" rock, the genre performed by Springsteen, Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers, John Mellencamp, and U2, is as different from heavy metal groups and grunge music as high mass at a Catholic cathedral is from a Southern Baptist revival meeting. Though all rock music genres seem to be rituals of celebration by a gathering of individuals who share some similar beliefs, the rituals have different nuances depending upon the genre.

A musical melody created by performers can contain a thin-to-thick texture that fashions the surface and depth of a song. Each song, and each portion of a song’s form, has various layers of instrumentation, with some instruments sparingly applied while other underlying layers beneath the song’s surface are more steady, that is, the notes are sustained at longer intervals. For instance, often the rhythm of the song, carried by bass guitar and drums, plays throughout most or all of a song while the lead guitar may only be played during certain portions of that melody. Some musicians add more depth and proficiency than other musicians and all musicians have their own style of playing.

At a live performance, this layering is now easier to
apply than when the Beatles, Rolling Stones and Elvis toured, and even considerably easier than the early touring days of Springsteen and the E Street Band. This is due to advances in audio, video, and computer technology. Compactness of equipment allows portability. Sounds once produced only in a recording studio are now portable thanks to synthesizers, sequencing, and the improvement of sound technology.

This chapter will examine some in-concert "variables" a rock music performer faces. An attempt will be made to determine how Springsteen reacts to the variables. This will aid in understanding what both Springsteen and the audience are saying, lyrically, musically, and socially.

**Rising to Fame, From Bars to Arenas**

When a band begins its journey to fame, it plays local clubs, bars and small venues where intimacy with the audience is easily achieved. In such settings, there is usually space for dancing, and for tables and chairs, as well as aisles to create freedom of movement for the audience. As the group becomes more popular, it approaches a larger club-concert level. Clubs are more formal and security is more structured. People are assigned tables or seats in rows and there is often no area available for dancing. A backstage area for the band exists at the clubs. An example of this type of establishment is "The
Roxy" in Los Angeles, a club where Springsteen appeared during his "Born to Run" and "Darkness on the Edge of Town" tours. The Joint at the Hard Rock casino in Las Vegas, Nevada, fits into the rock-club category. It seats 1,200 people. These clubs exist in sprawling metropolitan areas.

At the next level, concerts are performed in an arena where intimacy and communication with the audience are more difficult, and isolation of the group as rock stars separable from the audience often occurs for a number of reasons. First, the audience is much larger in number. Again as an example, the Roxy seats approximately 1,500 people, and the Joint 1,200, but the Los Angeles Sports Arena and the Forum each can hold about 17,000 fans. Second, concerts in arenas have additional variables and barriers that require exogenous materials (for example, the sound equipment, the stage materials, and the lighting brought in by the road crew) to achieve a more comfortable and thus, a desired atmosphere. Some barriers are physical in nature and must be utilized or overcome in order for communication to flow freely. The physical makeup and size of the site presents a sound problem. Therefore, the acoustics of the room influence the stage set-up. A rock band, or at least its sound crew, will conduct a sound check the afternoon of the concert. "He (Springsteen) would walk around a building 10 or 20 times checking that the sound was just right" ex-E Street Band drummer
Weinberg told Larry King (Larry King Live, 1992).

Sound in arenas is not the only problem encountered by rock musicians performing in sports arenas they encounter additional problems. A psychological and material barrier is partially established by making a back-stage area verboten to all ticket holders except a few individuals with back-stage passes. Distance in the arena between the crowd and performers on stage dramatically increases as well. In the arena the height, width, and set-up of the stage, the distance between it and the nearest row of seats, and the space in the audience section necessary for the tons of sound equipment as well as the lighting all combine to create physical and mental barriers, that is, a distance and aura between performer and audience.

The inside oval shape of sports arenas (e.g. the Thomas & Mack in Las Vegas, the Los Angeles Forum, or the Los Angeles Sports Arena) was not designed for rock concerts. The acoustics, particularly the echoes, present a problem as does floor seating. The loge and mezzanine levels gradually rise so if someone stands up in front of another person, the second person must stand to still see. Floor seating does not allow such luxury. If the person seated directly in front of another person stands and that person is taller, an obvious viewing problem arises. Not only did many fans in the floor section at the 1992 Springsteen concert stand, they stood upon their chairs.
Ushers unobtrusively policed the isles as best they could, ordering those on chairs to get down from them. The concert attenders who had their views blocked near the physical point of this study were quite tolerant and polite for the most part.

During many rock concerts, the lighting, props, in some cases the dancers, and all the concert theatrics contribute to the effect and emotions the performer hopes to communicate to her/his audience. Elaborate props, lighting, special effects and dance routines can dazzle a crowd but can be detrimental to listening in that they take focus from the music. To Springsteen it contributes to isolation.

An excellent example of elaborate stage spectacle was provided by the Rolling Stones' 1994 Voodoo Lounge tour of the United States. The tour name is ironic, for no lounge could be nearly large enough to achieve the desired distance and barriers -- yet familiarity between -- the band and the audience. In contrast to the Rolling Stones, Springsteen opts for more intimacy and for what he terms, connections with the audience, a breaking down of barriers. In playing arenas and stadiums, Springsteen attempts to construct and maintain the same aura he created when playing clubs the size of the Roxy.
Arena - Concert Observations

Non-Musical Messages

The live performance September 28, 1992, at the Los Angeles Sports Arena attended by this author, is typical of Springsteen's concert format. Unless specifically noted, subsequent references are to this September concert. The set-up of the stage for MTV Plugged, a televised concert on November 11, 1992, was a scaled-down version of the Arena concert. At the Arena the stage was situated on one end of the floor. At most rock concerts, the seats to the side of the back of the stage, and those behind the stage are not sold for security reasons. The seats behind and to the side of the stage at Springsteen concerts are sold. Selling all seats surrounding the stage psychologically puts the band among the crowd. The sound in those sections is reliable due to meticulous sound checks.

During the Los Angeles performance Springsteen occasionally faced the sides and back of the stage during songs. In fact, Springsteen continues to be one of the most mobile performers mainstream rock offers; he dashed to various sections of the audience surrounding the stage. Acknowledgment of sections of the audience to the side of and behind the stage cause him bring him seemingly "closer" to the crowd. His physical movements enhance the feeling of closeness and draws enthusiastic response from these sections. Other rock musicians now follow his cue.
Typically to get to a seat on the floor level, concert-goers has to pass through a heavy black curtain separating the "showroom" from the lobby and concourse. Passing through the curtain gives the feeling of entering an inner sanctum. There is a sense of anticipation and community, as strangers freely speak to each other. Springsteen fans seem friendly compared to those of other rock music genres. Conversations between fans and the author of this study continued outside the inner sanctum in the rotunda area during the 30-minute intermission of the three-and-one-half hour performance.

Curtains also located at each mezzanine level keep out distracting light from the rotunda, direct the sound, and reinforce the inner sanctum. However, the curtains also result in the build-up and retention of heat in the arena proper because they inhibit air circulation needed to allay the heat from the banks of lights deemed necessary for Springsteen's performance and from the sheer numbers of the audience.

the Vari-Lite System

Morpheus Lighting

A large rectangle-shaped bank of lights, about 110 spotlights on aluminum trusses, commonly called vari-lites whether or not they are made by the Vari-Lite Company, and white beams of light placed unobtrusively throughout the arena, are the lighting equipment brought in and set up in
the Arena. Michael Suhr, a lighting technician for Vari-Lite of Las Vegas, observed part of the televised MTV concert. He explained that Morpheus Lighting, the company that operated the lighting system for the Springsteen concert, uses lighting similar to Vari-Lite (Suhr interview, 1996).

Suhr said that the soft magenta wash (background lighting) created an aura of warmth for the concert. Often used with the magenta were white spotlights covered by Gobos, patterns on aluminum-coated laser-etched glass, that broke the beams into thinner shafts of white light rays quite similar to those beams of light the sun creates when shining through clouds on a rainy day. Altogether, the magenta wash, white light shafts and the Gobo patterns created a religious mood that contributed to the revival atmosphere discussed later. Gobos also created light and shadow patterns on the floor stage that were similar to patterns the sun would cast through stained-glass on the floor of a church.

Suhr explained that dichro filters are pieces of glass within each spotlight that allows technicians to control the color of light shafts instantaneously. The automated lighting system was designed to match movement and colors with sound created (Suhr interview, 1996). At the Los Angeles concert none of the lighting was elaborate, but the timing of the lighting engineers was impeccable. Though the Morpheus Lighting system can be
programmed in advance, clearly the sound and lighting crew operated the system during the concert. The color of the light beams was changed in an instant by the lighting engineer using the dichro system.

Magenta was not the only wash color used. The stage was often bathed in a blue wash with white spotlights beaming down to highlight Springsteen and other band members. While 110 lights may seem a large number, it is not compared to the elaborate lighting, photograph projections, and special pyrotechnic effects used by Paul McCartney. Madonna, Prince, M.C. Hammer, the Rolling Stones and heavy metal groups that rely upon more elaborate spectacles than does Springsteen.

**Symbolic Clothing and Signals**

The dominant color worn by the band members during the September 28, 1992, concert was black. All ten band members wore black jeans and Springsteen wore dark blue, reinforcing a "music as labor" and brooding working-class image. Additionally, the black color reminded one of clerical garb. Crystal Taliefero wore peace symbol earrings and a peace symbol around her neck, as did two other group members. Bassist Tommy Sims wore a peace symbol on a chain, as well as one on his guitar strap. Although the items may seem too small to be seen from the audience, many fans brought binoculars to the concert. Sims also wore a Malcolm X baseball hat. Springsteen,
Taliefero, and vocalist Gia Ciambotti all wore rather large crosses on thin necklaces, adding to the clerical appearance.

Ciambotti wore a reddish top, and guitarist Shane Fontayne wore a long sleeve, multi-colored (grey, maroon, black and purple) shirt unbuttoned over a black tee-shirt. Taliefero wore a white shirt but with a black vest over it, while keyboardist Roy Bittan wore a dark shirt. The black and dark clothing combined with blue and white light, created a stark, though not gloomy, atmosphere. Orange, red, green, and pink lighting used to brighten the stage during the more lively, uptempo songs tended to highlight visual excitement and warmth.

*Exdigenous Sound, Choir and Signals*

Suspended high over the stage were banks of cabinets that produced the sound of the instruments. The sounds were fed directly into the public address system. With very few wires on stage and no speaker-amplifiers, this arrangement provided more unencumbered space for the band to move within. Also, this gave the audience a better view of all members of the band.

Facing the stage, the bass player was on the left back, the drummer in the middle with the choir on steps to the right of the bass player. Guitarist Fontayne was on the right front of the stage, Springsteen in the middle (in front of the elevated drum kit) and Taliefero on the
right when she played guitar. On the far right, elevated between the back of the stage and the front line, sat Bittan with his organ, electric piano, and synthesizer. Bittan set off the few sequenced sounds used during certain songs. Taliefero and Sims switched places, depending on what song was being played as Taliefero's percussion instruments were to the left-back part of the stage. Otherwise Sims was to the right of Fontayne but closer to the front of the stage than was Fontayne.

Except for one song, the choir only stayed on stage when it sang backing vocals. A relaxed yet energetic atmosphere was achieved resulting in part from the choir dancing in step and smiling, as well as Taliefero, Fontayne, and Springsteen often spinning and moving rather than standing in one spot. The audience seemed to be partaking in a community ritual requiring some physical movement and gestures, such as bobbing one's head or swaying, rather than simply sitting and observing a spectacle. Because of the heat, moving about required some devotion and fortitude on the part of audience members.

Hand, body and vocal gestures were often used by Springsteen to cue the band when there was a solo and when a song ended, as well as at other points of melodic or rhythmic shifts within the tunes performed. Springsteen used body English, nods of his head and eye movement to accomplish this task. Additionally, he counted out the beat at the beginning of many of the songs performed, and
occasionally, within the body of the song. Many fans did not notice Springsteen’s body motion cues because they blended smoothly with his general gestures and motions.

Springsteen’s signals appeared more prevalent in this concert than they did on previous tours with the E Street Band. Nevertheless, they were always there. If one watches the driving version of "Thunder Road" on his video anthology, one can see him atop Bittan’s piano motioning Clemons to move toward him. The same is true on "Rosalita (Come Out Tonight)" from the same anthology.

Visually the setting and on-stage activity indicated working-class ethic and present a spirit similar to a religious revival. The working-class image was reinforced by Springsteen’s clothes, guitars and accent. Springsteen often sang with a "rockabilly twang," pronouncing words without the ending "g" such as losin’, gettin’, lovin’, comin’, and roarin’. As he did at the concert he continues to use only four old guitars; two are solid-body electric and two are hollow body acoustic with electric pick-up. The body of Springsteen’s tan guitar is chipped in a number of places. His black guitar, which he calls "my famous naked lady guitar" because of the decal on the back, has been his companion for years. His acoustic guitar’s wood is worn at the bottom of the body where he strums the strings. In concert the worn guitars augmented his working-class image.
Vocals and Tall-Tale Stories

Lead vocals, backing vocalists and stories, as well as Springsteen's raspy voice combined with the melodious harmony of the small choir, reinforced an aura of a spiritual revival. Of course Springsteen did not preach a fire-and-brimstone sermon, but at certain moments his phrasing allowed him to assume the persona of a country preacher or witness testifying. The longer stories and on-stage monologues with which he once peppered his concerts were, for the most part, gone. Springsteen's most recent parables were contained within the lyrics of his songs performed from the *Lucky Town* album. Still, between some songs he briefly chatted with the audience. His stories introduced the songs they preceded and served to alter the emotions that were engendered in the audience.

Enhancing the song, "Local Hero," Springsteen told of walking by J. J. Newbury's (a five-and-dime store) in his hometown and seeing an artist's rendition of Springsteen on black velvet, between a picture of Bruce Lee and a statue of a doberman.

By the picture was a sign that read "sale, $19.99." and the worst thing was I wanted one. So I sent in my wife Patti to buy it. I hung it up in the entrance to my home in Beverly Hills thinking my friends would see it and laugh (concert, September, 1992).

This tale revealed to the audience how Springsteen probably got the idea for writing "Local Hero" from a true
incident in his life.

Between performances of "Living Proof" and "If I Should Fall Behind," Mentioning his son and daughter Springsteen expressed concern over the effect of violence upon the future.

These are dangerous times and we seem to be leaving a legacy of fear, a legacy of dread. In Los Angeles, recently we lived through the riots. On any given day, no matter what you are, it all comes down to what you look like and that's scary. It would be nice to have an administration that shows interest in all the people. This is a song about love and compromise, with your partner, your neighbor, the person sitting next to you" (concert, September, 1992).

Between "Darkness on the Edge of Town," and "Atlantic City," Springsteen said, "When I was growing up there were absolutes. Eventually you're pushed out into the real world...and ah...it seems like, no matter who you are, there's a lot of cracks you can slip through" (concert, September, 1992). He changed one line of the original version of "Darkness on the Edge of Town," from "I lost my money and I lost my wife," to "I lost my faith when I lost my wife," an obvious reference to his first marriage. Perhaps as a millionaire he could not authentically sing about losing money, but Springsteen did lose his faith in rock music for a year after his marriage break-up. He told Kurt Loder, "For a year I didn't do anything. I couldn't write anything" (MTV Rockumentary, 1992). Both songs concern characters struggling against impossible odds. One song was steeped in defiance while the other was clothed
in resignation. However, Springsteen also utilized humor.

Tuning his guitar between songs he quipped, "See that, a couple of years in Beverly Hills and you can't even tune a guitar" (Los Angeles Concert, 1992). During the MTV concert Springsteen related a tale about walking daily as a child through an abandoned hair salon and subsequently writing the song, "Growin' Up," but at the end of the story he tells the audience; "I don't know when I wrote this song. I made that whole story up. There is not a word of truth in it" (MTV Plugged, 1992). In this manner, Springsteen spoofed all of the partial-stories, partial tall-tales he has told over the years. He used self-deprecating humor in other instances as well.

His comments between songs, both humorous and serious, are probably repeated at many of his concerts. Springsteen's halting, yet thoughtful delivery diminished the distance and barriers between himself and the audience. He sounded honest, down to earth, as he revealed his thoughts and personal tidbits in an intimate manner. This familiar mood created between himself and the audience extended to his songs, perhaps lending the lyrics a credibility and universality not available from some other rock musicians.

**Diminishing the Distance Between**

Springsteen used other measures as well. Just before "Leap of Faith" he announced that "this is a song about
second chances." It is a tune where the musical score confirms the dramatic illusion and comic rhythm. During the song Springsteen softly tumbled off the stage into the upraised hands of the audience, a leap of faith if ever there was one. Audience members then passed him around on upraised hands while he sang the last two verses and chorus of the song. The MTV Rockumentary televised on November 11, 1992, displayed a portion of this highly unusual aspect of the concert. It is there, being literally supported by the joint effort of audience members, that Springsteen nearly obliterated the physical and psychological distance and aura that typically separate a rock music performer from the audience.

The audience did not directly participate during the performance of "Man's Job," but the choir was employed in an unusual manner. Bobby King joined Springsteen front and center and traded off vocals with him. Toward the end of the song, after all the lyrics were sung, Springsteen invited the four female choir members and Crystal Taliefero to "come on, let's dance." The females scattered to the points of the stage pairing off with the male members and danced until the song's end. This move was not anticipated by the audience, and it seemed to surprise and delight those in attendance. Consequently, "Man's Job" drew one of the loudest and most sustained applause of the evening. The couples did not dance in unison, nor were the steps choreographed. Even though Springsteen obviously
planned the routine, it seemed spontaneous.

During the next song, "Roll of the Dice," a couple of the band members rolled huge, fuzzy dice onto the stage, visually enhancing the lively uptempo number which was the longest and last song of the first set. "Leap of Faith," "Man's Job," and "Roll of the Dice" are the last three songs of the first set. The stage antics performed during these songs pervoked an enthusiastic response from the audience and brought the first set to a climax. The three songs are placed after songs that seemed to lyrically mean much to Springsteen. It was as if Springsteen rewarded the audience for paying attention to the lyrics and the thin texture of songs performed earlier in the first set.

"(Just Around the Corner to the) Light of Day"

Time changes meaning for composers and audience.

Lyrics can be viewed in a different manner. One example is "(Just Around the Corner to the) Light of Day." The song was the title of a film starring Michael J. Fox and Joan Jett, appropriately about a travelling rock band playing "honky tonk" bars in the Midwest. The original lyrics of the song have the singer travelling by car, but in concert the "feeling" was altered. It was a case of a composer becoming so caught up in the musical score that he changed the backdrop for the song. The song had the driving rhythm of a speeding locomotive complete with the choir imitating
train whistles, so much so that Springsteen sang a cappella; "I been 100 miles, 200 miles, 300 miles, train kept on a rollin' 400 miles, 500 miles, 600 miles, the train kept on a rollin'." Springsteen then sermonized, sounding like a Baptist preacher,

I come a long way tonight...I come via France, via England, half-way across the United States, via the great state of New Jersey...I know you’re disillusioned, I know you’re disenchanted, I know your downhearted, I know there’s ‘57 Channels and Nothin’ On’ but there’s one thing I gotta know...is anybody alive out there? (concert, September, 1992).

The question drew a loud, affirmative response from the audience. The pause before Springsteen’s comments toward the song’s end was brief during the televised concert. However, during the concert attended, all members of the band froze in position. Very slowly Springsteen began to turn his eyes to the left, pause, and then to the right, where he again paused. Then he turned his head, almost imperceptibly to the left, pause, and then right, another pause. The audience roared on each side at each turn. Gradually he turned his head from left to right at a quickened pace until the roaring of the audience matched the earlier tempo of the song. All band members then reanimated and musically transported the song to its conclusion.

Springsteen was taking a chance on the moment and the audience reaction. This was a pivotal point where Springsteen dramatically further diminished the distance
and aura between performer and audience. Most audience members seemed surprised, then became part of the song when they had a choice not to do so. Unless the performer and audience changed places, the distance and aura could not fully disintegrate, but for a minute during this portion of "Light of Day," the two boundaries blurred.

Additional Audience Participation

The Springsteen concert began and ended on a comic, upbeat note. "Glory Days" is a song situated in the tragic rhythm of poetic illusion, but still conveying joy and acceptance, depending on the manner in which it is delivered. "Glory Days" is now old enough to be a personal anthem between Springsteen and his fans. Ex-E Street organist Danny Federici joined the band on stage for "Glory Days." The musical score and delivery was upbeat and light-hearted. Springsteen pointed to the audience and encouraged them saying, "Keep on rockin' now, you're doing good, keep it rockin."

Near the end of the song Springsteen turned to the choir and motioned them forward with a wave of one hand saying, "Come on down everybody. Are you ready to follow me? Let's go!" Springsteen led the singers around the entire stage. There is a pause of about one and-a-half seconds in the studio version of the song where Springsteen simply lets out a loud "whuoo." At the arena almost everyone in the audience did the "whuoo" for him.
precisely on time. Many audience members sang the chorus.

After each tune the audience responded with applause, cheering, and when particularly satisfied, by vocally drawing out the name "Bruce" in their most baritone of voices. It sounded almost like loud booing. Often, upon recognizing Springsteen's old standards, sometimes after hearing only a few notes before recognition sets in, audience members will applaud the song before any words were sung. For example, after a few seconds of harmonica alone, many in the audience cheered, knowing the song is "Thunder Road." This exists to a degree at any concert, but at this concert recognition occurred often and very quickly.

The songs that drew the most response in Los Angeles fall into two categories, old standards and songs that were arranged differently than the studio version. The old songs that drew a prolonged response from the audience were " Darkness on the Edge of Town," "Thunder Road," "Badlands," "Born to Run," "Born in the U.S.A.," and "Atlantic City." The new songs that drew prolonged response were "Roll of the Dice," "Man's Job," "Trapped," "Big Muddy," and "Human Touch." Perhaps the biggest responses of the night were for "(Just Around the Corner to the) Light of Day," and "Born to Run." The applause and yelling are obviously a release from the tension built within each song as well as signs of appreciation for a song well performed.
Springsteen’s Connections

In interviews (1992) with Rolling Stone and Musician magazines, Springsteen has referred to his search for connections with the audience. Before the slow version of "Born to Run," in 1988 on the Tunnel of Love Tour he noted in a long introduction;

But I realized, after I put all those people in all those cars, I was going to have to figure out some place for em' to go...And I realized that in the end I guess that individual freedom when it’s not connected to some sort of community or friends...ends up feeling pretty meaningless.

So I guess that guy and that girl were out there looking for connections, and I guess that’s what I’m doing here tonight. So this is a song about two people trying to find there way home. I’d like to do it for you and dedicate it to you, to say that this song has kept me good company on my search and I hope it’s kept you good company on yours, (Bruce Springsteen Video Anthology/ 1978-1988.

Springsteen’s work is validated by the audience reaction at each song’s end. He can measure connections and success of communication somewhat by listening to the prolonged and sustained applause.

Sustained applause is a physical manifestation of exhilaration as well as a release from the tensions created by the combination of a musical score’s meaning and lyrics. Perhaps enthusiastic response is caused by shifting emotions within each audience member during the song and at the song’s cessation. Nostalgia and memories evoked within audience members combine with the emotions and expectations each member mentally assembles (and in
some cases reassembles) while the song is being performed. This can cause a shift and/or a reinforcing of the song's peculiar and particular meaning to each listener.

Audience members pay to attend a concert because they desire satisfaction of preconceived notions fulfilled to some degree. Achieving a degree of satisfaction can require that the music rekindle old memories and form new ones within each listener during the concert performance. Audience members use listening and sight to establish a temporary connection with the performer and their own recollection of feelings/emotions at the same time. The nearer and more in-common the emotion between each participant and the performer, perhaps the more fervent the fan. These emotions are caused by the non-musical performance discussed in this chapter and the musical-lyrical performance discussed in chapter five.
CHAPTER FIVE

MUSICAL ASPECTS OF THE CONCERT EXPERIENCE

The second aspect of the concert experience is musical in nature. This chapter examines the effect of musical score on lyrics. This involves constructing the concert, examining the two sets that were separated by an intermission, adapting the Sellnows' model to the concert experience, the importance of the opening song, the emotion of guitar solos, and pertinent lyrics.

**Constructing the Concert**

Concerts allow artists to select songs from any of their albums and rearrange them into a musical score that can, among other achievements, express how they currently "perceive the world." In essence, Springsteen deconstructs all of his recordings and reconstructs new meaning expressed in a concert format, using the songs from his albums that continue to provide him and the audience the most substance composed of emotions and meaning. In other words, Springsteen sings the songs that most "ring true" and seem relevant to him at a particular time, the
present. The concert allows him to construct the present from out of his past.

In doing so Springsteen takes a risk and pays a price in that he plans the concert list of songs less strategically than would Madonna or Prince; that is, he does not perform all his familiar, most popular songs sure to elicit enthusiastic response from the audience at critical points in the concert. For this concert, the second through the ninth songs performed seemed placed in the song list more for Springsteen than the audience, creating a danger that he would lose the audience's accolades, attention and affection. The relationship between Springsteen and the audience was near a symbiotic point during the eight songs. It was the part of the concert where momentum was salient in order for the performance to elevate to a ritual and more spiritual celebration.

Springsteen and his band played fourteen songs, took a 35-minute break, then returned to play fifteen more songs. However, the first nine songs of the first set were crucial. These tunes contain the more serious and somber portion of the concert, and challenged the audience to stay tuned-in to the lyrics Springsteen was singing. Ten of the fourteen songs were from his two 1992 albums and his rendition of Jimmy Cliff's "Trapped" never appeared on any Springsteen album. There was a risk that the newer material would not be as recognizable to the audience as
Springsteen's older songs. In general, the lyrics to these songs confront real life dilemmas of average to down-and-out-people: inequality, responsibility, and a definite resignation, particularly in the lyrics of "The Big Muddy." Yet the first set established an overall tone of personal defiance and triumph when confronting dilemmas, as well as establishing a belief in a rejuvenating faith in life. This was partially caused by the sense of humor in the second song, "Local Hero," and the combining of folk and a blues form into the heavily gospel-influenced "Better Days," his opening song.

Springsteen proclaimed his salvation through his wife and his children in "Living Proof," "Leap of Faith," and "Better Days." In these songs Springsteen used musicians and singers familiar with a more soul-gospel-sound. They gave the songs a different quality and feel. This permitted Springsteen to sing about salvation and redemption testifying, not as a minister would, but as a member of a congregation would come forward, confess his sins, and tell of his trials before accepting a new faith and hope.

The order of songs both reflected the performer's current interests and helped shape the mood for the evening. More recent songs, many from the Lucky Town album, dominated the first half of the concert, while older, more familiar material was used during the second portion. Of the songs from his two 1992 albums,
Springsteen sang only six of the fourteen songs on *Human Touch* and nine of the ten songs on the *Lucky Town* album. The first part of the concert contained two songs from *Darkness on the Edge of Town*, and "Atlantic City," from *Nebraska*. All three songs, though not tragic, can evoke foreboding emotions. The first half of the set was comprised of songs shorter in length than the songs after the intermission. No song's length was over six minutes until the thirteenth song, "Man's Job" (six minutes, 28 seconds,) and fourteenth song, "Roll of the Dice" (eleven minutes, 05 seconds.)

Four songs from *Born in the U.S.A.*, two from the *Born to Run* album, and "Brilliant Disguise" from the *Tunnel of Love* album all were performed after the intermission. Five of the six songs from *Human Touch* were also performed after the break. Songs in the second half also tended to be longer; six of them were over seven minutes in length.

The concert moved from a darker mood to a more jubilant spirit during the first set. The longer and more familiar songs of the second set built the intensity of the concert to a number of climaxes.

**Using the Sellnows' Model to Summarize the Songs**

The Sellnows used an application of Langer's theory to classify Springsteen's albums; similarly this study applied their method to the evening's concert. According to a systematic application, twenty-three of the twenty-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
nine songs are in the dramatic illusion, six are in the poetic illusion. Only one song in the poetic illusion, "Bobby Jean," sits within the comic rhythm. Nineteen of the twenty-nine songs performed live by Springsteen are lyrically in the dramatic illusion, with comic rhythm. Four songs in the dramatic illusion have lyrics that are in the tragic rhythm. Only six songs performed were in the poetic illusion. All but one have lyrics classified as being in the tragic rhythm. The rock style and thick texture were predominate during the concert (see Appendix A). Five of twenty-nine songs were in a folk style. The same five songs were the only ones that had stark instrumentation (thin texture) as opposed to broad instrumentation (thick texture).

Only five songs, "The Big Muddy," "Soul Driver," "Cover Me," "Atlantic City," and "Lucky Town" were played in a minor key. According to rock musician and composer, Buddy Campbell, the latter song is played in a minor key for it's verses and switches to a major key for the chorus (Campbell interview, January 21, 1992). One should note that minor keys tend to give a song a melancholy spirit, but a song played in a minor key does not necessarily place that song in either of the tragic rhythms.

Two of the nine tragic songs, "Atlantic City" and "Darkness on the Edge of Town," alternated between a driving rhythm and smooth rhythm, and switched between broad and stark instrumentation (thick and thin texture).
A third tragic rhythm song, "Gloria’s Eyes," was a driving-rock song. Thus, the musical score of "Gloria’s Eyes" did not support the lyrics and modified the song so that audience members, familiar with the lyrics, were not left with the sense of a hopeless situation. The driving musical score superseded the meaning of the lyrics.

If one included "Atlantic City," there were but six songs that could be classified as situated in the poetic illusion. That is the illusion the Sellnows classified the album version of "Atlantic City." This study, with hesitation, classified "Atlantic City," in the poetic illusion. Thus twenty-three songs fell into the dramatic illusion. Fourteen of the eighteen new songs, were situated in the dramatic (forward looking) illusion and comic rhythm. The prominence of the dramatic and comic reflects Springsteen’s present state of mind and mood of content present in his personal life, but his songs and anecdotes projected a profound discontentment with corporations and government.

Only "57 Channels and Nothin’ On," and "Gloria’s Eyes" were new songs that could be classified in the poetic (backward looking) illusion enhanced by tragic rhythm. "The Big Muddy" and "Souls of the Departed" were new songs situated within the dramatic illusion utilizing the tragic rhythm.

Though the Sellnows present some solid guidelines, deciding what criteria determines what songs are broad and
what songs are stark, involves a degree of arbitrariness in the decision.

the Opening Tune - Sets the Tone

Because their buoyant lyrics and story line occur during the day, which is a significant shift for Springsteen, "Better Days," the first song of the concert, and, "(Just Around the Corner to the) Light of Day," the twenty-first song played, were important. Wayne King (1984) asserts that "the opening number at any Springsteen concert has always been crucial. It serves as a statement of purpose" (36). For years Springsteen's characters tried to escape and flee the images of drudgery that took place during daylight. Most incidents that occurred to his characters during that time were described in images of oppression, of heat, and a reluctant surrender to a life almost not worth living. However, in "Better Days" the outlook is defiant and uplifting, and contains a paradox of life - hope, but with a price. The first lines of the song portray a breakthrough in Springsteen's realization about his life: "Well my soul checked out mister/ as I sat and listened/ to the hours and minutes ticking away."

The lyrics of the song also display a hope of salvation through a woman;

I'm tired of waiting for tomorrow to come/ or that train to come roarin' round the bend. I got a new suit of clothes and a pretty red rose/ a woman I can call my friend/ these are better days its true...better days with a girl like you.
A changed Springsteen can laugh at himself: "It's a sad funny ending to find yourself pretending/ a rich man in a poor man's shirt." The final stanza accentuates life's paradox and ambiguity:

Now a life of leisure and a pirate's treasure/ don't make much for tragedy/ But it's a sad man my friend who's livin' in his own skin/ and he can't stand the company/ Every fool's got a reason for feeling sorry for himself and turning his heart to stone/ Tonight this fool's halfway to heaven and just a mile out of hell/ and I feel like I'm coming home.

If the song were performed in a slow, smooth tempo with stark instrumentation, the emotions evoked would be more somber. Instead Springsteen used a blues shouter's voice, backed by the gospel choir. The instrumental accompaniment created a thick texture enhancing intensity. The musical accompaniment, particularly the backing vocals, evoked joy. The tempo was fast. In both the performance and musical aspect of the first song, the choir was the key enhancement. Their line "these are better days," was clearly a gospel response to Springsteen's call. The drawn-out melismas (extending a syllable over a number of notes) of "ooou's" are typical of black gospel, and were similar in sound to that heard during the more spiritual moments in soundtracks of religious Hollywood films such as "The Song of Bernedette" and "Going My Way." The choir responding to the rhythm and tempo of the song, seemed to be swaying from side to side like the choir or congregation in a black gospel church during an up-tempo song. They allowed their bodies to be
carried by the music. "Better Days" opened the ritual with a tone not unlike a friendly, informal service of worship. Thus, Springsteen avoided the misinterpretation of the opening number that plagued "Born in the U.S.A." during his 1984-85 tour, as noted by the Sellnows in Chapter two.

The opening song also introduced the ringing reverb and hollow treble guitar sound that was prevalent during the concert. The tone of both guitars during "Better Days" sounded as though the notes were ringing forth from a church belfry. Throughout the evening, this ringing guitar tone helped maintain the spiritual-revival feel of the concert ritual. The lyrics in "Better Days," though paradoxical (as are many of Springsteen’s songs), was in the dramatic illusion (forward looking) with a driving rhythm, modulating harmony, broad instrumentation, and rock style. According to the Sellnows’ methodology, all parts of the musical score reinforced the dramatic illusion and comic-driving rhythm. This created intensity.

A driving rhythm indicates a feeling of intensity begging for fulfillment whereas a slow or smooth rhythm indicates finality or resolution. Thus, a driving rhythm reinforces the dramatic illusion...A broad use of varied instruments and many instrumental solos creates tension for the listener (76).

The Sellnows (1989) note that "a piece which uses many instruments in a variety of ways would heighten intensity...a few instruments [used] in a limited number of ways would strengthen Langer’s notion of resolve," (42). Resolve complements a tragic theme. Intensity
complements a comic theme. The concert started and ended in a comic theme and a large majority of the songs performed were in the comic illusion. Like most rock music concerts, this evening was a celebration not a wake.

"Atlantic City" Revised

On stage Springsteen altered the musical score of some songs and that can change the emotion-laden interpretation. For example, in their analysis of Springsteen's albums the Sellnows state that "Atlantic City" is in a minor key. In concert however, the chord progression was E minor, to G major to C major to G major. A predominance of major chords made the mood less hopeless. The song was classified in the tragic rhythm, but perhaps it should not be as the last verse states;

I been looking for a job, but it's just hard to find / Down here it's winners and losers/ don't get caught on the wrong side of that line/ I'm tired of coming out on the losing/ so honey tonight I met this guy I'm gonna do a little favor for him.

Furthermore, the lyrics of the chorus were "Now everything dies baby that's a fact/ They say that everything that dies someday comes back/ Put your makeup on, fix your hair up pretty and meet me tonight in Atlantic City." Clearly, not all of the action takes place in the past, nor is the protagonist devoid of all hope. To qualify as tragic rhythm there must be no remnant of hope and there must be movement toward an inevitable, predetermined fate.
Of the songs Springsteen performed and revised in concert, "Atlantic City" is one example of a song that changes classification in a concert setting, as it demonstrates a lack of nuance under the thick or thin texture category (see Appendix A). The original studio version is smooth and folk using little instrumentation. The manner in which Springsteen presented the song during the concert prevented it from being classified as either thick or thin. Some lyrics were sung using little instrumentation, (stark and smooth). Indeed parts of the song was quite thin in texture, but between each verse the entire band played in a thick, driving, rock style. Most notably the drums and the melody line keyboardist Roy Bittan played on piano clash with the melody Springsteen played on guitar, creating ambivalence and tension. The melody in rock music is almost always a form of homophonic texture, but Bittan’s bright joyful and determined piano riff set against Springsteen’s guitar melody and final solo created a rare polyphony between the verses.

Springsteen’s guitar solo at the end was played very high up the neck of the guitar. The notes produced on guitar were layered above the rest of the instruments so that the competition for attention was initially won by the guitar’s sound. Partially because of the belfry-sounding reverb effect from the guitar, a sense of determination and perseverance were conveyed. Bittan’s unrelenting piano riff also resolved the mournful guitar

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
solo. Competing for attention with Springsteen in the thick texture of the song's final ninety seconds, Bittan's piano playing won the competition. The revamped texture, heightened intensity, the tension and release, the play of the ominous sounding guitar and bass against the brighter and joyful keyboard ostinato played by Bittan altered the emotional meaning. The studio version of "Atlantic City," a tragic song, in concert sounded rich and full of determination. The song radically differed musically and emotionally from the studio version. The live version left one steeped with a more spiritual sense of elation.

Near the end of the final guitar solo Bittan's persistent riff blended with Springsteen's guitar notes shifting the melody toward a brighter conclusion. This lent more ambivalence than the lyrics suggests. Bittan's melody line sounded defiant and cheerful and offering hope, while Springsteen's and bass player Sims' chords were foreboding and ominous in sound. When played together, the song achieves a balance between idealism-hope and realism-failure.

The lack of nuance in the Sellnows' category of musical score does not negate their model. In fact, the Sellnows (1990) acknowledge this can occur;

Springsteen sometimes mixes a driving rhythm with a limited use of instruments, or a slow rhythm with full instrumentation. In so doing, he is able to maintain a sense of future uncertainty. Thus, not only does this combination of tragic rhythm and dramatic illusion offer a sense of future hope, his imbalanced use of musical elements within each
work reinforces a feeling of uncertainty (88).

In the same study they stress that Springsteen used a driving rock style on Born on the U.S.A. "to recapture the audience he lost with Nebraska.... However, by maintaining a driving rhythm, full harmony and instrumentation, rather than alienating his audience' Springsteen offers a sense of hope for the future," (81). The study of "Atlantic City" in concert concurs with that finding, leaving some uncertainty, but leaning toward the triumphant.

Other Key Songs

In live performance Springsteen altered the instrumentation (timbre and texture), tempo and musical score of certain songs that he has already recorded and released. During the concert, Springsteen performed "Thunder Road" playing a harmonica (bittersweet melancholy) and acoustic guitar, lightly accompanied only by keyboardist, Bittan. The tempo was slower than both the recorded version and the versions played on previous tours in which a broad, thick instrumental accompaniment was utilized. Thus, the lyrics of the song supported the comic rhythm situated in the dramatic illusion, yet the musical rhythm is smooth, the texture thin and the song played in a folk style.

Early in his career, for example at the Roxy in 1976, Springsteen sang the song in much the same manner. However, while the emotions in the broad, quicker tempo version are joyful, and filled with youthful optimism,
during this concert "Thunder Road" was tinged with slight melancholy and reflection. It was a nostalgic rendition of a Springsteen staple.

**Alternates, the Third Category**

One point arose from the version of "Atlantic City" as performed live. It was not the verses of the lyrics but the full instrumentation and the chorus in "Atlantic City" that evoked the feeling of hope and an uncertain outcome in the audience; this was reinforced by the expression of determination on Springsteen's face particularly when he ran out of words and used a guitar solo as an extension of his voice. "Atlantic City" was not the only song revised in concert.

There are six songs in the concert where the musical score negotiated between broad and stark instrumentation, and smooth or driving rhythm within the same song. They were "Darkness on the Edge of Town," "Roll of the Dice," "Trapped," "Cover Me," "Human Touch," and "Atlantic City." Granted many songs in the rock music realm do not sustain one simple tempo without any shift in instrumentation from broad to stark, (though much of punk and thrash rock does sustain one single tempo and texture causing an aggressive sound), as such songs would lack dynamics. What this study observed, however, was a radical shift of instrumentation a number of times within each of the six songs listed above and for those songs a third choice under the "instruments" and "rhythm" category in the Sellnows' model.
is necessary. Thus, for any song that dramatically switches between broad and stark texture (instrumentation), this study proposes the word "alternates" to be used as a third category. A song that alternates can still be classified as driving.

Another example of a song that alternates is "Roll of the Dice." The studio version is a driving, quick tempo, rock song. The lyrics are comic in rhythm set in the dramatic illusion, the instrumentation broad, the rhythm driving and the style is rock. In concert the song’s beginning was quite different. Bittan played a smooth rhythm on the keyboard, while Springsteen sang softly a few times: "It's just a kiss away, it's just a kiss away (a line borrowed from 'The Rolling Stones’ song 'Gimme Shelter') it's just a roll away." The choir echoed the lines in a gospel call and response manner. The entire band then joined in the song employing a driving tempo. Near the end the song slowed. Springsteen repeated the beginning and improvised more lyrics. Again the choir responded by repeating them. "Roll of the Dice," then, radically alternates in tempo twice, and for an extended period (at least 45 seconds) the audience heard a portion of the song unavailable on the released studio version. The alternation relied upon a purely gospel musical style of singing.

Finally, each of the six songs that radically alternate in tempo, whether situated in the poetic
(backward looking) or dramatic (forward looking) illusion, and whether tragic or comic in rhythm, all exhibited a sense of some idealistic hope in the face of a harsh, realistic world. Those songs supported both Springsteen’s and the Sellnows’ contention of living with paradox in life. All six songs stressed paradox and ambivalence, leaving a chance for hope and uncertainty about the future. In concert, but one song that was significantly different from the studio version was the result of sequencing.

Sequencing was easily discerned in use at the concert during "57 Channels and Nothin’ On." A tape of voices competed with the music during most of the song. Unlike the studio version which has no tape, the tape seemed to contain interviews taken during the 1992 Los Angeles riots, the voice of President Bush and other officials, a repetition of one voice saying, "Is the President out of his mind?" and another voice (the last thing heard during the song) repeating, "Prejudice hurts." The combination of sequenced voices mixed with the live playing altered the song’s meaning (situated in the poetic illusion, tragic rhythm) to one of anger and frustration, not hopelessness. The choir’s chants of "no justice, no peace" reinforced those emotions.

Springsteen then followed with a hard and fast rocking song, "Bobby Jean." This ended the regular part of the concert. The encore consisted of an acoustic "Thunder
Road," followed by a full band version of "Born to Run." This was followed by a slow, smooth song from Lucky Town entitled "My Beautiful Reward." Clearly, the lyrics and his 1992 interviews reveal that this song, along with "Leap of Faith" "Living Proof," "The Big Muddy," and "Better Days," reflected Springsteen’s most personal thoughts available to the public at this point in his life. The character in the song "seeks gold and diamond rings, my own drug to ease the pain that living brings." The protagonist is in "a house where the sacred light shines" and walks "through the rooms, but none of them are mine. Down empty hallways I walk from door to door. Searching for my beautiful reward." In the final verse the protagonist turns into a bird feeling the wind at his back and "flying over grey fields, my feathers long and black," still searching for his reward. Since Springsteen uses "I" in his new songs, the main character of the songs is Springsteen.

The musical score of the final song at the Sports Arena was upbeat. "Working on the Highway’s" musical score is broad and driving, performed in a fast tempo. The Sellnows classify the lyrics as being in the poetic illusion with comic rhythm. The song is comic, and all the action is backward looking, except for the last verse.

Responsibility

It is the musical score that reminds the listener not to take the lyrics at face value. Regarding concerts and
lyrics Springsteen told Hilburn (1985) the following;

You want people to see you are a human being...doing your best under difficult circumstances, like everybody is. That’s one of the things you want to communicate. Hey it’s tough, but keep going. It’s like giving people hope and giving yourself hope. You have to be a part of your audience in a fashion. You write the song just for yourself, but it’s no good unless you play it for somebody else. That’s the connection between people that is forever lasting (236).

Hilburn asked Springsteen about the faith people have in him. "Was it a source of strength or a drain."

Springsteen gave a somewhat ambivalent answer saying;

While you do have the responsibility to do a good job, you don’t have a responsibility of carrying 20,000 peoples’ dreams and desires. That’s their job.
I do my job and they do theirs, and there is a place where you come together and support each other in your quest for the things that you want, that you need, the love you are looking for or whatever. That’s what the concerts are (236 and 241).

In referring to a place where performer and audience "come together," Springsteen is specifying the concert experience. The reference to a job suggests that concerts involve two-way action and communication. Playing his music for an audience is the means he uses to establishes a bond, a connection. The concert experience is one of ritual and celebration, an experience that offers hope set against the backdrop of "difficult circumstances" experienced in daily life. As a ritual, it serves as a potential rejuvenation of dreams and hopes for the participants. This celebration cannot be achieved simply by listening to recordings. The often solitary nature of
that leisure activity does not involve direct two-way communication. Rather it is the concert experience where rock music most comes alive for both the performer and the audience.

The Emotions of Guitar Solos

In an interview, Bill Flanagan (1992) stated to Springsteen: "You do have a very distinct, emphatic guitar style which you use to convey strength, anxiety, joy—but you very rarely use guitar to convey tenderness or melancholy. You tend to go to harmonica for that" (70). It is true that Springsteen plays lead guitar in key places of key songs. He used the guitar like a blues guitarist would in a call and response manner; that is, when his voice and words cannot convey any more emotion, he reinforced and extended his emotional meaning by playing solos on guitar. He plays the guitar as a response with his vocalized lyrics as the call. The tone of most of the solos resounded with a hollow-echo effect, with an emphasis upon reverb and the treble knob of the guitar that Springsteen fingered. The guitar's tone reminded one of being in a church belfry. In layering the music, the solos lay atop all of the other instruments.

Although tempo (and texture) can also create a joyous or melancholy feeling, generally the higher Springsteen played up the neck of the guitar, often bending notes, by bending the string, the emotions conveyed were determination, loneliness, strength in the face of
adversity (therefore hope) and melancholy. Rarely was anguish conveyed. Often the end of the solo provided a culminating triumph. This helped reduce the tension in audience members, but the atmosphere could not be simply described as purely buoyant. Springsteen played lead solos in "Darkness on the Edge of Town," "Atlantic City" "Human Touch," and "I Wish I Were Blind," songs with lyrics that, if not categorized as tragic, certainly convey a somber view of the world. He also played the "Star Spangled Banner" in the blues-psychedelic manner that Hendrix played it at Woodstock in the introduction to "Born in the U.S.A." Strain and anguish were evident in the sound of the guitar and in his facial expression.

In contrast, when he performed lead guitar solos during "Lucky Town," "Light of Day," "Bobby Jean," (a rare song in that it is in a poetic illusion with tragic rhythm, but with a driving, modulating rock style,) "Badlands," and "Born to Run," he tended to stay lower on the neck of the guitar. A lower pitch was achieved and it produced a brighter, less somber sound that evoked defiance, optimism, and joy. These lead solos also alleviated tension and helped create a cheerful atmosphere. Curiously at times during the performance, the slower, higher pitched leads also created the same result, perhaps by almost exhausting built-up tension leading to alleviation rather than relaxing the listener.

When Springsteen did play lead guitar, it was
carefully layered over the other instruments by the sound engineer. Still there is competition of sound. Alford's drums were amplified by using floor microphones, but they are not electric. Alford has incredible stamina and strength. It was his pounding beat and usually Bittan's keyboards that provide the main, basic layer of sound. The guitar solos were heard above the drums and keyboard, as are the choir's voices. All members of the group had microphones except Alford and Bittan. Microphones were used to enhance one of the most important instruments, the voice.

**Pertinent Lyrics that Compete with the Music: Bruce Springsteen's Solution**

As composer and band leader, Springsteen controlled what number of instruments play during which part of each song. In effect he reduced the competition between lyrics and instrumentation. During some songs during the concert, a verse or chorus was sung with stark instrumentation then followed by a chorus where full instrumentation was utilized. Invariably, the instrumentation was stark while he sang the most memorable lines of a song. He reduced the competition for important lyrics whenever possible in his newer compositions, as, for example, when Springsteen suggested that family and marriage help protect one from, as the song "Living Proof" states, "a world so hard and dirty, so foul and confused. Searching for a little of
God’s mercy. I found living proof." The stark instrumentation during this verse allows the lyrics to be heard more easily.

"Living Proof" is Springsteen’s ultimate "summation" song, (Eliot 1992, 254). In the song Springsteen is a man who lost his heart, soul and faith in himself. Later he "goes down into the desert city/ trying so hard to shed my skin...looking to burn out every trace of who I’d been. You do some sad, sad things baby/ When it’s you you’re trying to lose...I seen living proof."

In the final verse, Springsteen compares the world to a "house of cards as fragile" as his little boy’s breath. He sings that "it’s been a long, long drought baby/ tonight the rain’s pouring’ down on our roof. Looking for a little bit of God’s mercy. I found living proof."

In "Leap of Faith" he used metaphors mixing religion, love, and sex with his wife: "Now you were the Red Sea/ I was Moses/ I kissed you and slipped into a bed of roses/ the waters parted and love rushed inside/ I was Jesus’ son, I was sanctified."

Springsteen’s outlook in "The Big Muddy" is a resolution to the fact that no one, and no profession (including rock musicians) can bring a personal utopia. He sang,

How beautiful the river flows and the birds they sing/ but you and I we’re messier things/there ain’t no one leavin’ this world buddy/ without their shirttail dirty or their hands a little bloody/ Waist deep in the big muddy/you start out standin’ but end up somehow crawlin.
"Big Muddy," "Living Proof," and "Leap of Faith" are three songs from Springsteen's newest release, **Lucky Town**. He appeared to sing these songs with what can best be described as notable fervor and passionate abandon. The texture was thin throughout Springsteen's love song to his wife, "If I Should Fall Behind," again placing paramount emphasis upon the lyrics. That song is also from the **Lucky Town** album. All four songs were positioned in the first set and that is where Springsteen perhaps risked losing the audience by performing his most recent, and most unfamiliar work. But because of the upbeat tempo and thick texture during the other verses of "Living Proof" and "Leap of Faith," combined with his falling off the stage into the audience during the latter song, the audience responds to the lyrics that are enhanced by the musical score. The paramount point is that the musical score rarely competed with the lyrics; rather it enhanced them, providing an additional meaning available to the audience.
CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of the September 28, 1992 concert is an analysis and observation of Bruce Springsteen, perhaps the premier performer of mainstream rock at that time. It is also an analysis of mainstream rock, a genre of rock music. At a gathering of any genre of rock music, a temporary community quickly evolves, a ritual is created in which actions are executed by musicians, sound and lighting crews, and audience members. The evening is a product of what Langer (1953) calls virtual time but not only for the performer. The audience as a whole experiences the spectacle, and each member from his or her own perspective, since each audience has a responsiveness for understanding art, (396). The ritual is not static, nor fixed; it contains movement. The atmosphere and energy created is fluid and is exchanged from the stage to the audience gathered in the inner sanctum. The energy is continuously molded by the audience and flows back to the stage.

Yet study demands that we extract some static, concrete form, that we make, in a sense a verb (the
concert), into a noun, something tangible that we can hold. Entertainment and perhaps art is reduced to a study and analysis of strategy. What is communicated and how is it communicated? Certainly it is more than song lyrics sent forth that are received or rejected by the audience. Springsteen has influenced the genre of mainstream rock during his career. At the concert attended, he again defined his part of that genre, by diminishing distance between the performer and audience members, by his friendly commentary between songs, commentary that once arose out of a sense of isolation, and by the musical score that enhances and changes the meaning of the lyrics. The musical score, therefore must contain its own meaning.

Springsteen’s most memorable achievement lies in diminishing the barriers between audience and performer. He has infused the black gospel stream into many of his songs by adding a choir; although the songs were delivered in a rock music form, they had the power to uplift and inspire. The concert contained the warmth and jubilation of a community caught in celebration, a religious revival. However, Springsteen never seemed to preach to the audience or act as though he was in any manner superior to the audience.

Because he used no opening act, Springsteen and the band performed two sets. Thus the concert intermission was necessarily strategic. Without counting the break, the performance lasted about three and one-half hours, and 90
minutes to two hours is the length of time a head-lining rock band performs. Length could deter setting an amicable atmosphere if the evening performance became too boring as entertainment.

With no opening act to warm-up the crowd, the first song in Springsteen's set was more crucial to setting the tone for this concert than it normally would be at a rock concert by other rock artists. "Better Days" seemed to be an excellent choice as it was optimistic and celebratory.

Springsteen's stories, and his altering of timbre and texture within some of his songs kept the material refreshing and interesting. Stories, anecdotes and changes in timbre and texture were means he employed to alleviate the psychological barriers between performer and audience members. The female choir members dancing with the instrumentalists, Springsteen leaping into the crowd, the freeze-break during "Light of Day", the placement of the stage that allows the audience to surround it, the lighting all assist in the strategy.

Perhaps the most signigicant feature of a Springsteen concert is the way he dimishes the distances between himself and the audience. Unlike rock performers who prefer to maintain a barrier and psychological distance between themselves and their fans, Springsteen goes out of his way to establish connections with them. Indeed, a Springsteen concert represents two-way communication, with the audience contributing to the overall success of the
performance through its feedback and involvement.

At the Los Angeles concert that is the basis for this study, Springsteen used several techniques to avoid on-stage isolation. Some techniques created an atmosphere similar to a religious revival. The stark white lighting rays that looked much like sun rays that part clouds after a storm, the gobo patterns creating a stained-glass effect, the clerical-like garb and crosses worn, revivalists mannerisms of the choir and Springsteen's testifying before "Light of Day" contribute to this facet of the concert.

Distance is diminished when he surrounds the stage with the audience, while the curtains over the exits creating an inner sanctum. His telling of stories the audience can identify with and self-depricating humor, his supreme trust of fans when he takes a "Leap of Faith" into the audience, the female choir members dancing with the band, all add to the reduction of distance.

He is also an artist who relies upon the loyalty of a base of fans familiar with his earlier concerts. For example, most fans probably know at some point he will tumble into the audience. That trust is part of the strategy. When lyrics are most important Springsteen often uses thin texture, both aiding and expecting the audience to listen to the lyrics.

It is important to recognize that Springsteen may change the songs in concert, that is why it is paramount
not to analyze only recording of Springsteen or any major rock artist. The lyrics altered by a change in timbre or musical score cause an emotional reaction. The changes are perceived by most fans as a form of ad libbing, even if it is planned in advance. By nature, almost all of the concert must be planned. Springsteen uses a sort of simulated spontaneity. The alterations can offer a potential redefinition of the personal meaning of the song to any audience member, while still supporting a spontaneous atmosphere of entertainment.

For their part, the reaction of the audience en masse, their applause near the beginning of songs they recognize, the amount and volume of applause and drawn out cries of Bruce at each song's end keep Springsteen on a steady and successful course.

**The Sellnow's Model**

Recognition of the role of the concert experience is crucial to understanding both the message of Springsteen's music and how he has built and maintained fan support. Previous researchers, such as the Sellnows, underestimated the importance of the concert experience because their ideal listener to his albums was passive. In fact, in their categorization of songs based on Springsteen's recordings, the only listeners with which they were concerned were themselves. Thus, the Sellnows' efforts are generalized and incomplete; their model assumes listeners
uniform in understanding.

But Springsteen’s concert listeners are not passive. There is a energy between performer and audience largely absent in the recording experience, but one that has the potential to define meaning. Music and lyrics create a message but meaning is not complete without the audience and performer. As Robert Walser (1993) reminds us, music and thus, a concert performance is not a noun, it is a verb (xiii). It is fluid and fluctuating, and shifts during the span of the evening. The atmosphere is charged with energy. The people stand and sway, bounce around, become animated, cheer, yell, muse in moments of contemplative quiet. People’s reactions give clues as to whether the song was meaningful to them, reactions that are not evident in the sterile examination of music and lyrics alone.

The Sellnows’ approach to Springsteen’s music is flawed in another way as well. Their use of musical terms sometimes obscures both the real meaning of a term and the value of its application to Springsteen. For example, their explanation of modulates/tonic is based on the changing of a song’s tonality or musical key and they seem to assume this to be a common occurrence, but it is actually quite rare in rock music. Musician and music instructor Stesch said,

According to the standard definition of modulation in music, none of Springsteen’s songs modulate. There is permanent modulation and
transient modulation. Transient passes through a key for only a second or two. Neither occur in Springsteen’s songs (Stesch interview, March 18, 1996).

Stesch stated, "I don’t mean to be harsh, but these people [the Sellnows] are out to lunch". The research assistant for this study, musician Joseph Rodak, agreed with Stesch’s assessment. The modulates/tonic category is best left out of the Sellnows’ model.

Moreover, this assumption leads them to categorize some Springsteen’s songs incorrectly. Had they examined the music in terms of chromatic and diatonic chord categories, or in terms of whether the musical score was in a minor key or major key instead of modulates/tonic, they would have been on more solid ground, because frequent chord changes are characteristic of some of Springsteen’s music. Minor keys are also characteristic of some of Springsteen’s songs as well, and each of musical elements can affect the meaning of a song. Each can alter the mood of the active listener who is receiving, interpreting, and evaluating a song’s worth to his or herself. In fact chord changes and minor keys are colors of every rock musician’s palate.

Similarly, their dual use of "rhythm" muddies their discussion. On the one hand, borrowing from Suzanne Langer, they refer to comic or tragic rhythm, but rhythm is also an expression applied to the musical score. Further, they limit musical rhythm to driving or smooth,
yet many songs at the Los Angeles concert alternated between the two, requiring a third option, alternates. And finally, rhythm is not the only part of a musical score that would determine whether a song is driving or smooth, one must also consider texture, timbre, and at times, tempo.

Thus the Sellnows, who are, after all, among the few who have given attention to these questions, have formulated a useful model, but one that needs refinement. One might suspect that in their eagerness to apply Langer's theory, they took that theory too far. Langer was seeking to categorize the rhythm of life itself, whereas rhythm in music, no matter how significant it may be to the resulting success of a composition, is nevertheless more common and routine.

**Future Research**

In reviewing other attempts to analyze the communication at work in rock music, it soon becomes apparent that the field is in its infancy. Walser (1993) asserts correctly that "the academic study of popular music is in transition" (20). He points out deficiencies, assumptions, careless condemnations and misconstruencies in the various approaches used by sociologists with "content analysis," musicologists, semioticians and philosophers of language (20-38).

The process of transferring the meaning out of music into the written language is difficult. Walser notes that;
"Both music and language are meaningful to us, but they seem to be fundamentally different sorts of discourse" and "The problem is not only that of representing musical experience in words but more fundamentally one of analyzing musical meaning in terms of literate conceptions (39-40).

The Sellnows' model refined by this study's attempt at defining part of the concert experience can and should be used, together with on-site observation. At concerts not only are the fans present, but one can observe the fans' participation in a public ritual of a genre of music. I would suggest replacing the instruments category with texture, and broad or stark with thick or thin. They essentially mean the same thing, but texture is the proper musical term. Modulates/tonic should be dropped. Chromatic and diatonic chords are difficult, if not nearly impossible to determine at a concert unless one is very well versed regarding music. However, whether a song is in a major or minor key is easier to determine. Since some rock music artists have videos of concerts available for purchase, selecting one of those artists and viewing the concert a number of times is suggested. But this alone is not a solution, for no video can duplicate the concert experience. Seeing a performance live allows one to come in contact with the fans. Their reaction, their viewpoints comprise a valuable part of the total meaning available in songs.
Surveys at Concerts

One of the original purposes of this study was to survey the concert-goers at the September 28, 1992, Springsteen concert at the Los Angeles Sports Arena. The survey was not empirical enough and too limited to contribute to this study. Still valuable information was gathered from 110 people who attended the concert. With careful planning an empirical survey could contain relevant data. Of course, one would be tempted to assume that a survey after the concert evaluating the fans experience would be ideal. However, there are two detriments to a survey taken after a concert. First, people are often in a hurry to leave. Second, contacting and designing an area to conduct a survey would be difficult. Most importantly though, after a concert I believe many fans would be on an emotionally high pitch. Musical score and the elements that comprise the concerts meaning is, to a large extent, composed of emotions, but one cannot know the residual endurance of the effect. The residual feelings may over time become more cerebral. A post-concert survey would be an excellent measure of more immediate emotional meaning.

A survey performed before the concert, might represent only those who come to the concert early, although the survey attempted in this study avoided that pitfall by distributing questionnaires from three hours before the concert started until 10 minutes before the
start. Time spent conducting the survey could, perhaps, be better spent becoming familiar with how the exogenous material is placed to overcome the deficiencies in sound and lighting the arena presents. Ideally, contact with the lighting director and/or sound mixer would be highly desirable. This study suggests that one not overlook the crowd reaction, lighting design and operation, and stage setting. A team of researchers would greatly benefit any concert study.

Springsteen and Fans as Subjects of Study

Though I have enjoyed his music, Bruce Springsteen was not selected as the topic for this study because of that reason. However, familiarity with any performer of rock music examined in such a manner is recommended. Allow, for a moment, space for a personal observation, one that may not be original, but a speculation that I have neither heard nor read elsewhere.

The massive generation of "baby boomers" are (and will be for some time) a driving force politically and economically. It is a substantial portion of that generation that embraced Beatlemania, Bob Dylan, the British Invasion groups, the Grateful Dead, and even soul music during the 1960s. Yet each of these musical forces were not "baby boomers" themselves. Their musical heritage was founded in the 1950s. The music of the above mentioned
groups became a link in the chain as their songs became the heritage of the children of the 1960s. The Rolling Stones and a few other rock music acts known for their longevity long ago abandoned the dreams of the 1960s hippies, radicals, and those children who did not actively rebel. Additionally, the Rolling Stones and the Grateful Dead, have not addressed any time continuum. That is they have not consistently written songs concerning the aging and maturing process.

Springsteen, born in 1949, is of the "baby boomer" generation. He is the first popular rock composer and performer to address, in song, the process of maturation and real events the "baby boomers" have confronted as they have grown older. As evidenced by albums such as Nebraska and his 1995 compact disc, the Ghost of Tom Joad, as well as in individual songs on other long playing records, he calls attention to the economic plight of the less fortunate. Springsteen did not arrive at his lyrical commentary from the perspective of a college student, or a soldier, of the 1960s. Rather he sees through the eyes of the blue collar "working class" (in a way documenting his immediate family's plight) for those are his roots. Despite personal wealth, Springsteen has not lost touch with his humble beginnings. His lyrics, his hard physical labor, and the enjoyment he displays "working" during his performances are hard evidence of my speculations.

Many rock critics and fans of his music went through
a period of idealism during the 1960s. Many have since become relatively wealthy. In embracing Springsteen at his concerts, the critics and fans are, perhaps, re-embracing a philosophy that they fear they have lost. By embracing Springsteen, they assuage their guilt and rekindle their old ideals. At Springsteen concerts, they are entertained and take pause for reflection at the same time.

As one fan at the Arena noted, "He [Springsteen] says things that I want to say but can't." The fans are an important portion of the equation, as in the end they are entertaining each other. A Springsteen concert is a ritual built by temporary friendship with strangers.

In studying concerts, do not go to a concert and write of partial or totally preconceived interpretations of what it meant to the audience while remaining strangers with those around you. Ask the fans what they expect, they think, and they feel. Watch their behavior and their actions, then attempt to interpret the meanings and interplay between performer and audience. I would urge the study of rock concerts in general. The integral whole is greater than the sum of the discreet parts.
APPENDIX A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order of Songs in Concert</th>
<th>Poetic Illusion</th>
<th>Dramatic Illusion</th>
<th>Musical Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comic</td>
<td>Tragic</td>
<td>Comic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better Days</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Hero</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucky Town</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darkness on the Edge of Town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic City</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Big Muddy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 Channels and Nothing on</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trapped</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badlands</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Proof</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I Should Fall Behind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leap of Faith</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man's Job</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roll of the Dice</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria's Eyes</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cover Me</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brilliant Disguise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of Songs in Concert</td>
<td>Poetic Illusion</td>
<td>Dramatic Illusion</td>
<td>Musical Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comic</td>
<td>Tragic</td>
<td>Comic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soul Driver</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souls of the Departed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in the U.S. A.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real World</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light of Day</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Touch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glory Days</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobby Jean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder Road</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born to Run</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My Beautiful Reward</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on the Highway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of Songs Performed</td>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td>Style</td>
<td>Choir on Stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Driving</td>
<td>Smooth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better Days</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Hero</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucky Town</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darkness on the Edge of Town</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic City</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Big Muddy</td>
<td></td>
<td>Folk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 Channels and Nothing On</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trapped</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badlands</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Proof</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I Should Fall Behind</td>
<td></td>
<td>Folk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leap of Faith</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man’s Job</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roll of the Dice</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria’s Eyes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cover Me</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brilliant Disguise</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soul Driver</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souls of the Departed</td>
<td></td>
<td>Folk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of Songs Performed</td>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td>Musical Score</td>
<td>Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Driving</td>
<td></td>
<td>Smooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in the U. S. A.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real World</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light of Day</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Touch</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glory Days</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobby Jean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder Road</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Folk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born to Run</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My Beautiful Reward</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Folk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on the Highway</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>