

Industrial Mediation in Jazz Production:

A Case Study of GRP Records

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the
University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by**

Simon Barber

March 2009

Abstract

Industrial Mediation in Jazz Production: A Case Study of GRP Records

Throughout the 20th Century, the writing of jazz historiography has led to the formation of a jazz canon that privileges jazz's key figures, its major stylistic periods and seminal works. This emphasis on jazz as a form of autonomous musical expression has helped to marginalise the industrial contexts in which jazz music is recorded, packaged, sold and consumed.

Founded by production team Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen, American jazz label GRP Records (GRP) achieved significant commercial success during the 1980s with a style of jazz-fusion known as 'contemporary jazz'. By making a case study of this successful jazz business and its relationships with musicians and organisations within the music and media industries, this thesis argues that jazz can be impacted significantly by industrial mediation.

Chapter One examines the role of the producer as an intermediary. Focusing on Grusin and Rosen's approach to finding and signing young jazz musicians and Grusin's skills as a musical arranger, it explores the ways in which intermediaries can shape the sounds made by jazz musicians. Chapter Two examines the role of the recording engineer as a user of technology. By following Grusin and Rosen's pursuit of high fidelity recording solutions, this chapter demonstrates how studio intermediaries can impact upon jazz artists as they collaborate within the constraints of new recording paradigms.

Chapter Three examines the impact of marketing mediation on jazz production. GRP adopted a variety of marketing strategies to help sell its products. This chapter demonstrates that intermediaries act on information about the jazz market in order to ensure that jazz music is conceived and produced in line with market demands. Chapter Four examines the impact of commercial radio formats on jazz production. By exploring audience research techniques and GRP's relationship with the 'smooth jazz' format, Chapter Four examines how jazz can be produced according to the needs of radio programmers and listeners.

Chapter Five concludes the case study by demonstrating how corporate strategy can impact upon jazz production. Using the example of GRP's expansion and consolidation into MCA, Matsushita and Universal, Chapter Five explores the ways in which strategic decisions affect staff and artists, thus mediating jazz at the level of production. By addressing the ways in which intermediaries can impact upon jazz production, this thesis aims to complicate the dominant view of jazz as a largely unmediated form of art music.

Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Introduction	1
One	
Shaping Sounds: The Jazz Producer as Intermediary	50
Two	
Recording Jazz: The Agency of the Sound Engineer as a User of Technology	96
Three	
Constructing the Consumer: Jazz Marketing as Mediation	144
Four	
Jazz on Commercial Radio: Industrial Mediation and the 'Smooth Jazz' Format	195
Five	
The Business of Jazz: Corporate Strategy and its Impact on Jazz Production	243
Conclusions	290
Bibliography	298
Appendix	326

Acknowledgements

Throughout my doctoral research, I have been aided enormously by my supervisors Mike Jones and Marion Leonard at the University of Liverpool. Their insight and guidance has contributed greatly to the writing of this thesis. I am therefore very grateful for having had the benefit of their observations and encouragement. Thanks also to Alan Stanbridge for his early suggestions on finding the key themes of this study and to Tim Wall for reading a draft of the Introduction. I would like to acknowledge the contributions of the many individuals who have given of their time to take part in interviews. The generosity of the artists, staff and affiliates of GRP Records, Soundstream Inc. and Broadcast Architecture has been overwhelming and highly rewarding.

The support of Larry Rosen and Dave Grusin has afforded me considerable access to GRP personnel and information during my research and I am indebted to them for their openness and enthusiasm. Thanks also to Kathe Charas for helping me to locate some of the hard to find GRP staff members and to Judy Schiller who was kind enough to supply me with photographs of many of them. I am equally grateful to Francisco Centeno for his efforts to connect me with Steve Gadd and to Steve himself for his many voicemails from the road. I would like to acknowledge the ongoing kindness of Jules Bloomenthal for his innumerable emails pertaining to Soundstream and for his comments on a draft of Chapter Two. I am also thankful for the help of Tom MacCluskey and Rich Feldman of Soundstream who also supplied me with photographs and magazine articles.

On a personal note, I would like to thank my extraordinary family and friends who have provided unquestioning emotional and financial support during this process. Above all, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my wife, Lorraine, whose many sacrifices during the writing of this thesis cannot be measured. Thank you for your love and support; I feel very lucky to be a part of your life. This thesis is dedicated to my father, Peter Barber; an optimist, a risk-taker, a problem-solver and the best supporter any son could hope for. I love you, Dad. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the enduring support of my mother Anne Barber and the companionship of Ellington 'Smeebs' Barber, the much-missed cat who also put in the hours.

Introduction

Summary of thesis

This thesis is an examination of industrial mediation in jazz production. By this I mean that it will consider how industry workers impact upon the creation of jazz music products. My primary focus is the New York based jazz label GRP Records. The label became prominent during the 1980s as an exponent of commercially successful jazz recordings that blended elements of jazz with rock, funk and R&B. This approach to jazz music is often described with the broad term 'fusion'. With an emphasis on the period spanning 1978-1995, this thesis makes a case study of GRP Records in order to argue that jazz production can be impacted significantly by mediation within the music and media industries. I use the term 'mediation' to illustrate that the creation of music products involves negotiations with artists carried out by a range of intermediaries.¹ Following the work of Bourdieu (1986) and Negus (1996), I characterise these intermediaries as workers that negotiate in the production of cultural artefacts.² For the purposes of this thesis, I am referring specifically to the intermediation of producers, engineers, marketers, radio programmers and record label executives. The term 'music and media industries' is an intentionally inclusive one, accommodating the work of people and organisations involved directly in music production plus a range of intersecting fields such as technology, radio and journalism.

¹ By 'negotiations', I refer to the processes by which mediators craft outcomes to satisfy various interests, including their own. This usually involves bargaining to produce an agreement on a course of action.

² A cultural artefact is a human-made object that gives information about the culture of its creator and user. A record is an example of such an object.

Sociologists have established an area of research known as ‘production of culture’ studies.³ These are studies that illustrate how cultural artefacts are shaped by industry.⁴ Such studies have involved the examination of small-scale organisations in the arts and the ways in which intermediaries help to determine the goods they produce.⁵ Wolff (1993: 31) illustrates the scope of these activities when she suggests that intermediaries can be ‘publishers, gallery owners, sound mixers, sponsors for radio and government patrons’. The production of art as a commodity is therefore a complex negotiation between multiple parties. Wolff (1993: 1) argues that ‘art and literature have to be seen as historical, situated and produced, and not as descending as divine inspiration to people of innate genius.’ In terms of this thesis, this is an important point because jazz music has not typically been understood as a product of industrial methods. Jazz historiography has frequently marginalised the industrial frameworks that affect jazz production in favour of the artistic contributions of individual jazz musicians, their lineage and stylistic significance.

A ‘canon’ is usually a collection of artists/works that have been widely acknowledged as the pinnacle of achievement in a particular field. During the 20th Century, the jazz tradition was established as a series of major stylistic periods characterised by important artists and their seminal works. The rise of ‘bebop’ in the 1940s as performed by artists like Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie, or ‘free jazz’ in the 1950s and 1960s led by artists like Ornette Coleman and John Coltrane are examples of this kind of taxonomy. This approach to jazz history has contributed to

³ This area of research was generally consolidated by two collections entitled *The Production of Culture*, edited by Peterson (1976) and Coser (1978).

⁴ For example, see Barber (1990) or Braham (1997).

⁵ See Hirsch (1972) and Becker (1974; 1982).

the dominant view of jazz as a highly autonomous form of art music. Jazz histories, such as those by Schuller (1986), Gridley (1988), Sales (1992), Tirro (1993) and Gioia (1997) rely heavily on the canon constructed by Martin Williams's *The Jazz Tradition* (1970) and his *Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz* (1973). Pond (2003: 12) notes, 'nearly every college text on jazz written in the past quarter century has centered its listening examples on the Smithsonian Collection.' Moreover, Williams was undoubtedly informed by the work of Hodeir (1956).⁶ Gennari (2006: 189) has described Hodeir's formative work as 'an outline of the evolution of jazz keyed to transcendent individual achievements.' This approach became the established mode of most jazz histories. DeVeaux (1991: 483) notes that, 'jazz is presented as a coherent whole, and its history as a skillfully contrived and easily comprehended narrative.' He continues, 'there is substantive agreement on the defining features of each style, the pantheon of great innovators, and the canon of recorded masterpieces' (DeVeaux, 1991: 483). As with other music canons, artists and works that form part of this consensus will often be included at the expense of excluding others. The process of writing history therefore relies upon complex agendas and value judgements and consequently the construction of canons is usually considered an elitist exercise.⁷

Clearly, there has been legitimate concern about the construction of jazz history. As such, the distance between industrial mediation and jazz music raises interesting questions about the relationship between art and commerce. Can jazz continue to function as art music when presented in an industrial context? Business is usually

⁶ Other writers shaping jazz criticism at this time included Feather (1957), Stearns (1958) and Ulanov (1960).

⁷ See Bohlman (1988), DeVeaux (1991), Tomlinson (1992), Gabbard (1995c) and Jones (2008).

driven by financial imperatives and the term 'industry' implies negotiations with intermediaries. Such ramifications complicate the idea of jazz as a form of autonomous artistic expression. Indeed, popular expressions of jazz music, such as the 'fusion' music produced by GRP Records, have tended to be disparaged or ignored by the critical establishment as 'inauthentic', 'sold-out' or commercialised.⁸ The neglect of fusion by jazz historiography has therefore been the subject of considerable debate.⁹

This problem has also been debated in terms of popular music genres such as rock. Keightley has argued that rock historiography is 'selectively blind to the industrial elements that contributed to the birth of rock music because the ideology of rock itself consistently disavows rock's commercial status' (Keightley, 2004: 376). Keightley is suggesting that rock music discourse tends to privilege artists over industrial mediation in order to protect rock's ideology as a form of unmediated rebellion from the 'money-driven' machinations of the music industry. This problem has also been debated in other cultural sectors in which art/commerce tensions are a recurring feature of the discourses surrounding production. The Hollywood film industry is a prime example of negotiation between screenwriters, actors, editors, producers and 'test audiences' in the creation of art as a mass-marketed commodity (Kerr, 1986). Negus has suggested that in order to achieve a more realistic understanding of this relationship, it is necessary to 'move away' from characterising cultural production as a 'conflict between commerce (industry) and creativity (the

⁸ See Baraka (1987), Marsalis (1988; 1990) and Crouch (1990).

⁹ See DeVeaux (1991), Tomlinson (1992), Gabbard (1995c), Stanbridge (2004a), Washburne (2004) and McGee (2008). Of course, there are other areas of jazz creativity and industry that have been marginalised for reasons such as taste or gender. One such example is the widespread neglect in historicising the role of women in jazz, as demonstrated by Gourse (1995) and Tucker (2000).

artists)' (Negus, 1999: 24). Indeed, music production can be viewed historically as a series of relatively stable and consistent developments in technology, distribution and marketing. As Keightley (2004: 376) notes, 'if we produce a history of rock that has less to do with a grand narrative of rebellion and more to do with industrial transformations and institutional continuities, we may find that key transitions involve not heroic ruptures with tradition (1955, 1964, etc.), but, rather, slow, long evolutions in an ongoing industrial model.' By making a case study of GRP Records, I apply this perspective to an analysis of jazz production.

Despite these debates, the industrial mediation of mainstream popular music genres such as rock, punk and dance has been comparatively well documented when compared with jazz. For example, Hesmondhalgh's (1998a; 1998b) studies of the British dance music industry and the relationship between punk and industry have situated these art forms within a realistic production framework. Scholars such as Sanjek (1991), Jones (1992), Burnett (1996), Negus (1999), Barnard (2000), Toynbee (2000) and Garofalo (2002) have examined the implications of marketing, distribution, radio and corporate strategy. Still, there remains a paucity of research into the mediation of jazz production. Two notable exceptions to this trend are: Herman Gray's *Producing Jazz* (1988), which makes a case study of an independent label with an emphasis on the financial and administrative constraints of small-scale production and Steven Pond's *Head Hunters: The Making of Jazz's First Platinum Album* (2005), which contextualises the success of Herbie Hancock's landmark 1973 recording in terms of technology and marketing mediation. It is alongside studies of this kind that I wish to situate my research.

Laing (2002) has made a systematic study of the sorts of economic circumstances in which jazz can be situated. Although jazz studies and popular music studies have developed as discrete disciplines (Frith, 2007: 9), Laing (2002: 321) notes that jazz has, at different times, been part of the traditional (folk), popular and art (classical) music markets.¹⁰ As Laing (2002: 321) has stated, until the demise of the big bands in the mid-1940s, 'jazz was performed and recorded according to the demands and protocols of the popular music business.' From its beginnings in New Orleans, jazz was 'interwoven' with the 'elements of a de-ritualised and commercialised leisure and entertainment economy' (Laing, 2002: 321). If jazz history is taken at face value, then jazz is a highly *unmediated* art form, but here Laing indicates that even early jazz was implicated by the economic realities of industry. Likewise, Frith argues that jazz is 'music made *commercially* in a particular kind of legal (copyright) and economic (market) system'; that it takes advantage of 'ever changing *technology*'; that jazz is 'experienced as *mediated*, tied up with the twentieth-century mass media of cinema, radio and television', and is often made for 'the social and bodily pleasures of dance and public entertainment' (Frith, 2007: 8-9, emphasis his).

On the surface then, it is fusion, and its overt relationship with commercial practices that appears antithetical to the values prescribed by most jazz histories. However, most of the debates around fusion represent critical, musical and industrial continuities that have been a source of tension for as long as jazz has been made. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that art and commerce are more closely intertwined than jazz historiography suggests. Jazz-fusion provides an opportunity to

¹⁰ Jazz is included as a category of popular music in Rubin and Malnick's (2001) *American Popular Music* alongside rock, blues, and country music.

examine these processes at work and their impact upon jazz production. So, if one accepts that fusion music is part of the narrative of jazz, then one is forced to confront the impact of industrial mediation.

Although I am generally interested in the impact of industrial mediation, I am especially concerned with the ways in which the actions and opinions of intermediaries feed into the production process. For example, even before a note is recorded, the marketing potential of an artist is analysed and discussed; potential consumers are described and opportunities for radio airplay are examined. Once a product reaches the marketplace, sales figures provide valuable information to artists and labels. Feedback from radio helps an artist to understand what an audience responds to.¹¹ Corporations merge, increasing access to new markets and larger distribution networks; expansion increases the demand for artists that can satisfy audiences. Sometimes, corporate strategy determines if an album is released or if an artist will even receive a contract in the first place. As Laing (2002: 324) notes, 'while the direct involvement in jazz musicians' careers of agents and other intermediaries such as record companies, publishers and managers is clear, the role of the print and broadcast media in establishing musical reputations should not be ignored.' Indeed, journalists help establish the reputations of artists and good reviews increase sales and result in larger recording and marketing budgets. In ways such as these, workers in the music and media industries impact upon the production process.

¹¹ This feedback is even more direct in the context of live performance.

As stated previously, by using the term ‘music and media industries’, I aim to be inclusive of the creative industries at large. Monson (1996: 14-15) has also considered the broad scope of these activities:

Jazz occurs within the context of an international music industry, and the image we have of musicians is constructed through the activities of many types of agents: musicians, concert promoters, booking agents, record company executives, recording engineers, jazz club owners and employees, radio producers, critics, audience members and academics (Monson, 1996: 14-15).

Scholars sometimes use the term ‘gatekeepers’ to represent these powerful mediators who act as filters between an artist and the public.¹² At all levels of industry, intermediaries exercise some sort of ‘quality control’ process. However, Laing (2002: 329) notes that the principals of some independent record labels have also acted as owners of record stores, club owners, managers and even musicians. Therefore, in considering the impact of industrial mediation in jazz production, I wish to move away from the idea of ‘gatekeepers’ as guardians charged with ‘admitting and excluding products’ (Negus 1992: 45) and instead consider such intermediaries as facilitators and negotiators in the creative process.

The agency of the intermediary is a theme that populates every chapter of this study. As a result, this thesis is concerned with two questions that have become significant during my research. The first comes from Simon Frith (2007: 17) who asks: ‘is jazz best understood *canonically* by reference to its history, its great names, its established sonic and stylistic conventions? Or is it best understood as a *process*?’ (emphasis his). The second is from Gary Tomlinson (1992: 77) who poses the

¹² See Hirsch (1972) and Negus (1992: 45).

question: 'why not search for jazz meanings *behind* the music, in the life-shapes that gave rise to it and that continue to sustain it?' (emphasis his). This case study of GRP Records addresses the industrial processes that impact upon jazz production and the intermediaries, or 'life-shapes' that mediate or 'sustain' it. By taking a holistic approach to jazz production, this thesis seeks to narrow the distance between jazz historiography and 'production of culture' studies.

Case study

Grusin/Rosen Productions (GRP), established in 1972 by composer, arranger, pianist Dave Grusin, and engineer, producer Larry Rosen, achieved international success by adopting an entrepreneurial approach to the recording and marketing of jazz music. Between 1978-1982, they operated under the auspices of Arista with a label known as Arista/GRP. In 1982, Grusin and Rosen formed an independent label, GRP Records, which became one of the first jazz labels to release its titles on compact disc. The label presented itself as 'The Digital Master Company', developing a strong brand identity and gaining a reputation for its standards of sonic presentation. By adopting progressive marketing strategies, GRP Records was able to reach large numbers of adult consumers and penetrate the jazz-pop market. In 1987, GRP agreed an international distribution deal with MCA, a move that coincided with the launch of the popular 'smooth jazz' radio format, a mix of jazz, 'New Age' and vocal music.¹³ Between 1989-1993, the label was recognised for five consecutive years as

¹³ 'New Age' music is peaceful acoustic and electronic instrumental music often used as an accompaniment to activities such as yoga, massage, relaxation and meditation.

Billboard's number one 'contemporary jazz' label.¹⁴ Its artists were nominated for over 80 Grammy awards. GRP's artist roster has included Patti Austin, David Benoit, Gary Burton, Chick Corea, Dave Grusin, Ramsey Lewis, The Rippingtons, Lee Ritenour, Arturo Sandoval, Diane Schuur, Tom Scott, Spyro Gyra, Dave Valentin and the Yellowjackets among others. In 1990, Grusin and Rosen sold GRP Records to MCA for \$40 million. Later that year, Japan's Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. (now known as the Panasonic Corporation) purchased MCA. In 1995, MCA was sold to Seagram, which became the Universal Music Group. GRP Records became part of the Verve Music Group within Universal.

My claims about GRP Records are as follows: GRP was a distinctive music and business project in the jazz industry. Its founders, Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen, were both musicians who had found success in the music and media industries.¹⁵ The company presented a clear vision of its brand and sonic identity. It was quick to adopt digital recording technology and the compact disc format in order to achieve a high quality product and appeal to niche audio markets. By marketing products to specialist audiences, GRP helped to bring jazz to a wider audience. GRP Records signed artists and produced recordings that fit with the emerging, and since dominant, sound of jazz on format radio in the United States. Grusin and Rosen were eventually able to achieve a return on their investment by selling the company, an action that introduced the label into an ongoing chain of music business consolidation. GRP Records therefore represents an explicit opportunity to examine

¹⁴ This term was typically synonymous with 'jazz-pop' during the 1980s and its significance is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

¹⁵ Grusin is a prolific composer of motion picture scores and Rosen was the President of an award-winning production house providing music for advertising.

the mediation of jazz production by a range of intermediaries in the music and media industries.

This thesis focuses on the work of intermediaries in five areas of industry and the impact of their mediation on jazz production. It considers the following: the impact of producers in shaping musical sounds; the agency of engineers in the recording process; the role of promotions staff in marketing; the work of programmers in format radio and the effects of corporate strategy carried out by record label management. The case study incorporates two tangential examinations of companies in the music and media industries that interacted with GRP Records. They are: the digital recording company Soundstream, prominent in the audio industry between 1976-1983 and the radio research firm Broadcast Architecture, established in 1988 and still a leader in the field. This study acts as both a historical account of these companies and as an argument centered around the role of industry in the production of culture. Throughout this work, I draw on primary oral interview research conducted with the founders, artists, engineers, producers and staff of GRP Records, numerous external affiliates and key staff members from both Soundstream and Broadcast Architecture. This is outlined in detail within the methodology section included herein and a full account of all interviews can be found in the Appendix at the end of the thesis.

During the remainder of this introduction, I shall better define key terms by giving a historical background to jazz-fusion and the genre of music that GRP produced. I shall then engage with some of the criticism aimed at this kind of jazz music in an

attempt to reconcile fusion's role in the jazz-canon with its presentation throughout jazz historiography. In this way, I hope to demonstrate that the only barriers to acknowledging the impact of industrial mediation in jazz production are those erected by jazz historiography itself. I shall then review the literature that I have engaged with to contextualise and support my work; I shall describe the research I have conducted and the methodological considerations that have governed this process. Finally, I will detail the aims of the five chapters that comprise the case study in order to establish the overall structure of the thesis.

The development of jazz-fusion

This study is primarily concerned with styles of jazz that come under the heading of 'fusion'. In its most general sense, 'fusion' describes the process of combining music genres and is therefore not necessarily specific to jazz. Nicholson (2002: 217) argues that the term 'fusion' may not have come into use until as late as 1973-1974.

Nevertheless, the term 'fusion' has been most closely associated with jazz-rock music of the late 1960s and early 1970s typified by artists like Miles Davis, The Tony Williams Lifetime, Weather Report, Return to Forever, The Mahavishnu Orchestra and The Headhunters. Martin and Waters (2002: 293) describe the differences between traditional jazz and jazz-fusion as the 'replacement of 4/4 swing feel with funk rock rhythms; use of simple harmonies and progressions; replacement of acoustic bass with electric bass; replacement of piano with electric piano and synthesisers; rise of the electric guitar; amplification and electronic effects.' When

making clarifications throughout this thesis, I shall refer specifically to styles of jazz-fusion, such as jazz-pop, jazz-rock and jazz-funk.

As early as the mid 1960s, artists like Cannonball Adderley were performing music that fused soul and gospel with jazz.¹⁶ Martin and Waters (2002: 296) state that ‘soul and, later, funk developed out of rhythm and blues, which itself was the offspring of the so-called “race records” of pre-war African-American music.’ Gridley (1988: 313) tracks the many tributaries of jazz-fusion back to the gospel influences of rhythm and blues, citing the Earl Bostic and Eddie Vinson bands of the 1940s and 1950s and the organ/saxophone combinations of Jimmy Smith, Stanley Turrentine and Ramsey Lewis as key exponents of early fusion approaches. This kind of prototypical fusion is often referred to as ‘soul-jazz’. Gioia (1997: 322) traces the sound of soul-jazz to the ‘burgeoning rhythm-and-blues movement of the late 1940s and 1950s’, especially ‘big band riffs, urban blues, call-and-response forms, and gospel music, among others.’ Built on the ‘hard bop’ sounds of the 1960s, listeners responded with enthusiasm to soul-jazz and artists such as Jimmy Smith, Ramsey Lewis and Wes Montgomery were soon enjoying ‘airplay, jukebox spins, and brisk record sales’ (Gioia, 1997: 321).¹⁷ By the late 1960s, producer Creed Taylor was regularly choosing pop standards for Montgomery.¹⁸ Montgomery stood out as ‘the most skilful in combining commercial appeal with mature artistry’ and was ‘an ideal

¹⁶ Julian Edwin ‘Cannonball’ Adderley (1928-1975), was an alto saxophonist prominent in the 1950s and 1960s. He is noted for his work with Miles Davis. Joe Zawinul’s 1966 composition ‘Mercy, Mercy, Mercy’ was a hit for Adderley.

¹⁷ ‘Hard Bop’ was an accessible outgrowth of bebop that incorporated influences from blues, gospel, and R&B music.

¹⁸ Creed Taylor is best known for his CTI (Creed Taylor Inc.) jazz label of the 1970s. As a producer, Taylor had substantial success at Verve and A&M before founding his own label. Montgomery’s three popular records for A&M, *A Day in the Life* (1967), *Down Here on the Ground* (1967) and *Road Song* (1968) contained instrumental versions of pop songs such as ‘Scarborough Fair’, ‘I Say a Little Prayer’ and ‘Eleanor Rigby’.

candidate for “crossover” success as a pop-jazz star’ (Gioia, 1997: 323). Nicholson (1998: 210) notes that ‘Taylor had his artists record well-known melodies wherever possible to help sell their improvisational talents’. Even jazz artists such as Count Basie and Duke Ellington were not immune to this ongoing trend in jazz.¹⁹

During this period, artists like Miles Davis had fully embraced the merger between jazz and rock. *Bitches Brew* (recorded August 1969 and released June 1970) sold 400,000 copies helping to bring jazz-fusion to mainstream audiences. Nicholson describes early jazz-rock as an experimental and energetic ‘music from the margins’ (Nicholson, 2002: 231). Groups like Weather Report, Return to Forever and The Mahavishnu Orchestra appealed to the audiences of rock groups like Jimi Hendrix, Frank Zappa, Cream, Blood, Sweat & Tears and Yes. Nicholson (2002: 224) notes that when Davis began exploring jazz-rock, Columbia Records were already enjoying success with acts like Blood, Sweat & Tears and Chicago. The success of Blood, Sweat & Tears made the industry take notice of jazz-rock, ‘a way of turning round their unprofitable jazz sales by giving the music a contemporary spin’ (Nicholson, 2002: 224). The commercial potential of jazz-fusion was also reflected in the acknowledgement of jazz-rock by mainstream press such as *Rolling Stone* and jazz publications like *Down Beat*, and *Jazz*, which ‘announced a similar shift when it changed its name to *Jazz and Pop*’ (Brennan, 2007: 75).

Jazz-rock soon became the most commercially successful form of jazz. Gridley (1988: 341) notes that ‘though jazz instrumentals ordinarily sold fewer than 10,000

¹⁹ *Basie’s Beatle Bag* (1966) and *Ellington ’66* (1966) were both comprised largely of songs by The Beatles and other pop favourites rendered in a big band setting.

to 20,000 copies, jazz-rock albums frequently sold more than 100,000 copies.’ The unprecedented success of jazz-rock performed by respected instrumentalists like Miles Davis, Chick Corea (Return to Forever), Herbie Hancock (The Headhunters), Joe Zawinul and Jaco Pastorius (Weather Report), led to changes in marketing practices and the expectation that all records should ‘cross over to, and share in, the new demographic that was purchasing rock records’ (Washburne, 2004: 129). The costs of recording and marketing were skyrocketing: ‘many jazz musicians were forced to reassess their artistic direction along the lines of socio-economic reality’ (Nicholson, 2002: 231). In other words, they needed to ‘cross over’ to new markets in order to continue to operate on this scale. Other forms of fusion were also popular with audiences: ‘by 1971, an electrified version of soul-jazz was selling in large quantities, exemplified by the saxophonist Grover Washington Jr on the CTI/Kudu record label’ (Nicholson, 1998: 209). Aided by talented arrangers like Bob James, who, like Dave Grusin, had achieved success in television music, Taylor’s CTI label ‘was a guarantee of smooth, listener-friendly jazz’ (Nicholson, 1998: 209).²⁰ The approach was widespread across the jazz industry and labels like Blue Note, Prestige and CTI relied on such records to stay solvent. Nicholson (1998: 210) notes: ‘with the commercial success of Donald Byrd’s *Blackbyrd* (1972), Blue Note records followed the lead of Kudu and moved into similar glossy, instrumental fusion-styled territory’. Gioia (1997: 321) confirms that Alfred Lion, founder and manager of Blue Note Records, became a supporter of fusion music: ‘skyrocketing sales made Lion a true believer, and in time he was fervently promoting a host of similar recordings.’

²⁰ The Bob James composition ‘Angela’ became the theme to the CBS television show *Taxi*. James composed all of the original music used in the television series during its entire run (1978-1983).

The success of *Head Hunters* (1973), a platinum album for jazz pianist Herbie Hancock, was the commercial watershed for jazz-fusion. Hancock's music can be categorised as jazz-funk: a hard-edged fusion of jazz with the danceable grooves of R&B and soul.²¹ The genre avoided the ternary timekeeping of swing, taking its cues from the sound and feel of jazz-rock. Washburne (2004: 131) has noted that 'by aligning jazz rock and fusion musicians with their rock and pop counterparts and supplying large production and promotion budgets, jazz-rock-fusion was taken from the margins and mainstreamed by the mid-1970s.' This widespread acceptance of jazz-rock meant that 'eventually many of the jazz stalwarts gave in to pressure from the record companies and other musicians to incorporate rock tunes into their records' (Martin and Waters, 2002: 297). The rise of jazz-funk and other forms of jazz-fusion continued unabated. Despite the pervasive influence of jazz-rock albums such as Miles Davis's *Bitches Brew* (1970), Cooke (1998: 174) notes that 'the similarities between *Bitches Brew* and rock were, in fact, superficial: even the heavy backbeats had been heard in earlier hard bop and soul jazz.' As jazz-fusion continued to expand in the marketplace, 'the dominant non-jazz elements... no longer came from the creative side of rock but from pop with simple hooks and currently fashionable dance beats' (Nicholson, 2002: 231).

GRP Records typically produced music that can be broadly categorised as 'jazz-pop', a melodic fusion of jazz with elements of rock, funk and R&B. The name 'contemporary jazz' derives from radio, where some formats have been described and marketed under the title 'adult contemporary' (AC) (Barnes, 1988: 26).

²¹ Hancock was also one of the first jazz musicians to use synthesizers in jazz music, a sound he fully realised on his follow-up recording *Thrust* (1974).

Whitburn notes that adult contemporary can be characterized as ‘current music that appeals to adults’ and consists of ‘melodies that are easy on the ears and gentle on the nerves’ (Whitburn, 2002: 5). *Billboard* magazine first published an ‘easy listening’ chart in 1961 (Whitburn, 2002: 5) and this was renamed ‘Adult Contemporary’ in 1979.²² The term ‘contemporary jazz’ has therefore been used to denote this kind of instrumental jazz-pop music since the 1980s.²³ The website *All Music Guide* (n.d) has expressed its preference for the term ‘crossover jazz’, suggesting that it better communicates the intention of the music. However, unlike contemporary jazz, this term was not widely used during the 1980s and consequently does not have the same value in the context of this study.

In contemporary jazz, saxophones and guitars are the most common solo instruments. Unlike jazz-rock and more traditional forms of jazz such as bebop, improvisation is usually minimised in favour of melodic repetition. Widespread use of electronics has meant that rhythm sections have developed from the organic ensembles (drums, bass, guitars, horns) in most ‘soul-jazz’ or ‘jazz-funk’ recordings to atmospheric synthesizer pads and electronic drum sounds prevalent in productions of the 1980s. Washburne (2004: 131) notes:

Along with this new generation came stylistic changes that reflected what was happening in the pop and rock worlds, where more slick, pop-oriented production techniques were employed and the rough edges of fusion (i.e: loud volumes, high energy, and raucous rock solos) were smoothed out, creating a more soft fusion sound (Washburne, 2004: 131).

²² The ‘smooth jazz’ radio format (essentially the successor of contemporary jazz) became known within the radio industry as ‘New Adult Contemporary’.

²³ *Billboard* operates a contemporary jazz chart that continues to be occupied by jazz-pop artists such as David Sanborn, Al Jarreau and George Benson.

Where the dissonant, experimental sounds of artists like Larry Coryell, Miles Davis, Herbie Hancock, Mahavishnu Orchestra, Return to Forever and Weather Report owed more to the progressive rock of Cream, Jimi Hendrix and Frank Zappa, contemporary jazz was a softer combination which grew out of R&B, soul-jazz, and jazz-funk. Labels like Blue Note began 'recording commercial, funky pseudo-jazz with artists such as Noel Pointer, Earl Klugh' (Nicholson, 1998: 20).²⁴ Throughout the 1970s, musicians such as George Benson, The Crusaders, Dave Grusin, Bob James, John Klemmer, Jeff Lorber, Chuck Mangione, David Sanborn, Tom Scott and Grover Washington Jr. experimented with jazz-pop styles and achieved considerable success at radio, where its melodic, accessible sound found its largest audience. Watershed jazz-pop albums at radio include Grover Washington's *Mister Magic* (1975), George Benson's *Breezin'* (1976) and Chuck Mangione's *Feels So Good* (1977).²⁵ However, the main components of the style can be identified as early as Tom Scott's *Tom Cat* (1974) or Bob James's *One* (1974).

Moreover, it was not only radio but also television and film that contributed to this popularity with glossy jazz soundtracks composed, recorded and performed by jazz artists working in the medium. Artists like Dave Grusin, Bob James, Quincy Jones, Michel Legrand, Henry Mancini and Lalo Schiffrin helped introduce this music in America²⁶: 'shows, beamed in weekly to televisions across America at prime time viewing slots, helped speed the popularisation of a consumer-friendly mutation of jazz-rock...into the entertainment mainstream' (Nicholson, 1998: 215). It would be

²⁴ Notably, Noel Pointer and Earl Klugh were both produced by Grusin/Rosen Productions.

²⁵ *Breezin'* (1976), became a top ten hit on the strength of its only vocal track, 'This Masquerade' (Whitburn 2002: 32).

²⁶ Between them, these composers were responsible for scoring television shows such as *Baretta*, *Columbo*, *Ironside*, *Mission: Impossible*, *Starsky and Hutch* and *Taxi*.

almost another decade before Kenny G's *Duotones* (1986) signalled the arrival of another commercial watershed for jazz and heralded the 'smooth jazz' radio format that would follow soon afterwards.²⁷ *Duotones* stayed on the charts throughout the launch of 'The Wave', a Los Angeles based radio station inaugurated on Valentine's Day 1987. The Wave was the flagship station for what would become the 'smooth jazz' format. Together, these events helped to galvanise jazz-pop and introduce its accessible sound to an even larger audience.

Criticism of jazz-fusion

Jazz-fusion, in all its forms, has been subject to much criticism from the jazz establishment. Indeed, some academics, journalists, historians and musicians have disparaged jazz-fusion, while others have ignored the style completely. As Case and Britt (1978: 59) have noted, 'fusion was understood by many observers as an aberrant step in the evolution of a "pure" or autonomous jazz.' In June of 1967, *Down Beat* magazine announced its intention to cover the 'musically valid aspects of the rock scene' (Morgenstern, 1967: 13). By October 5, 1967, the cover of *Down Beat* magazine saw fit to declare: 'Jazz as we know it is dead'. Critics such as Amiri Baraka and Stanley Crouch have been strong opponents of jazz-fusion, especially the work of Miles Davis during the late 1960s and 1970s. Baraka (1987: 177) has dismissed jazz-fusion as 'dollar-sign music' while Stanley Crouch (1990: 30) has

²⁷ Kenneth Gorelick, a.k.a Kenny G (born June 5, 1956), is an American jazz saxophonist. He began his career as a soloist for Barry White's Love Unlimited Orchestra in 1976 and went on to play with The Jeff Lorber Fusion before signing with Arista Records in 1982. His fourth studio album, *Duotones* (1986), sold over five million copies in the United States. His record, *Breathless* (1992), subsequently became the best-selling instrumental album ever with over fifteen million copies sold.

called Davis 'the most brilliant sellout in the history of jazz', arguing that Davis chose to 'genuflect before the commercial.' Both regard the cross-pollination of jazz with other styles as 'selling out' black expression to white corporate America. As Pond (1998: 6) notes, 'there is virtually no reference to fusion jazz which does not at some point define it in terms of its popularity.' Indeed, Fellezs (2008: 8) regards the term 'mainstream pop' as a euphemism for 'the market for white consumers' and is quick to point out that the term 'crossover' not only refers to a product that appeals to fans of discrete genres, but more controversially, to different races.

Some writers are willing to address specific styles of jazz-fusion but exclude others on grounds of taste. Ted Gioia's *The History of Jazz* (1997) distinguishes the 'well-crafted commercial product' of jazz-pop artists like Chuck Mangione, John Klemmer, Grover Washington Jr., and Al Jarreau from the latter-day smooth jazz of Spyro Gyra, The Yellowjackets and The Rippingtons, which he regards as 'an increasingly bland formula-driven ambiance' (Gioia, 1997: 371). In *Jazz: The First 100 Years* (2002), Martin and Waters (2002: 338) argue that smooth jazz represents a deterioration of the standards of jazz-rock and assert that this is because early jazz-rock groups had 'first-rate improvisational skills' (Martin and Waters, 2002: 295). They conclude that this decline in musicianship has been due to pressure from record companies to cater for a music that is 'unabashedly oriented toward extensive radio airplay' (Martin and Waters, 2002: 295). Nicholson (1998: 304) has argued that smooth jazz is not jazz music at all but 'elevator music': 'by the 1990s there were not enough elevators in the world to accommodate all the elevator music marketed under

the guise of “fusion”, which had become a depository for the worst elements of adulthood – safety, conformity, and lack of imagination.’

It is not only scholars who have lamented the so-called ‘de-evolution’ of jazz. Jazz-rock guitarist Al Di Meola (1992: 33) uses the phrase ‘black Sunday’ to denote what he describes as the ‘death of the progressive period and the transformation of jazz to an easy-listening format.’ Di Meola (1992: 33) criticises smooth jazz for sabotaging the integrity of jazz-rock. He notes: ‘I’ve talked to a lot of writers who criticised fusion who would welcome it back after what they’ve been hearing.’ Di Meola describes the music programmed by smooth jazz stations as ‘garbage’ and explains that he does not enjoy having to ‘sit through a lot of happy saxophone music’ (Di Meola, 1992: 33). Jazz producer Michael Cuscuna is similarly disenchanted, comparing the smoothness of the music to the way in which a lobotomy ‘flattens out the ridges on a brain’ (Tiegel, 1996: 10).

The heaviest criticism is usually reserved for saxophonist Kenny G. a.k.a. Kenneth Gorelick, whose ‘emaciated pseudo-jazz’ (Gioia, 1997: 371) has become the touchstone for negativity surrounding smooth jazz. Guitarist Pat Metheny has been at the forefront of criticism against Gorelick since the saxophonist overdubbed his performance on Louis Armstrong’s ‘What a Wonderful World’, an act that Metheny has alleged amounts to ‘musical necrophilia’ (Metheny, 2000).²⁸ Shipton asserts that Kenny G’s ‘anodyne’, ‘simple’ and ‘predictable’ music is ‘the antithesis of improvisation, collective interaction, swing, soul, or heart’ (Shipton, 2007: 626).

²⁸ Kenny G., *Classics in the Key of G* (1999, Arista Records).

Although Kenny G is the 'foremost pariah' (Washburne, 2004: 124) of jazz purists for his melodic, easy listening sound, he has sold over 40,000,000 albums and is one of the best-selling instrumentalists in the world. Washburne (2004: 124) notes: 'most in the jazz community claim that he is not playing jazz, and consequently he and his smooth jazz colleagues are seldom mentioned in the scholarly literature.' Smooth jazz artists are frequently derided and ex-communicated from the jazz tradition, even though they operate within a style that shares the jazz name.

The chief claims against jazz-fusion appear to be that the music abandons the jazz tenets of swing and improvisation in favour of harmonic devices from rock and pop and that its commercial motives result in artistic compromise. Nevertheless, I do not view these attributes as reason to deny jazz-fusion as being jazz. Although jazz-fusion appears to contradict the entrenched values of the jazz tradition, if the canon-forming exercises of jazz historiography can be examined and reasonably questioned, then there is justification for examining the critical, musical and industrial continuities that jazz-fusion represents for jazz historiography. From sheet music to digital recording, from phonographs to compact discs, from live performance to radio formatting, jazz has always been subject to industrial processes. As Tomlinson (1992: 82) has noted, jazz is made and remade within 'the messy marketplace in which culture has always been negotiated.'

Critical, musical and industrial continuities in jazz historiography

Jazz discourse has been mired in the debate over what *is* and *is not* jazz since the 1930s. Washburne (2004: 127-128) has documented that ‘racially, socially, and economically charged definitorial arguments have abounded concerning the word jazz since it emerged as a delineated style.’ In 1935, the firmly established sound of New Orleans jazz, also known as ‘Dixieland’ jazz, was supplanted by big band music that had begun to dominate the popular music charts. The music, known as ‘swing’, was disliked by proponents of New Orleans jazz for ‘shamelessly pandering to the mass markets’ (Gendron, 1995: 32). Swing quickly became the most popular form of jazz, totally dominating the charts between 1936 and 1945.²⁹ The societal symphonic music of the Paul Whiteman Orchestra sold in the millions, although ‘sweet’ dance music was often not considered to be jazz at all.³⁰ Revivalists considered the use of repetitive melodies known as ‘riffs’ as no more than an appeal to popular tendencies in favour of improvisation. Racial destabilisation meant that black people performing swing music were often criticised for ‘selling out’ to white concepts of a black art form. Morse (2007: 163) offers further information: ‘for decades, to play “commercially” was to “sell out”, the worst aesthetic sin in the jazz ethos.’ These criticisms of early jazz are echoed almost perfectly by the ongoing debates around jazz-fusion.

²⁹ Swing was aided in large part by advances in radio and recording technology that allowed for major weekly broadcasts of swing music. Benny Goodman’s ‘Let’s Dance’ broadcast aired for the first time in December of 1934 and quickly helped Goodman’s career to grow in key American cities like New York and Los Angeles. The momentum generated by radio led to his career-changing engagement on August 21, 1935 at the Palomar Ballroom in Los Angeles.

³⁰ These divisions had appeared as early as 1934 in Hugues Panassié’s *Le Jazz Hot* (1934); the work was re-published as *Hot Jazz: The Guide to Swing Music* in 1936.

Wald's (2007) work highlights Louis Armstrong's love for the music of Guy Lombardo. Armstrong, a celebrated figure of the pre-swing era, expressed that Lombardo's orchestra was an inspiration for him, despite the fact that Lombardo was frequently lambasted as 'the apotheosis of easy-listening schlock' (Wald, 2007: 130). Wald (2007: 131) notes, 'the idea that Lombardo's syrupy, lilting ballroom style should be discussed seriously alongside the work of the defining hot soloist in jazz has been considered at best odd and at worst insulting to Armstrong's memory.' The fact that Armstrong's fondness for the orchestra is considered an anomaly raises issues about how we interpret jazz's relationship to popular culture. Wald (2007:144) cautions that by dealing only with what is perceived as 'cool', and by dismissing anything that doesn't fit with such an aesthetic, 'we are not dealing with the reality of what the players of that time were doing, of the societies they were working in, or of how their music evolved.' The ways in which fusion is valued by jazz history demonstrates continuities in the construction of jazz discourses based on aesthetics and taste.

By the late 1930s, traditionalists wrestling for control of jazz's boundaries had brought about a revival of New Orleans jazz. Modernists began to describe revivalists as 'moldy figs' and accused them of practicing 'exclusionary purism' (Gendron, 1995: 32). This conflict became known as 'the first jazz war' (Gendron, 1995: 32). The Dixieland/swing war entrenched jazz in a binaristic mindset; an aesthetic discourse from which all new forms of jazz would be configured and articulated. These polarised values of art and commerce, of what is 'authentic' and what is 'sold-out' have 'virtually assured the existence of diametrically opposed

aesthetic views' (Gendron, 1995: 50). Gendron (1995: 51) notes that this conflict 'had a formative and enduring impact on the way in which jazz history got constructed and jazz as an art form got legitimated.' In my view, jazz has always represented 'fusion' of some sort and has always been made within the market conditions of each new era. DeVaux notes that 'it is all the more remarkable for jazz - a music that has developed largely within the framework of modern mass market capitalism - to be construed within the inflexible dialectic of "commercial" versus "artistic," with all virtue centered in the latter' (DeVaux, 1991: 487). Indeed, the ongoing neglect of industrial processes in the writing of jazz history illustrates the continuation of these tensions surrounding jazz practice.

By 1946, both modernists and revivalists were marginalised by 'bebop', a dissonant and experimental style of jazz whose chief exponents included trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie and saxophonist Charlie Parker. Elworth (1995: 59) has described 'bop' as an opportunity for black musicians to 'seize their discourse from the white dominated culture industry.' With the emergence of the new form, modernists were now pitted against the beboppers, whose attitude and musical style was unlike anything that had been previously interpreted as jazz. As the commercial appeal of jazz continued to decline, it became obvious that bebop had 'transformed jazz from a popular dance music...to a demanding, experimental art music' (Gendron, 1995: 33). However, not all black artists enjoyed bebop; Louis Armstrong viewed bebop as 'weird chords which don't mean nothing' (Walser, 1999: 153). There is an obvious parallel here between Armstrong's reaction to bebop and the critical response to smooth jazz by artists like Al Di Meola. Just as revivalists struggled with the debate

over whether swing could really be called jazz and proponents of swing wrestled with bebop, opponents of jazz-fusion posed a similar question – ‘is fusion really jazz?’ Although some critics regarded Ornette Coleman’s avant-garde experiment *Free Jazz* (1961) as ‘nonsense’, others saw him as a genius that had ushered in a new era for the music (Walser, 1999: 255).³¹ As new styles are adopted and existing styles are displaced, debates around the status of jazz are continually reconstituted.

The Ken Burns documentary, *Jazz* (2001) is a 19-hour series originally screened on the PBS network in the United States. *Jazz* is a prime example of the continuing practice of large-scale canon forming exercises in jazz history. Although *Jazz* provides a strong social context - indeed, much of Burns’s American trilogy, *Civil War* (1990), *Baseball* (1994) and *Jazz* (2001) are devoted to the subject of race - the documentary valorises a selection of key figures, making little reference to the considerable impact of industrial mediation in the production of jazz music during the past 40 years. In doing so, *Jazz* protects its heroic narrative and positions the art form as an autonomous ‘classical’ music in the European mould.³² If this suggests that jazz is preoccupied with its past, then Elworth (1995: 58) agrees, arguing that jazz has ‘ceased to be obsessed with an evolutionary teleology.’ Burns relies on a team of consultants including Wynton Marsalis, Stanley Crouch and Albert Murray. The narrative frequently indulges in what Gabbard (2000: 3) has called ‘hyperbolic narration’. For example, we are told early on that Armstrong’s ‘extraordinary genius would seem like a gift from God’. Writer Gary Giddens remarks that Armstrong’s sound was ‘enough to make the angels weep.’ Wynton Marsalis stretches the

³¹ Ornette Coleman, *Free Jazz: A Collective Improvisation* (1961, Atlantic Records).

³² Jazz has been called ‘America’s Classical Music’ – see Taylor (1986) and Sales (1992).

hagiography to its limits when he comments upon the musical development of Louis Armstrong by suggesting: ‘the first time he touched a trumpet, he sounded great.’ As Harlan (2003: 170) has noted, Burns’s work is ‘long on misty nostalgia but short on critical analysis.’ In Episode Nine, the claim is made that bebop freed jazz from ‘the tyranny of popular taste’.³³ Again, jazz’s complex relationship with popularity is a subtext that continues to rise to the surface. Writer and critic James Lincoln Collier announces on screen that swing was ‘a little dicey’ because ‘a great deal of it was really pretty commercial stuff.’

Most of the criticism directed at *Jazz* focuses on its final episode, ‘A Masterpiece at Midnight’, which conflates the period of 1960-2000 into a single episode, devoting less than 30 minutes to the contemporary era, and less than a third of that to jazz-fusion. Many important contributors of the past 40 years were missing, an argument that was put forward by jazz pianist Keith Jarrett in a letter to the *New York Times* (Jarrett, 2001). Burns’s only defense for ignoring the last 40 years of jazz, is that this period is too recent to form a historical perspective on it.³⁴ Avant-garde musicians like Cecil Taylor are dismissed almost instantly, forgetting, as Page (2001) puts it, that avant-garde jazz ‘now has its own 40-year tradition.’ In this version of jazz history, vital expressions of jazz such as those of the AACM and prolific European labels like Black Saint and ECM are largely ignored.³⁵

³³ Notably, even bebop artist Charlie Parker was not immune to the lure of popular fare. His recording *Bird with Strings* (1950) was a set of romantic standards that outsold all of his other recordings at the time of release.

³⁴ This rationale was expressed in a roundtable interview with Ken Burns and Wynton Marsalis on January 8, 2001 during the Charlie Rose television show, New York, PBS Network.

³⁵ The Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) is a non-profit organisation founded in Chicago in 1965 in support of jazz performers, composers and educators. ECM (Edition of Contemporary Music) is a jazz label founded in Munich, Germany in 1969 by Manfred Eicher. Black Saint is an independent avant-garde jazz label that was established in Italy in 1975.

Understanding jazz history as an African-American achievement is essential, but it is important to tackle its 'patent inability to explain current trends in any cogent form' (DeVeaux, 1991: 505). Too often, jazz is represented as 'an art music segregated from the flux of the marketplace' (DeVeaux, 1991: 504). The more institutionalised it is, the more outmoded it becomes. A formal jazz canon was, of course, required for the institutionalisation of jazz pedagogy in university curricula worldwide. However, as Gabbard (1995c: 3) notes, 'texts that are repeatedly inscribed in course syllabi possess a largely unquestioned claim upon the attention of scholars and students.' Jazz collections, awards, history books, discographies, can all contribute to the exclusion of industrial mediation. Scholars have a responsibility to criticise documentaries such as *Jazz*, their agendas, accompanying CD collections and books. As Pond (2003: 2) has noted, related media for *Jazz* stayed in the sales charts for up to a year after its broadcast and copies of the accompanying book were sent to 6,000,000 middle-school students. These sorts of initiatives can also lead to the exclusion of jazz music created outside of the United States. European jazz, for example, is almost entirely neglected by the *Jazz* project. Nicholson's (2002: 240) account of jazz as a 'global fusion' demonstrates well the extent of this oversight. He argues that 'with American jazz's preoccupation with its past came a failure to acknowledge that the music had become so big it had finally outgrown its country of birth, and that its stewardship was no longer an exclusively American preserve' (Nicholson, 2002: 250).

There has always been tension between jazz as an art form and the mediated commercial context in which production is situated. The *Jazz* documentary aims to

reinforce the canonic patterns of jazz history and therefore neglects industrial mediation in the process. Legitimate objections to this version of events provide an opportunity to make an analysis of what is missing. One of the strengths of fusion music is that it ‘subverts from the outset the assumptions that *popular* and *art* are mutually exclusive categories’ (DeVeaux, 1991: 501; emphasis in original). While many histories endeavour to edit and order jazz history into a neatly presented narrative, most jazz musicians are ‘more multi-faceted, conflicting, and contingent on circumstance than most jazz historiography would portray’ (Pond, 1998: 9). Indeed, jazz is not a tidy tale that can be told in logical evolutionary steps from one great artist to the next. In *Jazz-Rock Fusion: The People, The Music* (2000), co-author Julie Coryell notes: ‘while we would like to think of music as a pure art-form, we must never forget that it is also a business’ (Coryell and Friedman, 2000: 8). Originally published in 1978, this statement can now be understood as an early acknowledgement of jazz-fusion’s relationship with the music industry at this time.³⁶ As Fellezs (2008: 12) has noted, ‘as a recording, music is transformed from a cultural practice into a highly mediated, mass produced, globally distributed commercial product, a process which mitigates music’s status as an autonomous art practice.’ It is therefore essential that jazz history begin to account for the development of the music in the context of the conditions of its production. This case study of GRP Records demonstrates that jazz is a mediated, collaborative art form that can be impacted greatly by the agency of the music and media industries.

³⁶ Another prescient example of inclusive approaches to jazz history during this era can be found in Berendt (1975).

Literature review

As a result of this focus on jazz music and industrial mediation, I have engaged with several different areas of scholarship. They are detailed in this section. Although there has been little written specifically about the inner workings of jazz labels, industrial mediation has been explored within popular music studies and it is primarily here that I have found insight into the key areas of my research. I have informed my own research practices with methodological studies such as Thornton (1990), Peretti (1995) and Flyvbjerg (2006), which have helped me to refine my approach to GRP in terms of accounting for its history in an academic context and in terms of problematising the oral histories I have generated.

Studies in the field of popular music have provided frameworks for analysing production (Burnett, 1996), technology (Jones, 1992), marketing (Toynbee, 2000), radio (Barnard, 2000) and corporate strategy (Negus, 1999). Where these studies have focused primarily on large organisational structures such as major record labels, scholars such as Lee (1995), Hesmondhalgh (1998b) and Strachan (2003) have explored independent organisations and small-scale production.³⁷ Between 1982-1990, GRP Records operated as an independent company. These studies have therefore informed how I have contextualised and analysed my findings. For example, Lee's (1995) research into Wax Trax! Records and Hesmondhalgh's (1998b) study of Rough Trade have proven useful as comparative material dealing

³⁷ By 'major record labels' I mean Sony Music, Warner Music Group, EMI and Universal Music Group.

with the issues surrounding independent distribution, sales and marketing infrastructures.

In terms of exploring the sociological nature of the arts and the role of industry in the production of culture, I have found the work of Hirsch (1972), Becker (1974; 1982), Peterson (1976), Coser (1978), Bourdieu (1986), Wolff (1993) and Du Gay (1997) extremely valuable. These works have helped me to conceptualise the creativity of jazz musicians while still maintaining awareness of the industrial frameworks within which most jazz is produced. Peterson's (1978) account of the impact of radio formatting on country music has proven to be a valuable example of this kind of mediation at work. Following a line of research pursued by scholars such as Vignolle (1980), Becker (1982), Hennion (1989), Negus (1992; 2002) and Jones (1995), this thesis has also developed in response to ideas about the importance of intermediaries in shaping the production and consumption of music. The agency of intermediaries as collaborators during the production process should not be underestimated and this position forms the core of my argument beginning with an analysis of the role of the producer as intermediary in Chapter One. Here, Peterson and Berger's (1971; 1975) work on innovation and entrepreneurship in the music industry offered some important insights. Likewise, the work of Drucker (1985), McGrath and MacMillan (2000) and Casson (2003) gave an excellent overview of entrepreneurial activity and the typical values and practices of the entrepreneur. This helped contextualise the actions of Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen in the context of initiating and sustaining GRP Records.

Reflections on the development and impact of recording technologies have examined issues such as the agency of the record producer (Jarrett, 2004; Moorefield, 2005), the role of the recording engineer (Kealy, 1979; Horning, 2004) and new paradigms instituted by digital technologies (Stockham, 1971b, 1982, 1987; Durant, 1990; Levitin, 1994b, 1994c and Fine, 2008). Such studies have been vital to developing my arguments concerning the impact of digital technology in jazz, which are presented in Chapter Two. The work of Dr. Thomas Stockham has provided not only specific scientific details of early digital recording technologies but also detailed accounts of the introduction of the Soundstream recording machine. Scholars such as Oudshoorn and Pinch (2003) have argued in favour of focusing on the user's experience of technology rather than the inventor or the artefact itself. This has also played an important role in the development of Chapter Two where I have examined the agency of the engineer in bringing about new paradigms for the recording of music. In terms of the intersection between technology and the consumer, Perlman's (2004) work has provided insight into the language used by audio enthusiasts within their communities. Keightley's (1996; 2003) research has also helped to inform my understanding of so-called 'early adopters' through his explication of the uptake of high fidelity equipment in the domestic environment.

An emphasis on the needs of the consumer was my point of entry into marketing mediation, a subject to which I devote Chapter Three. Negus (1992), Du Gay and Negus (1994) and Toynbee (2000) have established patterns of sales and promotion in the popular music industry, dealing with issues such as retailing strategy and targeting consumer groups. Marketing routines adopted by popular music labels like

Motown (George, 1985) have also provided a useful context for analysing GRP's mediation of its product in the marketplace. Gray's (1988) trenchant examination of the sales strategies of independent jazz label Theresa Records and Pond's (2005) analysis of new approaches to selling jazz have provided context and empirical support to my analysis of GRP's marketing practices, while Laing's (2002) article *The Jazz Market* helped consolidate my perspective on jazz as a business. Broader biographical works about jazz labels such as Blue Note Records (Cook, 2001), Columbia Records (Marmorstein, 2007), ECM (Lake and Griffiths, 2007) and Impulse! (Kahn, 2006) have also provided general background information and occasional insight into marketing strategy. With GRP's emphasis on achieving exposure through identity branding, I found Jones and Sorger's (1999) work on album cover design to be a useful source for analysing GRP's approach to product packaging.

Another component of my argument concerns the mediation of music production by radio. Radio is a key marketing tool for music. Therefore, programming strategies such as music formatting, which compartmentalise music into tightly defined categories, are powerful ways for the media industries to mediate the production of music. My interpretation of GRP's relationship with radio has been informed by the work of Hennion and Meadel (1986), Barnes (1988), Berland (1990), Negus (1993b), Barnard (2000) and Ahlqvist (2001). As a result of their emphasis on the collaborative roles of intermediaries, the case study of Broadcast Architecture during Chapter Four centers on an analysis of how radio programmers mediate music production in collaboration with labels and audiences.

The impact of corporate strategy has typically been understood through studies of major labels. Burnett (1996) and Negus (1999) have informed my reading of companies like MCA, Matsushita and Universal through their clear rationalisation of major label behaviour and strategy. In addition to these works, Lee's (1995) research into Wax Trax! Records and Hesmondhalgh's (1998b) study of Rough Trade, described previously, both give insight into independent companies that have entered into complex relationships with larger labels. I have confirmed and contextualised historical data with extensive reference to periodicals from the period. The work of Fabrikant (1989-1998) in the *New York Times* has been especially useful in collating commentary concerning the day-to-day business consolidation of the music industry and the sale of GRP Records in particular. In terms of corporate culture, Deal and Kennedy's (1982) work provided a useful overview of internal corporate mediation and how these structures change over time.

The final area of discourse I wish to consider in this literature review is that of jazz historiography. My research into GRP Records attempts to stimulate debate in the much under researched area of industrial mediation in jazz production. I am therefore interested in historicity and the ways in which jazz production has been represented. Since at least the early 1990s, scholars have questioned the canonising tendencies of jazz history. DeVeaux (1991), Tomlinson (1992), Gabbard (1995a, 1995b, 1995c), Gendron (1995), Kenney (1995), Stanbridge (2004a) and Wald (2007) have influenced my thinking in this area by challenging the reductive and linear nature of jazz narratives as problematic for historians. One of the problems identified by this literature is that jazz histories devote less attention to jazz made in the post-1970 era,

especially recent forms of jazz-fusion. As I have demonstrated, there has been widespread criticism of this music by critics (Baraka, 1987; Crouch, 1990) and musicians (Marsalis, 1988, 1990; Di Meola, 1992; Metheny, 2000) alike who have largely dismissed it as a watered-down version of jazz designed to appeal to large audiences. In television media, Ken Burns's 19-hour PBS documentary *Jazz* (2001) has been the subject of much debate due to its failure to consider the last 40 years of jazz development in both a musical and industrial sense. The work of Radano (2001), Harlan (2003) and Stanbridge (2004a) has proven useful for analysis of its particular strengths and weaknesses.

Of course, there are numerous ways in which canons are constructed and many reasons why artists or particular types of music are excluded from the literature. These issues have been debated widely in popular music studies. In *The Rock Canon: Canonical Values in the Reception of Rock Albums*, Jones (2008) explores how canonical processes from literature and classical music have influenced the reception of rock music and challenges the writing of rock historiography to embrace greater variety. Bohlman's (1988) book *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* takes a holistic approach to folk from a worldwide perspective, considering folk sub-genres in communities around the world regardless of ethnic, national, religious or tribal classifications. Washburne and Derno's (2004) *Bad Music* is a collection of studies that examine mainstream popular music styles such as country and 'metal' that that have been disparaged for reasons of taste.³⁸ All of these studies have helped me to unpack the wider historical issues surrounding my claims about GRP.

³⁸ By 'metal', I mean 'heavy metal', a style of loud, amplified, guitar based rock music.

In recent years, scholars such as Washburne (2004), Frith (2007) and McGee (2008) have begun to stimulate debate about the value of popular jazz and its place in jazz historiography. Nicholson's (1998) history of jazz-rock, Coryell and Friedman's (2000) *Jazz-Rock Fusion: The People, the Music* and Shipton's (2007) *A New History of Jazz*, offer post-1970 alternatives to the established jazz canon. Nicholson's (2002) illuminating article *Fusions and Crossovers* also gave an excellent historical overview and helped me to develop my definitions of key terms. Although not critical texts in the academic sense, the autobiographies of jazz artists like Miles Davis (Davis and Troupe, 1989) and Quincy Jones (Jones, 2001) have also made for informative background study. American jazz magazines such as *Jazziz* and *Down Beat* have proven useful for contextualising critical opinion of GRP's output and for confirming empirical data such as album release dates. In terms of other media, television programmes such as *Jazz* (2001) and *Legends of Jazz with Ramsey Lewis* (2006) have proven valuable as a basic historical framework, despite the issues they represent in the context of this thesis. I have also acquired an array of GRP-related memorabilia such as brochures, advertisements, photographs and videos.

Methodology

I began researching GRP Records in April 2002 after completing a degree in music at the Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts (LIPA) in the United Kingdom. There I had been exposed to a variety of jazz-fusion and became interested in GRP's business practices as a result of reading the liner notes included with its compact discs. I found GRP's attention to digital recording and branding worthy of further research

and these interests eventually evolved into this thesis. Musically, I found the work of GRP artists Bernard Wright, Don Blackman, Tom Browne and Bobby Broom inspiring and this helped confirm my decision to investigate the label. In its most general sense, this thesis provides a case study of a record label in order to examine the impact of industrial mediation on music production. I believe that GRP Records merits research because it illustrates the contribution of intermediaries to the production of jazz music. In my view, a case study can be of strategic importance in relation to a general problem. Therefore, although my work represents a single account of a heavily mediated form of jazz music, the case study can have relevance to those studying these relationships in other genres and disciplines. I have adopted the case study model for my research because this method typically allows for the empirical examination of a phenomenon within its real-life context. As Flyvbjerg (2006: 241) has suggested, 'the case study is a necessary and sufficient method for certain important research tasks in the social sciences, and it is a method that holds up well when compared to other methods in the gamut of social science research methodology.' I feel that this approach best highlights the issues at stake with GRP.

The range of methods that I have drawn on in order to evaluate the impact of industrial mediation in jazz production have included in-person telephone interviews and the analysis of academic texts in appropriate fields. I have focused my academic reading in the areas of production, technology, marketing, radio, corporate strategy and jazz history. As described in the literature review, I have used a number of sources to place jazz production within an industrial and historical framework. I have supported my primary research by consulting a wide variety of textual sources

including books, journal articles, theses, newspapers, and magazines. Due to the historical nature of the research and its geographical scope, it has not been possible to engage in direct observation or participant observation with mediators. However, my research strategy has included a wide range of in-depth interviews as part of a long-term case study. These are in-depth individual interviews captured as audio recordings and as written notes. These interviews have been transcribed and cross-referenced during the writing process. I have therefore obtained large quantities of qualitative data from which I have drawn conclusions.

The Appendix lists 114 interviews with 109 individuals from diverse locations including the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, Holland, Brazil and Switzerland.³⁹ There are 100 interviews pertaining to GRP, eleven to Soundstream and three relating to Broadcast Architecture. I have used the content of these interviews extensively throughout the thesis. Where some industry studies have focused primarily on interviewing executives at major labels (Negus, 1999), this study takes account of a range of intermediaries including artists, producers, engineers, marketers, radio programmers and record label executives. In order to account for the scope of intermediary activity that can affect jazz production, I felt it was necessary to obtain a broad range of oral interview material from contributors in all relevant areas of industry.

³⁹ The following individuals were interviewed twice in order to obtain further information: Kathe Charas (two telephone interviews), Larry Rosen (two telephone interviews), Jules Bloomenthal (questionnaire and telephone interview), Josiah Gluck (questionnaire and telephone interview) and Marcus Miller (questionnaire and telephone interview).

The interviews I have conducted include individuals from GRP's top level management such as Dave Grusin, Larry Rosen and Jon Diamond; GRP artists such as David Benoit, Don Blackman, Randy Brecker, Bobby Broom, Gary Burton, Eddie Daniels, Don Grusin, Deborah Henson-Conant, Jay Hoggard, Lee Ritenour, Dianne Schuur, Billy Taylor, Dave Valentin and Bernard Wright. I have interviewed contributing musicians including Alex Acuna, Dean Brown, Steve Gadd, Earl Klugh, Abraham Laboriel, Ivan Lins, Branford Marsalis, Harvey Mason, Marcus Miller, Ernie Watts and Buddy Williams. I have interviewed key staff in all departments including Marketing (Mark Wexler), Sales (Bud Katzel), A&R (Carl Griffin), Art Direction (Andy Baltimore), International (Jim Fishel, Frank Hendricks), Operations (Brian Kelleher), Radio Promotion (Deborah Lewow, Erica Linderholm, Doug Wilkins) and Publicity (Michael Bloom, Jason Byrne). I have conducted interviews with recording engineers such as Ollie Cotton, Josiah Gluck and Don Murray; producers such as Michael Abene, Morgan Ames and Jeff Weber; production coordinators such as Michelle Lewis, Michael Pollard and Suzanne Sherman; photographer Judy Schiller and designer Deborah Trella. I have also recorded interviews with GRP's distributors in Zurich (Kurt Weil) and the U.K. (Eddie Wilkinson); international affiliates from JVC Japan (Hiroshi Aono) and GRP's tour promoters in Japan (Taeko Hishinuma); representatives for GRP at MCA in Europe (Chris Boog and Tom Glasgow); the Chairman of The Verve Music Group (Tommy LiPuma) and Soundstream engineers such as Jules Bloomenthal, Sydney Davis, Rich Feldman and Tom MacCluskey. In addition, I include among this précis of my interview research, discussions with three radio executives from Broadcast

Architecture (Christine Brodie, Frank Cody and Allen Kepler) plus external industry commentators such as journalist Geoff Mayfield of *Billboard* magazine.

To begin the interview research for this thesis, it was first necessary to locate and enlist the cooperation of my subjects. There were two main techniques that I employed for securing interviews: the first involved carrying out Internet searches from which I would send emails to potential candidates outlining the project and requesting a telephone interview. Often I was able to locate direct email addresses and I secured many interviews using this method, most notably GRP's former President Larry Rosen, who replied and confirmed an interview appointment within a few hours of my initial enquiry. Other staff members, who had perhaps left the music business and moved into unrelated careers, were more difficult to locate and often required careful keyword searches online, or several email exchanges with their former colleagues or friends. The second technique that I adopted was to conclude all interviews by asking the subject to recommend other contributors and to seek the necessary contact information from them. This approach connected me to numerous GRP artists and staff members who could not be found via public channels. In most instances, an email introduction was possible prior to speaking. In some situations, I indulged in 'cold-calling' individuals to introduce my research. As a result of the lengthy timescale of this part-time project (2002-2009), I have had the luxury of waiting for channels of communication to open. During this period, artists have returned to the music business, launched websites, or heard about my research from colleagues and contacted me. In order to secure all 114 interviews, I estimate that at least 250 interview requests were sent. Of those that responded, only a small group

of people declined to be interviewed. Reasons given included a lack of relevant knowledge and in some cases bad experiences were cited. In the period since the majority of my interview research took place, two individuals associated with GRP have died, so I am fortunate to have their accounts on record.

I began my primary research by constructing an email questionnaire containing a standard set of questions about GRP. This practice allowed me to easily correlate responses by different individuals. However, only a small number of respondents displayed the willingness to write at length about their experiences. As a result, I altered my data-gathering method from the questionnaire format to in-person telephone interviews after a few months. I discovered that interviewees were more likely to elaborate by telephone, where the emphasis was not on written skills and where personality and nuance could be communicated more accurately. The choice of questions largely remained the same but would vary slightly according to the specialist area of the interviewee's experience. There are 22 interviews that remain in the questionnaire format; six personal email communications that were of a substantial nature and the remaining 86 interviews were conducted by telephone.⁴⁰ In all cases, participants were happy to be identified and to have their experiences recorded as part of this research.

It is, of course, important to problematise research methodology in order to ascertain the strengths and weaknesses of the process. When conducting telephone interviews,

⁴⁰ Occasionally, the questionnaire method was used if requested by an interviewee or if best suited to extracting specific types of data, such as financial information. After the initial set of questionnaires in 2002, there were *nine* instances in 2004, *one* in 2005 and *one* in 2007. Where a subject has engaged in numerous personal email communications in addition to a recorded telephone interview or questionnaire, this is noted in the Appendix.

there is normally a concern that the absence of visual cues such as facial expressions and body language might put the interviewer at a disadvantage in terms of accurately interpreting the interviewee. Also, it is more difficult to develop a relationship with a subject via telephone than through the natural interactions of face-to-face research. This can impact upon the level of trust received from the subject or at least the length of time it takes to develop confidence. However, on the occasions when I was able to meet in-person with GRP personnel such as Lee Ritenour, Harvey Mason and Marcus Miller during their visits to London for live engagements, their schedules were so limited and the public demands on them so great, that an uninterrupted private telephone conversation was vastly preferred. I feel that due to the volume of candidates and their relative distance around the world, telephone interviews were the only realistic solution. With the majority of interviews taking place internationally, most often to New York or Los Angeles, the costs of conducting a long-term case study face-to-face would have been prohibitively expensive. In terms of established methodologies in this field, Gray's (1988) study of Theresa Records made successful use of both participant and direct observation techniques. Gray was able to carry out administrative tasks as part of Theresa's staff and was privy to internal discussions about the label. Negus (1999) conducted in-person face-to-face interviews on an international scale with major label record executives while Strachan (2003) derived the majority of his primary research from email questionnaires, an approach that best suited the geographically disparate field of independent DIY production that was his research topic. All of these approaches have proven to be workable models for primary research and have helped to determine the most viable research path for my needs.

Another useful methodological analysis is Peretti's (1995) account of the 'Jazz Oral History Project', an initiative managed by the Smithsonian, and later Rutgers University, in which 100 taped oral interviews with early jazz musicians were transcribed. Peretti found that the transcriptions were 'deeply illuminating' and that the project was 'an important test case in the use of extensive oral history as a source for empirical social history' (Peretti, 1995: 119). During the data gathering process, I maintained a strict administrative routine to catalogue all information. All contact via email was saved into individual folders categorised by name and all contact information acquired was entered into a database. Subsequently, when interviews were completed, the dates and times of the discussions were entered into the database and any new contacts were noted down and investigated. I used software to record the audio signal from my telephone line into a laptop computer and took written notes simultaneously as a precaution against technical error. I kept backup copies of all audio files and written materials in three separate locations at all times. I felt that it was necessary to carry out the entire transcription exercise myself, not only because of the efficiency resulting from my specific knowledge of GRP personnel, nicknames, products, locations and other miscellaneous trivia but also because my total involvement allowed me to be consistent in the gathering and archiving of data for the entire duration of the study.

Participants were, on average, between the ages of 40-70. Just 20 of the 109 subjects were women, a statistic that indicates that the jazz industry has tended to be dominated primarily by male executives and artists. My interview subjects were asked to elaborate on a period typically spanning between 1978-1995 and were

unpaid for their contributions. High profile subjects usually maintain busy schedules and so it was necessary to be flexible to shifting plans and constantly available to conduct interviews day or night (especially due to changing time-zones). I was always punctual when calling to conduct interviews; I felt that this was an important way to maintain my reputation with the interviewees. All interviews were prepared in advance and undertaken in each instance with a clear structure of questions printed on paper. Some candidates needed more questions, while others required little prompting and were able to expound on their experiences chronologically and at length. With practice, I developed the art of phrasing questions clearly and concisely. I found that silence is usually the best way to draw a respondent into further elucidation, with occasional interruptions for clarification and to guide a subject back to the topic at hand in the event of digression.

Of course, there are numerous dangers here for the researcher. The reliability of memory and the level of control that the interviewee takes in shaping the discussion may introduce inaccuracies, bias or exaggeration. As Peretti (1995: 122) notes, one should not 'present uncritically the words of jazz creators and admirers' and I have strived to demonstrate critical distance and contextualise their views wherever possible. I have tried to be vigilant and have taken into account the ways that interviewees might connect events and key periods in their lives using hindsight or nostalgia. Subjects may, for example, give a present day perspective on an experience, a product of maturity and rumination that was not present during the event itself. I found that almost none of the candidates were concerned about exposing sensitive information, although a few anecdotes came with the caveat that

they were 'not for publication'. Nevertheless, Peretti (1995: 122) notes that when used carefully, oral histories are 'almost priceless sources'.

During the interviews, I frequently clarified unusual details such as the spellings of names. Where this was not possible, Internet resources such as Google and Wikipedia aided my verification process.⁴¹ A keen knowledge of the subject at hand was also essential to build trust. When interviewing musicians, I was able to demonstrate knowledge of their recordings and of the GRP catalogue in general. As a musician, I was able to understand technical approaches to recording and composition and this encouraged a good rapport with both artists and engineers. I typically began each interview by discussing the individual's career path and their relationship to GRP. Questions were requested in advance of the interview on three occasions and these individuals were obliged. During questioning, I did not pursue empirical data such as record release dates that can normally be obtained from other (usually more reliable) sources. Instead I focused on the opinions and recollections of the individuals, cross-referencing those experiences with other accounts.

In the course of 86 recorded interviews, I estimate conservatively that I have accumulated approximately 65 hours of audio material. I have transcribed these faithfully. The mean length of each interview was 45 minutes, the longest stretching to almost two hours, the shortest lasting around eighteen minutes. As Peretti (1995: 120) notes, transcriptions from audio recordings are 'a monumental task'. A standard 45-minute interview typically resulted in a 6,000 word transcription exercise,

⁴¹ <http://www.google.co.uk> and <http://www.wikipedia.org>.

depending on the speed of the subject's speech patterns. Taking into account the need to decipher the names of musicians, spellings of locations, venues, albums, songs etc., each interview would take on average between three and four hours to transcribe. Needless to say, I estimate that this has resulted in a minimum of 500,000 words of primary interview material at a cost of approximately 250 hours of transcription time.

The challenge of drawing on this material for quotes was considerable and I developed a process of making a complete pass of all printed transcriptions for each chapter in order to ensure that nothing of importance was neglected. This approach also ensured that my knowledge of the source material increased cumulatively with each new chapter. I have tried in all instances to verify accounts by correlating responses to specific events from multiple perspectives. Where possible, all statements of fact (dates, locations, equipment, personnel) have been checked against liner notes, technical documents, reviews or other relevant literature. As the specific experiences of many of these individuals have remained undocumented, I feel that this material forms the most valuable part of the case study. By exploring the omission of accounts such as these from jazz history, I hope to be part of a trend towards historical narratives are more inclusive of how jazz is made within industrial frameworks. As Thornton (1990: 94) notes, 'to mark the difficulties of a particular history's construction, to highlight its sources and its omissions could, paradoxically, bring us closer to the popular past.'

Structure of thesis

Following the Introduction, there are five chapters that comprise the case study of GRP Records. During these five chapters, I examine the mediation of jazz production by investigating the following areas of industrial activity: the impact of the producer in shaping musical sounds; the agency of the engineer in the recording process; the role of promotions staff in marketing; the mediation of programmers in radio formatting and the importance of record label executives to corporate strategy and consolidation. With specific reference to GRP, I demonstrate how intermediaries in each of these areas can impact upon jazz production. I shall now detail the main issues presented in each chapter and describe how each chapter contributes to and advances the overall argument.

Chapter One examines the importance of the producer as an intermediary in shaping the sounds made by jazz musicians. Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen formed Grusin/Rosen Productions, a production company that allowed them to utilise their business experience and musical skills to discover and produce young ‘crossover’ artists from neighbouring New York boroughs. By exploring Grusin and Rosen’s interactions with musicians, I argue that the intermediation of producers can impact greatly upon the sounds that jazz musicians make.

Chapter Two explores the rise of commercial digital recording technologies in the late 1970s. Through an analysis of the introduction of the Soundstream digital recorder and its use by GRP, I argue that engineers have used recording technologies

to transform the paradigms of jazz recording, impacting significantly upon artists and their recorded works. Like producers, these intermediaries and the technologies they use are not typically given consideration in jazz literature commensurate with their status in the recording process.

Chapter Three demonstrates how marketing mediation has affected jazz production. GRP adopted label branding practices, retail and radio promotions, 'All-Star' touring packages and the burgeoning compact disc format to tap into lucrative markets both domestically and abroad. By connecting with niche communities of consumers such as home audio enthusiasts, GRP's staff marketed jazz to new audiences. This chapter argues that this range of negotiations can help to determine how jazz products are conceived and realised in line with market demands.

Chapter Four examines the creation of the 'smooth jazz' radio format and its impact on jazz production. Through audience research and testing, consultants for radio research firm Broadcast Architecture parlayed the appeal of jazz-pop into a carefully tailored and replicable radio format. By exploring radio's reliance on market research data and GRP's collaborative relationship with commercial radio, I argue that radio programmers can help to determine how jazz products are conceived, developed and realised.

Chapter Five documents the sale of GRP Records to MCA Records and its subsequent consolidation into Matsushita and Universal in order to illustrate the impact of corporate strategy on jazz production. The expansion of GRP under MCA,

Matsushita and Universal brought about significant changes that had ramifications for GRP's staff, artists, brand and corporate culture: production and distribution were increased; artists were dropped from the label and new ones acquired; staff were reconfigured and the GRP brand was redefined. I argue that strategies of expansion and consolidation can have a notable impact on jazz production.

Conclusion

In this introduction, I have presented the topic and rationale for my thesis; I have introduced the case study of GRP Records and provided a historical background to the style of jazz music that GRP produced. I have addressed the canonising tendencies of jazz historiography and criticisms of jazz-fusion in order to demonstrate that critical, musical and industrial continuities present in jazz provide opportunities to examine this music within an industrially mediated framework. I have contextualised my work with reference to existing literature in the field and described the methodological considerations that have governed my research. Lastly, I have outlined the structure that my argument will take. I shall now begin Chapter One by exploring the role of the producer as an intermediary in shaping the sounds made by jazz musicians.

One

Shaping Sounds: The Jazz Producer as Intermediary

Aims and rationale

In Chapter One, I explore the role of the jazz producer as an intermediary in the creative process. This examination of the role of the jazz producer represents the first stage of my thesis demonstrating how industrial mediation can impact upon jazz production. By ‘producer’, I refer to individuals that typically negotiate between artists and record labels in the realisation of a music product. I argue that through their intermediation, jazz producers can impact significantly upon the sounds that jazz musicians make. In order to present my argument, I make a case study of Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen of Grusin/Rosen Productions (GRP), a jazz production partnership that came to prominence during the late 1970s. By examining their interactions with musicians, I explore the nature of the artist/producer relationship and the ways in which jazz music can be transformed through negotiation with intermediaries. I accomplish this primarily through interviews with Grusin and Rosen, artists they produced and a wide array of contributing musicians.

It was Bourdieu (1986: 359) who introduced the term ‘cultural intermediary’ to describe ‘occupations involving presentation and representation’. Negus (2002: 503) has stated that ‘the central strength of the notion of cultural intermediaries is that it places an emphasis on those workers that come *in-between* creative artists and consumers’ (emphasis his). Following a line of research pursued by scholars such as

Becker (1982), Hennion (1989), Negus (1992; 2002) and Jones (1995), this thesis applies theories about intermediaries to the music and media industries. This is important because intermediaries can wield considerable power to shape the work of composers. Jones argues that composers are ‘constantly forced to re-assess their judgement’ based on the ‘turmoil of industrial conditions’ and the ‘accumulation of actions and opinions either made by, or made in response to, intermediary figures’ (Jones, 1995: 9). As active participants in the creative process, intermediaries are not ‘passive functionaries’, they ‘force, tear out, knit together’ (Hennion, 1989: 402). Indeed, Hennion (1989: 403) has proposed the idea of the intermediary as the ‘central object of the sociology of creation’.

This analysis of the intermediary is especially interesting in the context of jazz historiography because jazz has not typically been understood as a mediated art form. Writers such as Schuller (1986), Gridley (1988), Sales (1992), Tirro (1993), Gioia (1997) and McCalla (2001) have focused on establishing the contributions of jazz musicians like King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Bix Beiderbecke, Jelly Roll Morton, Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Miles Davis, Ornette Coleman and John Coltrane as largely autonomous artists that have helped define major stylistic jazz movements such as swing, bebop and free jazz. This historical narrative privileges the artistic expressions of an elite group of players with little reference to the negotiations that take place in the creative environment. Moreover, this situation is reinforced by the history of jazz as a largely improvised music performed on the live stage. As a result, jazz musicians have typically been understood as less susceptible to direction from intermediaries. The jazz producer

has therefore remained shrouded in mystery, typically confined to the credits of album liner notes. In this way, jazz production is all too often understood as the result of unfettered musical inspiration. This is a crude model for a complex interactive process and one that doesn't take account of the ability of the producer to help shape the sounds that jazz musicians make. Hennion (1989: 419) asserts that the idea of autonomous production is an unworkable model, preferring instead to consider the 'social relations of transformation into commodity'.

In terms of mainstream popular music, relationships between artists and producers have been comparatively well documented. Massey's (2001) work accounts for the ability of the producer to 'craft hits'. Warner's (2003) analysis of the work of producer Trevor Horn presents the role of the producer as bound up with technology. Moorefield's (2005) *The Producer as Composer: Shaping the Sounds of Popular Music* examines the agency of the producer by analysing the mediative practices of producers like Phil Spector (Moorefield, 2005: 9) and musician-producers such as Brian Wilson (Moorefield, 2005: 16), George Martin (Moorefield, 2005: 26), Frank Zappa (Moorefield, 2005: 35) and Quincy Jones (Moorefield, 2005: 83).⁴² Through the use of the recording studio, the producer can essentially become a composer with the facility to shape sounds. George Martin is an accomplished orchestrator and pianist who influenced the music of The Beatles with his arranging skills on songs like 'Eleanor Rigby'. Quincy Jones and Michael Jackson shared a similar

⁴² Quincy Delight Jones Jr. (born March 14, 1933) is an American impresario, record producer, arranger, conductor, film composer and trumpeter. His work is primarily in the jazz and soul genres, where he has collaborated with artists such as Count Basie, Duke Ellington and Ray Charles. Jones has earned more than seven Grammy awards and 25 nominations. Jones has produced two of the best selling records of all time: *Thriller* (1982) by Michael Jackson and the charity song 'We Are the World' (1985).

collaborative relationship in the production of Jackson's record, *Thriller* (1982).

Jones was able to procure songs from a combination of writers including Michael Jackson and Rod Temperton and contribute his arranging skills to the production. He employed master engineer Bruce Swedien and assembled some of the finest session musicians in Los Angeles for the sessions. Jones's contribution to one of the best selling pop albums of all time is unquestionably immense.

With such clear acknowledgement of the producer's power in the creative environment, it is troubling that the jazz producer has been subject to so little rigorous research. Clearly, jazz musicians such as Count Basie, Tommy Dorsey, Duke Ellington, Quincy Jones, Billy May, Glenn Miller and Sammy Nestico have long histories as jazz arrangers and leaders of large ensembles of jazz musicians. In this environment, these conductors have been responsible for directing and negotiating with jazz musicians. Indeed, Quincy Jones was touring Europe as a bandleader as early as the 1950s and frequently contributed musical arrangements to the productions of artists in both jazz and mainstream popular genres, such as Lionel Hampton, Sarah Vaughan, Ray Charles and Frank Sinatra.⁴³

This situation raises interesting questions about jazz production: how do musician-producers operate? What role do record labels play in the jazz producer's agenda? How does the historical characterisation of the jazz producer relate to that of the jazz-fusion producer? Michael Jarrett's (2004) *Cutting Sides: Jazz Record Producers and Improvisation* gives voice to the 'invisible' producers that helped pioneer the

⁴³ Jones arranged *The Genius of Ray Charles* (1959) and conducted and arranged *Sinatra at the Sands* (1966), a live album with the Basie Band among many others.

sound of jazz recordings and contributed to the development of the jazz recording industry. Jarrett (2004: 323) is acutely aware of how infrequently the contributions of jazz producers have been historicised: 'apart from the occasional reference to John Hammond, very few histories of jazz even mention producers - much less theorize their role.'⁴⁴ To address this problem, Jarrett interviews a number of jazz record producers such as George Avakian, Michael Cuscuna, Milt Gabler, Teo Macero, Creed Taylor and Bob Weinstock, creating a short oral history of jazz record production. By enabling jazz producers to describe their philosophies and working practices, Jarrett notes that this, predominantly male, group typically controlled jazz's 'mise-en-scène', that is, 'they chose the artists and they chose the repertoire' (Jarrett, 2004: 322). Some jazz producers contribute their sensibilities to a body of work to such an extent that they have become recognised as having their own sonic identities: 'producers could become auteurs, recording artists in their own right, impressing signature sounds onto records' (Jarrett, 2004: 322). Historically, it is clear that the jazz producer can impact upon the sounds made by jazz musicians and that these practices have taken place for as long as jazz production has taken place. As mediators, these producers 'stood between artist and record company, between artist and technology, between artist and public. And thus they profoundly affected what came to count as jazz or improvised music' (Jarrett, 2004: 322).

From here, it is necessary to look beyond the focal point of the artist to the wider context of creativity and how it is managed within an industrial framework. Jones

⁴⁴ John Hammond was a record producer, musician and music critic. In his work as a talent scout, Hammond was instrumental in furthering the careers of artists such as Billie Holiday, Count Basie, Aretha Franklin, George Benson, Bob Dylan, Leonard Cohen, Bruce Springsteen and Stevie Ray Vaughan. See Hammond and Townsend (1977) and also Teachout (2006).

argues that we should ‘make every effort to reconstruct the “environment of the text”’, a process informed by ‘the triple recognition of a record as a musical, a cultural and an industrial product’ (Jones, 1995: 2). In this way, it is not only the sound of a recording that requires analysis but also the processes that contribute to its production and consumption. By taking a ‘production of culture’ perspective to jazz production, I place jazz creativity in an industrial context and examine the ways in which the jazz producer can help shape the sounds made by jazz musicians. I acknowledge the jazz producer’s collaborative relationship with the jazz artist by exploring the ways in which the producer negotiates in the creative environment: offering feedback, suggesting changes, coordinating musicians and actively shaping musical arrangements. Jones argues that a record is not just a physical account of a performance stored but also ‘a record of the total of all the decisions taken in the process of converting those compositions, those songs, into recorded form and of bringing the record to the market-place and promoting it there’ (Jones, 1995: 2). Indeed, jazz is not created in a vacuum; even before the recording light is switched on, production and consumption are taking place within the boundaries of the artist/producer relationship. Much like individuals who take part in medical trials for pharmaceutical companies, producers offer themselves, their psychological and physiological responses, as a way to gauge the effects of new creations. By providing feedback, producers ‘create test conditions that can be reproduced on a larger scale’ (Hennion, 1989: 407). Depending on the specific skills of the producer, this sort of microcosm of consumption facilitates collaboration and can allow the producer enough leverage to impact upon musical composition and arrangement, or more commonly, make observations and evaluations that help to shape the final product.

I begin my analysis by examining the typical characteristics of the producer. I then introduce Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen and describe how the creation of Grusin/Rosen Productions represents an entrepreneurial approach to jazz production. By creating a company, a context within which jazz artists needed to engage with Grusin and Rosen's sensibilities as musicians, producers and businessmen, the pair were able to impact significantly upon the music they produced. Grusin and Rosen typically helped to shape the sounds made by jazz musicians using two interrelated methods: the careful acquisition and assembly of particular groups of musicians and the collaborative approach of Dave Grusin as a musical arranger. Over time, Grusin and Rosen's output came to be recognised as having a 'signature sound' (Jones, 1990: 4). This situates Grusin/Rosen Productions within the discourses that surround labels like Motown and CTI, both companies led by producer/entrepreneurs that have been recognised for adopting routine production approaches and establishing sonic identities.⁴⁵ The extent to which artists collaborate with producers varies widely and can sometimes be a source of tension. I explore how Grusin and Rosen negotiated with artists and external mediators, such as record executives and managers, to determine the scope of their influence in the creative environment. By demonstrating how Grusin and Rosen mediated the music made by their artists, I argue that the work of the jazz producer can impact significantly upon the sounds made by jazz musicians. The chapter focuses primarily on the creative process prior to recording. The agency of the recording engineer and the ways in which technologies can be used to impact upon jazz production are explored at length in Chapter Two.

⁴⁵ See Considine (2002), Morse (1971) and George (1985). Motown Records, also known as Tamla-Motown, is a record label that was originally founded in Detroit, Michigan in 1959 by impresario Berry Gordy. The label came to prominence in the 1960s and achieved international success recording soul music primarily by African-American artists such as Stevie Wonder, Marvin Gaye, Diana Ross and The Jackson 5.

Characterising the producer

In the music industry, the principal intermediary in the creative process is the record producer. The producer is usually the lynchpin between the desires of the artist, the record label, and the public. Jones (1995: 1) characterises the producer as a ‘sub-contractor’ that is often engaged by an artist or record label to assist in the conversion of musical ideas into records. This activity can take place at a variety of locations but is primarily carried out in rehearsal rooms or recording studios. Indeed, even before technology is employed to create the recorded artefact, a series of discussions must take place among the creative team. In addition to the artist, this may include managers, publishers, record executives or other intermediary agents who wish to express their needs so that any concerns or requirements can be addressed by the creative process. Music needs to be arranged, rehearsed and discussed; personnel need to be chosen and performance styles agreed. As Jones says: ‘ultimately, compositions are fragile because, until they are fixed onto analogue or digital tape, they are always in the process of realisation...the final commitment of these combined wave-forms as “humanly organised bundles of sounds” is a matter for negotiation’ (Jones, 1995: 8).

As Kealy (1979: 213) has noted, the producer’s ‘aesthetic and commercial goal is to get a “hit sound” from the studio.’ However, recording studios and rehearsal rooms are typically dark, closed environments filled with blinking lights and expensive equipment. The producer is the ‘central figure in this forbidden realm’ (Warner, 2003: 35) and as a result, the producer can often seem alchemic and shrouded in

mystery.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, as Hennion (1989: 402) states, ‘no-one acts less at a distance’ than these “magicians” who turn up with their hands in their pockets, without well-defined skills, but whose flair and impressions are the key to success.’ Vignolle (1980: 79) has characterised the work of the producer as ‘simultaneously an act of artistic, economic and social production’. The producer interacts with an artist, suggesting forms and meanings, attempting to satisfy his/her collaborators and other invested parties. This juncture at which ‘musical practice and institutional practice coalesce’ (Jones, 1995: 1-2) is the area in which the producer excels. Within this environment, the producer strives to form a ‘point of connection or articulation’ (Negus, 2002: 503) with an imagined audience. Hennion (1989: 406) expresses this idea with the analogy of ‘cooks who continually taste their own dishes’. Vignolle uses the term ‘collective creation’ to describe the ways in which producers engage in an ‘experimental elaboration’ with artists, defining strengths and developing the artist’s ‘primary materials’ (Vignolle, 1980: 87). Although the producer is responsible for predicting outcomes and minimising risk (Hennion, 1989: 411), acting as an intermediary in a creative environment is rarely about absolutes. As Hennion indicates, ‘music is not on the one side with its laws...and the public with its tastes, which can be measured, on the other. The task is not just to fiddle the controls correctly so that correspondence is assured’ (Hennion, 1989: 419-420).

When exploring the artist/producer relationship, it is also necessary to consider the artist’s position in the negotiation. Jones (1995: 1) posits that artists are essentially designers of products financed by record companies. It should of course be noted that

⁴⁶ This problem has been addressed in recent years by radio programmes such as BBC Radio 2’s *The Record Producers*, a series of revealing conversations with successful producers such as Tony Visconti and Hugh Padgham.

many artists don't create their work with commerce foremost in their minds. However, producers are often aided by artists who write within the ideological specifications of the industry they wish to be part of. In this way, the work of artists is 'inherently, structurally, susceptible to the influence of "privileged others" - intermediary figures whom they need to work with' (Jones, 1995: 6). Traditionally, the role of the record producer has been comparable to that of the film producer: responsible for organising work sessions, managing finances, hiring craftspeople and artists and exercising judgement on material. George Martin, the producer of The Beatles, describes the record producer as 'an organiser', someone who can 'make decisions about what should be on a record', 'advise artists on how best to put over their performances' and imbue a recording with some sort of 'unique impression' (Martin, 1979: 104). Often these producers came from A&R (Artists and Repertoire) departments within British recording institutions such as EMI where they had developed an ear for choosing commercial material and gained skills in artist management (Martin, 1979: 240).⁴⁷

The 1950s saw the emergence of the independent record producer. Prior to the 1950s, the producer typically functioned as the 'administrative supervisor' in the creative process, carrying out such directives as 'expediting compliance' (Kealy, 1979: 211). However, during this period, independent record industry entrepreneurs 'unfettered by organisational complexities, formed their own companies' (Peterson and Berger, 1971: 103). Sam Phillips launched the Memphis Recording Service in 1950 and was credited with the discovery of Elvis Presley, whom he recorded for his

⁴⁷ EMI (Electric & Musical Industries Ltd.) is a British music company comprising recording and publishing operations. EMI is one of the four major record companies.

label, Sun Records. The decade that gave rise to the phenomenon of rock n' roll was marked by 'a more fluid and open collaboration' (Kealy 1979: 213) between artists and intermediaries. Increased turbulence in the popular music industry from the development of new technologies and competing corporations resulted in an environment in which a number of producers 'each working without direct supervision, competed in the pursuit of the novel sound' (Peterson and Berger, 1971: 102). Producer Phil Spector was 'one of the most successful entrepreneurs' (Kealy, 1979: 213) emerging within the record industry during the 1960s. Spector, whose output was marked by a uniform production style known as the 'Wall of Sound', helped characterise the producer as an auteur.⁴⁸

Clearly, there is no single way to characterise the role of the producer. In his book, *The Art of Record Production* (1997), Richard Burgess outlines four types of record producer under the categories of 'The All-Singing-All-Dancing-King-Of-The-Heap', 'The Humble Servant', 'The Collaborator' and 'Merlin The Magician' (Burgess, 1997: 1-13). These broad types exhibit various levels of control in the record making process. The 'All-Singing-All-Dancing-King-Of-The-Heap' is usually a capable writer, arranger, multi-instrumentalist and engineer and possesses a strong sense of vision; artists like Prince, Nile Rogers and Todd Rundgren can be considered examples of this category. The 'Humble Servant' typically works repeatedly with the same artist or company, facilitating a particular style of working and becoming an 'unobtrusive extension of the artist themselves' (Burgess, 1997: 6). Norman Whitfield, a key figure in the recording of Motown's many artists could be

⁴⁸ The 'Wall of Sound' is a densely layered sound production technique credited to Phil Spector. Spector typically achieved the effect by recording large groups of musicians performing unison parts in a reverberant space.

considered part of this category. 'The Collaborator's' hallmark is flexibility, yet this type of producer wields an equal say in decisions. The Collaborator may not necessarily carry out the technical task of recording but may use the recording studio as a sort of instrument (Moorefield, 2005: 43). Brian Eno, Trevor Horn, Rick Rubin and Tony Visconti can be considered examples of this kind of producer. 'Merlin the Magician' is described as the inscrutable 'wizard' who may be absent from the studio for large periods of time but whose reputation demands such kudos that any contributions, no matter how vague or philosophical, are gratefully received. The Merlin type is usually 'charismatic', 'powerful' and 'successful' (Burgess, 1997: 12).

From Burgess's taxonomy, it is clear that there are a growing number of hybrid roles that are assumed by intermediaries in the production process. Some individuals, for example Hugh Padgham (The Police, Phil Collins) and Gus Dudgeon (Elton John), have acted as both producer and engineer. George Martin feels that too many technical obligations can distract from a producer's role: 'when you are playing about with equalization knobs, trimming limiters and compressors...and involving yourself in a million other technical activities, you tend not to listen to the music' (Martin, 1979: 249). Consequently, two individuals with complementary skills may create a producer/engineer partnership, allowing for separate focus on the key areas of technical expertise and musical performance. George Martin has cultivated such a relationship with Beatles recordist Geoff Emerick. Other examples include Quincy Jones with Bruce Swedien; Trevor Horn and Steve Lipson; Clive Langer and Alan Winstanley and jazz producer/engineer teams such as Alfred Lion and Rudy Van Gelder, Tommy LiPuma with Al Schmitt and Dave Grusin with Larry Rosen.

According to Burgess, some musicians also take on production roles. This overlap is evidenced in popular music by musicians like David Bowie, Lindsay Buckingham (Fleetwood Mac), Donald Fagen and Walter Becker (Steely Dan), Moby, Frank Zappa and Sean Combs (a.k.a. Diddy), who is credited variously as a writer, rapper and producer on his records. In terms of jazz, musicians like Herbie Hancock have assumed production roles (*Head Hunters*, 1973) and demonstrated a facility for the technical side of music production (Pond, 2005: 117). Grusin and Rosen can be regarded as a producer/engineer partnership, with Grusin acting as a musical director and arranger in collaboration with the artists and Rosen acting as both an executive overseer and recording engineer.

The borders between varieties of producer are necessarily fuzzy and the application of production skills often creates overlapping roles in the creative environment. A musician-producer like Dave Grusin may be able to contribute compositional knowledge or orchestration skills to a project. Conversely, a producer might be a record executive with no theoretical music knowledge but with a clear aesthetic vision, able to create a context for creativity that best serves the needs of all parties. Indeed, as demonstrated here and in later chapters, the music and media industries are composed of numerous intertwining networks of intermediary figures whose actions impact upon the production process. Negus (2002: 505) has recognised that the rhetoric used by agents engaged with creativity has tended to distance their group from 'the suits' or business people. Such 'classification struggles' (Negus, 2002: 505) are now being increasingly outmoded as a growing number of producers act simultaneously as creative intermediaries and record executives: funding,

negotiating, assessing and recording work. This practice has become prevalent in urban popular music genres such as rap and hip-hop as producers have become heavily involved in all aspects of business and production. These tasks are as varied as the ability to 'manage money, understand legal documents, work successfully with a range of people and predict potential success' (Warner, 2003: 35). Indeed, the ability to diversify is essential to the producer's livelihood and the number of records sold is directly proportionate to future employment prospects. The producer can therefore be considered a key figure in the creative environment with a broad range of opportunities to impact upon the sounds made by musicians.

Grusin/Rosen Productions

Born June 26, 1934 in Littleton, Colorado, Dave Grusin was a piano major at the University of Colorado. He moved to New York in 1959 and enrolled at the Manhattan School of Music. Grusin diverted his attention to a recording career in jazz with *Subways are for Sleeping* (1962), *Piano, Strings and Moonlight* (1963) and *Kaleidoscope* (1964). In 1966, Grusin began composing for film and television, receiving his first feature assignment with the Bud Yorkin comedy *Divorcee American Style* (1967). For television, he was the composer of the theme songs for such series as *Dan August* (1970), *Maude* (1972), *Good Times* (1974), *Baretta* (1975), and *St. Elsewhere* (1982). As a composer of motion picture scores, Grusin won the Academy Award for 'Best Original Score' for his work on *The Milagro Beanfield War* (1988). He was also Oscar nominated for *Heaven Can Wait* (1978), *The Champ* (1979), *On Golden Pond* (1981), *The Fabulous Baker Boys* (1989),

Havana (1990) and *The Firm* (1993). Grusin received a 'Best Original Song' nomination for 'It Might Be You' from the film *Tootsie* (1982). Other film scores he has composed include *The Graduate* (1967), *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter* (1968), *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), *Bobby Deerfield* (1977), *The Goonies* (1985), *Tequila Sunrise* (1988) and *Mullholland Falls* (1996).

Larry Rosen was born May 25, 1940 in The Bronx, New York. Rosen began his musical career as a drummer with the Newport Youth Band, meeting future partner Dave Grusin while attending the Manhattan School of Music. Rosen played at the Newport Jazz Festival in 1959 and 1960 and recorded three albums with the group. This led to an early interest in the recording studio that would play a major role in his career as an engineer and record producer. In 1966, Rosen started a firm in New York called 'Duo Creatics' with partner Shep Meyers; the company produced music for radio and television advertisements. Between 1968-1972, Rosen forged relationships with major brands, winning three Clio awards.⁴⁹ In addition to acting as President of GRP Records from 1982-1995, Rosen was also the co-founder of N2K Inc., an online e-commerce music company created in 1996 which was among the first to distribute music via digital downloads. Rosen merged N2K Inc. with CDNow Inc. in March 1999; the combined entity was valued at over \$500 million (Hansell, 1998).

Grusin/Rosen Productions (GRP) began in 1972 as an independent production company based in New York City. However, the partners had begun collaborating

⁴⁹ The Clio Awards are one of the largest award programs rewarding creative excellence in advertising and design.

musically as early as 1960. Grusin was the musical director and conductor for American television star, Andy Williams. He hired Rosen as the drummer in the band. Together they toured the United States accompanying the singer for several years. Grusin states that he and Rosen initially ‘just wanted to make records of any sort’.⁵⁰ They made their debut with the jazz-influenced soul singer and guitarist Jon Lucien. Rosen recorded demos for Lucien at his home studio and obtained the recording contract for what would become *Rashida* (1973, RCA); he hired Grusin as the arranger on the project. As the production company began to grow, Grusin and Rosen began to focus exclusively on jazz-fusion, an area of music that was especially appealing for them both: ‘I always loved listening to that kind of music’ relates Grusin, ‘particularly R&B-oriented stuff. It was far more interesting to me than any other area of pop music. It just felt better; the groove was so much more interesting than a lot of pop.’⁵¹ The pair went on to complete numerous jazz-influenced ‘crossover’ projects as a freelance production team, including Lucien’s *Mind’s Eye* (1974, RCA) and *Song for my Lady* (1975, Columbia); Guitarist Earl Klugh’s eponymous debut *Earl Klugh* (1975, Blue Note), *Living Inside Your Love* (1976, Blue Note) and *Finger Paintings* (1977, Blue Note); Violinist Noel Pointer’s *Hold On* (1976, Blue Note) and *Phantazia* (1977; Blue Note); Singer Patti Austin’s *Havana Candy* (1977, CTI); Guitarist Lee Ritenour’s *Captain Fingers* (1977, Epic) and *Rio* (1979, JVC). They also recorded Grusin’s *One of a Kind* (1978, Polydor).⁵²

⁵⁰ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

⁵¹ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

⁵² *One of a Kind* (PD-1-6118) was later re-released by GRP in 1984 (GRP-D-9514). Lee Ritenour’s album *Rio* (1979) originally for JVC in Japan, was re-released by GRP in 1985 (GRP-D-9524) when Rosen acquired the CD rights for the United States and the rest of the world.

In 1978, with a growing reputation for delivering high quality jazz-pop productions, Grusin and Rosen signed a multi-artist label deal with Clive Davis, producer, executive and founder of Arista Records.⁵³ The deal described the formation of a label at Arista known as Arista/GRP.⁵⁴ Peterson and Berger describe this type of arrangement as a 'strategy between the two' in which a more powerful label, 'gives an independent producer his own department within the larger corporation' (Peterson and Berger, 1971: 103). The terms agreed that Grusin and Rosen would discover, sign, develop and record artists before submitting the masters for release on the Arista/GRP label. Rosen describes the deal as follows: 'Arista financed the whole arrangement and we in turn would go out, find the artist, produce the artist in just the way we wanted and deliver them to Arista as a finished package. It was released on the Arista/GRP label and they would take care of the marketing from that point forward.'⁵⁵ The alliance afforded Grusin and Rosen the additional manufacturing, distribution and marketing resources they needed to make a commercial impact in the marketplace while maintaining control of production.

There is clearly a strong entrepreneurial character to Grusin and Rosen's activities. Although entrepreneurial behaviour is not necessarily a defining trait of record producers, it is important to consider some of the main characteristics of entrepreneurship in order to reconcile these with Grusin and Rosen's actions as musicians, producers, engineers, and record executives. Drucker notes that in the United States, the term 'entrepreneur' is usually understood to mean 'one who starts

⁵³ According to Grusin, this deal was the result of a chance meeting onboard an aeroplane in which Rosen convinced Davis to give them their own label.

⁵⁴ Although part of Arista, GRP operated out of its own offices during this period, located at 330 West 57th Street, New York, between Eighth and Ninth Avenue.

⁵⁵ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

his own, new and small business' (Drucker, 1985: 19). Casson takes a broader definition, describing the entrepreneur as 'the undertaker of a project' (Casson, 2003: 19). Indeed, Drucker concurs that 'not every new small business is entrepreneurial or represents entrepreneurship' (Drucker, 1985: 19). In fact, 'entrepreneurs are a minority among new businesses' because very few new businesses 'change or transmute values' (Drucker, 1985: 20). Drucker gives the example of the McDonalds restaurant chain to demonstrate that although this company did not necessarily invent a *new* product, its approach to branding, value, management and training 'upgraded the yield from resources' (Drucker, 1985: 19), thereby creating a new market and a new customer. 'This is entrepreneurship' notes Drucker (1985: 19).

Grusin and Rosen situated their operations primarily within the New York music scene, an established locus of jazz creativity.⁵⁶ They chose to produce a mix of jazz with rock, funk and R&B, a genre of jazz capable of crossing over to mainstream audiences and one that had proven conducive to mass marketing techniques and radio airplay.⁵⁷ Drucker notes: 'innovation is the specific tool of entrepreneurs, the means by which they exploit change as an opportunity for a different business or a different service' (Drucker, 1985: 17). By establishing Grusin/Rosen Productions, the duo provided a context in which they could discover and record young jazz musicians playing accessible forms of jazz-fusion. As producers, Grusin and Rosen could use their experience and skills to develop their products and sell them to new consumer markets.

⁵⁶ Episode Two of Ken Burns's documentary *Jazz* (2001) entitled 'The Gift' focuses on the importance of New York and Chicago as historical sites of jazz creativity.

⁵⁷ The success of crossover hits like Herbie Hancock's platinum-selling *Head Hunters* (1973) and George Benson's *Breezin'* (1976) had established the commercial potential of jazz-fusion.

Typically, the creation of a new business is motivated by the pursuit of financial reward. It is therefore also important to address the economic definition of the entrepreneur. Drucker (1985: 23) notes, 'the essence of economic activity is the commitment of present resources to future expectations, and that means to uncertainty and risk.' Indeed, a willingness to gamble based on a risk/reward ratio is a recognised trend among this group. Drucker confirms that 'people who need certainty are unlikely to make good entrepreneurs' (Drucker, 1985: 23). In terms of financial motivation, Casson (2003: 21) has suggested that 'entrepreneurs operate their business purely with a view to maximizing the profit they obtain from a given amount of effort.' Although this definition is too simplistic to fully represent the artistic values of Grusin and Rosen and their relationships with jazz musicians, they were, however, motivated entrepreneurs negotiating creatively with musicians in order to realise jazz products that enhanced both their vision for the company and its financial stability. Clearly, the entrepreneur's fluid engagement with commercial practices does not sit comfortably with the values of 'jazz as art music' prescribed by most jazz histories.

McGrath and MacMillan have defined five characteristics of entrepreneurs, they are: the pursuit of new opportunities; the discipline to act on new opportunities; the discipline to refuse new opportunities; ability to execute ideas and yet be flexible to change and the ability to engage a range of people whose energies help sustain enterprise (McGrath and MacMillan, 2000: 2-3). Grusin had gained extensive experience in the Hollywood film and television industries collaborating with a variety of filmmakers, producers and intermediaries. Indeed, I suggest that the

specific skills required of the film and television composer, such as the ability to quickly assess and enhance a project; to meet deadlines on budget; to write, arrange and perform in a variety of styles; to produce high fidelity recordings and to negotiate in a creative environment, greatly informed his role with Grusin/Rosen Productions. Like Grusin, Rosen's broad experience as a musician, engineer, producer and entrepreneur provided him with the skills to manage independent productions for variety of record labels, to motivate colleagues and to recognise opportunities. His immersion in the values of the advertising world clearly impacted upon his approach to GRP and the production of jazz-fusion music. I refer here to an acute awareness of market needs; clarity of communication and negotiating skills; an emphasis on accessible thematic material, audio fidelity, highly developed technical skills and a strong sense of brand value. These are some of the sensibilities that develop when music is used to help sell commodities such as television shows or products as in the case of advertising music (Klein, 2009). Again, the idea of jazz as a commodity that can be enhanced for sale by entrepreneurial production methods is not in keeping with the values associated with jazz throughout history. However, industrial mediation is an essential part of jazz production and must therefore be accounted for.

The environment of the text

In this section, I examine how Grusin and Rosen established themselves within the music communities of New York and Los Angeles in order to begin the process of discovering new artists and assembling a coterie of musicians that could contribute to

their productions. This is important because Grusin and Rosen's access to gifted musicians and the ways in which they assembled these musicians for particular projects contributed greatly to their ability to shape sounds. As a result of Grusin's active career as a Hollywood composer, he had already established long-term creative relationships with musicians on the west coast such as saxophonist Ernie Watts, keyboardist Patrice Rushen, guitarist Lee Ritenour, percussionist Steve Forman, drummer Harvey Mason and bassist Abraham Laboriel. All of these musicians were active on the Los Angeles music scene, recording either as solo artists or session musicians on film soundtracks and record dates. Many of these musicians played with Lee Ritenour and Dave Grusin at a small venue in Studio City, California, called 'The Baked Potato'.⁵⁸ Ernie Watts recalls: 'I started playing with Lee, Dave, Harvey Mason and Abraham Laboriel at a little club called The Baked Potato in Studio City around 1973/1974. We used to work every Tuesday night there and it got very successful and very popular.'⁵⁹ As a result of this scene, the group received interest from JVC Japan, initiating a long-term relationship between Ritenour, Grusin and the Japanese jazz-fusion market.⁶⁰ Percussionist Steve Forman notes:

⁵⁸ The Baked Potato is a long-standing music venue located in Studio City, California, that specialises in jazz-fusion music. The club's name is derived from its unusual menu, which features more than 20 varieties of baked potato.

⁵⁹ Interview with Ernie Watts: April 18, 2005.

⁶⁰ JVC (Victor Company of Japan) is an international electronics corporation founded in 1927. Records made during this period for the JVC label include Lee Ritenour's *Friendship* (1978, VIJ-4010) featuring Steve Forman, Steve Gadd, Dave Grusin, Don Grusin, Abraham Laboriel, Lee Ritenour and Ernie Watts; Lee Ritenour's *Rio* (1979, VIJ-6312) featuring Steve Forman, Dave Grusin, Don Grusin, Abraham Laboriel, Marcus Miller, Ernie Watts and Buddy Williams; Dave Grusin's *Mountain Dance* (1979, VIJ-6326) featuring Dave Grusin, Harvey Mason and Marcus Miller and *Dave Grusin and the GRP All-Stars Live in Japan* (1981, VIJ-6338) featuring Bobby Broom, Tom Browne, Dave Grusin, Don Grusin, Marcus Miller, Dave Valentin and Buddy Williams among others. This record was also issued by Arista/GRP (1981, GRP 5506).

In the '70s, there was an incredible interest from Japan in jazz-fusion and JVC picked up on the Lee Ritenour group. We did maybe half a dozen records in Japan and in Los Angeles for JVC. This involved the same exact roster of people from the Baked Potato that became the GRP "All-Stars" later on.⁶¹

With their offices being based in New York, Grusin and Rosen began to seek a similar pool of talent to draw from on the east coast. Many of the artists they contracted and the musicians they hired to perform on the recordings emerged from the Manhattan High School of Music and Art, which Grusin and Rosen had also attended.⁶² Alumni from the school that became affiliated with GRP include musicians such as Angela Bofill, Bobby Broom, Tom Browne, Francisco Centeno, Billy Cobham, Eddie Daniels, Steve Gadd, Marcus Miller, Noel Pointer and Dave Valentin. Under the auspices of Arista, Grusin and Rosen discovered, signed and recorded numerous young, talented artists in the New York area. Trumpeter Randy Brecker, one half of jazz-fusion duo The Brecker Brothers, was signed to Arista Records at the time and observed the way in which Grusin and Rosen scouted for artists: 'they actively sought local talent. They would search up in The Bronx and ask around to find people born and raised in the area like Dave Valentin or Angela Bofill, who were basically New Yorkers who were very talented. They built their label around these local stars.'⁶³ Jazz pianist Dennis Bell is a producer, arranger, songwriter, conductor and music educator in the New York City school system. In addition to being a long-time friend of Larry Rosen, he has collaborated with artists like Doug E. Fresh and U2 among others. He notes:

⁶¹ Interview with Steve Forman: March 28, 2005.

⁶² The school was popularised in the film *Fame* (1980).

⁶³ Interview with Randy Brecker: March 30, 2004.

In New York at that time, you had a pretty big menu of artists that you could select from. Larry and Dave were always picking out the new young artist or new young player. They didn't go for older musicians; they went for Tom Browne, Dave Valentin, Bernard Wright, Bobby Broom. Most of them went to the High School for Music and Art where a tremendous amount of talent in New York comes from.⁶⁴

Evidently, the acquisition of young artists was an important part of Grusin and Rosen's strategy. There are numerous potential benefits of this approach. For example, the prospect of achieving commercial success can be increased with a viable young artist; the relatively inexpensive process of signing and developing an unknown allows for more projects to be initiated in the long-term and the opportunity to imbue the productions of relatively unseasoned but talented, newcomers with their experience was clearly a motivating factor. Vibraphonist Jay Hoggard concurs with the idea that Grusin and Rosen were acting as experienced mentors: 'there was me, Dave Valentin, Angela Bofill and Tom Browne; we were the four that they signed at that time. All four of us were New York kids. We knew all the younger musicians in the New York area but Dave was bringing in his experience as a veteran composer and Larry as an engineer.'⁶⁵ Saxophonist Ernie Watts suggests that there was a practical business motive to these actions: 'I think they began to sign young artists who were going in that direction in order to appeal to that market.'⁶⁶ Guitarist Bobby Broom observes that Grusin and Rosen's position within the New York music community provided them with a wealth of musicians for their projects and enabled them to stay abreast of emerging new players:

When they started, it was almost like a version of CTI, they would use a core group of players and everybody would play on each other's records.

⁶⁴ Interview with Dennis Bell: September 12, 2005.

⁶⁵ Interview with Jay Hoggard: May 31, 2005.

⁶⁶ Interview with Ernie Watts: April 18, 2005.

Somebody new would always be discovered, usually by one of the musicians. Different people would come in that way and it was a development situation and breeding ground for creativity.⁶⁷

Creed Taylor's CTI label can be considered the prototype of the GRP model, producing accessible jazz-pop performed by a stable of recognised studio musicians. Carl Anderson, one of the few vocalists who recorded for GRP, also recognised this approach: 'GRP was a stable of studio sidemen set apart and recorded as leaders. There were, of course, additions like Chick Corea, but by and large it was Dave's studio community.'⁶⁸ Larry Williams, a keyboardist and saxophonist with a prolific history as a session musician, took part in GRP projects based out of Los Angeles. He also acknowledges the importance of Grusin's studio community to the growth of Grusin/Rosen Productions: 'a lot of those records were Harvey Mason, Lee Ritenour, Abraham Laboriel; the same guys who played at the Baked Potato.'⁶⁹

Grusin and Rosen first heard trumpeter Tom Browne in a club owned by guitarist and singer George Benson.⁷⁰ As a result of a recommendation from guitarist Earl Klugh, the pair visited 'The Breezin' Lounge' in Harlem to hear Browne play and signed the 24 year old artist soon after. Together they recorded *Browne Sugar* (1979) and *Love Approach* (1979) which included the hit single 'Funkin' for Jamaica (N.Y.).'⁷¹ The single stayed at number one on *Billboard's* 'Hot Soul Singles' chart for four weeks from October 4-25, 1980 and his album *Love Approach* (1979)

⁶⁷ Interview with Bobby Broom: March 27, 2005.

⁶⁸ Interview with Carl Anderson: September 28, 2002.

⁶⁹ Interview with Larry Williams: February 19, 2004.

⁷⁰ Interview with Earl Klugh: April 18, 2005.

⁷¹ Browne followed up with *Magic* (1981, GRP-5503) and *Yours Truly* (1981, GRP-5507) before signing directly to Arista Records where he recorded two more albums: *Rockin' Radio* (1983) and *Tommy Gun* (1984).

became the first gold record for Arista/GRP. Browne's signature song was a reference to Jamaica, Queens, a neighbourhood of the New York borough in which he lived. Through their relationship with Browne, Grusin and Rosen were introduced to a number of other young African-American musicians from Queens. Members of this community, who described themselves territorially as the 'Jamaica Kats', included keyboardists Donald Blackman and Bernard Wright, drummers Lenny White and Omar Hakim and bassist Marcus Miller among others. Guitarist Bobby Broom was not raised in Queens but was considered an honorary 'Jamaica Kat'.⁷² He describes the interrelationships within this community: 'they acquired Tom Browne and all of the musicians that worked with him, the majority of whom were from Queens: Omar Hakim, Marcus Miller, Bernard Wright. Most of those guys were sidemen for Tom. We were all playing on each other's records.'⁷³

During this period, Grusin and Rosen came to an arrangement with producer Phil Ramone to use studio R2 at A&R Studios in New York.⁷⁴ Grusin and Rosen worked almost exclusively out of the room for several years, giving them a long-term base from which to carry out their productions and a sonic environment in which they were comfortable and able to achieve the desired results. As a result of their close ties to the musicians from Queens, many of Arista/GRP's commercial successes

⁷² Broom was raised in Manhattan and became involved with the Jamaica Kats at the High School of Music and Art. He made supporting appearances on Tom Browne's *Love Approach* (1979, GRP-5008) and *Dave Grusin and the GRP All-Stars Live in Japan* (1981, VIJ-6338) before making his Arista/GRP debut with *Clean Sweep* (1981, GRP-5504). The record featured Marcus Miller on bass, Buddy Williams on drums and Dave Grusin on keyboards.

⁷³ Interview with Bobby Broom: March 27, 2005.

⁷⁴ Phil Ramone, born 1941, is a nine-time Grammy award-winning producer. In 1959, Ramone established the independent recording studio 'A&R Recording' in New York. He has produced music by artists such as Burt Bacharach, Karen Carpenter, Ray Charles, Bob Dylan, Aretha Franklin, Billy Joel, Elton John, Quincy Jones, B.B. King, Madonna, Paul McCartney, George Michael, Sinéad O'Connor, Luciano Pavarotti, Paul Simon, Frank Sinatra, Rod Stewart, James Taylor and Barry Manilow.

(1978-1982) were jazz-funk records made at A&R Studios.⁷⁵ Ollie Cotton was an engineer at A&R and became Larry Rosen's assistant for the Arista/GRP productions. Cotton finds it surprising that Grusin and Rosen connected with this particular social group: 'I don't know how GRP discovered that pocket of music out in Queens. That's what it pretty much was, just a whole fertile ground of musicians.'⁷⁶ As Negus (1998: 360) has suggested, when investigating the relationships between artists and intermediaries, it can be useful to consider broader cultural patterns such as 'the experiences of class, ethnicity, gender, and geographical location.' Keyboardist Bernard Wright, who was recording with Tom Browne at just sixteen years old, believes that the social class structure he experienced growing up in Queens gave rise to much of the creativity in the area: 'Queens in the 1970s and 1980s had an advantage over the other boroughs in New York because the middle-class blacks who bought homes had basements and could afford instruments and music lessons. The basements were significant because the kids could get in there and make noise.'⁷⁷ Wright also makes a class distinction between himself and artists from neighbouring areas: 'Hollis, Queens, where Russell Simmons and Run DMC came from, is the richer part of Jamaica, the middle-class part. I came from the lower-class part.'⁷⁸

Stebbins (1966) is a sociologist who has studied patterns in the jazz community. He calls the jazz world a 'specialised status community' (Stebbins, 1966: 200). Internal

⁷⁵ Grusin and Rosen used A&R Studios from 1978-1985; they recorded in R2 during the day because Ramone preferred to work in the evenings. The studio was located at 322 West 48th Street, New York. The building now houses offices of the Musician's Union.

⁷⁶ Interview with Ollie Cotton: March 28, 2005.

⁷⁷ Interview with Bernard Wright: April 13, 2005.

⁷⁸ Interview with Bernard Wright: April 13, 2005. Noted rapper 50 Cent also originates from Jamaica, Queens.

struggles related to 'class, status and power' (Stebbins, 1966: 203) inform the jazz musicians' relationship with the commercial world, their sense of purpose and opportunity. This is underlined by the advantages that Wright attributes to the future hip-hop stars of a wealthier neighbourhood, a perspective that informed his negotiations with producers. Grusin and Rosen became increasingly involved with this network of musicians, signing many of them to recording deals and employing others as session musicians: 'they basically pillaged my neighbourhood. They signed all the talented people' notes Wright.⁷⁹ In using a loaded word such as 'pillaged', Wright suggests that the expansion of Grusin and Rosen's artist roster was not motivated purely by creative collaboration. The implication here is that as entrepreneurs, Grusin and Rosen systematically upgraded the resources of this community into an area of higher yield: the expanding jazz-fusion market. Bassist Abraham Laboriel was fully cognisant of this approach to jazz music: 'when people discovered in the '70s that you could combine the skills of highly gifted jazz musicians with a rhythm that would be danceable, it became very marketable.'⁸⁰ He goes on, 'GRP became the champions of signing young people that were true jazz players and singers but could be compatible with a dance rhythm. Man, it's all about dancing.'⁸¹

Bernard Wright agrees that contracting with GRP was enormously beneficial to his career.⁸² However, he argues that interaction with the music business had consequences for the interpersonal relationships within their community. These were

⁷⁹ Interview with Bernard Wright: April 13, 2005.

⁸⁰ Interview with Abraham Laboriel: April 5, 2005.

⁸¹ Interview with Abraham Laboriel: April 5, 2005.

⁸² Wright's debut *Nard* (1981) has been sampled by artists like Dr. Dre and Snoop Dogg.

issues that Weldon Irvine, a musician and mentor to the Jamaica Kats helped to reconcile with them.⁸³

For the first time, a new level of politics entered into our neighbourhood. Now we all had record deals and were being prioritised and de-prioritised; it kind of separated the neighbourhood and created a divide. Our mentor Weldon Irvine kept us together. He taught us things about professionalism and how to work with corporate America and maintain our individuality.⁸⁴

Wright constructs the artist/producer relationship as a potential cause for disruption within the music community and one that must be monitored vigilantly in order to protect artistic expression from mediation. Indeed, the agency of the producer is usually dictated by the dynamics of the relationship with an artist. Whenever creative energies and different agendas come together to find common ground, negotiations are initiated.

Shaping Sounds

By the late 1970s, Grusin and Rosen had amassed a considerable body of work as record producers and had collaborated successfully with a variety of artists. During this research, my subjects primarily attributed Grusin and Rosen's success as producers to Dave Grusin's arranging skills; Larry Rosen's engineering skills; the artists they signed and the session musicians they hired to play on their records. Whether finding new artists, setting the terms of work, shaping sounds or resolving

⁸³ Weldon Irvine (October 27, 1943 - April 9, 2002) was an American composer, playwright, poet, and pianist. He was active in numerous musical genres including jazz, hip-hop, funk and gospel. Irvine served as the bandleader for jazz singer Nina Simone and was a mentor to many New York hip-hop artists, including Q-Tip and Mos Def. He wrote the lyrics for 'To Be Young, Gifted, and Black', the official Civil Rights anthem.

⁸⁴ Interview with Bernard Wright: April 13, 2005.

conflict, most every action taken by the producer forms part of a negotiation. The record producer must negotiate with artists and external mediators, such as record executives and managers, to determine the extent of his/her influence in the creative environment. Grusin and Rosen were pro-active, entrepreneurial producers with responsibilities to the artists, their reputations and Arista Records. In this regard, Dave Grusin suggests that the production process can be simplified by first choosing to work with artists whose music and potential market is congruent with the aims of the producer. He notes:

George Benson had found a kind of “crossover” way to do what he did. He never was what I would consider a pure pop artist, but between his singing and the tunes he was doing, he found a market for what he did without needing to change his basic approach. That was always our goal, to work with artists who could do that rather than change the artist to fit our format. It was kind of a subtle distinction.⁸⁵

Artists associated with GRP were also aware of this approach. Bassist Marcus Miller concurs that Grusin and Rosen chose artists who were ‘already in that mould’.⁸⁶

However, the distinction between enhancing the work of likeminded artists and conforming less suitable artists to a dominant format is a difficult one to maintain, especially in the creative environment where a producer might be simultaneously negotiating with musicians and experiencing the turbulence of external industrial influences. Moreover, the ways in which jazz musicians view their responsibilities to the jazz canon can also impact upon collaboration. As Frith suggests, tension with commercial activity is more likely a result of the ‘jazz musicians’ sense of themselves and what they do’ which is fed into the ‘discourse on which one draws to justify what one does’ (Frith, 2007: 22). As such, even musicians who appear

⁸⁵ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

⁸⁶ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

sympathetic to a particular style or approach may not wish to negotiate creatively to the extent to which Grusin and Rosen were accustomed. In addition, executive pressures such as budgetary concerns or time constraints can contribute to the producer's working practices. Before a note is ever recorded, the artist and the producer may need to address an array of bargaining points in order to reach a consensus on the creative process.

Vibraphonist Jay Hoggard signed to Arista/GRP in the late 1970s. He recalls that Grusin and Rosen's musical abilities were an important part of the collaborative process: 'the difference with Dave and Larry versus Creed Taylor or Alfred Lion', he notes, 'was that Dave and Larry were musicians.'⁸⁷ By virtue of their ability to engage with musicians at the compositional level, Grusin and Rosen's relationships with their artists were highly interactive. Larry Rosen explains how he and Grusin approached each new project:

In the earlier stages of the company, Dave and I would decide on what artists we wanted to sign to the label. Then we would say how we wanted that artist to be depicted. Was this gonna be with a small group? A big band? Strings? What type of material was it gonna be? Ballads? Standards? Original tunes? Where was the music going to come from? We would come up with an idea, a concept or style and work together with the artist on that.⁸⁸

Rosen's analysis of their working practices constructs the producer very much as an equal with the artist in the creative process. Guitarist Earl Klugh states that Grusin and Rosen were a well-organised team with a clear purpose. He notes: 'I don't remember any point in time during the three albums I made with them where there

⁸⁷ Interview with Jay Hoggard: May 31, 2005.

⁸⁸ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

was any confusion as to what they were doing.’⁸⁹ One musician they used frequently on early projects was drummer Steve Gadd. Arguably one of the most recorded drummers in music, Gadd counts performances on Steely Dan’s ‘Aja’ and Paul Simon’s ‘Fifty Ways to Leave Your Lover’ among his credits on over 600 albums. He concurs: ‘when you went into the studio with Dave and Larry, they had done their homework. You could go in and really get some good work done without wasting a lot of time.’⁹⁰ Bassist Abraham Laboriel comments upon the typical length of a GRP session: ‘most of the time, people would come with demos that they would play for us. They’d pass us the parts and we would spend three hours on one song.’⁹¹ For artists who required direction, arranging and musical support in order to realise their ideas, Grusin and Rosen provided a production house where such skills were readily available. Despite the notion of the jazz musician as a largely autonomous type, Grusin and Rosen’s approach appears to have been acceptable to the majority of their collaborators. Bassist Francisco Centeno worked with Grusin during the pre-recording phase of numerous projects and is able to describe Grusin’s approach to music making:

What I particularly liked was the way Dave would build records. He would always start with a trio. Even though he was an arranger and an orchestrator, he would get good rhythm players, usually me and Steve Gadd, or me and Buddy Williams. He’d give us chord charts and we would pretty much dictate the feel of the song; he gave us a lot of freedom.⁹²

Evidently, the combination of Grusin’s arranging and the sensibilities of the musicians chosen by Grusin and Rosen contributed greatly to the sound of the

⁸⁹ Interview with Earl Klugh: April 18, 2005.

⁹⁰ Interview with Steve Gadd: June 8, 2005.

⁹¹ Interview with Abraham Laboriel: April 5, 2005.

⁹² Interview with Francisco Centeno: March 13, 2004.

records. Bassist Marcus Miller states that the musicians were important because ‘they were going from studio to studio, playing with everybody from James Taylor to Grover Washington, Jr.’⁹³ This resulted in an interesting cross-pollination. Miller notes, ‘the pianist Richard Tee would bring the same gospel influence he brought to Paul Simon's records.’⁹⁴ Larry Williams agrees that there was considerable cross-pollination between pop and jazz as a result of the varied experiences of the session musicians: ‘I would go from Quincy Jones or Prince to Dave Grusin.’⁹⁵

In 1990, a *USA Today* article reported: ‘GRP achieves its recognizable sound with a hands-on style resembling that of Motown founder Berry Gordy. Grusin and Rosen work closely in the studio with their artists to effect the “GRP sound”’ (Jones, 1990: 4). Here, a sonic brand is attributed to Grusin and Rosen’s hands-on production style that recalls the working practices of Detroit soul label, Motown. Moorefield has rationalised Motown’s production strategy as follows: ‘Gordy cultivated an assembly-line approach to making music, a concept he famously culled from his own experience as a worker in a Ford automotive plant. His idea was to run a recording empire not unlike the movie empires of Hollywood studios’ (Moorefield, 2005: 21). Despite the speed and efficiency of Grusin and Rosen’s studio practices, Fordist assembly lines are not a particularly accurate way to depict the sensitive negotiations that take place in the typical production situation. However, neither are they as antithetical to jazz as most jazz histories suggest. It is clear that formulaic production approaches have frequently resulted in undeniably strong canons of popular music. I am thinking here of the ‘Tin Pan Alley’ and ‘Brill Building’ songwriting teams

⁹³ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

⁹⁴ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

⁹⁵ Interview with Larry Williams: February 19, 2004.

responsible for innumerable hit records throughout the 20th Century.⁹⁶ Likewise, formulaic production approaches were the key to labels like Stax and songwriting/production teams such as Gamble and Huff, who wrote and arranged many hit records for their Philadelphia International label.⁹⁷ Robby Ameen is a drummer who was active on the New York scene during this period. He likens the GRP production mentality to that of Motown because GRP frequently chose to record new artists with the same group of backing musicians.⁹⁸

It was basically a stable of the top studio guys in New York: Steve Gadd, Anthony Jackson, Francisco Centeno. All those guys basically did everybody's records. It was like a repertory company or Motown; you had a different singer but it was the same rhythm section and therefore the same sound.⁹⁹

The 'sound' to which Ameen makes reference can be characterised as cleanly produced jazz-pop, usually a soft jazz-funk style layered with synthesisers, electronics and occasional string arrangements. Lee Ritenour was the 'first-call' session guitarist in Los Angeles during the mid-1970s and is a long-time associate of Dave Grusin. Ritenour recorded nine solo albums between 1976-1979,

⁹⁶ Tin Pan Alley is the name given to the collection of New York based music publishers and songwriters who dominated the popular music of the United States from 1885-mid 1900s. Composers such as Irving Berlin, George and Ira Gershwin, Scott Joplin and Cole Porter have been associated with Tin Pan Alley. The Brill Building is a New York office building that became a centre of activity for the popular music industry, especially music publishing and songwriting. Writing teams such as Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller ('Yakety Yak'), Burt Bacharach and Hal David ('The Look of Love') and Neil Sedaka and Howard Greenfield ('Calendar Girl') wrote hit records there.

⁹⁷ Stax Records is an American record label founded in 1957. The label's house band was comprised of Booker T. & the MG's and primarily produced soul music. Artists affiliated with Stax include Otis Redding, Wilson Pickett and Isaac Hayes. Kenneth Gamble and Leon Huff are an American songwriting and production team that have written and produced over 170 gold and platinum records. They were the pioneers of so-called 'Philadelphia soul' and the in-house creative team for the Philadelphia International record label. Nearly all of the Philadelphia International records featured the work of the label's in-house band of studio musicians, MFSB.

⁹⁸ *Standing in the Shadows of Motown* (2002) is a documentary film that documents the contributions made to many of Motown's hit records by its stable of studio musicians known as 'The Funk Brothers'.

⁹⁹ Interview with Robby Ameen: February 20, 2004.

experimenting with jazz-rock, jazz-funk, Brazilian jazz and pop.¹⁰⁰ He emphasises that the GRP sound was a considered effort, designed as way to appeal to casual jazz fans: ‘we thought there was a better way to introduce audiences to jazz rather than just the traditional straight-ahead bebop sound.’¹⁰¹ He emphasises that GRP’s sound was not unique but an extension of a previously existing approach to combining jazz and pop: ‘of course, there were other people creating the “crossover” sound. It started back in the 1960s with Horace Silver, Ramsey Lewis and Wes Montgomery; that evolved to people like Grover Washington and David Sanborn in the 1970s.’¹⁰² Producer Tommy LiPuma and engineer Al Schmitt worked with George Benson on the landmark jazz-pop hit *Breezin’* (1976) and have since earned an array of recording industry accolades.¹⁰³ Ritenour notes that their influence as a production team helped to consolidate the jazz-pop sound: ‘Tommy LiPuma and Al Schmitt created a similar type of polished sound that would be considered “contemporary jazz.”’¹⁰⁴

As I have demonstrated, GRP’s audibly coherent sound was largely a result of the marriage between the artist, Dave Grusin’s arranging skills, the players they hired and Rosen’s engineering/production style. Percussionist Roger Squitiero notes:

In some ways, the GRP sound was the Dave Grusin sound. Dave had done numerous soundtracks for movies and he had his own way of orchestrating

¹⁰⁰ *First Course* (1976, Epic), *Gentle Thoughts* (1977, JVC), *Captain Fingers* (1977, Epic), *Sugar Loaf Express* (1977, JVC), *Friendship* (1977, JVC), *The Captain’s Journey* (1978, Elektra), *Friendship* (a second album, 1978, JVC), *Rio* (1979, JVC), *Feel the Night* (1979, Elektra/Discovery).

¹⁰¹ Interview with Lee Ritenour: May 18, 2005.

¹⁰² Interview with Lee Ritenour: May 18, 2005.

¹⁰³ LiPuma has 29 gold and platinum records to his credit, over 30 Grammy nominations, and three Grammy wins. He is considered one of the most successful pop and jazz producers in the record industry.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Lee Ritenour: May 18, 2005.

and arranging already from his extensive movie and TV work. I think he brought those qualities to the GRP sound. Larry was responsible for getting it down on tape and making it sound good.¹⁰⁵

Musicians who worked with GRP have pointed out that in addition to Grusin's voice as a composer and arranger, a combination of musical repertoire and session musicians also helped to define the resulting sound. Drummer Buddy Williams asserts that 'the tunes they picked and the players that they picked made the songs come out the way they did.'¹⁰⁶ Larry Williams notes, 'I just think the arranging and the musicians they picked had so much to do with it.'¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the 'GRP sound' is bound up in the production values afforded to Grusin and Rosen by advances in digital recording technology during this period.¹⁰⁸ As a result of this array of pop-oriented production routines, GRP became widely associated with cleanly produced jazz-pop and helped to introduce this style of jazz to new audiences. Marcus Miller recorded on numerous early GRP sessions. He clearly acknowledges the producer's ability to shape the sounds made by jazz musicians:

I know Dave and Larry had a huge influence on the music on their label. They worked with the artists on repertoire and Dave did most of the arrangements and hired the musicians. It helped them establish a unique sound because they had a hand in all the music on their label. Most of the artists on GRP really depended on Dave and Larry to help them get their albums done.¹⁰⁹

Despite this collaborative environment, there were numerous instances when the level of control exhibited by Grusin and Rosen led to negotiations with artists.

Vibraphonist Jay Hoggard began collaborating with Grusin and Rosen on his

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Roger Squitro: July 10, 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Buddy Williams: May 7, 2004.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Larry Williams: February 19, 2004.

¹⁰⁸ This is examined at length in Chapter Two.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Marcus Miller: August 5, 2002.

Arista/GRP record *Days Like These* in April 1979.¹¹⁰ He describes how the expense of the project and decisions rendered on the selection of material led to some discussions with the producers: 'Dave and Larry did everything high end. They had Luther Vandross and Patti Austin singing "oohs". That costs a lot of money.'¹¹¹ With Grusin and Rosen's connections in the music community, employing well-known artists as backup musicians was not uncommon. Regardless of the mainstream appeal of their productions, producing jazz music at considerable expense can have ramifications on the ability of the artist to recoup the costs of making an album and this was clearly a concern of Hoggard's. In terms of the selection of material, Hoggard notes: 'half of my record is mine. The tunes "West End Dancer" and "Takin' it to the Streets" were Dave's. Dave was the more advanced and mature arranger than I was and he was the producer so he used his creativity on some of those.'¹¹² Hoggard found the experience highly educational but did not necessarily feel that the inclusion of Grusin's material was a complete expression of his own artistry: 'those tracks could just as easily have been on Dave's record with me playing as a sideman' he notes.¹¹³ Ultimately, Hoggard's vision for his career as a jazz artist began to diverge from that of his producers and a follow-up album was not pursued: 'when it came time to do the second album, they wanted me to make a more commercial record and I didn't want to do that.'¹¹⁴ With the artist collaborating on his music to such an extent, it is evident that tensions between art and commerce are not a stark set of divisions between 'suits' and artists but instead form part of the daily negotiations that constitute the artist/producer relationship.

¹¹⁰ Jay Hoggard, *Days Like These* (1979, GRP-9516)

¹¹¹ Interview with Jay Hoggard: May 31, 2005.

¹¹² Interview with Jay Hoggard: May 31, 2005.

¹¹³ Interview with Jay Hoggard: May 31, 2005.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Jay Hoggard: May 31, 2005.

Singer-songwriter Scott Jarrett released his record *Without Rhyme or Reason* on the Arista/GRP label in 1980.¹¹⁵ He also engaged in power-related discussions with Grusin and Rosen concerning their level of control in the artist/producer relationship: ‘they wanted to be sure that I was going to be willing to let them have their way with my stuff’ notes Jarrett, ‘that’s the normal thing that a producer has to do, so I said yes.’¹¹⁶ Jarrett notes that although his experience was extremely positive, external pressures between Arista and Grusin/Rosen Productions may have impacted upon the success of his record:

At the time, Dave and Larry were trying to break free of Arista’s care, so they didn’t want to do the stuff that Clive Davis wanted them to do. For example, Clive wanted to take my song “Never My Fault” and put black gospel background vocals on it. He was sure that if we did that, the record would be a hit. Dave and Larry absolutely did not want Clive to make any creative contributions because they were defending their independence.¹¹⁷

There are several negotiations taking place in this scenario, both internally (artistically) in the construction of the music itself and externally (industrially) in actioning feedback from Arista executives. Jarrett suspects that by accepting Clive Davis’s input, the record may have been more successful. However, this would necessitate further negotiation with intermediaries at the creative level. By limiting creative judgement to the artist/producer relationship, Grusin and Rosen endeavoured to protect their sonic identity from further mediation at any cost. As such, it is clear that Grusin and Rosen’s central position in negotiations allowed them to contribute decisively to the sound of Jarrett’s record.

¹¹⁵ Scott Jarrett, *Without Rhyme Or Reason* (1980, GRP-9518).

¹¹⁶ Interview with Scott Jarrett: July 28, 2007.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Scott Jarrett: July 28, 2007.

Most jazz production in the first half of the 20th Century tended to be 'inaudible', designed to reinforce 'the popular conception of jazz as a spontaneous music, independent of and antithetical to recording technologies' (Jarrett, 2004: 323). Increased access to multi-track recording and the introduction of digital recording technologies during the late 1970s emphasised the record making process and the agency of intermediaries such as engineers and producers who could operate the equipment. With increasing cross-pollination between jazz and popular styles, jazz was no longer primarily about improvisation in live performance. As with pop music, the priority became the production process, the creation of a definitive recorded account of a piece of music. The agency of intermediaries in jazz production expanded in tandem with these developments. In this way, fusion - the widespread experimentation between jazz and popular music - magnified and affirmed the collaborative relationship between jazz musicians and jazz producers.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the demands on jazz artists and producers of fusion music were evolving. It became important for some jazz musicians to be fluent in a new set of competencies in addition to traditional jazz, such as rock, pop and R&B (Pond, 1997: 14). In the community of Jamaica, Queens, 'Jamaica Funk' was a codified musical style exclusive to the neighbourhood. Bernard Wright explains the components of the sound as follows: 'Jamaica Funk is basically two rules played simultaneously: the rules for traditional jazz and the rules for traditional funk.'¹¹⁸ The Jamaica Kats had been steeped in the traditions of jazz, funk and R&B from a young age, performing at social events and developing their skills by playing

¹¹⁸ Interview with Bernard Wright: April 13, 2005.

with experienced musicians in the area: ‘we were the young guys around New York in the ‘80s and we were trying to capture what we heard, what we grew up with, which was soul music, R&B music, funk and jazz and whatever else. I don’t think we drew lines of distinction in terms of style.’¹¹⁹ Indeed, most recordings by members of this community featured a combination of dance-oriented jazz-funk, and straight-ahead jazz.¹²⁰ Guitarist Bobby Broom had performed extensively with Art Blakey and the Jazz Messengers at the time of joining GRP, while Marcus Miller went on to produce artists as diverse as Miles Davis and Luther Vandross.¹²¹

Negus has argued that intermediaries advance in status by ‘exerting influence in class-divided networks’ through ‘shared life experiences’ among ‘members of distinct social groups’ (Negus, 1999: 18). The Jamaica Kats were part of a community that had instilled a teenage Bernard Wright with artistic independence and resilience to creative input from intermediaries. Marcus Miller notes: ‘when Bernard started making his music, he was like “hey man, I want to do some traditional jazz, some straight-ahead, some funk” and they were a little taken aback. They were like “hey, that’s not what we thought we were getting into.”’¹²² With his desire to perform a variety of jazz styles, from traditional jazz to jazz-funk, Wright was frequently engaged in creative negotiations with with Grusin and Rosen: ‘we were hard heads man, we were trained by the hard-nosed bebop cats. Ain’t nobody gonna tell us nothin’ about our music. We tell you. We were tyrannical about

¹¹⁹ Interview with Bobby Broom: March 27, 2005.

¹²⁰ See for example Bernard Wright’s *Nard* (1981, GRP-5011).

¹²¹ Miles Davis *Tutu* (1986); Luther Vandross *Power of Love* (1991).

¹²² Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

that.¹²³ Engineer Ollie Cotton witnessed these negotiations taking place: 'I don't think it was as easy as Dave and Larry thought it was going to be to shape those kids' music.'¹²⁴ Marcus Miller agrees that the non-conformism of the Jamaica Kats surprised Grusin and Rosen: 'I think they went after artists who they thought would work with the concept they had, though there was a couple of times where they went with an artist who they thought was one thing and ended up being another.'¹²⁵

Similar negotiations took place with pianist, vocalist and writer Donald Blackman. Blackman, born 1953, had also developed prodigious abilities at a young age, touring with jazz-funk collectives such as Parliament-Funkadelic in the early 1970s.¹²⁶ Cotton recalls that on occasion, Grusin and Rosen asserted their opinions on the choice of personnel that would record with Blackman: 'Donald Blackman wanted to use his horn section and Dave wanted to use the studio cats; there was a big issue about it. They let Donald bring his guys in, but I don't think they were able to cut the parts with the quality that GRP wanted, so they had to do the session over again.'¹²⁷ As producers, Grusin and Rosen were ultimately responsible for the execution of the record and its commercial potential. Their appeasement strategy, while costly, was necessary in this case to maintain status quo in the creative environment. As Cotton

¹²³ Interview with Bernard Wright: April 13, 2005.

¹²⁴ Interview with Ollie Cotton: March 28, 2005.

¹²⁵ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

¹²⁶ Parliament-Funkadelic is a funk music collective led by George Clinton which was formed in the 1960s. They are recognised for a style of groove based soul music known as 'P Funk'. The group has performed under the names 'Parliament' and 'Funkadelic', essentially two bands consisting of the same members but recording for different labels. They had thirteen top ten hits in the U.S. R&B music charts between 1967-1983.

¹²⁷ Interview with Ollie Cotton: March 28, 2005.

relates: 'they had a love/hate relationship.'¹²⁸ According to the Jamaica Kats, Grusin and Rosen tended to relinquish control to the artists. Guitarist Bobby Broom notes:

We were all doing pretty much what we wanted to do musically; we were writing the tunes, we were coming up with it. There were no Dave Grusin tunes on those records. They took a pretty hands-off approach in terms of directing musically. We were pretty knowledgeable on what was funky and what was happening and what wasn't.¹²⁹

Although Wright and Broom construct the Jamaica Kats as a largely autonomous musical collective, Marcus Miller has commented upon the way in which Grusin assimilated himself into the culture of their music:

One of the times I was really impressed with Dave was on the "Jamaica funk" recording sessions. We were into some hardcore funk at that point with Tom and the Jamaica Kats. Dave was playing piano and I was thinking "what is Dave going to come up with in this Jamaica funk situation?" When you listen to what he came up with, that acoustic piano part is one of the main hooks of the song. Then I found out that Dave Grusin wrote the TV theme to *Good Times*, which is a black staple on television. Old Dave Grusin with his glasses on; he can really absorb different cultures.¹³⁰

Mattick (2003: 128) argues that the 'readability of every work of art...depends on mastery of the cultural code utilized in its production.' As a musician, Grusin was able to contribute his experience to this situation in a way that was acceptable to the artist. Clearly, in this negotiation, traditional debates about control would not be conducive to a creative atmosphere. Knowing when to expand one's duties and when to contract is a key skill of the record producer. Tension in the creative environment can result in a breakdown of communication. The producer must do everything possible to ensure that the process moves forward amicably. Maintaining the

¹²⁸ Interview with Ollie Cotton: March 28, 2005.

¹²⁹ Interview with Bobby Broom: March 27, 2005.

¹³⁰ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

enthusiasm of musicians is also a vital part of the producer's role. Grusin highlights the importance of this when he says: 'if you've ever been to a session where people are just going through the motions, it's a drag. It's a horrible way to make a living.'¹³¹ The producer is reliant then, not only on an ability to manage timescales, deadlines and financial projections, but more importantly, an acute sensitivity in regard to interpersonal relationships. Although seemingly counter-intuitive, in some cases, being absent or using another intermediary as a conduit can be the producer's strategy for maintaining hegemony in the creative environment.

As producers, Grusin and Rosen attempted to discover and contract artists that were operating within their stylistic milieu. As entrepreneurs, they shifted their jazz resources from areas of low yield to areas of high yield (Drucker, 1985: 25) by exposing jazz-pop artists to mainstream audiences. In some cases, artists were able to concede control in areas where Grusin and Rosen's expertise was paramount. Others did not wish to negotiate as extensively on the material they performed or the musicians they recorded with. As entrepreneurs, Grusin and Rosen demonstrated a need for a more autonomous production situation where they would have maximum control in shaping their product for market. In 1982, Grusin and Rosen established GRP Records as an independent label, relocating to a larger space at 555 West 57th Street and Eleventh Avenue in New York. It was here that Grusin and Rosen had begun construction of their recording studio, The Review Room, during 1981. Much like their earlier situation at A&R Studios, continuous access to a familiar sonic environment gave Grusin and Rosen a stable base of operations and increased control

¹³¹ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

over post-production. As a result of widespread recession in the music industry during the early 1980s, GRP Records was able to expand by acquiring a number of jazz artists who no longer had recording contracts.¹³²

Jazz harpist Deborah Henson-Conant released records on GRP in 1989, 1990 and 1991.¹³³ She found the level of control exhibited by Grusin and Rosen surprising:

With GRP, it was a sort of a layering type of producing. So I might go in and lay the original tracks and then I might not even be there for other things. I might not even meet some of the people who were playing on my album. That was a completely new concept for me. I don't think there's anything wrong with it, but then you start to realise that it's really the producer's album. It's really about the production.¹³⁴

For a jazz artist used to a certain degree of control, Henson-Conant found the idea of not personally supervising all aspects of the production of her music to be unconventional. In hindsight, Henson-Conant understands her relationship with GRP and acknowledges that these records represent the nature of her collaboration with the company: 'the whole body of work, the whole label, had a concept to it. It's one, long, creative collaboration with Dave Grusin. In a sense, without even having much contact with him, I was collaborating with him. My albums before and after GRP are completely different.'¹³⁵ This statement, contrasting her own body of work with her GRP releases, clearly demonstrates how Grusin and Rosen's sensibilities were ingrained in all of their output, even those projects in which they were only peripherally involved. Henson-Conant notes:

¹³² Geoff Mayfield, liner notes, *GRP 10th Anniversary*, p.20 (1992, GRPD-3-5008).

¹³³ *On the Rise* (1989, GRD-9578), *Caught in the Act* (1990, GRD-9600) and *Talking Hands* (1991, GRD-9636).

¹³⁴ Interview with Deborah Henson-Conant: August 16, 2006.

¹³⁵ Interview with Deborah Henson-Conant: August 16, 2006.

Whenever you have a label or a brand, it's very important that everything is predictable for the customers. It was a marriage of my sound and my ideas with their sound and their ideas. What was going to come out was going to be a kid that looks a little like both parents. If I had understood that, I think I would have had a little more fun. I was just scared because it was all so new to me and I had approached music very differently.¹³⁶

From Henson-Conant's insightful comments, it is clear that Grusin and Rosen did not act as a neutral filter in the production environment. As Vignolle (1980: 98) suggests, 'creating a popular music is at one and the same time, inventing a music and its public.' This can impact greatly upon an artist's impressions of how their music should sound and who their target market ought to be. Throughout jazz history, producers like Orrin Keepnews (Riverside), Alfred Lion (Blue Note), Creed Taylor (CTI) and Tommy LiPuma (Verve) have relied heavily on their instincts, aesthetic sensibilities and skill-sets to influence jazz productions. By engaging with routines common to popular music practice, Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen have continued and elaborated upon these trends. Jazz pianist and educator Billy Taylor recorded two albums for GRP in the early 1990s.¹³⁷ He recalls that he often conceded on matters that seemed in the best interest of the company: 'Larry would have ideas that I didn't necessarily agree with but he knew what he was doing. I'd go along with it. If it was right in keeping with the company and we all agreed, then it was a good direction for us to go in.'¹³⁸ In addition to creative considerations, Grusin and Rosen also represented the business interests of GRP. This is a difficult balance to achieve, but as Taylor suggests, artists are not simply compliant in their negotiations; decisions are made as a result of reaching a mutual consensus. This is as valid an approach to jazz as it is rock, hip-hop, or any other form of popular music. As

¹³⁶ Interview with Deborah Henson-Conant: August 16, 2006.

¹³⁷ *It's A Matter of Pride* (1993, GRD-9753), *Homage* (1994, GRD-9806).

¹³⁸ Interview with Billy Taylor: August 9, 2006.

producers, Grusin and Rosen decisively shaped the sound of their jazz records by mediating all aspects of production: selecting, orchestrating and arranging material; assembling specific personnel; negotiating and managing relationships and applying these formulae in various combinations. As Stanbridge (2004c: 4) has argued, even in jazz, ‘the myth of unmediated musical communication is exactly that – a myth.’

Conclusion

In Chapter One, I have demonstrated how Grusin and Rosen used their skills and experiences to galvanise a community of musicians, to negotiate with them and to shape the sounds they were making. Clearly, Grusin and Rosen were able to collaborate successfully because of their skills as musicians and entrepreneurs. Although producers are often freelance agents that work with artists in order to satisfy the needs of a record label, some producers are also label-owners and therefore establish the context in which collaboration takes place. Direction is not always acceptable to musicians and tensions can arise as each party negotiates to determine the extent of their power in the artist/producer relationship. The impact of the producer as a mediator has been largely neglected by jazz studies. This account attempts to provide a more inclusive account of jazz production by demonstrating some of the ways in which jazz producers shape sounds.

Jazz producers are more than just supervisors of long improvisations by empowered artists. Artists negotiate in order to collaborate; producers try to enhance productions while serving loyalties to employers and their own ideologies. As Jones (1995: 9) has

argued, it is not enough to 'treat records as self-evidently and solely the work of authors and as congruent with the intentions of composers'. Just as there is often a gulf between a screenwriter's words and the mass-marketed movie that a script can become, a musician's performance can be impacted by the choice of material, the musicians assembled, the creative environment and the engineering/production style. In the production of any cultural artefact, a hierarchy of intermediaries will contribute to the process. As such, scholars must 'ask a different order of questions from those asked by reviewers and consumers' (Jones, 1995: 9). It is imperative to examine the context in which art is produced and the intermediaries that contribute to and impact upon artistic production. In this chapter, I have demonstrated the ways in which the jazz producer can impact upon the sounds made by jazz musicians. In Chapter Two, I shall explore the role of the recording engineer as a user of technology.

Two

Recording Jazz: The Agency of the Sound Engineer as a User of Technology

Summary of argument

Chapter Two explores industrial mediation in jazz production through the use of recording technologies. Where Chapter One examined the ability of the producer to shape the sounds that jazz musicians make, this chapter explores the ability of the sound engineer as a user of technology to impact upon jazz recordings. The ways in which technologies are designed and used can determine how music is recorded, how it sounds and how it is delivered to the consumer. During the 1970s, sound engineers collaborated with designers of emerging digital recording technologies, establishing new recording paradigms and improving sound quality. I argue that through their use of technology, sound engineers have mediated jazz production, making a significant impact upon jazz artists and their recorded works. This area of study forms the second stage of my thesis, which demonstrates that intermediaries within the music and media industries impact significantly upon jazz production.

In order to present my argument, I first define the typical characteristics of the ‘sound engineer’ or ‘recording engineer’. These terms refer to technical personnel, usually based in the recording studio, who are responsible for the capture and manipulation of sound. To explore the relationship between designers of recording technologies and users, I make a tangential case study of Soundstream Inc., the company that introduced commercial digital audio recording technologies in the

United States in 1976.¹³⁹ Using primary interview research with Soundstream staff and engineers that interacted with them, I demonstrate how intermediaries have designed, used and modified digital recording technologies, impacting upon the recorded sound of classical, jazz and rock music. As jazz producers, Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen were enthusiasts of high fidelity sound and adopted various engineering methods in order to improve the quality of their jazz recordings. Drawing on the case study of Grusin/Rosen Productions (GRP), I examine how Grusin and Rosen's pursuit of high fidelity recording solutions led them to the Soundstream system, placing them among the first in the United States to record jazz digitally. With specific reference to Larry Rosen's work as an engineer, I examine how the recording of jazz has developed and how jazz production has been mediated through the use of technology. I call on a body of personal interviews conducted with the founders, engineers, producers, musicians and staff of GRP Records in order to demonstrate how recording engineers have contributed to the mediation of jazz production.

Chanan (1995), Morton (2000), Warner (2003) and Katz (2004) are among those who have explored the interrelationship between recording technologies and the users who interact with them. However, Pinch and Bijsterveld (2004: 636) have noted that 'whole areas of music technology and vast areas of listener experience remain completely uncharted.' Indeed, histories of recording technologies and the roles played by intermediaries such as studio personnel are 'only just beginning to emerge' (Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2004: 635). They describe this emerging

¹³⁹ Soundstream Inc. was a digital audio recording company founded in 1975 in Salt Lake City, Utah by Dr. Thomas G. Stockham, Jr. Stockham's two-channel prototype digital tape recorder, unveiled in 1976, was the first commercial digital recording system in the United States. See Easton (1976).

interdisciplinary area with the term ‘sound studies’ (Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2004: 635). Sound studies aim to conflate the wealth of ‘conceptually fragmented’ literature on the ‘history and philosophy of sound’ (Sterne, 2003: 4), in order to make more meaningful connections between how technology is produced and ultimately used.

Horning’s (2004) paper, *Engineering the Performance: Recording Engineers, Tacit Knowledge, and the Art of Controlling Sound*, examines the agency of recording engineers and their ability to control sound. Horning uses oral accounts to discover how ‘recordists’ obtained knowledge, how they practiced their craft and how they emerged as a powerful group (Horning, 2004: 704). Horning also discusses the use of tacit knowledge. This refers to the implicit choices made by engineers that impact upon the sound of recorded music. Horning uses the example of ‘microphoning’, the art of selecting appropriate microphones to record certain sounds, in order to illustrate this point. Pinch and Bijsterveld (2004: 635) have noted that ‘sound engineers can be as important in the production of “the sound” as are the musicians themselves.’ Horning (2004: 703) agrees: ‘regardless of the music we listen to, the media we use or the location we choose, what we hear has been tempered first and foremost by the technology used to record it and the technical and aesthetic decisions made in the studio.’ Moreover, as musician Deborah Henson-Conant confirmed in Chapter One, sounds are routinely ‘produced, controlled and manipulated independently from musicians’ (Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2004: 635).

Clearly, the recording engineer is an important contributor to the record making process.¹⁴⁰ Writers and scholars such as Kealy (1979), Negus (1992), Chanan (1995), MacDonald (1998), Toynbee (2000), Warner (2003) and Moorefield (2005) have observed the powerful agency of the engineer. However, in terms of recording jazz, these ‘brokers between technology and society’ (Horning, 2003: 707) have been marginalised. Accounts of jazz engineering have tended to form part of larger discussions (Burgess, 1997: 204; Jarrett, 2004: 319; Pond, 2005: 117) or are bound up in reviews and newspaper articles (Jones, 1990; Considine, 2002; Ballon, 2003; Southall, 2003; Phelan, 2005). Even works devoted directly to jazz-fusion, a form of jazz that shares an overt connection with technology, tend to focus on the contributions of artists (Nicholson, 1998; Coryell and Friedman, 2000) with little discussion of the technical personnel that mediate jazz production. In summary, studio intermediaries working in the jazz industry are not given consideration commensurate with their critical role in the recording process.

Developments in digital technology during the last 30 years have had arguably the most profound effect on music industry practice since the invention of the phonograph record. The introduction of commercial digital recording equipment during the 1970s determined new methodologies for the capture, editing, playback and storage of audio.¹⁴¹ Digital technology promised freedom from the limitations of analogue recording through its editing capabilities, its lack of tape noise, its ability to copy and store audio indefinitely with no loss of quality and its flat frequency

¹⁴⁰ For an overview of the role of the recording engineer during the 1970s, see Morris (1977).

¹⁴¹ See Blesser (1978). For a detailed account of *The Dawn of Commercial Digital Recording*, see Fine (2008). For a general overview, see Lipshitz (1998).

response to zero dB (zero decibels).¹⁴² The absence of analogue distortions such as ‘print-through’ and ‘flutter’ were also hugely advantageous.¹⁴³ However, for recording engineers, digital equipment necessitated a new set of working practices. For example, although the total dynamic range of digital recording is higher than that of analogue recording, the amount of ‘headroom’ available in digital systems needs to be carefully managed under a ceiling of zero dB in order to avoid digital distortion.¹⁴⁴ For recording engineers, this meant a recalibration of equipment and a re-learning of recording and mixing techniques optimised for the digital environment. There were also constraints dictated by the prototypical nature of digital equipment at this time; the earliest recorders had only two channels (stereo) and thus no ‘overdubbing’ was possible.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, in order to receive the benefits of the new technology, producers, engineers and musicians had to modify their working practices, abandoning the practice of overdubbing sounds on analogue tape (multi-track recording), and returning to a more traditional live recording situation. Engineers and musicians were therefore subject to the capabilities of emerging digital recording systems.

As users collaborate with technologies, modifying them, improving them and customising them for their needs, such constraints are quickly erased and new

¹⁴² The decibel is a unit of measurement often used for sound levels relative to a 0 dB reference point.

¹⁴³ ‘Print-through’ occurs when magnetic information imprints on multiple layers of an analogue tape as it is held on the spools of a sound carrier such as a cassette or reel-to-reel tape. ‘Flutter’ is a form of pitch variation that can affect both phonograph records and analogue tape recorders.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Headroom’ is the amount by which a signal can exceed a designated level before ‘clipping’ (distortion) occurs.

¹⁴⁵ ‘Overdubbing’ refers to the practice of layering additional parts onto a tape after an original performance has taken place. This might typically be a soloist or a vocalist adding their performance to a backing track.

methodologies are established.¹⁴⁶ As Durant notes, ‘music is never simply led by technological invention, as is suggested in crude forms of technological determinism’ (Durant, 1990: 180). Indeed, as Pinch and Trocco (2002) argue in their study of the *Invention and Impact of the Moog Synthesiser*, users often find unconventional ways to achieve their goals, blurring the boundaries of design and use. Technological developments can ‘lead to networks of reactions, responses and effects that cannot be predicted merely from the resources or design of the technology itself’ (Durant, 1990: 180). Recording engineers are therefore both mediated by technology and empowered as mediators. Using technologies in ways other than those prescribed by their designers can be viewed as a ‘co-construction’ or reciprocal relationship between those who have envisioned an ideal purpose for a product and those who find new solutions in the practical applications of music making. These practices denote a ‘new kind of digital musical *culture*, or interlocking set of conditions and relations in which the sounds of music are produced, circulate and are understood’ (Durant, 1990: 175, emphasis his).

Horning’s (2004) study explores the evolution of music recording from the acoustical era until ‘roughly the present’ (Horning, 2004: 704). However, her analysis ends prior to the introduction of commercial digital recording technologies in the United States. This period during the 1970s marked the beginning of a pivotal era in the history of sound recording, providing the recording engineer with an unprecedented opportunity to control sound. This period also coincided with the rise of so-called ‘contemporary jazz’ music, a genre of jazz with high-quality production

¹⁴⁶ For a comparative study in the area of home computing, see Lindsay (2003).

values aimed at 'upscale' consumers.¹⁴⁷ GRP's approach to high fidelity recording as a platform for contemporary jazz provides an opportunity to assess the impact of the recording engineer as a mediator of jazz production. I argue that through their reciprocal relationship with new technology, engineers play a vital role in the recording, sound and delivery of records; an ongoing negotiation between tacit knowledge, the pursuit of high fidelity and the limitations of emerging digital audio recording systems.

Characterising the recording engineer

The recording engineer is typically a technical expert that works primarily in the recording studio. This person represents 'the point where music and modern technology meet' (Kealy, 1979: 208) and is usually responsible for carrying out the technical duties of making a record. The recording engineer was professionalised in 1948 when a group of engineers interested in 'improving the sound of recordings' (Horning, 2004: 709) founded the Audio Engineering Society (AES). The engineer's role was to be 'unobtrusive'; to ensure that sounds were 'recorded without distortion' and 'in balance' (Kealy, 1979: 211). This seemingly formal position became the interface between the musician and a new range of technologies introduced after the Second World War. Magnetic tape, the 33-1/3 rpm long-play (LP) microgroove record and two/three track stereo recording tape machines had a huge effect on the quality of recorded music and studio practice. So-called 'microgroove' technology, introduced by Columbia and RCA, allowed for up to twenty minutes of music per

¹⁴⁷ George Benson's *Breezin* (1976) was a significant hit: 'This Masquerade' (twelve weeks on *Billboard's* adult contemporary chart, debut July 10, 1976) and 'Breezin' (thirteen weeks on *Billboard's* adult contemporary chart, debut September 23, 1976). See Whitburn (2002: 32).

side of a twelve-inch vinyl record, thereby paving the way for the modern album format. In 1958, the stereo LP was introduced. Stereophonic recording meant at least two or more microphones were used and mixed live to a pair of recording channels. The success of this practice relied largely on the engineer's microphone choice and placement to produce a 'realistic' spatial image of the music performed within its natural acoustic surroundings.¹⁴⁸ Stereo reproduction was quickly established as the 'high-fidelity standard' (Jones, 1992: 33).

The widespread use of analogue multi-track tape recorders in the 1960s repositioned the recording engineer in a more creative role. Instead of recording 'direct-to-disc', a process where a cutting lathe would inscribe a musical performance onto a disc as it was performed in real-time, the engineer had the luxury of tape editing prior to cutting the disc and was therefore frequently engaged in 'complex manipulations of the raw material provided by musicians' (Durant, 1990: 179). The growth of multi-track technology, from stereo through three, four, eight and sixteen-track tape gave the engineer an increased facility to place sound discretely on separate tracks.¹⁴⁹ As a result, the engineer could exercise more control in terms of balance, dynamics and arrangement and could significantly alter the original performance. Warner notes that the influence of the recording engineer in the record making process is 'inevitable' and 'far from negligible' (Warner, 2004: 112). Indeed, most technical decisions such

¹⁴⁸ 'Realism' in audio terms is a construct of high fidelity enthusiasts whose goal is to faithfully capture the concert hall experience through the art of sound recording and reproduction. This ideology is the foundation of audio magazines such as *The Absolute Sound*, whose name is a symbol of this pursuit.

¹⁴⁹ The first commercially released overdubbed recording made on multi-track magnetic tape was by guitarist Les Paul whose record 'Lover (When You're Near Me)' (1947) featured eight different electric guitar parts. In 1953, with the financial assistance of Bing Crosby, Les Paul commissioned Ampex to build the first eight-track reel-to-reel tape recorder. Ampex released the first commercial multi-track analogue recorders in 1955 with the title 'Sel-Sync' (Selective Synchronous Recording). Jones (1992: 40) notes: 'by 1967 the eight track recorder became the studio standard.'

as choice of microphone, microphone placement, editing, effects and recording platform rely heavily on the tacit knowledge of this individual. Through these decisions, the engineer demonstrates a considerable facility to mediate sound:

A sound mixer must know the characteristics of hundreds of microphones and a variety of acoustic environments, and how to employ them to best record a musical instrument; the capabilities and applications of a large array of sound-processing devices, such as echo chambers; the physical capacities of recording media...the operation of various recording machines; and, finally, how to balance or “mix” at a recording console...so as to produce a tape that contains a recognisable and effective musical experience (Kealy, 1979: 208).

This increase in responsibility brought the technician out of his/her historically formal role and ‘rendered the recording engineer also a member of the creative team’ (Horning, 2004: 715). By collaborating creatively, the recording engineer also developed skills as an interpersonal mediator. Personality and social skills have become a key part of how an engineer can support the creative environment of the studio and the productivity of artists.

Some recording engineers are highly regarded for a particular sound associated with their work. Through the exclusive use of certain types of equipment or their idiosyncratic manipulation of it, technical intermediaries can become popular with artists. In his autobiographical book *Make Mine Music* (2003), engineer Bruce Swedien describes his work on Michael Jackson’s albums, *Off The Wall* (1979), *Thriller* (1982), *Bad* (1987) and *Dangerous* (1991). Through the use of particular equipment (microphones, mixing boards and other less conventional items) and particular techniques (a stereophonic recording process he developed by using multiple tape machines locked in synchronisation), Swedien was able to secure an

integral role in the sound of Jackson's recordings. The increasingly collaborative nature of his role was highlighted when Swedien (2003: 215, 273) was credited as a composer on Jackson's song 'Jam' from the album *Dangerous* (1991). Prominent credits on album packaging and remuneration with 'points' (a percentage of royalties earned by the artist) underscore the engineer's artistic stake in the success of the work. In this way, the engineer is validated as an important contributor to the creative process and can therefore be understood as an important intermediary in the record making process.

As a result of the collaborative nature of this role, the work of the recording engineer can sometimes overlap with that of the producer and the artist. When characterising the engineer, Kealy (1979: 209) describes three typical modes: 'Craft-Union Mode', 'Entrepreneurial Mode' and 'Art Mode'. These modes outline the progression, discussed previously, in which the engineer's role transforms from a historically formal, technical job (in which 'nonmixers' such as musicians were often refused access to technology), to a more collaborative production position. Kealy (1979: 209) suggests that technologically empowered creative individuals will eventually assert themselves as both artist and engineer. As engineers collaborate with artists and experiment with new applications of recording technologies, new recording methodologies can result. Julien (1999) for example, has explored how studio intermediaries collaborated with musicians to help develop 'double tracking' techniques.¹⁵⁰ Barriers to access technology have now all but dissolved. Indeed, both

¹⁵⁰ 'Double tracking' is a form of overdubbing where one attempts to sing or play in unison with oneself in order to produce a thicker sound than can be achieved with a single voice or instrument. An automated approach, 'Automatic Double Tracking' (ADT) was developed in collaboration with The Beatles by engineers at Abbey Road Studios during the 1960s.

professionals and hobbyists now use advanced recording technologies in the home (Theberge 1997: 242). The combination of editing tools and effects available from inexpensive digital recording equipment has allowed artists to become their own engineers.

Kealy (1979: 217) suggests that the 'artist-mixer' type is more sympathetic to modern conventions of music than his/her traditional counterpart and is often a former musician. Producer Brendan O'Brien (Pearl Jam, Neil Young, Bruce Springsteen) is a notable example of the artist-mixer. O'Brien was formerly a musician in numerous marginal rock bands and has since achieved international success collaborating as a musician, producer and engineer on a broad range of recordings. Since the emergence of digital technology, artists have used drum machines, synthesisers, samplers and computers extensively in performance and recording. Indeed, audiences have become accustomed to artists interacting with technology: 'as electronic technology has become naturalized, audiences have become habituated to seeing pop performers as technicians, computer programmers, DJs or studio engineers' (Goodwin, 1988: 266).

By the late 1970s, Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen of Grusin/Rosen Productions (GRP) were operating as a producer/engineer partnership in the 'entrepreneurial mode', collaborating with a variety of artists and helping to shape the sounds that they were making. In order to appreciate Grusin and Rosen's mediation of jazz production through the use of technology, it is first necessary to explore the emergence of commercial digital recording technologies in the United States. The ways in which

sound engineers adopted, used and modified these technologies for the recording of classical, jazz and rock music, provides a clear context for the work of producer/engineer teams such as Grusin and Rosen.

Soundstream

Soundstream Inc. was a digital audio recording company founded by Dr. Thomas G. Stockham Jr. in Salt Lake City, Utah, during May 1975. Soundstream was the first commercial digital audio recording company in the United States providing on-location recording services and computer based digital audio editing.¹⁵¹ Stockham established Soundstream out of a desire to tackle what he perceived to be problems with analogue audio, particularly distortions such as background noise and the effects of recording horns in vintage records (Stockham, 1971a; 1982). Stockham earned his degree at MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) in 1959, becoming an Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering at the Institute and a researcher at the famed Lincoln Laboratory at MIT. He left in 1968 for the computer science department at the University of Utah. Stockham has been described as 'the father of digital sound' (Bauman, 1999; Scull, 1998). In 1963, Stockham helped fellow MIT scientist Amar Bose design the corner 2201 loudspeaker.¹⁵² He also advanced a now widely accepted computer model for human vision and developed 'blind deconvolution', a process which permitted the restoration of blurred photographs and the restoration of old acoustic recordings.¹⁵³ This was evidenced most notably by

¹⁵¹ See Easton (1976) and Levitin (1994c).

¹⁵² For a discussion with Stockham on this project, see Levitin (1994b).

¹⁵³ See Stockham (1971a) and Stockham, Cannon and Ingebretsen (1975).

RCA's Enrico Caruso series.¹⁵⁴ Stockham received an Emmy in 1988, the first technical Grammy award in 1994 and a scientific Academy Award (Oscar) in 1999 for his contribution to the development of digital audio. He was also one of the six-person panel to examine the famous eighteen-and-a-half minute gap in the 'Watergate' tapes created in the office of then President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon.¹⁵⁵

Digital Pulse-Code Modulation (PCM) is the digital representation of an analogue signal in a numeric (usually binary) code. It was invented at Bell Labs during the 1930s for sound transmission and recording in the telephony industry (Fine, 2008: 2; McGinn, 1983). In 1962, while still at MIT, Stockham had begun making digital audio tape recordings using a TX-0 computer and an 'analogue-to-digital' (A/D) converter (Levitin, 1994b). By 1969, engineers at the Technical Research Laboratory of Japan's NHK broadcast network had developed a fully operational two channel stereo recorder with a 32 kHz sampling rate and 13-bit resolution (Fine, 2008: 2).¹⁵⁶ In January 1971, Denon used the NHK recorder to produce the first digitally recorded commercial release; a jazz recording by Steve Marcus called *Something* (1971, Nippon Columbia, NCB-7003) (Fine, 2008: 3).¹⁵⁷ Marcus was a jazz saxophonist who recorded and toured with Stan Kenton, Herbie Mann and Buddy

¹⁵⁴ See Drake (1976), Penchansky (1977) and Gold (1985). The restoration process is documented in the liner notes of *Caruso – A Legendary Performer* (1976, RCA Records, RL11749). There is also a complete 12 CD set *The Complete Caruso* (1990, RCA Records, 82876-60396-2).

¹⁵⁵ Gilpin (2004) notes, 'early in 1974, Dr. Stockham and other panel members reported that the gap was caused by at least five separate erasures and re-recordings, not by a single accidental pressing of the wrong button on a tape recorder as the Nixon White House had suggested.'

¹⁵⁶ A sampling rate determines how frequently an analogue signal is measured per second during its digital conversion. In this case, a sampling rate of 32 kHz indicates 32,000 samples per second.

¹⁵⁷ Denon is a Japanese electronics company that specialises in manufacturing high fidelity audio equipment for professional and consumer markets. Denon was a brand name of Nippon Columbia, including the Nippon Columbia record label.

Rich. In 1972, Denon demonstrated the DN-023R, an eight-channel recorder operating at a sampling rate of 47.25 kHz and 13-bit resolution.¹⁵⁸ Fine (2008: 3) notes that the first LP made with the Denon recorder was *Mozart: String Quartet No. 17 in B flat minor, K. 458 'Hunt'* (1972, Nippon Columbia, NCC-8501) by the Smetana Quartet. Recorded April 24-26, 1972 at Aoyama Tower, Tokyo, the resulting album was released in October 1972. It therefore represents the first digitally recorded classical album. As I shall demonstrate, this close relationship between classical music, jazz music and early stage digital technology was a trend that would continue throughout the decade as companies such as Soundstream began to make commercial digital recording technologies available in the United States.

In 1975, Soundstream began work on its prototype digital audio recorder. Tom Stockham was the company's President and designed the architecture for the machine. Richard Warnock, also from the University of Utah, was Soundstream's Chief Electrical Engineer during this period; he designed the circuitry that would realise Stockham's architecture. Warnock hired Bruce Rothaar (a graduate student in Electrical Engineering) as a Junior Electrical Engineer. Several other students, mostly from the Computer Science department, were hired as technicians to wire and test the circuitry. Jules Bloomenthal was one such employee and the only one to stay with the company. Bloomenthal joined Soundstream in September 1975 as a technician, helping to build a computer interface that would allow direct, real-time transfer of digital audio data between a computer and a recorder. At this time, Robert B. Ingebretsen was also hired to take charge of the company's software. In 1976,

¹⁵⁸ Myers and Feinberg (1972) have addressed advances in digital recording during this period.

Richard Warnock left the company and Bruce Rothaar became Soundstream's Chief Electrical Engineer.

In 1976, Soundstream completed the first digital tape recorder (DTR) in the United States, a two-track, 16-bit machine with a sample rate of 37.5 kHz.¹⁵⁹ It consisted of a commercially available instrumentation tape drive made by Honeywell and a custom chassis of electronics including A-D/D-A (analogue-to-digital and digital-to-analogue) converters and tape encoding and decoding electronics. A parallel 'Unibus' interface, also designed by Soundstream, would transfer data between the DTR and a Digital Equipment Corporation PDP-11/60 computer that was used for editing. Digital audio was stored for editing on two 'RP04' disk pack drives connected to the 11/60, which were also manufactured by Digital Equipment Corporation of Massachusetts.¹⁶⁰ The 11/60 ran a software program called 'DAP' (Digital Audio Processor) written by Soundstream to perform 'random access' digital audio editing; typical commands would include splices and cross-fades.¹⁶¹ A Tektronix storage scope (a digital calligraphic line-drawing terminal) provided the waveform display. Commands were entered using a text terminal that had been carefully chosen for its hermetically sealed flyback transformer, which made it absolutely silent.¹⁶² As such, this system can be described as the earliest example of a

¹⁵⁹ A criterion for the two-track system was outlined in Warnock (1976).

¹⁶⁰ The RP04 drives were large and delicate and used only for editing audio at the Soundstream facility in Utah. They had a capacity of 28 megabytes each, which allowed for approximately twelve minutes of audio. However, the instrumentation tape (made by Ampex) held 30 minutes of digital audio. The Honeywell instrumentation tape drive itself was designed to meet military rigour and was consequently very reliable when used for location recording.

¹⁶¹ A 'cross-fade' allows two separate regions of digital audio to be joined seamlessly with no audible edit point. Soundstream carried out the first digital cross-fades on a commercial release on the soundtrack album *Kings Row* (1979, Chalfont, SDG-305). See Ingebretsen (1977; 1982).

¹⁶² A flyback transformer is a type of transformer used in the power supply of a cathode ray tube (CRT display).

Digital Audio Workstation (DAW).¹⁶³ Fine (2008: 4-5) notes, 'Stockham's editing system...was a direct precursor of the modern digital audio workstation and computer based recording and editing.'¹⁶⁴

The first exposure of Soundstream equipment to a commercial recording session was during August 1976. The Soundstream two-channel prototype was shipped to Santa Fe, New Mexico, to record its light opera company in a performance of Virgil Thomson/Gertrude Stein's *The Mother of Us All*. According to Best (1978: 13), the digital recording was intended as a backup to the analogue recording. There was, however, some interest expressed by the label, New World Records, in comparing the two results.¹⁶⁵ Soundstream employees were typically comprised of computer scientists, like Bloomenthal, who had helped to design and build the DTR. During commercial recording sessions, Soundstream technicians were usually responsible for ensuring the smooth operation of the digital recorder and did not 'engineer' recordings in the sense that they would choose microphones, decide on their placement or interact with musicians. Rather, Soundstream staff would collaborate with recording engineers and producers in the service of capturing the musical performance.

¹⁶³ This term typically refers to a computer based audio recording and editing software packages. An example of a modern DAW is Pro Tools from Digidesign, a digital recording and editing system that has become an industry standard in recording studios worldwide.

¹⁶⁴ For an overview of its features, see Keene (1982).

¹⁶⁵ The album was released initially from the analogue tapes but subsequently from the digital masters. The other commercially released recording that used the 1976 two-track prototype was Karen Gibbs's *Window Panes* (1977, Romar Productions, RPS-107701). This record was produced by Soundstream's Robert Ingebretsen, recorded conventionally but mastered digitally. Because of the limited frequency response of the two-track recorder, it is not considered a high fidelity recording by Soundstream staff.

By 1976, analogue recording had become a sophisticated multi-track medium. With Soundstream's prototype digital recorder capable of recording only two tracks at a time, it was ironic that advances in digital technology would enforce a brief return to stereophonic ensemble recording. As a result, digital recording was immediately popular with classical music companies that wanted to achieve ultra high quality stereophonic reproduction of the concert hall environment. A discography (Soundstream, 1982) published as part of the company's promotional materials confirms that Soundstream's earliest clients were classical labels such as Telarc, Varese Sarabande, Delos and Chalfont. According to Jules Bloomenthal, during the late 1970s, approximately 50% of all classical music that was recorded digitally used Soundstream equipment.¹⁶⁶ This claim is supported by Ranada's (1980) article, *A Dozen Digital Demo Discs*, in which he recommends twelve of the finest digitally recorded LPs on the market; ten of the selections were recorded on Soundstream equipment.¹⁶⁷

The Soundstream system was inherently compatible with the recording of classical music for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was portable and reliable on location at concert halls around the world. Secondly, Soundstream's analogue circuitry was transformerless, permitting a low noise floor and wide dynamic range, ideal for both delicate musical passages and thunderous crescendos.¹⁶⁸ Because digital audio is transferred to tape as binary data, the audio is not subject to the conventional

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Jules Bloomenthal: July 20, 2007.

¹⁶⁷ This conclusion is achieved by cross-referencing the Ranada article with the Soundstream discography.

¹⁶⁸ The signal-to-noise ratio exceeded 90 dB with total harmonic distortion as low as -92 dB. The frequency response of the Soundstream DTR was flat from 0 Hz to 22 kHz and editing could be performed at sample accuracy.

distortions induced by analogue tape recording such as hiss, print-through, and generational loss. Likewise, distortions introduced by the limitations of analogue playback formats, such as ‘wow’ and ‘flutter’, were un-measurable in the digital domain.¹⁶⁹ Thirdly, an orchestral ensemble is balanced or ‘mixed’ by the conductor using the dynamics of the live performance, the acoustics of the auditorium and by the recording engineer who positions microphones. Consequently, a pair of stereo tracks is usually all that is required to achieve the ideal reproduction. Some jazz ensembles are also effective in this regard. However, with rock music, for example, multiple tracks of guitars, keyboards, drums and microphones often need to be balanced in post-production to achieve the desired results.

Digital recordings made before the advent of the compact disc were released, somewhat paradoxically, as vinyl LPs. As Jones (1992: 43) notes, such LPs were subject to ‘pops, clicks and wear and tear of conventional records. With its absence of noise and wide dynamic range, digital audio more closely fulfilled both the hi-fi enthusiasts’ and the engineers’ goal of realism.’¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, despite positive responses from audio experts and record producers, Soundstream’s 1976 prototype recorder was ultimately regarded as sonically deficient.¹⁷¹ Its sampling rate of 37.5 kHz implied a maximum audio frequency of 18.75 kHz (in practice, this was closer to 17.5 kHz). Stockham had calculated that this was high enough for most music, but was informed by Jack Renner and Robert Woods of the classical recording company,

¹⁶⁹ ‘Wow’ is a relatively slow form of flutter (pitch variation) that can affect both phonograph records and tape recorders.

¹⁷⁰ People who enjoy high fidelity sound reproduction, usually through the purchase of expensive ‘high-end’ home audio electronics, are referred to as ‘audiophiles’.

¹⁷¹ Interview with Jules Bloomenthal: July 20, 2007.

Telarc, that it was not sufficient to capture the complete frequency range of the human ear necessary to achieve 'audiophile' quality recordings.¹⁷²

Recognised for their attention to engineering and audio quality, Renner and Woods recorded extensively with Soundstream in the late 1970s.¹⁷³ Renner made the following entry in a Telarc newsletter: 'October 1977: We meet with Thomas Stockham and hear a demo of his digital recorder. While very impressive sounding, the cut-off in frequency response above 17.5 kHz bothers us. Dr. Stockham agrees to extend the upper limit beyond 21 kHz if we will agree to do a major project' (Renner, 1992b). Ultimately, Soundstream had to modify the technical specifications of its recorder and offer a sampling rate 12.5 kHz higher than the original estimate before Telarc would accept that the recordings had the 'air' they were missing.¹⁷⁴ As a prominent recording engineer, Renner's request was a powerful incentive for the company and helped to initiate an upgrade of the Soundstream machine. As designers of digital technology, Soundstream collaborated with engineers like Renner in order to better understand the specific requirements of the recording engineer. Although the engineer is initially mediated by the constraints of the original design, as a user of technology, he/she can wield considerable power to improve sound quality or other important features.

¹⁷² The human ear can typically hear from 20-20,000 Hz. Telarc International Corporation is a Cleveland, Ohio based record label founded in 1977 by two classically trained musicians and former teachers, Jack Renner and Robert Woods. Although known primarily as a classical label, Telarc has released music in other styles including jazz, blues and country.

¹⁷³ See Levitin (1993a; 1993b).

¹⁷⁴ See Scull (1998). 'Air' is usually defined in the audio profession as clarity and dimension in the upper registers of a recording.

As a two-channel stereo recorder, the Soundstream prototype could not accommodate balance adjustment of multiple individual parts of a performance after recording had taken place. Although this situation was acceptable for many of Soundstream's early clients, who were recording classical music, the recorder remained largely incompatible with the recording practices of rock and pop musicians who were accustomed to the extensive overdubbing facilities offered by analogue multi-track tape systems. In August 1977, Soundstream built a four-track recorder that would sample at 42.5 kHz.¹⁷⁵ The sound quality of the four-track machine was a significant advance over the two-track model. It was also now possible to record two tracks in addition to the standard stereo, thus enabling some mixing to occur. The first sessions with the four-track model were with organist Virgil Fox playing the 116-rank Ruffati organ in Garden Grove Community Church, California, August 28-31, 1977. The Soundstream recording was intended as a backup precaution for the primary recording method, which was direct-to-disc. The resulting records, *The Fox Touch: Volume One* (1977, Crystal Clear Records, CCS7001) and *The Fox Touch: Volume Two* (1977, Crystal Clear Records, CCS7002) were pressed from the direct-to-disc lacquer. The Soundstream digital masters were not released until 1981; long after the direct-to-disc masters were no longer useable. They were issued in two volumes as *The Digital Fox*, (1981, Ultragroove, UG-9001 and UG-9002). As a result, these sessions are not regarded as

¹⁷⁵ Where both Soundstream and 3M used fixed head tape recording, Japanese competitors such as JVC and Sony developed machines that sampled at 44.1 kHz, using video recorders to store digital audio. Sony's PCM 1600, for example, used a U-Matic video recorder. Later models such as the Sony 1610 and 1630 became the standard for compact disc mastering. The 44.1 kHz sampling rate was chosen as the standard in order to be compatible with video frame rates; see Doi (1978) and Lipshitz (1998: 38). It is also more than double the maximum audible range of human hearing (20 kHz), in accordance with Nyquist-Shannon sampling theorem.

the first all-digital commercial recordings released in the United States.¹⁷⁶ As Fine (2008: 3) has noted, the first digital recording for commercial release made in the United States was, in fact, a jazz recording. In November 1977, a series of jazz sessions engineered by Jim McCurdy took place at New York City's 'Sound Ideas' recording studio. The sessions resulted in the first digitally recorded jazz album, saxophonist Archie Shepp's *On Green Dolphin Street* (1977, Nippon Columbia, YX-7524), recorded November 28, 1977 and released in May 1978.

From this evidence, two things are clear. Firstly, that jazz engineers were also engaged in capturing high quality digital recordings of jazz music. Secondly, that recording engineers and producers were continuing to use digital technology as a 'backup' recording option to their better-established solutions. In addition to sample-accurate editing and high-resolution sound quality, the Soundstream recorder proved to be extremely reliable. For example, each of the four audio channels of the DTR were fully, independently error-correctable against digital 'drop-outs'.¹⁷⁷ The four-channel DTR used eight tape tracks, two for each audio channel, each reading redundant data. If a drop-out occurred on one track, the DTR switched to the other track. Since drop-outs don't distribute themselves vertically on tape, this method proved to be completely reliable. According to Bloomenthal, they would typically measure 'between one and three recoverable drop-outs per thirty minutes of recording.'¹⁷⁸ With the exception of a loss of 31 samples on an early recording for

¹⁷⁶ They can, however, be considered the first 'audiophile' recordings made in the United States i.e. they established the 'gold standard' whereby there was arguably no discernable difference for the human ear between the input and output of the recorder.

¹⁷⁷ A 'drop-out' is a gap in the audio information usually generated by a failure to read binary characters from tape.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Jules Bloomenthal: July 20, 2007.

the Delos label, Bloomenthal confirms that their redundant data on tape never failed to completely recover from an error.¹⁷⁹ It is a testament to the integrity of the machine's design that Bloomenthal is able to recall the precise number of samples that were lost and eventually spliced out digitally. It is my opinion that the reliability of the Soundstream DTR eventually helped speed the uptake of digital technology as a primary recording medium.

On April 4-5, 1978, Soundstream made the first 'audiophile' commercial digital recording of an orchestra in the United States when they recorded the Cleveland Symphonic Winds at Severance Hall for the Telarc label.¹⁸⁰ At this point, the Soundstream DTR was sampling audio at a rate of 50 kHz. Eddy (2005) notes that *World Book Encyclopedia's* yearbook for 1978 described the recording as 'the bass drum heard 'round the world' due to the dynamic bass drum sounds captured in Holst's suites. Telarc became one of the largest producers of classical recordings in the United States and one of the first such labels to work entirely in the digital domain after the arrival of compact discs. Through a process of collaboration and modification, Soundstream and Telarc had contributed to the widespread acceptance of classical music in the digital format.¹⁸¹ Like jazz, classical music is positioned primarily as art music and has been rationalised according to the formalities of the

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Jules Bloomenthal: July 20, 2007.

¹⁸⁰ Frederick Fennell/ Cleveland Symphonic Winds, *Holst: Suite Nos. 1 and 2 / Handel: Music for Royal Fireworks/ Sousa: Stars: Marches, Fanfares and Others* (1978, Telarc, 5038). This recording was previously converted to the standard 44.1 kHz for release on compact disc. It has now been re-mastered to Super Audio CD (Telarc, SACD-60639) from the original 50 kHz Soundstream session and is available at its original fidelity.

¹⁸¹ Soundstream collaborated with Telarc for several years, setting the gold standard for symphonic recordings; the earliest of these are described in Renner (1992a). See also, Levitin (1991; 1993a; 1993b).

European tradition with little reference to industrial mediation.¹⁸² There is therefore a parallel between jazz and classical music in terms of how the impact of industrial mediation has been neglected by histories of art music.

Despite favourable magazine articles (Easton, 1976; PENCHANSKY, 1977) and a selection of presentations/papers by Soundstream staff for the *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society* and its annual conference (Ingebretsen, 1977; Stockham, 1977), Soundstream did not appear to actively promote the sale of its recording equipment to the audio industry but instead focused on providing a recording service. Jules Bloomenthal describes why selling the equipment was rejected by the company:

It became clear shortly after developing our four-channel machine that recording companies would not buy it, mostly because of its price. Our raw parts were between \$40,000 and \$45,000. Plus, record companies were concerned they wouldn't be able to maintain the machines. So, we quickly decided to become a service company, renting our machines (always operated by us), doing editing and mastering. (Jules Bloomenthal, engineer, Soundstream, September 13, 2007. Personal communication.)

Bloomenthal notes that a total of eighteen recorders were built, eight to ten of which remained in use as part of the company's recording, editing and mastering services.¹⁸³ The remaining machines were sold to Telarc, Delos, RCA, Paramount Pictures and the Department of Justice, for use by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), who had a need for reliable high quality, low-speed location recording. Bloomenthal was also able to produce a receipt from October 1981 that detailed the sale of a Soundstream recording system to the New York Institute of

¹⁸² See, for example, Dubal (2001).

¹⁸³ Jules Bloomenthal, engineer, Soundstream, July 19, 2007. Personal communication.

Technology for \$65,000.¹⁸⁴ Given the expense of building the machines, a handful of sales would not be enough to sustain the business.

In reality, Soundstream's clients preferred a different way of working, one that required the presence of Soundstream technicians as mediators between engineers, producers, artists, labels and the digital technology. Soundstream began to focus on providing digital recording, editing and mastering services, sending its operators and equipment to concert halls and recording studios worldwide. Soundstream engineer Bruce Rothaar describes the ways in which Soundstream adapted to the role of mobile record engineering: 'we built a small fleet of recorders and charged something like \$15,000 to bring the equipment to a studio, set it up, do the recording, editing and mastering.'¹⁸⁵ Rich Feldman acted primarily as Soundstream's representative based in Los Angeles, travelling with the equipment and operating it during recording sessions. He notes that the company became very busy once they established this mode of operation: 'the amount of records that I did in the amount of time I worked there is staggering. I went to London, Mexico and worked with just about every major orchestra in the United States. I worked with Delos, Chalfont, Telarc and a bunch of other labels.'¹⁸⁶ Feldman notes that the routine for Soundstream's mobile operators was as follows: 'Soundstream would rent a station wagon; I'd pick the equipment up at the airport and take it to the session, do the session and ship the equipment back. I would travel wherever they needed me to travel.'¹⁸⁷ Although Soundstream's equipment was reliable and portable, it was the

¹⁸⁴ Jules Bloomenthal, engineer, Soundstream, July 19, 2007. Personal communication.

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Bruce Rothaar: March 16, 2004.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Rich Feldman: July 4, 2007.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Rich Feldman: July 4, 2007.

collaboration between Soundstream and recording engineers, record producers and artists that ultimately made its services valuable to the music industry.

Another notable aspect of Soundstream's work concerns the editing process. Jules Bloomenthal notes: 'in the early days, the producer would almost always come out to Salt Lake and he or she would sit next to one of us with the score.'¹⁸⁸ Tom MacCluskey joined Soundstream as a digital editor in September 1981. He notes: 'in the earliest years, producers would fly to Salt Lake and sit with people like Jules and Bruce Rothaar, who were computer engineers, not musicians, and tell them to "start here" and "backup a little there."¹⁸⁹ Bloomenthal hired editors Sydney Davis and James Wolvington in 1978 and 1979 respectively. In addition to their aptitude for the Soundstream editing software, these individuals possessed musical skills that benefited Soundstream's relationships with recording engineers, musicians and producers. Bloomenthal relates: 'Sydney Davis and James Wolvington could read music, had good ears, were technically inclined and could operate our equipment very well. It got to the point where the producer would simply send a marked up score and say "use this take up to here and then use this other take."¹⁹⁰ Sydney Davis concurs that editors with musical knowledge became the preferred choice for the company: 'I made sure that everybody we hired for editing after that could read scores. It kind of changed everything with the classical people because we could then just ship them a reference tape and it would save a bit of money.'¹⁹¹ Tom MacCluskey relates that as relationships developed between record companies and

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Jules Bloomenthal: July 20, 2007.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Tom MacCluskey: March 26, 2004.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Jules Bloomenthal: July 20, 2007.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Sydney Davis: February 29, 2004.

the Soundstream editors, they were given more freedom to impact upon the recordings they worked on: ‘as time went on, I had worked with enough producers who were so busy with their projects that they had me choosing takes for them as well.’¹⁹² The agency of the editor became another contributing factor in the mediation of early digital recordings by engineers empowered with new technologies.

In 1978, a digital multi-track machine manufactured by 3M entered the marketplace.¹⁹³ Like Soundstream’s DTR, 3M’s recorder was a 16-bit recorder which sampled at 50 kHz. Data was stored on one-inch digital tape running at 45 inches-per-second (ips). 3M delivered a two-track (stereo) prototype of its digital recording system to producer/engineer Tom Jung at Sound 80 studios, also based in Minnesota.¹⁹⁴ Fine (2008: 9) notes that in June 1978, the recorder was used to capture the first Grammy award-winning digital recording, *Copland: Appalachian Spring / Ives: Three Places in New England* (1978, S80, DLR-101), featuring conductor Dennis Russell Davies and the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra.¹⁹⁵ Engineer Tom Jung also used the machine for a live to two-track digital recording of contemporary jazz group Flim and the BB’s. The self-titled result, *Flim And The BB’s* (1978, S80, DLR 102), represents another early example of the compatibility of the live jazz ensemble with stereo digital recording. During the same period, Soundstream also recorded a jazz session for the Orinda label featuring Diahann

¹⁹² Interview with Tom MacCluskey: March 26, 2004.

¹⁹³ 3M is a multi-national American corporation based in Minnesota that manufactures products for a variety of industries including electrical materials, electronic circuits and optical films.

¹⁹⁴ Sound 80 was a recording studio in Minneapolis founded by Tom Jung and Herb Pilhofer in 1969. See Lander (2004). It was described as the ‘oldest digital recording studio in the world’ in the 2006 edition of *Guinness World Records* (2006: 156).

¹⁹⁵ The Grammy award was given for ‘Best Chamber Music Album’ in 1979.

Carroll and the Duke Ellington Orchestra, *A Tribute to Ethel Waters* (1978, Orinda, OR4000).

With the success of the prototype, 3M went on to develop a 32-track model.

According to Jones (1992: 43): ‘the deck was a 32-track system using tape, with a cost of \$150,000.’ With its extensive multi-track facilities, the 3M machine targeted the needs of the rock and pop industries and was quickly adopted by mainstream artists that possessed the necessary financial resources and a desire to experiment with digital multi-tracking in the recording studio. Notable examples include guitarist Ry Cooder, who made the first all-digital pop record with *Bop Till You Drop* (1979, Warner Bros., 7599-27398-2). Cooder’s album was recorded on the 3M 32-track digital recorder at Amigo studios in North Hollywood, California. Also, Donald Fagen of Steely Dan recorded *The Nightfly* (1982, Warner Bros., 7599-23696-2) with this system.¹⁹⁶

With major label support for 3M’s technology, Soundstream was aware that the company represented significant competition. Bloomenthal confirms that Soundstream was limited to the four-track recorder because ‘anything greater would’ve been prohibitively expensive to build’.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, some rock musicians did experiment with Soundstream equipment. In the late 1970s, Fleetwood Mac became one of the first rock bands to use the Soundstream recorder on *Tusk* (1979) and *Fleetwood Mac Live* (1980). However, as Soundstream engineer Bruce Rothaar notes, this was not a recording process as such, but a digital mastering

¹⁹⁶ The 3M machine did not use computer editing. Indeed, the machine was designed to accommodate physical splicing of digital tape.

¹⁹⁷ Jules Bloomenthal, engineer, Soundstream, July 19, 2007. Personal communication.

process, transferring finished stereo mixes from an analogue multi-track.¹⁹⁸ Rothaar edited the recordings with the band and discovered that rock musicians did not necessarily appreciate that the digital editing had to take place in Utah: 'Fleetwood Mac flew to Salt Lake City for the editing session. There was pressure to get the editing completed by four a.m. so they could be in their Lear Jet, over the Grand Canyon, on drugs, at dawn.'¹⁹⁹ When asked about the sessions, Fleetwood Mac's recording engineer Ken Caillat responded: 'it worked great, except that we had to fly in to Utah to edit.'²⁰⁰ Rich Feldman concurs that this was not a practical solution for high profile rock clients, noting 'for them it was a pain.'²⁰¹ Feldman also notes that the editing facilities offered by the Soundstream system did not appear to be a necessity for rock and pop musicians: 'I gave demos to a bunch of different bands. Nobody bit. They really didn't need the Soundstream sample-precise digital editing on computer. The only people that needed that were the classical people because they wanted to create "perfect" performances.'²⁰² Referring to the traditional process of editing audio by physically cutting tape and rejoining it together, Feldman points out: 'all they were getting really was a digital razor blade.'²⁰³ Here, Feldman draws out debates around the impact of technology on the aesthetics of recorded music and the reluctance of some engineers and musicians to adopt new recording platforms. Bloomenthal recalls that Soundstream staff were dismayed that not everyone wanted ultra high quality recordings and that some people preferred analogue audio with all of its 'imperfections':

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Bruce Rothaar, March 16, 2004.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Bruce Rothaar: March 16, 2004.

²⁰⁰ Ken Caillat, engineer, June 21, 2007. Personal communication.

²⁰¹ Interview with Rich Feldman: July 4, 2007.

²⁰² Interview with Rich Feldman: July 4, 2007.

²⁰³ Interview with Rich Feldman: July 4, 2007.

It seemed to satisfy every audio engineer we worked with, except those that, for reasons we considered quite irrational, categorically rejected the notion of digital audio. These engineers felt that a digital representation of sound would be inherently unmusical. The Rolling Stones, so we were told, decided against use of digital in the early '80s, because they felt the grittiness of analogue recording was part of their sound.²⁰⁴

While the advantages of digital recording were clear for those seeking to achieve the highest fidelity possible, Soundstream had not predicted the needs of users who might wish to preserve their analogue sound for aesthetic reasons. Indeed, it was not only musicians who demonstrated this preference but also recording engineers (Sax and Archibald, 1983). Some engineers, artists and producers simply preferred the sound of tape and the tactile aesthetics of analogue recording. Nevertheless, Soundstream remained popular with classical music labels. Bloomenthal believes that the quality of Stockham's original design was the key to their success: 'it was more portable than the 3M multi-track, very reliable, had superior editing, superior error-correction and superior quality control.'²⁰⁵ Although Bloomenthal could be accused of bias in this regard, Jung's comments in Lander (2004) support Bloomenthal's assertions that the 3M machine was a less robust design: 'nothing was soldered. Herbie (3M) was a machine with a mind of its own. You just hoped that if you recorded a good tape it would play back without glitches, but sometimes it didn't. Oftentimes it would just make a horrible noise in the middle of a playback, so you'd have to start over' (Jung 2004 cited in Lander, 2004).²⁰⁶

Between 1975-1980, Soundstream created an archive of almost 200 digital masters.

This indicates that Soundstream was ultimately successful in mediating record

²⁰⁴ Interview with Jules Bloomenthal: September 14, 2002.

²⁰⁵ Jules Bloomenthal, engineer, Soundstream, September 13, 2007. Personal communication.

²⁰⁶ The 3M prototype was nicknamed 'Herbie' after Sound 80's co-founder, Herb Pilhofer.

production and in convincing recording engineers, artists, record producers and record labels that digital recording could accomplish their goals. As Bloomenthal has suggested, this was largely a result of Dr. Stockham's credentials and his focus on audio quality issues (Stockham, 1982; 1987). In 1980, Soundstream merged with Digital Recording Corporation (DRC) and became DRC/Soundstream. Together they developed a consumer digital player that used an optical card to store music.²⁰⁷ Sydney Davis notes "we merged in 1981 with Digital Recording Corporation. They owned a business card style memory that would playback the 1812 Overture at 50 kHz."²⁰⁸ Soundstream also opened an editing facility at Paramount Pictures in Hollywood and one at Bertelsmann in Germany. However, this work was abandoned when the compact disc, developed by Sony and Phillips, became the mass-market consumer choice (Fine, 2008: 1-2). Sydney Davis recalls: 'we couldn't compete against Sony. We lost the high end of all that stuff because they brought it down to 44.1 kHz. That was my first experience of what I would consider a technical tragedy.'²⁰⁹ Soundstream ceased to operate in 1983.

This tangential case study of Soundstream provides a clear example of how the design and use of technology can impact directly upon how music is recorded, how it sounds and how it is delivered to the consumer. Engineers, producers and musicians seeking high fidelity recordings collaborated with designers of digital technologies, offering suggestions to improve the suitability of the equipment for practical purposes. These recording engineers became fluent in new methodologies for editing, equalisation, processing effects and audio storage, obtaining a new 'literacy'

²⁰⁷ See Stockham (1977), Miklosz (1981) and Hansen (1983).

²⁰⁸ Interview with Sydney Davis: February 29, 2004.

²⁰⁹ Interview with Sydney Davis: February 29, 2004.

in record production. Just as the constraints of direct-to-disc recording serve as a powerful example of how technology can mediate the user, Telarc's landmark classical recordings clearly demonstrate the agency of the sound engineer to modify and upgrade technology for his/her needs. Morris (1977: 872) proposes that 'the evolution of new equipment and techniques is a process of contiguous circles.' This examination of Soundstream demonstrates that the agency of recording engineers did not diminish during the last major audio revolution. This is an ongoing pattern that can be represented by three stages: technology mediates the user; technology adapts in collaboration with demands of users; technology is ultimately outmoded as users are empowered. I shall now apply these findings to the primary case study by examining the recording practices undertaken by Grusin/Rosen Productions.

Recording jazz

In this section, I examine the ways in which the sound engineer can impact upon jazz production through the use of technology. I accomplish this through the case study of Grusin/Rosen Productions (GRP), specifically Larry Rosen's work as a recording engineer. Because of their desire to record jazz at the highest possible quality, Grusin and Rosen experimented with a number of technologies in the recording studio. Through their application of these technologies to jazz-fusion music, jazz artists were mediated by the constraints and benefits of the technology. By analysing these actions, I demonstrate the agency of the jazz recording engineer as a user of technology and provide further evidence of the impact of industrial mediation in jazz production.

Jazz has traditionally been understood as an improvisational art form that flourished on the stages of urban nightspots.²¹⁰ As such, the recording of jazz creates problems for scholars who have questioned the paradoxical notion of ‘preserving spontaneity’ (Stanbridge, 2004c: 1). As Stanbridge (2004c: 1) suggests, the ‘very concept of recording would appear to be antithetical.’ Jarrett’s (2004) account of jazz record production and improvisation also addresses this problem, noting that this contradiction is likely a result of how jazz has been positioned by jazz historiography:

Jazz histories, as attempts to bring improvisation into written language, very often rely on a curious and contradictory stance toward recordings. They require recordings; records are a readily available trace of jazz practices, including improvisation. And, simultaneously, they disavow them; records are a technology that unsettles concepts, such as improvisation, essential to historicizing jazz (Jarrett, 2004: 321-322).

Recording technologies are integral to our knowledge and understanding of jazz. As Stanbridge (2004c: 1) points out, ‘jazz history is, to a very large extent, the history of jazz recordings.’ Michael Cuscuna (2005: 63), a jazz producer who has managed re-issues for jazz labels such as Blue Note Records, agrees: ‘documenting sound is essential to jazz. Without it, jazz history would exist only as scraps of evidence and hearsay.’²¹¹ Clearly, the ways in which jazz is recorded impacts greatly on how jazz is understood. It is therefore essential to take account of the collaborative context in which intermediaries, such as recording engineers, contribute to how jazz is captured as a tangible product. Of course, this is not to suggest that live jazz performance takes place outside of these industrial contexts; the booking of venues, the sale of tickets, the promotion and presentation of a concert and the selection of repertoire or

²¹⁰ See Gridley (1988: 4) and DeVaux (1997: 11).

²¹¹ Blue Note Records is a jazz record label established in 1939. It is currently owned by EMI.

'set lists' are driven by consideration of who is listening and under what circumstances. All of these are mediated frameworks that can impact upon jazz creativity.

Prior to the 1960s, jazz recording typically documented live performance.

Recordings were often made in live ensemble recording situations because this approach was cost effective relative to the jazz market and because jazz musicians were well rehearsed in this configuration. Creatively, live performance also helped convey the 'implicit risk' of a performer's improvisation as effectively as on the live stage (Pond, 2005: 121). Jarrett argues that early jazz producers worked hard to make records that would 'give every impression of having escaped the clutches of production' (Jarrett, 2004: 323). Because of this lack of transparency, the agency of the jazz engineer was less obvious than that of the rock or pop engineer, whose use of technology was usually more overt. Jarrett (2004: 323) gives the example of the relationship between The Beatles and George Martin to demonstrate this point.²¹²

This changed in the late 1960s, however, with the advent of multi-track technology. Horning (2004: 704) uses the term 'engineered performances' to describe how engineers during this period began to use the multi-track facilities of the recording studio to artificially create the sound field for the listener, constructing 'musical events that existed first as recordings, only later to be recreated by mimicking the record in concert' (Horning, 2004: 704). This led to a reversal of the traditional paradigms of jazz recording, utilising approaches more readily associated with popular music production. As Nicholson notes: 'in pop and rock it is the recorded

²¹² For discussion on the practices of The Beatles in the recording studio, see Martin (1979), MacDonald (1998), Emerick and Massey (2006) and Kehew and Ryan (2006).

performance of the song that assumes an autonomous character, not the song in itself' (Nicholson, 2002: 219).

For jazz musicians, multi-track recording, overdubbing and editing reduced the emphasis on improvisation, transforming the site of jazz innovation from the nightclub to the recording studio. Pond (1997: 4) has suggested that technological developments meant that jazz no longer had to be a 'real-time musical event'. Nicholson (2002: 224) too notes, 'the notion that a recording should sound like a "captured" live performance had given way to elaborate production techniques in the studio.' Nevertheless, Pond (1997: 8) points out that the practice of overdubbing received harsh criticism from purists who claimed that the facility to 'fix' a performance subverted the need for improvisational skill on the part of the jazz musician and would inhibit creativity. He contests this argument by noting that even 'spontaneous' improvisation on record is subject to the limitations of the recording technology and the capacity of the resulting format, such as the available space on a record side (Pond, 1997: 9). Without question, developments in multi-track recording expanded the role of the engineer in jazz production.

Towards the end of the 1960s, as a result of advances in recording technology, the studio became a place for jazz musicians to express their creativity more fully. Inspired by the experimental recordings of artists like The Beatles, Jimi Hendrix and Frank Zappa, jazz-fusion artists such as Miles Davis and Weather Report became accustomed to using the recording studio's multi-track analogue facilities and post-production effects more creatively, editing work together from longer

improvisations. Indeed, the production of jazz-fusion music became bound up with developments in recording studio technology. For example, musician-producer-engineer Teo Macero took a key role in the editing of Miles Davis's seminal fusion recordings *In A Silent Way* (1969) and *Bitches Brew* (1970). Much of the success of these recordings has been attributed to Macero's editing of the raw material, highlighting the agency of the engineer to significantly alter the original performances through the use of technology (Southall, 2003). Ballon's (2003) review of *The Complete In A Silent Way Sessions* (2001) also confirms the effectiveness of the edited version: 'while it is fascinating to hear the music in its organic form, it lacks the focus and power of the edited material found on the album. It took a force like Teo to splice together a cohesive album' (Ballon, 2003).

Tensions between traditional jazz values and the use of technology led to criticism of Macero's work. Pond notes: 'the conspicuous use of editing techniques, however, drew the most searing criticism of *Bitches Brew*. Critics interpreted the extensive editing by producer Teo Macero (in collaboration with Davis) as an unwelcome rock-industry intrusion into the jazz milieu' (Pond, 2005: 98). In his work on the making of Herbie Hancock's platinum-selling jazz-fusion record *Head Hunters* (1973), Pond (2005: 117) asks: 'is it "cheating" in jazz to use multi-track recording, post-production editing techniques and other tools of the studio?' Can such artifice devalue jazz and 'call into question the improvisational competence of the performer?' (Pond, 2005: 122). Pond contends that fans of traditional jazz held the overdubbing capability of multi-track recording 'in suspicion' (Pond, 2005: 122), but

reports that by the 1970s, 'jazz musicians were developing expertise in these expanded studio techniques very quickly' (Pond, 2005: 123).

During the 1970s, the partnership of Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen helped develop the sound of 'contemporary jazz', a form of jazz-pop that had been growing in popularity since the 1960s. Larry Rosen had achieved some success as a musician and had developed strong skills as an engineer.²¹³ Together, Grusin and Rosen represented all of the necessary skills of the modern artist/producer/engineer team. As a recording engineer, Larry Rosen had observed the impact of recording technology in jazz production:

There was a transition with multi-track recording, producing jazz more like you would a pop record or a rock record. You would lay down tracks with the lead artist and then you would layer multiple tracks of arrangements on top of that then mix it. It was more like a painting as opposed to a snapshot, which was the traditional jazz-type recording.²¹⁴

Throughout the 1960s, Dave Grusin had been dissatisfied with the standard mode of recording jazz: 'for a lot of jazz music in those days, the last thing that anybody worried about was the sound. The performance was far more important. They had drums way off microphone sometimes and things weren't balanced from a stereo standpoint.'²¹⁵ As a film composer, Grusin's experience of Hollywood sound stage fidelity had no doubt contributed to his perspective on the standards that could be achieved in jazz recording. Guitarist Earl Klugh was the second musician to work with Grusin/Rosen Productions as a solo artist. He recalls that as early as 1975,

²¹³ Bassist Lincoln Goines notes: 'Larry Rosen is the only engineer I ever saw take a razor blade to a three inch master tape complete with drum track and splice a perfect edit.' Interview with Lincoln Goines: February 23, 2004.

²¹⁴ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

²¹⁵ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

Grusin and Rosen ‘wanted to do the top of the line recording. No expense was spared.’²¹⁶ Grusin justifies this position when he says: ‘you get used to hearing things done right: nice echo, nice placement of everything in terms of stereo positioning. If it doesn’t sound that way, it bothers you; it’s distracting in some way.’²¹⁷ Grusin had become accustomed to a particular audio standard in record production; so much so, that he would find himself ‘bothered’ and ‘distracted’ by work that did not pay attention to sound quality. Grusin also recalls that Rosen wanted to adopt production techniques he had identified in other styles of music in order to improve the recorded sound of jazz: ‘the cutting edge sound at that time was happening in the areas of pop and rock music and Larry decided that there wasn’t any reason why that had to be the province of the pop world; that we could make records that sounded good even though the format was not pop music particularly.’²¹⁸ Singer-songwriter Scott Jarrett recalls that Rosen acquired a recording console that allowed him to automate aspects of the mixing process. Observing Rosen at work, he discovered that Rosen’s attention to ‘clean’ sound was also fastidious:

What Larry would do was, and this actually bothered me quite a bit, if there was a shaker part, Larry would go through every track on a 24-track tape looking for opportunities to turn stuff off when things weren’t playing. He would be muting the track in between shakers. I thought automation would make things quicker, but actually it made things take longer because they knew they could do more. It took hours of work just to do that part. He was very detailed about clean sound.²¹⁹

This is an interesting point and one that indicates how technological advances have created more opportunities for engineers to manipulate recorded sound. Indeed,

²¹⁶ Interview with Earl Klugh: April 18, 2005.

²¹⁷ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

²¹⁸ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

²¹⁹ Interview with Scott Jarrett: July 28, 2007.

engineers typically stay informed of new technologies and appropriate them into their work whenever possible. Rosen supports this theory when he says: ‘we were looking at technology that was available and then incorporating it into the productions that we were making.’²²⁰ The pursuit of high fidelity sound was, therefore, a key part of Grusin and Rosen’s agenda.

In analogue recording, the process of ‘mixing-down’ music from an analogue multi-track format to a stereo ‘mix’ and creating a final master copy usually requires multiple ‘generations’ (copies) of the original. This results in a degradation of quality.²²¹ For Grusin and Rosen, one way to address this problem and obtain high fidelity recordings was to record directly to the lacquer disc master on the cutting lathe with no mixing, editing or overdubs. As described previously, this process was known as ‘direct-to-disc’ recording. As Jones (1992: 40) notes, ‘disc recording was briefly re-popularised in the early 1970s as an audiophile medium...The Sheffield Record label in particular.’ Sheffield Lab is an ‘audiophile’ record label founded by engineer/producer team Doug Sax and Lincoln Mayorga. They specialise in direct-to-disc recordings.²²² Jeff Weber has been a record producer since 1978 and has worked with both Sheffield Lab and Grusin/Rosen Productions.²²³ He explains the technical process of direct-to-disc recording as follows:

²²⁰ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

²²¹ With each successive generation of an analogue recording on magnetic tape, the quality of the original sound is reduced and background noise is increased. If a digital recording is error-free, then this problem does not exist in digital systems, as subsequent copies are exact clones of binary data.

²²² The company pioneered direct-to-disc recordings, helping to establish the audiophile market. Doug Sax was a notable opponent of digital recording. See Sax and Archibald (1983).

²²³ Weber has produced in excess of 150 albums and has seven Grammy nominations, two of which were for GRP’s *Dianne Schuur and the Count Basie Orchestra* (1987). He also wrote the liner notes for Lee Ritenour’s *On The Line* (1983), a direct-to-disc recording.

The stylus cuts the groove featuring the signal of the music exactly as it is played in real-time. When the stylus drops down into the lacquer, which is an aluminium disc covered in a paint-like material, it leaves a residue of a thin stream of plastic that is flammable. This has to be sucked up into a tube directly behind the stylus and into a bottle of fluid so that the “chip” doesn’t catch on fire. If the stylus cuts the groove and the chip doesn’t go into the tube, you get little filigree wrapping themselves around the stylus and everything has to be aborted. As soon as you cut the lacquer, it starts trying to straighten itself out. So like a photograph, you have to put it into a bath immediately to stop that from happening, otherwise the dynamic range would start to disappear.²²⁴

Although recording direct from the studio to the cutting lathe did produce a high quality master, direct-to-disc also had two very significant limitations. Firstly, it required musicians to perform flawlessly for the entire length of an LP side (approximately twenty minutes). Secondly, it could not be transferred easily to compact disc once these became available. Dave Grusin recorded the album *Discovered Again* (1976) direct-to-disc for Sheffield Lab, which went on to sell around 70,000 copies.²²⁵ He recalls: ‘I did a direct-to-disc for Doug Sax and Lincoln Mayorga. The difference was that they were performances. You had to do the whole side.’²²⁶ Engineer Don Murray is a former employee of Sigma Sound Studios.²²⁷ Having worked closely with Dave Grusin on many occasions, Murray comments on the impact of the direct-to-disc method for musicians: ‘it’s pretty nerve-wracking for the musicians. It gets really nerve-wracking towards the end when you’re on the last tune.’²²⁸ Percussionist Steve Forman agrees: ‘it was stressful because you could get

²²⁴ Interview with Jeff Weber: April 10, 2005.

²²⁵ Doug Sax, engineer, Sheffield Lab, March 7, 2004. Personal communication.

²²⁶ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

²²⁷ Sigma Sound Studios was a recording studio located in Philadelphia, USA. Founded by Joseph Tarsia in 1968, the studio became closely associated with the sound of ‘Philadelphia soul’ (a precursor to disco music) during the 1970s and Gamble and Huff’s Philadelphia International Records, a popular soul label.

²²⁸ Interview with Don Murray: April 13, 2005.

scuttled technically or musically and you had to do the entire side, like a 30-minute take. It was a live concert. Those are real performances.²²⁹

Guitarist Lee Ritenour was signed to GRP Records in the mid-1980s. He has recorded several direct-to-disc albums, including *Friendship* (1978) for JVC and *On The Line* (1985) for GRP Records. Ritenour states that recording an LP side in a continuous take is also difficult emotionally for performers because ‘you might be playing an “up” tune and in less than ten seconds, you’re playing a very serious ballad.’²³⁰ Jeff Weber concurs: ‘everybody is on the edge of their seats. They’re playing their asses off and no-one wants to make a mistake. They realise they’ve got one shot at this because those lacquers have to be aged.’²³¹ The direct-to-disc process is therefore clearly a huge challenge for even the most able performers. For the engineer, the direct-to-disc process meant that adjustments for each song had to be made in real-time during the silence between songs. Aside from logistical problems such as keeping guitars and other string instruments in tune for long periods of time, the process was laborious because musicians and engineers would have to ‘record all day, just to get the balances right.’²³²

As many jazz artists possess a high level of instrumental proficiency, jazz engineers collaborated with artists to maximise the advantages of direct-to-disc recording. Jeff Weber produced pianist David Benoit for GRP Records throughout the 1980s. Weber suggests that there are numerous benefits that arise from recording in this way: ‘what

²²⁹ Interview with Steve Forman: March 28, 2005.

²³⁰ Interview with Lee Ritenour: May 18, 2005.

²³¹ Interview with Jeff Weber: April 10, 2005.

²³² Interview with Lee Ritenour: May 18, 2005.

happens is that the energy level of the track soars; the emotional value of the track soars; the time it takes to make a record decreases dramatically.²³³ Ritenour confesses that direct-to-disc was ‘a little bit of a macho thing’ because he prided himself on being able to record in a studio-type setting.²³⁴ He relates: ‘it was not for the weak of heart.’²³⁵ Ritenour’s admission calls to mind an earlier concern that perhaps jazz musicians feel they are ‘cheating’ by using multi-track recording, overdubbing and post-production facilities. In this way, direct-to-disc represented a performance challenge for the jazz musician, one that some jazz musicians were willing to accept in the pursuit of high fidelity recordings. The jazz engineer therefore provides constraints based on the limitations of the available technology and has a profound impact, for better or worse, on how jazz music sounds and is recorded. In general, the direct-to-disc process is a difficult and strenuous recording endeavour. As a result, Grusin and Rosen were keen to experiment with emerging digital recording technologies as early as possible.

Soundstream Inc. premiered its prototype digital recorder at the 55th Audio Engineering Society convention during October 1976 in New York City (Warnock, 1976). Having pursued high quality analogue recording techniques throughout the 1970s, Grusin and Rosen became aware of prototype digital recording technologies in the United States soon after their introduction. The promise of digital audio was that it had a wide dynamic range, was free of tape noise and could be stored, edited or reproduced without any loss in quality. Such capabilities would void Grusin and Rosen’s concerns over using multiple generations of analogue tape and free them

²³³ Interview with Jeff Weber: April 10, 2005.

²³⁴ Interview with Lee Ritenour: May 18, 2005.

²³⁵ Interview with Lee Ritenour: May 18, 2005.

from the rigours of direct-to-disc recording. The benefits of digital technology would also likely be passed on to the consumer.²³⁶ For sound engineers, digital technology represented an outmoding of tacit knowledge. Studio personnel were required to obtain fluency with the new paradigms of digital technology. Josiah Gluck, GRP's Chief Engineer and Technical Director, agrees: 'did digital recording cause technical changes in engineering? The answer is an emphatic "yes". All engineers needed to re-learn EQ and mic selection.'²³⁷ In digital systems then, engineers had to be aware of changes in gain structure (the management of signal levels at which an engineer records), equalization (EQ), mixing, processing, editing, copying, storage and reproduction.

In 1979, Grusin and Rosen began using the Soundstream system to create digital mix masters from analogue multi-tracks. Tom Browne's *Love Approach* (1979) was recorded and mixed conventionally, but instead of 'bouncing' (compiling) the multi-track audio to a stereo master on analogue tape, the final mixes were recorded onto the Soundstream DTR.²³⁸ This process allowed Grusin and Rosen the opportunity to eliminate an audio generation, maintaining greater fidelity. A recording chain such as this is usually denoted on album packaging by the letters 'ADD', which describes an analogue recording process, mixdown to a digital platform, and a digital mastering console.²³⁹ LPs and compact cassettes would then be manufactured from the digital master. Although this was an improvement sonically, this practice had a limited effect on the sound of records overall; the digital master was still subject to the

²³⁶ In 1982, the compact disc became the optical digital storage/playback device to deliver on this concept, offering fidelity, durability and portability on a 120mm disc. See Immink (1998).

²³⁷ Interview with Josiah Gluck: March 13, 2005.

²³⁸ This process was also used on Scott Jarrett's *Without Rhyme or Reason* (1980).

²³⁹ Grusin and Rosen marketed GRP Records with the slogan 'The Digital Master Company'.

limitations of the analogue recording and could only be issued to the public in analogue formats at that time. As a result, Grusin and Rosen received resistance from Arista in regard to the extra expense of digital equipment.²⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Grusin and Rosen deemed the technology essential to their work and were undeterred.

In 1979, Grusin and Rosen completed their first all-digital production. Dave Grusin's *Mountain Dance* (1979) was recorded and mixed live to two-track digital on the Soundstream system at A&R Studios in New York by Larry Rosen.²⁴¹ An instrumental combination of jazz, pop and funk, the album used synthesisers prominently over a bed of acoustic and electric instruments. The musicians performing live with Grusin included bassist Marcus Miller and drummer Harvey Mason. To record the sessions, Grusin and Rosen used Soundstream's 1978 four-track recorder sampling at 50 kHz/16-bit. The pair had experimented with Soundstream equipment for the first time on four songs from Lee Ritenour's *Rio* (1979).²⁴² Grusin and Rosen saw the recording of *Mountain Dance* as an opportunity to completely eliminate multiple audio generations in the record making process. By recording a live studio performance to stereo tracks on the Soundstream recorder, Grusin and Rosen would no longer need to create a digital mix master from an analogue source. As the engineer on the project, Rosen describes their intentions: 'we wanted to embed this music in a state of the art recording technology and make it sound as good as possible. Those two things would work hand in hand, the music

²⁴⁰ Interview with Scott Jarrett: July 28, 2007.

²⁴¹ *Mountain Dance* was released by JVC Japan (1979, VIJ 6326), Arista/GRP (1980, GRP-A-1018) and later on compact disc (GRD 9507).

²⁴² Just two of the four live to two-track digital recordings were eventually used on the final release of Lee Ritenour's *Rio* (1979).

and the technology, to create a finished product that was as good as we could possibly make it.²⁴³

The digital recording process presented several logistical considerations. In addition to cost and personnel requirements, recording direct to a stereo format meant that the musicians would have to obtain each song as a live studio performance with no additional mixing or overdubs. Like direct-to-disc, this process gave the listener a first generation master quality experience. However, it would no longer be necessary to record an entire side of the album in one session; they could now record one song at a time and choose the best performance for the final master. As a result, this would be a less arduous task than the direct-to-disc process. Other benefits, however, were largely the same: superior recording quality would be achieved; performance energy would increase and the time taken to make the record would decrease. Working within the constraints of the new technology, *Mountain Dance* was recorded in just five days. Bassist Marcus Miller comments on this effort to produce better quality recordings:

The advantage in sound was that no copies ever needed to be made. The resulting two-track tape was taken directly to the mastering studio instead of the usual process of recording the music to a multi-track tape, subsequently mixing that down to a secondary two-track tape and sending that secondary tape to the mastering studio. So this process eliminated a generation and gave the listener better sounding music.²⁴⁴

Like Soundstream's classical music clients, Rosen also recorded *Mountain Dance* to analogue multi-track tape. However, Rosen recalls that the digital playback offered

²⁴³ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

²⁴⁴ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

such an accurate reproduction of the live performance, that they decided to continue with the whole album in the digital format:

The first time we recorded to the Soundstream digital machine and listened to a playback, we were all blown away. The sound was identical to the original performance. I was engineering the session and when I asked for the playback, I thought the band had started to play again. Spending so much time in the studio, you get to hear the difference in the original performance and the playback. Even when hearing the 24 track analog tape at 30ips, there was a difference, but the Soundstream recording was a perfect clone.²⁴⁵

Unlike earlier GRP recordings that had essentially utilised digital technology as a storage medium for an analogue mix master, full digital recording had a profound impact on the recorded sound of Grusin and Rosen's productions. Prior to the arrival of the compact disc, Rosen felt that GRP manufactured very high quality LPs as a result of the all-digital recording chain: 'we were recording digital but releasing it in analogue. Every time we went to the cutting lathe, we would take the digital equipment. We felt that the LPs we made sounded better than anybody else's because of the generation saving that we'd achieved through this technology.'²⁴⁶ After the compact disc became available in 1982, Rosen was able to engineer according to a completely digital recording chain (DDD), from the recording studio to the consumer.

In 1982, Grusin and Rosen established GRP Records as an independent jazz label.

The move coincided with the arrival of the digital compact disc format. Tom Jung's

²⁴⁵ Larry Rosen, engineer, Grusin/Rosen Productions, July 12, 2007. Personal communication.

²⁴⁶ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002. Improving the sound of the vinyl record became a pursuit of record manufacturers during the 1970s. Inspired by Japanese pressings that appeared to contain less noise, companies like Mobile Fidelity Sound Lab, Reference Recordings and Windham Hill began pressing records on so-called 'virgin vinyl' (non-recycled) and insisted on using master tapes rather than second or third generation copies. These companies also used processes such as Stan Ricker's 'half-speed mastering', which allowed more time for etching detail into the grooves of the LP, resulting in greater definition.

DMP (Digital Music Products) and GRP Records were among the first labels in America to release their entire catalogues on compact disc.²⁴⁷ As described previously, Grusin and Rosen built their own recording studio to ensure total control over their recordings: 'we needed to have the post-production work, the mastering work, the reference discs coming back, so we were able to monitor and make sure that everything sounded right.'²⁴⁸ The level of control exhibited by Grusin and Rosen is not uncommon. Rudy Van Gelder, a celebrated jazz engineer who has recorded John Coltrane and Miles Davis among others, declares in Phelan (2005): 'I don't do a session without the understanding that I will do all the steps, the original recording, the mixing and the mastering.'

Fulfilling roles as diverse as producer, engineer and artist during the making of *Mountain Dance*, the Grusin/Rosen partnership clearly signalled an intent to improve the quality of audio reproduction in jazz. In order to achieve their goals sonically, Grusin and Rosen challenged the constraints of each new recording platform, mediating the performances of the musicians based on evolving technical demands. Indeed, even post-production in the early digital environment necessitated collaboration with engineers and digital editors. Recalling an earlier comment by Fleetwood Mac engineer Ken Caillat, musician Scott Jarrett recalls: 'when we wanted to assemble the album, they had to call out to Soundstream. You couldn't just re-order your sequence of tunes, they had to do it in Utah. To rearrange it was kind

²⁴⁷ The Warren Bernhardt Trio's *Trio '83* CD (1983, DMP, CD-441) was one of the first 'DDD' jazz releases in the United States, arriving on compact disc and digital audio tape (DAT) January 17, 1983 from DMP. Flim and the BB's *Tricycle* (1983, DMP, CD-443) was also released in tandem with the above. According to Rosen, *Mountain Dance* (1979) was released on compact disc in Japan in late 1982 but was not available on CD in the United States until 1983. In August and September 1983, classical label Telarc released a total of 22 compact discs that were all-digital recordings (DDD): Robert Woods, engineer, Telarc, July 18, 2007. Personal communication.

²⁴⁸ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

of a big deal.²⁴⁹ In summary then, the agency of the sound engineer as a user of technology is considerable. Intermediaries in the recording studio take a pivotal role in the way that music is recorded, how it sounds and how it is delivered to the consumer and this has been demonstrated by Grusin and Rosen's approach to recording jazz.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the recording engineer's relationship with technology and how it can impact upon the sound of jazz records. During the 1970s, computer scientists and electrical engineers designed digital recorders and assembled them according to the imagined needs of the user. These recording technologies presented constraints that had to be negotiated by engineers, producers and artists in order to achieve high quality productions. Sound engineers in the field gave feedback to designers, establishing new recording paradigms and improving sound quality. Soundstream's computer scientists negotiated with recording engineers in the field to cater to record production. With the examples of direct-to-disc, multi-track and digital recording, I have explored how jazz engineers have continually mediated jazz production by using technology to achieve high fidelity recordings, often under difficult conditions.

Jazz is a collaborative art form both on the live stage and in the recording studio. Choices made at the recording, editing, mixing and mastering stages can greatly

²⁴⁹ Interview with Scott Jarrett: July 28, 2007.

impact upon the sound of a record. The relationship between sound engineers and recording technologies clearly impacts upon musicians, their performances and the products they produce. Just as the direct-to-disc process demonstrates the agency of the engineer to impact upon live studio performance, the example of Teo Macero demonstrates how the editing of multi-track jazz recordings can have a significant effect on the success of jazz improvisations. Using a case study of Grusin and Rosen's approach to recording, I have demonstrated that their pursuit of high quality sound frequently introduced constraints and benefits that mediated the performance, recording and resulting sound of their products.

The agency of the sound engineer is a vital part of how jazz recording has developed. These technologies involved the development of new knowledge and those who practise new knowledge have power in the creative environment. Engineers in the jazz industry should therefore be afforded coverage in the histories commensurate with their critical role in this process. The future of jazz recording will inevitably be linked to the ongoing negotiation for high fidelity between artists, studio intermediaries and technology, for it is usually within this progressive environment that the future of music can be glimpsed. As Tom Stockham wrote in 1977: 'it is not outrageous to imagine carrying several hours of music in a box the size of a deck of cards' (Stockham, 1977: 895).

Three

Constructing the Consumer: Jazz Marketing as Mediation

Aims of this chapter

In Chapter Two, I examined the agency of the sound engineer as a user of technology in order to demonstrate the capacity of technical personnel to mediate jazz production. Chapter Three moves away from the studio environment and examines the impact of marketing mediation on jazz production. This refers specifically to promotional strategies undertaken by intermediaries in the music and media industries in order to sell records. These are tactical approaches to creating sales, such as branding, packaging, advertising, retailing, press and radio exposure, sponsored events and live touring. Marketing campaigns typically communicate information about artists and their products to consumers in order to create relationships that generate sales. By analysing demographics and data pertaining to sales trends, marketers use research as a tool to determine the ideal type of consumer for a product. This process enables companies, or producers of products, to reach audiences more effectively. It is this process that I call 'constructing the consumer'. As a result of this intermediation, marketing data is fed back into the production process, helping to influence which artists are signed by labels, the repertoire they play, which artists receive promotion, how they are described, the companies that affiliate with them and the markets they are exposed to. This chapter examines the marketing of jazz music in order to argue that marketing mediation can impact upon how jazz products are conceived and realised in line with market demands.

Analysing this area of industrial practice both supports and advances this thesis because jazz has not typically been understood as an art form mediated by marketing routines. Taylor's (1986) work, for example, positions jazz as 'America's classical music', a largely unmediated form of art music built on a repertoire that 'codifies and defines its many varied styles' (Taylor, 1986: 21). Histories of jazz practice, such as Shapiro and Hentoff (1962), Stearns (1970), Williams (1970), Ostransky (1977), Martin (1986) and Sales (1992) have focused almost exclusively on the lives of jazz artists and the styles they played with little reference to the promotional frameworks that govern the sale of jazz music. Moreover, jazz-fusion, a form of jazz frequently defined in terms of its commercial success and popularity (Pond, 1998: 6), has also been historicised in a largely biographical fashion.²⁵⁰ Pond's (2005) account of the making of Herbie Hancock's pivotal jazz-fusion record *Head Hunters* (1973) is perhaps the most comprehensive exception to this trend. A chapter entitled 'Selling Herbie: Marketing and Head Hunters' documents the promotional strategies that enabled this record to cross over to mainstream audiences and achieve its platinum-selling status. Another useful account is Gray's (1988) case study of the independent jazz label Theresa Records. With an emphasis on distribution and sales, Gray's research gives insight into the actions undertaken by Theresa in order to reach wider audiences.

Clearly, the marketing of jazz music is an under-researched, yet critical area of jazz industry. For if, as Stanbridge (2004c: 1) suggests, our understanding of jazz is largely the result of our access to jazz recordings, commercial artefacts marketed and

²⁵⁰ See, for example, Nicholson (1998) and Coryell and Friedman (2000).

sold by record companies, then it is necessary to consider the impact of those mediators that describe and interpret these products for the public. As Pond (2005: 163) has argued: 'we may think of a jazz recording as having a particular style, sound, instrumentation and so on, but part of a jazz record's identity also comes from the way it is promoted and distributed.' Scholars of popular music, such as Negus (1992: 111) and Burnett (1996: 81), have described marketing as a vital part of how music is interpreted, valued and made available as a commodity. Hirsch (1972) has characterised this process in terms of a filter flow system through which products move in their journey from production to consumption. The marketer acts as a powerful intermediary between the artist and the consumer by helping to define products for audiences. Marketing can therefore contribute to tensions between artists and intermediaries. Stratton has argued that 'the artist, the innovator, tends to see him/herself in opposition to the industry as a commercial enterprise which appears to be continually pressuring the artist to produce new marketable products' (Stratton, 2003: 12). This is a somewhat paradoxical position for artists to take, as Toynebee notes:

Musicians aspire to enter market relations, to make large amounts of money, to become stars, and therefore commodities, themselves. Yet at the same time the market is held to corrupt the non-commercial values to which successive corps of music makers from swing to techno have subscribed (Toynebee, 2000: 2).

Clearly, art/commerce tensions are part of the discourses of marketing music. However, to characterise such debates as a standoff between creativity and business would be too limiting. Rather, I wish to look more obliquely at the relationship between artists and intermediaries as a form of collaboration. For the marketer,

'constructing the consumer' is not an automated process, but is instead determined in each instance by the nature of the collaboration with the artist, the values he/she represents and the audience at large. As Negus has stated: 'unlike the manufacturers of products like baked beans or toothpaste where a tried and tested product can be sold over and over again, the music industry is continually introducing new artists and simultaneously having to identify and construct an audience for their recordings' (1992: 152). In this way, the marketer wields considerable power to determine whom a product is for and to engage with that target market. Moreover, the marketer's experience can feed into the production process, helping to shape those artists and products that will be the subject of future collaborations:

As promotional activities have become more complex, assumed greater importance and required higher levels of investment, marketing staff have become more directly involved with artists at an earlier stage, and increasingly emphasised the significance of their contribution (Negus, 1992: 148).

Indeed, marketers begin to make decisions about an artist's potential audience before a contract is even offered. Negus has reported that marketers are often provided with the opportunity for a 'formal veto on the artists who are signed' (Negus, 1992: 148).

In order to focus on jazz marketing, I turn to the case study of the independent jazz label GRP Records (GRP). During the 1980s, Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen initiated a range of marketing strategies in order to strengthen the brand identity of their label and to introduce their brand of high fidelity jazz-pop in the United States. GRP's early embrace of the compact disc format; its approach to branding and packaging; its relationship with the home audio market; its promotional campaigns at retail and

its sponsored partnerships with major technology firms were central to how the label communicated its high-tech values through its products. Just as Grusin and Rosen adopted recording and production practices that would allow them to shape the sound of their musical output, they were equally active in determining how their products were presented to consumers. I examine these areas of GRP's practice in order to demonstrate how marketing can mediate jazz production. The marketing practices of labels like GRP demonstrate that jazz is not independent of the strategic sales apparatus of the music and media industries. Like most forms of popular music, jazz is determined in part by the networks of mediators that rationalise and promote its products. The bulk of my research stems from first-hand interviews with GRP's marketing and sales staff, engineers, artists, designers and international partners. To contextualise their work and offer analysis on their views, I draw on a range of academic research in each of the above stated areas. I consider radio promotion a vital part of marketing strategy. However, due to the very significant role that radio has played in GRP's history, I wish to point out that Chapter Four is devoted in its entirety to this subject and radio is therefore not explored at length herein.

Jazz marketing as mediation

Within the music industry, marketing can be defined as the activities adopted by a record company in order to promote and sell its products to the public. Kotler (1984: 4) defines marketing as 'a social process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating and exchanging products and value with others.' He describes products as physical objects 'that can be offered to someone to

satisfy a need or a want' (Kotler, 1984: 4). The success of a product is usually governed by factors like demand, value, cost and ease of use. The marketing process for a new record typically takes the form of a sustained campaign to attract media and consumer interest in the months leading to release. Negus (1992: 67) states that the marketer works 'at a point where the work of artists directly meets the activities of audiences'. He describes the process as 'the positioning of acts in the press, on television and radio, billboards, shops – according to the geographic, demographic and cultural profile of the consumers for particular genres of music' (Negus, 1992: 67).

From this statement, it is clear that consumers are typically grouped according to their preferences for particular styles of music. Frith has stated that genres usually solidify through the casual consumption patterns of musicians, music fans, DJs, journalists and other 'mediating ideologues' (Frith, 1996: 88). As a result, most people encounter music through marketing channels, be it television, radio, or the racks of a record store. In these environments, music is also usually organised and categorised by genre. Frith (1996: 85) suggests that 'in using genre labels to make the marketing process more efficient, record companies are assuming there is a manageable relationship between musical label and consumer taste.' Indeed, the introduction of a new music product into the marketplace is not left to chance, the vagaries of the public or the altruistic belief that talented artists will naturally be discovered and appreciated. Rather, the aim of marketing staff is to diminish risk and increase the likelihood of a successful outcome. Negus (1992: 63) records that marketing staff endeavour to 'actively construct consumers as identifiable markets',

an activity that attempts to strategise an ideal consumer into existence. The process of constructing a consumer is a speculative action. Consumers do not only engage with marketing materials but also with critics, fellow fans, musicians and the wider resources of the media industries in the pursuit of information and shared experiences. As a result, the marketer has the power to influence, though rarely fully determine, how music is ultimately used and understood.

Fligstein (1990) and De Wit and Meyer (1994) are among those writers who have acknowledged that tactical planning, or 'strategy' is a key weapon in the fight against market unpredictability. Market research then, is the discovery process that helps a marketer make more informed decisions about the most appropriate audience for a product. Lury (1996: 65) has suggested that 'consumers are not invited to be rational or instrumental in their use of products, but instead to employ products in an expressive display of lifestyle.' Hennion also warns against the assumption that the behaviour of the consumer will follow a pattern. He asserts that existing market research always describes 'an old public, a result of previous equations' (Hennion, 1989: 410). The marketing person must therefore be intimately familiar with the lifestyle and tastes of its target audience and engage with them constantly. Where the artist has the opportunity to interact with audiences at live concerts and obtain valuable feedback, the marketer often relies on market research as confirmation of the interests and needs of consumers. The marketer can then use this new information to inform both the label and the artist about their potential audience, shaping early stage production decisions in line with market demands.

Traditionally, jazz has been a profitable niche market. DeVaux (1995: 2) reports that in 1982, 20 percent of adult Americans (approximately 40 million) listened to jazz recordings. A general overview of the jazz audience reveals a base that is 'affluent, well educated, youthful, and ethnically diverse' (DeVaux, 1995: 2). In terms of age demographics, DeVaux (1995: 3) has observed that over two-thirds of those attending live jazz performances are under 45 years old, with a peak in the much sought after 25-34 age range. The audience is largely male, well educated and financially secure (DeVaux, 1995: 2). Historically constructed around inexpensive live ensemble recordings and a loyal core audience, Pond notes that 'jazz labels, their promo men and sales reps, discovered over time that niche marketing worked very well in this environment' (Pond, 2005: 167).

In Chapter Two, I described jazz producers who make an effort to minimise any evidence of mediation in their work. There has been a tendency for jazz marketing to function in a similar way, presenting jazz artists as self-evidently 'cool' and the stylised sound, photography and design aesthetics of their products as a natural extension of that creativity. This sort of ideology is especially evident in much of the non-academic literature about jazz. Kahn's (2006) biography of jazz label Impulse! Records attributes its success to one artist: 'everybody thought of Impulse as being John Coltrane's label...I mean, Impulse was the house that Trane built, as far as I was concerned, in the way that Atlantic was the house that Ray Charles built' (Kahn, 2006: 10). While the aforementioned musicians made enormous contributions to their respective genres, such statements make no concessions to the mediating roles played by Impulse! founder Creed Taylor, the Impulse! staff, nor in the case of

Atlantic Records, the impact of Ahmet Ertegun and staff who signed Ray Charles and oversaw the careful positioning of Charles as the ‘genius’ of rhythm and blues.²⁵¹ Likewise, in their work on the reputable European jazz label ECM, Lake and Griffiths continue this trend by suggesting that the marketing for the company ‘seems to sort itself out’ (Lake and Griffiths, 2007: 76). Even a cursory glance at Marsh and Callingham’s (2002) book of album cover art from the Blue Note Records catalogue is a clear reminder of the very deliberate and coherent branding strategies of some jazz labels.

Marketing jazz necessitates the collaboration of artists who are able to initiate or endorse certain images or values. Of course, this practice is not exclusive to jazz; most musicians must decide on which images and values they wish to endorse as part of their relationship with the public. In turning his back to the audience during performances, jazz trumpeter Miles Davis participated in confirming his image as an uncompromising visionary: ‘sunglasses worn against the night, he aestheticized his vision, turning himself into an artwork, into a minor deity of some sort...silently observing humanity's foolishness from his seat at an empty table or at the end of the bar’ (Szwed, 2002: 194). Audiences are aware of these sorts of marketing practices yet are willing to engage with such images as a form of reality. As Negus (1992: 70) has noted: ‘we acknowledge that our favourite artists, whether Bob Dylan, Public Enemy or Madonna are studied, calculated and hyped in various ways, but at the same time we accept them as “real”’.

²⁵¹ The *All Music Guide* (n.d) website lists no fewer than eight Ray Charles records containing the word ‘genius’ in their titles. See also Ertegun (2001).

For most record labels, the goal is to ‘establish an artist in such a way that their unique and individual musical and visual identity crosses genres, and local and regional lifestyles’ (Negus, 1992: 75). In the 1960s, the marketing of jazz to mainstream audiences was led by entrepreneurs like Creed Taylor, the Verve Records producer who also founded Impulse! Records and his own label CTI (Creed Taylor Inc.). Considine (2002) notes that Taylor’s production of *A Day in the Life* (1967) for jazz guitarist Wes Montgomery ‘placed Mr. Montgomery’s lean, swinging phrasing in a commercial package and earned him the only gold album (selling more than 500,000 copies) of his career’. A 1968 article for *Time* confirms that ‘Wes’s pop-jazz albums have brought a huge, diverse new audience thronging to his in-person appearances’ (Anon, 1968). Taylor’s productions emphasised recognisable tunes (often pop repertoire or light classical hits) captured in slick, high fidelity recordings. Jazz purists accused CTI of ‘pandering to commercial tastes’ (Considine, 2002). However, Considine argues that Taylor did not see any distinction between jazz and popular music:

Where many jazz musicians wanted their music to be more like high art -- oblique, austere, intellectually demanding -- Mr. Taylor believed that jazz, having started out as popular music, ought to maintain a connection to a broader audience. His credo was that when cut off from its pop roots, jazz withers and dies (Considine, 2002).

In his work on Herbie Hancock’s *Head Hunters* (1973), Pond (2005: 158) describes the record’s long journey to becoming jazz’s first platinum album. Pond notes that almost four years after the success of Miles Davis’s *Bitches Brew* (1970), which sold 300,000 copies in its first year, Hancock’s record was nonetheless suffering from a ‘lack of a clear marketing path’ (Pond, 2005: 156). Jazz-fusion did not have a strong

presence on jazz radio in the United States and retailers were therefore unsure where to position the music in their stores. Pond (2005: 158) describes the pivotal work of Vernon Slaughter, a Columbia marketing man who helped secure crossover success by delivering *Head Hunters* to both R&B and jazz DJs and negotiating with retailers to stock *Head Hunters* in the racks of both genres. As a result of marketing mediation, *Head Hunters* became the watershed for commercial success in the jazz-fusion field. Like Wes Montgomery before him, marketing was a key contributor to Herbie Hancock's success with a wider audience. Pond (2005: 158) writes: '*Bitches Brew* and *Head Hunters* stretched jazz's mercantile boundaries and by doing so, called into question the notion of music's generic boundaries.'

As sales of jazz-fusion increased, so did the cost of elaborate marketing campaigns intended to attract wide audiences and subsidise the cost of big budget multi-track recordings (Pond, 2005: 162). In turn, this growth enabled the international success of jazz-rock groups like The Mahavishnu Orchestra and Weather Report. Jazz-fusion became the target of criticism that suggested that it pandered to rock and pop audiences for financial motives. Critics described its crossover appeal as 'a symptom of large-scale artistic slide within the jazz tradition – a form of populist communication which betrayed "autonomous art"' (Pond, 2005: 158). Of course, the idea of jazz-fusion as a 'betrayal' of autonomous art relies on the existence of completely unmediated expressions of jazz music, made, sold and consumed outside of the industrial frameworks of the music and media industries. Even in its most unmediated form, jazz on the live stage is performed within the context of booking arrangements made with concert promoters, ticket sales, advertising and

merchandising. Indeed, even the most autonomous jazz artist will usually consider the audience and the context of an event when preparing a set list or repertoire for a live performance. Gary Tomlinson (1992: 83) has argued that the idea of ‘music created with an eye to eternal genius and blind to the marketplace is a myth.’ In the 1980s, the softer and more accessible form of jazz-fusion known as ‘contemporary jazz’ would mirror the commercial and critical trajectory of jazz-rock.

The marketing strategies of GRP Records

Between 1978-1982, Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen made records under an agreement with Clive Davis’s Arista label. Grusin/Rosen Productions submitted its master recordings to the parent company and the records were marketed under the Arista/GRP logo. However, Grusin and Rosen felt that they were not getting adequate marketing attention from Arista to maximise their sales potential. Grusin states: ‘we had been with Arista, but we were kind of the poor stepchild over there.’²⁵² In 1982, Grusin and Rosen ended their relationship with Arista and launched GRP Records as an independent label. The post-disco slump of the early 1980s (Dannen, 1991:176) resulted in a period of rapid growth for the burgeoning independent jazz label. Several major labels had slashed their jazz rosters as a way to save money and as a result there were a number of respected jazz instrumentalists who had been released from major label contracts that could now be offered new contracts by GRP. Geoff Mayfield, Director of Charts and a Senior Analyst for *Billboard*, confirms this:

²⁵² Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

There were two things that were serendipitous to their timing and that was the launch of the CD configuration and on top of that, with all of the financial woes that companies large and small were experiencing, there were a flock of well known jazz artists who no longer had contracts. You could go out and get Chick Corea; you could go out and get Billy Cobham. They were name people who were available and it just made it a lot easier to get traction as you were talking about artists who already had fanbases and reputations.²⁵³

Grusin and Rosen wanted to make high quality jazz-pop recordings that could be marketed on compact disc. The recordings would typically feature ‘easy-going, tuneful arrangements with a healthy dose of funk and tasteful electronics’ (Cooke, 1998: 180). In order to accomplish this, they focused on signing jazz artists who had embraced fusion practices in their work. Indeed, Darmon Meader, of the GRP jazz vocal group New York Voices, suggests that ‘the straight-ahead artist was the exception at GRP.’²⁵⁴ In order to achieve crossover success, it was important that the music appeal to a broad audience. Ruffin (1991) notes that GRP’s publicity materials described the label as ‘adult-oriented’ rather than as a jazz label. In a marketing context, Larry Rosen regards the word ‘jazz’ as a restrictive term:

If you say “jazz” in the music business, you are automatically talking about a limited market potential. If you say that it’s music aimed at adult consumers, then that has a bigger potential market. There are people who enjoy jazz, but there’s a fine line where jazz loses a mass audience, when it gets too esoteric and too demanding on the listener.²⁵⁵

Capitalising on America’s rush to suburbia (Jackson, 1996), GRP targeted adults in the 25 to 34 demographic with new homes and disposable income. As a former advertising music executive, Rosen leveraged GRP’s high-tech recording

²⁵³ Interview with Geoff Mayfield: March 26, 2004. Mayfield wrote the liner notes for the *GRP 10th Anniversary Collection* (1992, GRD-3-5008), a three CD compilation set commemorating the label’s output in its first decade.

²⁵⁴ Interview with Darmon Meader: August 9, 2002.

²⁵⁵ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

specifications and its catalogue of compact discs as the label's primary marketing concept, offering 'the kind of jazz that appeals to rock-bred yuppies and baby boomers' (Jones, 1990: 4). Music journalist Geoff Mayfield elaborates on this strategy:

The CD invigorated a market; it brought back a consumer who had kind of lost interest in music stores; the older consumer. That's why some of the early things that did well on CD were jazz or classical or adult-skewing pop music, because that was the kind of consumer who could afford to go out and spend a grand or more on a CD player, which is what they cost in the early days. Being on compact disc was an extra selling point for the stockbroker who just bought a CD player.²⁵⁶

Indeed, high fidelity audio has been a popular, primarily male, hobby since the 1950s and technology has been a vital component of lifestyle marketing (Keightley, 2003). In this context, GRP's marketing strategy became focused on communicating the power of the label's brand image and the aesthetic appeal of its products. Morgan Ames is a composer, jazz arranger and producer and has worked closely with Dave Grusin.²⁵⁷ She relates that that Grusin and Rosen made a conscious decision early on to make the label and its products into the central focus of their marketing strategy: 'Larry told me a lot about the marketing approach for GRP Records. Larry and Dave decided early on that they would make GRP product-oriented rather than artist-oriented.'²⁵⁸ Saxophonist Ernie Watts views this approach to jazz marketing as being evocative of Creed Taylor's CTI label:

GRP struck me as kind of an extension of CTI. Creed's projects always had very good players; everything was very organised. His artwork was classy; he had a nice look to his projects. After CTI was discontinued, I think GRP kind

²⁵⁶ Interview with Geoff Mayfield: March 26, 2004.

²⁵⁷ Ames co-wrote the theme for the television series *Baretta* (1975) with Dave Grusin.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Morgan Ames: April 5, 2005.

of picked that up; they had great musicians and a quality presentation. They created a look and a company style as well as a musical direction.²⁵⁹

There are numerous comparisons that can be made between CTI Records and GRP Records. In November 1967, producer Creed Taylor arranged with A&M's Herb Alpert and Jerry Moss to begin his own organisation within A&M called CTI Records. Taylor incorporated CTI as an independent label a few years later in 1970. By employing engineer Rudy Van Gelder, designer Sam Antupit and photographer Pete Turner, the label quickly became associated with a high quality signature pop-jazz sound, an eponymous three-letter acronym/logo and a uniform design aesthetic generated by an in-house art department. Like Grusin and Rosen, Taylor supplied a personal introduction to the artist within the liner notes of each release, a practice that emphasised the collaborative nature of jazz production. He also developed a small in-house staff of musicians, including Herbie Hancock and Ron Carter, to provide backing for his solo stars. GRP's core staff fulfilled comparable roles: Bud Katzel was a veteran of music retail; Mark Wexler coordinated marketing; Andy Baltimore managed the in-house art department; engineer Josiah Gluck managed the in-house recording facility. The label called on a network of New York session musicians including Steve Gadd, Marcus Miller and Anthony Jackson to help construct its identifiable sound. Another strategy adopted by CTI in the early 1970s involved the staging of 'All-Star' CTI concerts and recordings in which the artists became part of a central focus on the label's brand identity.²⁶⁰ This technique also became an important part of GRP's marketing practices, resulting in a series of similar live

²⁵⁹ Interview with Ernie Watts: April 18, 2005.

²⁶⁰ See CTI All-Stars, *California Concert* (1971) and *CTI Summer Jazz At The Hollywood Bowl* (1972).

events.²⁶¹ For saxophonist Branford Marsalis, GRP's marketing strategies called to mind another distinctive jazz label, Blue Note Records: 'it's like Blue Note: they used the same engineer for everything, they branded all the artwork and became identifiable. GRP did the same, it had the cool logo and the similar artwork.'²⁶²

During the remaining sections of this chapter, I examine the key marketing strategies undertaken by GRP Records during the 1980s. This includes the adoption of the compact disc, branding, packaging, retailing, targeting the home audio market, advertising and publicity and live sponsored events. GRP collaborated with artists, audiences and the music and media industries in order to construct a consumer and target its products to specific groups. I demonstrate the ways in which GRP established its brand identity and how it leveraged this brand in the areas of retail, advertising, touring and the high-end home audio market. These practices provide insight into the impact of jazz marketing as mediation and the ways in which marketing staff feed information back into the production system in an attempt to create safer and more profitable future investments.

The compact disc

In 1979, Philips and Sony set up a joint task force to bring an optical digital audio disc to market. The work of the task force, led by Kees Immink and Toshitada Doi, contributed to the introduction of the compact disc (CD) in 1982 (Immink, 1998).

²⁶¹ GRP produced such titles as *Dave Grusin and the GRP All-Stars Live in Japan* (1981, GRP 5506), *GRP Live in Session* (1985, GRP-D-9532), *GRP Super Live in Concert* (1987, GRD 2-1650), *GRP All-Star Big Band* (1992, GRD-9672) and *Dave Grusin Presents GRP All-Star Big Band: Live!* (1993, GRD-9740).

²⁶² Interview with Branford Marsalis: February 18, 2004.

Standard compact discs have a diameter of 120 mm and can hold approximately 80 minutes of audio. They usually contain stereo audio tracks stored in 16-bit PCM format at a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz. The concept for the optical technology behind the compact disc has existed since 1965. An inventor named James T. Russell posited that if binary data could be represented by light and dark, an optical device could read sound (or any data) without the degenerative effects of physical contact typically associated with playing phonograph records (Franzwa, 2005). He reasoned that if binary code could be compacted into a small area, it would be possible to store entire symphonies on a small piece of film. After several years, Russell succeeded in inventing the first digital-to-optical recording and playback system, which he patented in 1970. By 1979, the development of a world standard for a consumer digital playback device had become a prominent part of the audio industry's agenda.²⁶³ For producers of digital recordings such as Larry Rosen, these were developments he was actively monitoring:

There were already discussions of this within the audio community. We knew that there had been experiments with taking digitally recorded music and embedding it on a device that would be played on a digital playback machine so that people in their homes could ultimately hear the digital product. At that time, in 1979, we would make these masters in a digital format, but they would ultimately be released on LPs and cassettes in an analogue format because there was nothing that a person could have in their house that was a digital playback system.²⁶⁴

Josiah Gluck was the Chief Engineer and Technical Director at GRP from 1982-1989. He confirms Grusin and Rosen's enthusiasm for an all-digital production chain: 'for guys like Dave and Larry, for whom good sound was paramount, here was a new methodology which eliminated the weak links, namely tape hiss and

²⁶³ See Jones (1992: 43) and Immink (1998: 459).

²⁶⁴ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

surface noise on vinyl.’²⁶⁵ Another advantage was that the new technology could also enhance prior productions that had been mixed to a digital platform but released on analogue sound carriers like the LP and cassette. For the artist, this meant that their recordings would take on a new sonic character, one that could influence future approaches to recording and production. For GRP, the digitally recorded assets in its back catalogue could now be fully exploited and this would give the company an advantage in the marketplace. Larry Rosen notes: ‘at that point, we felt that this was going to be the whole future of the music industry. It was going to move to a digital playback format. We were obviously in the digital domain already for a number of years prior to this, so were in an interesting position.’²⁶⁶

The first commercially available compact disc was Billy Joel’s *52nd Street* (originally released in 1978), issued in Japan on October 1, 1982 (Haring, 1996: 33). Compact discs became commercially available in the United States in June of 1983 when labels such as Denon, Telarc, Polygram and GRP introduced their new digital catalogues into the marketplace (Haring, 1996: 35). Dave Grusin notes that the combination of their newfound independence and the allure of digital playback in the home gave the company traction in the marketplace: ‘we were able to jump out a little bit ahead of the curve in terms of releasing CDs because we were small. Nobody was telling us which artists got to do what. We made the decision to release everything on CD and that was kind of a major turning point for us.’²⁶⁷ Saxophonist Branford Marsalis recorded with GRP on occasion and observed the mobility of the label as an independent:

²⁶⁵ Interview with Josiah Gluck: March 13, 2005.

²⁶⁶ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

²⁶⁷ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

The beauty of it all for Dave and Larry was that they could make fluid, mobile decisions. It wasn't like where a decision goes up a long food chain and then after a few months a decision comes back down a long food chain and things take a long time.²⁶⁸

GRP's decision to embrace the compact disc format was critical to its success in the marketplace. The CD allowed GRP to determine how its artists would be heard and the context within which they would be presented. Producer Jeff Weber notes: 'they were the first label to dedicate their entire philosophy to a recording technology. Most record companies couldn't care less. They looked at this emerging technology and said: "we want all of our artists to do it this way."²⁶⁹ Engineer Josiah Gluck takes a more pragmatic view:

Frankly, I think GRP's philosophy was driven as much by aural aesthetics as by simple commercialism. Clearly, CDs were going to take hold as the next big medium for audio and Grusin and Rosen wisely sought to provide product that was not readily available in the format.²⁷⁰

Pianist David Benoit recorded for GRP Records between 1987-2003. He concurs that GRP's success was magnified by the fact that it had satisfied a gap in an emerging market: 'I think that was one of the reasons it was so successful, because there was so little content available on CD at that time. So, whatever GRP put out, people would buy, just to have a CD.'²⁷¹ Benoit's assertion correlates with figures from the period documenting the uptake of the new technology. Compact disc sales rose from \$17.2 million in 1983 to \$2.69 billion by 1989 (Haring, 1996: 47).

²⁶⁸ Interview with Branford Marsalis: February 18, 2004.

²⁶⁹ Interview with Jeff Weber: April 10, 2005.

²⁷⁰ Interview with Josiah Gluck: March 13, 2005.

²⁷¹ Interview with David Benoit: August 16, 2006.

Grusin and Rosen had ascertained that jazz music recorded on state of the art equipment was an appealing concept to music consumers. The success of the compact disc as a marketing tool encouraged GRP to enhance its emphasis on digital recording and high quality sound at the level of production. Indeed, Grusin and Rosen were prepared to offer their catalogue on any digital format that might take hold in the marketplace. Grusin acknowledges: 'we got rapped for paying too much attention to that. The traditionalists weren't interested in us going for the throat sonically.'²⁷² Digital Audio Tape (DAT) was advertised as the successor to the compact cassette during its introduction in the mid-1980s.²⁷³ However, the introduction of DATs was hindered by piracy concerns; some record companies feared that giving the consumer the ability to make perfect digital copies would lead to financial ruin.²⁷⁴ GRP manufactured DATs, but were not successful with the format. Bud Katzel, GRP's Senior Vice President of Sales, relates: 'one of the things we went after was DAT. We thought that it was the next technological move after the compact disc; it didn't happen. It remained strictly an internal, engineering, technical thing that was never really passed on to the consumer.'²⁷⁵ Despite the commercial failure of the DAT format, GRP's early embrace of the compact disc was a key factor in the growth of the business. In order to associate the company exclusively with these production methodologies, GRP developed a brand identity that would advertise its relationship with digital technology to the consumer.

²⁷² Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

²⁷³ See Gold (1988) and Pollack (1988).

²⁷⁴ See Gold (1988), Pollack (1988) and Jones (1992: 45).

²⁷⁵ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

Branding

Branding typically denotes the practice of associating specific symbols, words or images with a company or product in order that the values of the company can be efficiently communicated, creating an expectation of quality from the consumer.

Randall (2000: 12) suggests that a brand should do the following: clearly identify itself, summarise the information that the consumer knows about the company and offer security. Randall's work defines branding in terms of its importance to all who collaborate in the selling of products: 'branding is a fundamental *strategic* process that involves all parts of the firm in its delivery. It is about marketing, but is not confined to the marketing department' (Randall, 2000: 2; emphasis his). Holt (2004) also views branding as part of the collaborative nature of marketing. He suggests four areas of industry that contribute to the authoring of brands. They are: companies, the culture industries, intermediaries and customers (Holt, 2004: 3). Holt notes that external symbols, such as a company's name, its logo and any unique packaging it may provide, are just the 'material markers' of the brand (Holt, 2004: 3). The real essence of branding concerns the ways in which meaning and value can be derived from these symbols.

During the 1980s, marketing agencies began to focus less on the attributes of products and became more concerned with 'a psychological/anthropological examination of what brands mean to the culture and to people's lives' (Klein, 2005: 7). Klein has suggested that although companies manufacture products, 'what consumers buy, are brands' (Klein, 2005: 7). Consumer habits can engender loyalty

to particular companies or products. As Randall notes: 'because in most product markets people buy repeatedly, they can have *relationships* with brands over time' (Randall, 2000: 7; emphasis his). With companies such as Coca-Cola, McDonalds, IBM or Nike, design elements 'have been filled with customer experiences' (Holt, 2004: 3). Holt elaborates on this point when he says:

Advertisements, films, and sporting events use the brand as a prop. Magazines and newspaper articles evaluate the brand, and people talk about the brand in conversation. Over time, ideas about the product accumulate and fill the brand markers with meaning (Holt, 2004: 3).

Randall concurs that the image associated with a product or a company is not the sum total of the brand: 'in fact, the image of a brand is what exists *in the minds of consumers*. It is *the total of all the information they have received about the brand* - from experience, word of mouth, advertising, packaging, service and so on' (Randall, 2000: 7; emphasis his). Brand value does not therefore stem from the responses of individual consumers, but from 'the collective nature of these perceptions' (Holt, 2004: 3).

In the music and media industries, marketers actively mediate the values associated with music companies and music products in order to create relationships of trust between musicians, employees, consumers and other intermediaries:

Music is not simply received as sound, but through its association with a series of images, identities and associated values, beliefs and affective desires. Marketing staff are acutely aware of this and strategically attempt to create these links - between the music and the image and between the artist and consumer. These are then monitored and re-articulated during marketing campaigns (Negus 1992: 79).

Mark Wexler was the Senior Vice President of Marketing for GRP Records and joined the company in 1984. Wexler was responsible for creating an identity for the label based on its relationship with technology: 'I was charged with the marketing angle of the company. It gave me the opportunity to take that music and put it into a frame of technology in order to create an identity.'²⁷⁶ Larry Rosen agrees that technology was central to GRP's marketing strategy: 'we used the technology and the digital world as a way of launching our whole label conceptually.'²⁷⁷ One of the first branding strategies for GRP Records involved the creation of a GRP logo and slogan. The logo was an intertwining symbol of the company's three-letter name. Grusin and Rosen's intention was to reproduce the symbol widely on their products and publicity materials in order to associate this imagery with digital technology and jazz. Wexler states: 'the logo was a big part of the packaging; it was on everything, everywhere.'²⁷⁸ A slogan, 'The Digital Master Company', which played upon GRP's prowess in the world of audio technology, was also appended to all advertising. An abbreviated 'Digital Master' notation appeared on all compact disc sleeves. Erica Linderholm, GRP's Director of National Radio Promotion in Special Markets, recalls that GRP also sometimes adopted the phrase 'Where Artistry Meets Technology' to further emphasise the company's commitment to digital sound.²⁷⁹

Designers Deborah Trella and Roy Mendl worked with GRP on its advertising materials from their New York based design firm. Trella notes: 'we made a distinct

²⁷⁶ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

²⁷⁷ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

²⁷⁸ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

²⁷⁹ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005. In the early 1980s, the slogan that accompanied the launch of the compact disc was 'Perfect Sound Forever' (Haring, 1996: 30).

look for them in their advertising. We always had to put the logo in.²⁸⁰ Her partner, Roy Mendl, observed that the label was fixed on one clear expression of its brand identity: 'they had a vision of what their company look should be and wanted to keep it that way.'²⁸¹ GRP used these branding components extensively to increase consumer recognition and associate the label with a certain quality of sound and presentation. Mark Wexler notes: 'we were very aware and cognisant of the fact that we were promoting. In our advertisements we would always make sure that the slogan was either in the headline or in the tagline; it was a very strong part of every campaign that we did.'²⁸² In addition, GRP's branding strategies worked internally to unite the staff behind a single set of ideological principles. Michael Pollard was Director of Production Administration for GRP from 1990-1995. He notes:

GRP was interested in this brand recognition. Some labels didn't really care if you knew what label it was on or not; it was all about the artists. GRP was different in that way because it was all about the technology and the sound. Larry was very into the idea that the label was out front.²⁸³

Suzanne Sherman was a production coordinator and became Director of Production from 1986-1990. As part of her work, Sherman ensured that GRP's international partners were constantly in possession of coherent, updated marketing materials: 'I became their contact to provide all the marketing information that was developed by Mark Wexler and the other parts of that marketing team. I was in charge of disseminating it to everyone outside of the United States.'²⁸⁴ In order to achieve a company's goals, employees need to be invested in its ideology to some extent. As

²⁸⁰ Interview with Deborah Trella: May 24, 2005.

²⁸¹ Interview with Roy Mendl: May 24, 2005.

²⁸² Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

²⁸³ Interview with Michael Pollard: June 20, 2005.

²⁸⁴ Interview with Suzanne Sherman: June 6, 2005.

Karmark argues, 'employees are, to a large extent, seen as one of the target audiences for the company's brand communication' (Karmark, 2007: 109). The success of GRP's marketing techniques motivated staff and resulted in the production of more branded products in accordance with market demand.

Historically, record labels have often developed recognisable identities in the marketplace alongside their artists. Bassist Marcus Miller values this process as part of his relationship to a record company:

I think that's a sign of a successful label. Like Motown or Stax or any of these labels where the artists had their own individual personalities but the label had its own personality too and you began to buy music just because it was on a certain label. CTI was the first one that I remember because it was doing a progressive jazz thing also. I remember as a young kid, I would buy any CTI record. I bought the CTI records for the artwork as much as for the music.²⁸⁵

Indeed, this practice is not uncommon, even in jazz. Labels like Blue Note, Elenco, CTI and DMP all offered music catalogues made recognisable through their approach to branding.²⁸⁶ Pond (2005: 226) writes: 'labels during this period tended to promote their "sound" personalities, hence a Blue Note, Prestige, Riverside or CTI recording could be identified as much by its sound qualities and style direction as the artists on a particular recording.' Carl Griffin became GRP's Vice President of A&R (Artists and Repertoire) in 1990. He describes the label's branding practices and indicates the security that comes from establishing a relationship of brand loyalty

²⁸⁵ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

²⁸⁶ Elenco is a Brazilian record label created in 1963 by Aloysio de Oliveira that was influential in the Bossa Nova genre. Artists such as Baden Powell and Antonio Carlos Jobim have recorded for Elenco among others. Its records are instantly recognisable through a uniform design aesthetic that often features monochrome photography. These records are also noteworthy for the high quality recording techniques carried out at RioSom studios in Rio de Janeiro by engineer Norman Sternberg.

with consumers: 'when you have brand recognition, you know you are marketing to consumers who want to hear this kind of music. They know it's another GRP record with a standard of quality to it, as opposed to being a label that signs artists just to have artists, with no identification.'²⁸⁷ Mark Wexler describes a cross-selling effect that was achieved by GRP's branding practices:

People would walk into a store and they would see the GRP label and the GRP label stood for quality. So even if they didn't know the artist, they felt like at least the recording itself was going to be of quality. We turned a lot of people on to some of our lesser-known artists with that whole concept.²⁸⁸

Historically, jazz discourses have positioned the artist as the point of connection with the audience. However, GRP's central focus was to create a connection for the consumer between the 'material markers' (Holt, 2004: 3) of its brand (such as its logo, slogan and artwork) and the values of fidelity, sophistication and artistry. As a result, consumers began to trust the GRP brand, forming their primary relationship with the values of the company rather than with its artists. Mark Wexler confirms this theory: 'the label became almost bigger than any one artist.'²⁸⁹ Marcus Miller holds the same view: 'it became more about the quality of the recording rather than the brilliance of the artists, to the point where the star of the CD was usually the label.'²⁹⁰ Pond has noted that this sort of overt presentation of 'sound personalities' can mean that 'the label itself probably benefited more than either the musician or the individual recording' (Pond, 2005: 168).

²⁸⁷ Interview with Carl Griffin: April 7, 2004.

²⁸⁸ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

²⁸⁹ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

²⁹⁰ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

Some musicians associated with GRP have acknowledged the effects of these art/commerce tensions. Clarinetist Eddie Daniels suggests that GRP's overt association with marketing practices impacted negatively on his reputation as a serious jazz artist: 'if I had been recording for Blue Note, I would have been thought of more as a jazz artist. People tell me that the fact that it was GRP took a little bit of the jazz aura away from my presence even though I made some very good jazz records on that label.'²⁹¹ Larry Rosen, however, notes that adopting an aggressive brand marketing approach did not typically meet with resistance from musicians:

We had many artists who wanted to come to us simply because they could communicate with us musically...and at the same time they loved the idea that we were pushing the envelope on the reproduction of the sound of the music that they were making as well. This helped create the thrust of pushing the label forward very aggressively. They loved it that the people who were responsible for ultimately motivating the marketing department and everything else were that involved in their music.²⁹²

This comment from Rosen indicates that musicians were keen to contract with GRP because of its powerful presence in the marketplace. He also indicates that artists were willing to sign with GRP not only because of the potential sales advantages but because the founders appeared to 'understand' them as artists and possessed the ability to communicate with them in musical terms. GRP's identity and reputation therefore helped the company to attract new artists and instigate new productions. Bassist Marcus Miller saw these symbolic tools as a way for the company to differentiate its output from other jazz products in the marketplace. He notes: 'presenting themselves as "The Digital Master Company" was their way of setting

²⁹¹ Interview with Eddie Daniels: March 19, 2005.

²⁹² Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

themselves apart.²⁹³ Guitarist Steve Khan is careful to note that marketing materials typically present an idealised representation of a company's mission and do not necessarily reflect reality: 'average people look at the product and say "wow, I'm getting a digital master"', but what they don't understand is that it can't even be a CD without being digitally mastered. That little thing is an incredible stroke in the art of bullshit, but it's very effective.'²⁹⁴ Bassist Mark Egan, who made a solo record for GRP in 1988, also enjoyed the creative freedom provided by this marketing wordplay: 'you could even record the whole record in analogue' he notes, 'so long as the final mastering process was in a digital format.'²⁹⁵

Packaging

The literal definition of packaging concerns the activity of 'designing and producing the container or wrapper for a product' (Kotler, 1984: 490). However, packaging can also be viewed as another opportunity to communicate with consumers. Indeed, the size, shape, materials and design of a package can 'suggest certain qualities about the product or the company' (Kotler, 1984: 491). A consumer's first encounter with a musical product can take place through this visual medium, which is why 'popular music has increasingly relied on visual style to present and sell itself' (Jones and Sorger, 1999: 68). From television adverts, to posters, album covers and music videos, consumers are accustomed to making judgements about music products based on visual media. Album covers are therefore an 'integral part of the production

²⁹³ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

²⁹⁴ Interview with Steve Khan: May 30, 2005.

²⁹⁵ Interview with Mark Egan: February 25, 2004. Egan's solo record is *A Touch of Light* (1988, GRD-9572).

and consumption of popular music' (Jones and Sorger, 1999: 69). It is all the more surprising then that in addition to Jones and Sorger's (1999) essay, Kevin Edge's (1991) book on the graphic design of music packaging is one of the few works on this topic. The packaging of jazz music has received even less analysis.

In his work on Herbie Hancock's *Head Hunters*, Pond makes some analysis of the presentation of jazz artists on record sleeves. He deconstructs Blue Note's presentation of jazz artist Herbie Hancock by examining the cover for Hancock's 1962 Blue Note album *Takin' Off*, designed by Reid Miles (Pond, 2005: 117). Pond notes that the minimalist cover features a black, white and red colour scheme, simple lettering and a striking black and white photograph of Hancock at the piano looking 'alert' and 'sophisticated' (Pond, 2005: 117). In the photo, Hancock is attired in a suit, 'crisp shirt, tie, and conservatively styled hair' (Pond, 2005: 117).²⁹⁶ Clearly, this is a conscious presentation of Hancock as a serious scholar of jazz. From the striking tri-colour designs of Blue Note releases, to the minimalist sleeves of European jazz label ECM, record artwork is an important marketing tool for jazz labels. Jones and Sorger (1999: 74) have noted that 'the progressive nature of jazz as it developed in the 1950s was reflected in an avant-garde approach to photography, illustration and typography'. The design of jazz packaging can be distinct and coherent in its aims. Likewise, Zrzavy (1990: 39, 51) has observed that New Age music has developed an 'unmistakable identity' through 'cohesion in the aesthetics of New Age cover art'. Zrzavy suggests that this genre relies more on its visuals than its sound. As such, it is not unreasonable to suggest that music packaging functions

²⁹⁶ Herbie Hancock, *Takin' Off* (1962, Blue Note 4109). See also Marsh and Callingham (2002: 175).

as a 'visual mnemonic' to the music within (Jones and Sorger, 1999: 68).²⁹⁷ Indeed, design can also express the values of a product: 'when jazz consumers, whether intellectuals, bohemians or novices bought an album, they also bought into a sense of history, style and culture' (Jones and Sorger, 1999: 74).

Cover design has traditionally been a point of stimulus for consumers, allowing them to form impressions about a record before the music is even heard. Moreover, 'an interesting cover may produce a sale, or prompt an adventurous consumer to find out more' (Jones and Sorger, 1999: 96). As Negus notes:

The consumption of popular music has always been associated with tactile and visual elements. This is very apparent in the store in terms of the way in which the packaging of the "sound carrier" is part of the way in which appeals are made to consumers. During the 1960s, looking at album covers and sleeve designs became an integral part of the purchase of popular music, and the retail environment itself changed to accommodate the tactile experience of examining the sleeve before acquiring the music (Du Gay and Negus, 1994: 407).

For record labels then, the design of future products can be influenced by the success of package design. Many of the developments in record packaging have stemmed from practical rather than aesthetic reasons. Although graphics proved popular with consumers, the fragility of audio formats such as the LP and to some extent the CD, have highlighted the need for inner sleeves or protective plastic cases: 'the CD not only affected the consumption of music, but, like previous advances in audio technology, it necessitated a new form of packaging' (Jones and Sorger, 1999: 89).

²⁹⁷ One of the New Age music companies pursuing the idea of label branding during this period was Windham Hill. Windham Hill Records was an independent record label founded in 1976 by guitarist William Ackerman and his wife Anne Robinson. It became a successful proponent of the genre during the 1980s. Its releases usually featured pristine sound quality and a recognisable style of album artwork.

Although GRP required such CD casings for practical sales purposes, a jazz label like ECM preferred ‘the “tactile stimulus” of cardboard and paper, the washes and coatings’ (Wojirsch, 1999 cited in Sorger and Jones, 1999: 90). In developing their packaging, jazz businesses must therefore make choices based on the practical needs of retailers and consumers versus the preservation of an aesthetic vision.

GRP’s approach to package design was inspired by jazz labels like CTI and Blue Note, who had been successful with several series of recognisable releases demonstrating a uniform approach to cover art, colour palettes and layout. Co-founder Dave Grusin feels that GRP never quite achieved the stylised look of CTI’s output:

I had great respect for the way CTI was marketing its records, particularly graphically. They had arrived at a cover concept where there was no question about who the label was, even from across the room in a bin. We never did quite achieve that. There was a time when we were sort of on the verge of it but not in that real, branded, clearly defined way that CTI was.²⁹⁸

Consistency in the design of GRP’s record covers was clearly an important marketing concept for Grusin. Andy Baltimore was Vice President of Creative Services and a core member of GRP’s earliest staff. He describes the process of creating cover art as follows:

I would always incorporate what had to be done commercially as far as promoting sales with what the artist felt his record should be. We talked about image with artist managers. We knew in the end where we had to go and what we wanted it to look like and that conversation always took place with Larry and Bud. I had to be aware of the promotion and sales and marketing.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

²⁹⁹ Interview with Andy Baltimore: September 16, 2002.

Evidently, Baltimore was guided by a sense of design and creativity but also by the demands of the company and the consumer. His position as a core staff member ensured that GRP had a good deal of control over the visual presentation of its products. This was a collaborative process that Baltimore negotiated in order to try to satisfy all parties. Baltimore states that the creation of album cover artwork for GRP was often a stressful process. He attributes this to the volume of releases generated by GRP and its position as an independent company in a competitive marketplace:

We put out so many, constantly under pressure; either the production was behind or the liner notes were behind. I was always making changes, right down to the last second. We didn't sit back. We were always very aggressive because of the fact that we were competing against a lot of the majors. We were always fighting for a piece of the floor space and counter space.³⁰⁰

Clearly, there was a commercial imperative for GRP's products to have the maximum possible visual impact in the marketplace. If a product was successful, Baltimore could approach future releases in a similar fashion, feeding information concerning the label's marketing successes back into the production process.

When comparing the artwork of jazz labels such as Blue Note (Marsh and Callingham, 2002) and ECM (Lake and Griffiths, 2007) with GRP's releases, it is clear that packaging can clearly demarcate the different types of consumers that products are aimed at. While the former marketed a 'cool' jazz aesthetic through avant-garde images of abstract art, smoke-filled clubs, gleaming trumpets and rain-lashed Parisian streets, GRP did not generally opt for the 'serious' minimalist flourishes of ECM or the stylish colour processes of Blue Note sleeves. Instead, GRP

³⁰⁰ Interview with Andy Baltimore: September 16, 2002.

covers typically featured an image of the artist posed with an instrument in a neutral setting. Although the artwork was typically not experimental and did not recall the excesses of 1960s rock or 1970s jazz-fusion, it did maintain a uniform aesthetic and an emphasis on the label's brand. In summary, GRP's artwork was designed to appeal to the largest possible audience and was not limited solely to imagery associated with jazz. It is clear that all of these jazz companies such as GRP, CTI, ECM and Blue Note are acutely aware of their consumer's preferences and explicitly design their products to appeal to the aesthetic sensibilities of both artists and audiences.

Retail

Retail stores possess what Du Gay and Negus (1994: 406) call a 'narrative of consumption', a structure prepared for the consumer that consists of self-contained spaces for different genres of music. Through interactive tools such as listening posts and the tactile browsing experience of record packaging, retail marketing attempts to engage with consumer tastes. Information obtained at retail, such as sales figures and browsing habits can help labels to make decisions about which artists are prioritised for sale in the limited shelf space of the typical store, what the artwork should look like and who should receive the most significant marketing budgets. In addition, if a record becomes successful, retail demand can stimulate production and manufacturing (Du Gay and Negus, 1994: 402). As such, retailing can be viewed as an important collaboration between record labels, stores and consumers.

In the early 1970's, jazz labels were trying to achieve crossover success at retail with jazz-fusion music. Pond (2005: 169) notes that this meant 'placing a recording in more than one kind of speciality store or more than one section in a larger store.' Independent stores reported their sales to *Billboard*. This data would then be used to calculate the potential of a record to cross over, or 'sell to audiences outside its primary or target market' (Pond, 2005: 169). Stores would make decisions about stocking a record based on its positions in charts of various genres. Before the jazz marketing coup of Herbie Hancock's *Head Hunters* (1973), only a handful of jazz records had really demonstrated the ability to advance into the front racks of many major mass-merchandising chains (Pond, 2005: 170). Producer and jazz arranger Quincy Jones has stated that a jazz record is 'any record that sells under 20,000 copies' (Washburne, 2004: 138). Of course, Jones is being facetious here, but the point is not entirely without merit. Washburne documents that by 1999, average sales of jazz music were at 5,000 copies per release while 'smooth' or pop-influenced forms of jazz-fusion averaged 125,000 copies (Washburne, 2004: 140).³⁰¹

Bud Katzel entered the music industry in 1952 in the publicity and promotion department of Decca Records. He joined GRP in 1983 becoming the Director of Sales and Marketing until Mark Wexler was hired in 1984, affording him the role of Senior Vice President of Sales. A veteran of the industry, Katzel was an established figure with the majority of retailers in the United States. He discovered that bringing GRP's compact discs into the United States and into retail stores would be a challenge: 'there were no plants in the United States, but there was one in Germany

³⁰¹ Lee Ritenour's first album for GRP, a collaboration with Dave Grusin entitled *Harlequin* (1985, GRD-9522), sold half a million copies and was nominated for four Grammys with one win.

and one in Tokyo. So through JVC we were able to get product imported into the United States. The job was to convince retailers that this was going to be a digital world of CDs.³⁰² At the time, the basic configuration of the compact disc did not fit into the twelve-inch fixtures in the retail stores that had been designed to hold LP records. As a result, Katzel helped to develop a six-by-twelve inch container known as a 'longbox' in order that two CDs would fit side by side in the record store bin. This eliminated the need for retailers to re-fixture their stores (Haring 1996: 34). Katzel relates these events as follows:

I got word that there was a company outside of Minneapolis that made plastic containers to put cupcakes in, which they shipped out to bakeries. So I went there, hoping that maybe they could set up the compact disc in plastic. Sure enough, they said they could do it. They put it in a plastic see-through container so you could see the cover. It was an elongated box that was able to fit into a retailer's store.³⁰³

It was imperative that the consumer be able to browse GRP's products and engage with them visually before purchase. Katzel worked on highlighting GRP's brand identity on the shop floors of music retailers: 'our strategy was to isolate GRP in the retail stores as a separate entity, as a separate label that you could find in the store with its own area, it's own department.'³⁰⁴ Du Gay and Negus (1994: 406) have noted, 'since the late 1980s megastores have been building separate self-contained environments for different genres of music; most notably jazz, country and classical.' In doing so, retailers display a knowledge of how consumers express lifestyle and identity in their allegiance to particular styles of music and the values they represent: 'retailers collate and classify information concerning the taste divisions and

³⁰² Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

³⁰³ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

³⁰⁴ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

distinctions adopted by different audience groups and the way in which music operates to mark out and map and communicate individual, social and cultural identities' (Du Gay and Negus, 1994: 407). Clearly, Katzel's strategy aimed to mediate the retail positioning of GRP's products to the greatest extent possible.

At retail, GRP's emphasis on label branding aimed to attract consumers to the label as a trusted source of high fidelity jazz music. Katzel comments on the rationale behind this strategy:

We worked on the idea that the customer, the consumer, would walk in and say "what's new on GRP?" That's what we were after, so we started working on not only getting our CDs into the stores but to get sections of the jazz department to put the GRP logo up so you knew this was the GRP section.³⁰⁵

For GRP then, retail stores were an opportunity to express its label-oriented promotional philosophies and to interact with consumers. Another major retail campaign conceived and carried out by Bud Katzel was called 'June is GRP month'. GRP devised the campaign as an internal contest among retailers in North America:

It started out as a kind of retail contest in which we supplied the retailer with all the paraphernalia, posters and merchandising that was needed to set up a display. Retailers took photos of these displays and sent them to us. We chose the best ones and the store won prizes. What started out as a retail in-store promotion in the jazz departments of these companies like Tower began moving outside the jazz department and taking over other parts of the store. For ten years it permeated mass merchants and we took over entire chains that were involved in this display contest.³⁰⁶

By creating a situation in which retailers were competing to better promote GRP, Katzel was able to maximise the label's exposure at retail and mediate the

³⁰⁵ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

³⁰⁶ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

consumer's relationship with its products. Initiatives like 'June is GRP Month' became part of the jazz consumer's retail experience in the 1980s and such high profile exposure drew more jazz artists to the label.³⁰⁷ As a point of sale practice that extended beyond the jazz department, GRP used June is GRP Month to introduce jazz products to the casual browser. Such practices enabled the label to increase its chances of crossing over to mainstream audiences, to understand the consumer's browsing habits and to act on any marketing data received from these endeavours. Marcus Miller recalls GRP's penetrative reach at retail outlets: 'all I remember is, I would go into the store and at the front there would be a CD tree; it was all GRP Records, it was a GRP display. If you bought one of these GRP CDs, you knew it was going to sound good in your new CD player.'³⁰⁸

'Audiophiles' and 'early adopters'

Another key area of GRP's marketing practices concerns its relationship with 'audiophiles' and 'early adopters'. Individuals that purchase high specification home entertainment technologies such as high fidelity stereo systems are often described as 'audiophiles'.³⁰⁹ The term 'early adopter' usually describes someone who becomes a customer of a given company, product, or technology before it is widely accepted by the mass market (Vejlgaard, 2007: 164). Keightley suggests that the 'hi-fi' era dates back to the introduction of the 33 1/3 rpm LP record in 1948 (Keightley, 2003: 237).

³⁰⁷ Katzel relates: 'one manager told me he was shopping around for a new label and his artist said: "I don't know where I'm going or where you're going to put me, but I'd like to be with the company that has taken over this store today"' (Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002).

³⁰⁸ Interview with Marcus Miller: September 7, 2005.

³⁰⁹ The word derives from the Latin 'audire' which means 'to hear' and the Greek 'philos', which means 'loving'. See O'Connell (1992: 6-7).

He has also described how high fidelity was masculinised by home audio hobbyists in the 1950s: 'men used hi-fi sound reproduction technology and the LP to produce a domestic space gendered as masculine' (Keightley, 1996: 150). Frith (1996: 34) has noted, the 'rise of mass culture meant new ways of using aesthetic experience to define social identity.' Indeed, the marketing of upmarket 'hi-fi' equipment is typically aimed at high-income males and is intended to connote 'a sense of elevated class, cultural capital and prestige' (Keightley, 1996: 157).

By making assumptions about the age, gender, income and interests of its customers, GRP attempted to construct the ideal consumer for its products. GRP targeted a sophisticated, typically male, adult consumer in the 25 to 34 demographic; a 'baby boomer' with disposable income.³¹⁰ GRP's marketing staff hypothesised that this person would be interested in 'high-end' audio equipment.³¹¹ Building on Larry Rosen's experience in the advertising industry, GRP marketed its high quality digital jazz recordings to this discrete taste group. As Negus (1999: 23) has stated, 'companies spend vast sums of money using advertising to encourage us not only to buy, but also to interpret, understand and grasp the meaning of products in a certain way.' GRP had already made a clear association between jazz and technology in its marketing materials and could access this type of consumer through an appeal to their aesthetic sensibilities. Frith (1996: 88) says that the aim of marketing is to 'retain the promise of exclusivity, the hint of generic secrets, while making them

³¹⁰ 'Baby boomer' usually refers to a person born in America or the UK between 1946 and 1964. The term derives from noticeable spikes in the birth rates of these countries post Second World War. This phenomenon is generally described as a 'baby boom'.

³¹¹ 'High-end' usually refers to the performance specifications of audio components and high quality sound in general. The term is usually attributed to Harry Pearson of *The Absolute Sound*, a magazine for audio enthusiasts, who coined the adjective in 1973. See Perlman (2004).

available to everyone.’ Through its marketing practices, GRP implied access to an elite social world.

In the late 1990’s, a retrospective article in the *Wall Street Journal* described GRP’s break from Arista and Rosen’s view of the marketplace: ‘Arista was in no mood to try selling \$20 CDs to play on \$1,000 machines. Rosen understood his customers - they aren’t penny-pinching teenagers. He started bringing out CDs and selling them through hi-fi stores’ (Jenkins, 1998). Indeed, Rosen confirms that in the early stages, CDs were viewed as a specialist product: ‘record stores wouldn’t even carry CDs at the very beginning; they thought it was a fad for audiophiles.’³¹² In the burgeoning compact disc market, GRP’s brand of high fidelity jazz-pop found an audience among fans of high-end audio. Grusin recalls: ‘early on we became known as great demo records for hi-fi stores. That was our first notoriety; kind of a high-end sonic label.’³¹³ Jon Diamond was a director and silent equity partner with GRP from 1984-1991. He describes GRP’s strategy in this corner of the market: ‘we felt that targeting early-adopters was important because the audiophiles who were buying high-end audio equipment were the first to buy compact disc players.’³¹⁴ Recording engineer Josiah Gluck notes: ‘*In The Digital Mood* and *Night Lines* were smart gambles for GRP because that kind of music, digitally multi-tracked and digitally mixed, was not readily available. Those became must-have demo discs for hi-fi stores and people who had just bought a CD player.’³¹⁵ Jon Diamond describes GRP’s target market:

³¹² Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

³¹³ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

³¹⁴ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

³¹⁵ Interview with Josiah Gluck: September 18, 2002.

The idea was that we were targeting the “baby boomer” generation. These were people who were 27 and older who had probably just bought a VCR, a personal computer and probably hadn’t bought records in about ten years. A lot of them didn’t know it was jazz they were listening to; they just liked the whole instrumental genre of music.³¹⁶

The scarcity of digitally recorded jazz music on compact disc allowed GRP to establish its niche in the market. According to Haring (1996: 34), the earliest CD players, such as the Sony CDP-101, cost in the region of \$1,000. He notes: ‘elevated costs kept the market isolated to what were termed “upscale audiophiles”’ (Haring, 1996: 35). This quickly expanded to the mass market. Immink (1998: 462) states that from 1982-1990, sales of compact discs rose to over one billion units sold. There were five billion CDs sold in 1997 while sales of LPs declined sharply.

GRP understood that its early embrace of digital audio and compact disc technology was its most valuable marketing tool. This is demonstrated through the way that the technology was referenced in some of its record titles: The Glenn Miller Orchestra’s *In the Digital Mood* (1983) and The Duke Ellington Orchestra’s *Digital Duke* (1987) are two such examples.³¹⁷ Bud Katzel notes:

I realised that we had not only a hit record with the Glenn Miller *Digital Mood* album but we had a hit format. This format was taking off. Somebody was willing to put down for 30 compact discs for his friends and wait for it to arrive. This was, I thought, quite an event. On vinyl with *Digital Mood* we had sold probably 35-40,000 units. As soon as we released the compact disc, I was ordering 50,000 units imported at a time from Japan.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

³¹⁷ Glenn Miller Orchestra, *In the Digital Mood* (1983, GRD-9502); The Duke Ellington Orchestra, *Digital Duke* (1987, GRD-9548).

³¹⁸ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

Sound carriers such as the compact disc, the LP and the cassette have always been closely associated with the hardware required to play them. One can be used to demonstrate and therefore sell the other. In order to reach these consumers, GRP began to form relationships with electronics companies. Jon Diamond explains their reasoning: ‘the logical thing to do was to approach major hardware manufacturers. In this case, JVC decided to work with GRP when they were launching the compact disc players. The idea was to associate the hardware with the CDs that we had.’³¹⁹ In order to locate consumers who were interested in these products, GRP distributed its records to hi-fi stores and attended home audio conventions. Mark Wexler describes GRP’s pro-active approach to targeting the audio enthusiast:

We were very promotionally minded, so we would go out and work with different types of companies and try to barter our CDs in exchange for some exposure. Because I came from the technology world and the audio world in particular, I would go to the consumer electronic shows with boxes full of CDs and I would make sure that every booth that was demonstrating hi-fi equipment did so with GRP music.³²⁰

With the democratisation of home technologies (Keightley, 2003), consumers had unprecedented access to new methods of music storage and reproduction. The invention of portable music technologies like the Sony Walkman (Du Gay, 2003) and the subsequent Sony Discman, allowed individuals an opportunity to express their musical tastes in many aspects of their lives. As technology and audio enthusiasts, Grusin and Rosen were well aware of the potential of this niche market and chose to marry the values of high fidelity with those of jazz artistry in order to appeal to it. As Frith (1996: 85-86) notes: ‘what is going on here is an idealization, the creation of a *fantasy* consumer...In deciding to label a music or a musician in a

³¹⁹ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

³²⁰ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

particular way, record companies are saying something about both what people like and why they like it.' Consumers are, of course, also active agents in shaping consumption and appropriating goods to define their identities. According to Oudshoorn and Pinch (2003: 15), 'artifacts become tools for making status claims and expressing a specific lifestyle to neighbours.' This negotiation between technology, marketers and consumers helps to position the product in a particular market and inscribe it with specific values. Success in these markets provides valuable market data that can be used to influence future production decisions such as the choice of recording medium or the volume of CDs to be manufactured.

Advertising and publicity

In addition to its retail campaigns, GRP was actively marketing its products in traditional print advertising and receiving large amounts of exposure at radio. Because of its close relationship with the founders and publishers of *Jazziz*, a jazz magazine based in Florida, Grusin and Rosen were able to secure a good deal of publicity for the label.³²¹ By featuring prominently in the magazine, GRP was able to advertise directly to its 'upscale' audience. Keyboardist Don Grusin, brother of GRP founder Dave Grusin, notes: 'smooth jazz has a wealthy audience and magazines like *Jazziz* really fuel that fire.'³²² Anne Donnelly-Florio worked as the Director of Advertising at GRP from 1989 to 1991. She confirms: 'I would determine which publications we would go into, be it *Musician*, *JazzTimes*, *Down Beat* or *Jazziz*. They

³²¹ *Jazziz* is an independent music magazine that covers jazz. It was founded in 1983 by Michael and Lori Fagien and has approximately 200,000 subscribers.

³²² Interview with Don Grusin: March 7, 2006.

had a very good relationship with that magazine.³²³ Michael Bloom joined GRP in October 1986 becoming GRP's Director of Publicity. He also recognised the importance of *Jazziz* to marketing GRP in print: 'we did a lot of stuff with *Billboard*, a lot of audio magazines because of the digital stuff, all the jazz magazines, *Down Beat*, *JazzTimes* and especially *Jazziz*.'³²⁴

In its print advertising, GRP adopted the practice of creating multi-artist posters that featured multiple forthcoming releases. Mark Wexler notes: 'we would take out an ad every month in some of the jazz magazines, in particular *Jazziz*, *JazzTimes* and *Down Beat*, and those ads would encompass all of our artists.'³²⁵ By using this technique, the marketing department was able to save on expenditure and yet still emphasise the label's roster and brand identity. GRP did however devote individual advertisements to those releases that appeared to have the greatest commercial potential, a decision based on information gathered from existing campaigns. Deborah Trella and Roy Mendl handled the layout of most of GRP's advertising materials: 'we did all of their advertising, mostly in trade magazines like *JazzTimes* and *Guitar*. Usually half page ads or third page ads depending on how much they thought the artist would do.'³²⁶ It was not just the marketing department who were able to impact upon which artists were prioritised for marketing campaigns. Jason Byrne joined GRP in 1992 and became part of GRP's international department before becoming Director of International Marketing: 'I would coordinate with all

³²³ Interview with Anne Donnelly-Florio: June 8, 2005. *JazzTimes* is a jazz magazine founded by Ira Sabin in 1970. Today the magazine is widely regarded as a leading jazz publication. *Down Beat* is an American jazz magazine that was established in 1934 in Chicago, Illinois.

³²⁴ Interview with Michael Bloom: April 15, 2004.

³²⁵ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

³²⁶ Interview with Deborah Trella: May 24, 2005.

the international affiliates, getting them excited about new releases that were coming up.³²⁷ As part of this dialogue, staff members would have the opportunity to interpret demands from distribution partners and to attempt to satisfy requests for certain types of products for international markets.

In 1987, a Los Angeles radio station called KTWW adopted an adult contemporary music format and was re-branded 94.7 FM 'The Wave'. The format was replicated in radio markets across the United States, introducing pop-influenced jazz to a wide audience. Because of GRP's relationship with JVC, the label was able to provide such radio stations with CD players. As a marketing promotion, these actions established GRP's reputation with the stations and helped to secure airplay for GRP recordings. Jon Diamond describes GRP's approach to the opportunity presented by the new programming:

When the "Wave" format began in Los Angeles, within six months there were about 80 radio stations playing it. We sent them the CD players and we sent them our CDs. The major record companies had to focus on getting compact discs out for Billy Joel and the major recording artists they had, so the commercial jazz area was wide open at that time. We were able to establish our name and reputation with these radio stations for a number of years. They used to call one station W-GRP. At one point, GRP represented 50 or 60 percent of the entire rotation of what they were playing.³²⁸

In order to capitalise on their strong position at radio, Bud Katzel developed a co-branding opportunity for radio stations that would allow stations to customise their own GRP sampler CDs from the existing repertoire. Jon Diamond describes the scheme as follows:

³²⁷ Interview with Jason Byrne: June 22, 2005.

³²⁸ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

Bud developed this idea of putting GRP sampler CDs into the marketplace that would have the radio station logo on. It would be sold at retail and advertised on the radio station. They could bring in advertisers or a sponsor to put on the CD too. We'd have posters made and would have six to eight of our artists sell in conjunction with the branded CD. We did the same thing in Europe.³²⁹

While operating as a publicity exercise with retail and radio, this promotional scheme also allowed market research data to influence the production process. By allowing the radio station to determine which artists were included on the sampler CDs, certain artists were prioritised by external tastemakers and therefore became more likely to continue to make recordings for the label. Bud Katzel notes that the exercise empowered radio stations and encouraged them to engage with GRP:

One of the major promotional gimmicks we got involved in was that we made up samplers for stations. In every city that we could, we went to the major contemporary jazz station and said: "how would you like to have your own sampler? You help us pick out the titles that you want and for the records that you play on air, we will get it into the retail stores." That was something that nobody had done before, so that was a major coup that we were involved in at radio during the time we were running our June is GRP Month retail contest.³³⁰

GRP's cross-promotional techniques at radio and retail clearly contributed to its success in advertising and publicising the GRP brand. Katzel summarises GRP's relentless mediation of new platforms for jazz products in the marketplace: 'we were not willing to just leave it to radio to play our records. We wanted to do things both on radio and in the stores that would entice people towards GRP and towards this whole philosophy that we had about the technology and the music.'³³¹

³²⁹ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

³³⁰ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

³³¹ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

Touring and sponsorship

The final area of GRP's marketing strategies that I wish to consider concerns the label's relationships with technology corporations such as JVC and the leverage that this provided for live concert touring packages. As a result of these partnerships, GRP was able to cross-promote its compact discs alongside audio hardware and receive sponsorship to finance GRP branded tours and reach so-called 'early adopters' of new technology. Michael Bloom states: 'GRP being hooked in with JVC for the digital thing early on was very beneficial to the label's exposure. When people bought a CD player, often the first CD they heard was a GRP CD.'³³² Mark Wexler also appreciated the benefits of these alliances: 'we aligned ourselves with as many big players as we possibly could...we became very much involved with JVC. Any product launches they had, they'd give away GRP music.'³³³

These partnerships enhanced GRP's brand identity by associating its products with cutting edge technology and powerful multi-national corporations. Jon Diamond notes that it was unusual for any label, let alone an independent jazz label, to obtain this much commercial support:

Working with big advertisers and sponsors like JVC is a very commonplace thing for a record company today; back then it was very unusual. We worked with Jaguar, A&D Speakers and Mitsubishi to present tours in Europe, Japan and the United States, funded in large part by corporate sponsors. That really helped to establish our brand.³³⁴

³³² Interview with Michael Bloom: April 15, 2004.

³³³ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

³³⁴ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

GRP carried out a range of marketing strategies in Japan that incorporated television and radio broadcasting. In terms of touring, sponsorship helped to finance the staging of live concerts, such as the GRP 'All-Stars' events. These operated much like the Motown revues of the 1960s, essentially package tours featuring the label's roster of artists performing together on a single bill. Sheryl Feuerstein acted as a freelance publicist for the label. She notes: 'GRP created a home for artists who were essentially in other people's bands. They were able to have their own tours and CDs. GRP was also brilliant at packaging its artists together on "All-Star" tours and live events.'³³⁵ Clearly, the cumulative impact of multiple jazz artists from the GRP roster performing together in concert was a powerful incentive for sponsoring organisations. This commercial framework provided a mediated context in which the jazz artists performed. Moreover, GRP's live events frequently led to the creation of more GRP products, as Dave Grusin states: 'Larry recorded the concerts and found a way to release another piece of product.'³³⁶

Hiroshi Aono was an employee of JVC who acted as the product manager for GRP in Japan.³³⁷ Aono promoted GRP/JVC events in Japan during the 1980s: 'it was my responsibility to tell about GRP, so we organised concerts such as *GRP Super Live* (1987) with all of its jazz stars. We did eight shows in Tokyo which was huge exposure.'³³⁸ He also describes GRP's ongoing pursuit of major technology brands in Japan: 'Larry also formed a relationship with Mitsubishi company. He was always seeking that kind of tie-in with companies who were aggressive in the technology

³³⁵ Interview with Sheryl Feuerstein: May 24, 2005.

³³⁶ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

³³⁷ Hiroshi Aono is currently the Managing Director of Universal Music KK, Japan.

³³⁸ Interview with Hiroshi Aono: July 11, 2006.

area.³³⁹ Taeko Hishinuma was a concert promoter in Japan at the Kambara Music office.³⁴⁰ She assisted with GRP's touring requirements in Japan and coordinated the media exposure surrounding the events.³⁴¹ Hishinuma fully understood the commercial context in which these events took place and aimed to introduce GRP's artists through cross-promotion on media and television, rather than traditional appearances in jazz clubs:

We tried to make fusion hip and trendy and keep the scene active by doing a lot of cross-media promotion including GRP "All-Stars" special events sponsored by Panasonic or Asahi Beer or Mitsubishi. I believe it helped to make GRP quite popular at that time, rather than bringing each artist to Japan individually and doing a tour or booking them into jazz clubs.³⁴²

Hishinuma's strategy emphasised GRP's label-oriented marketing philosophy by leveraging the GRP brand as a whole rather than by promoting individual artists. She notes that GRP's relationships with technology companies were usually of mutual benefit: 'we set up sponsorship situation because Japanese companies like Panasonic wanted to push that new technology. JVC is a subsidiary of Panasonic so we did a lot of advertising tied in together.'³⁴³ Through its relationships with larger and more powerful companies, GRP used emerging digital audio platforms to target consumers with an interest in technology and high quality productions of jazz-pop music.

Hishinuma helped GRP to create a number of television commercials featuring jazz artists and well-known products: 'one thing I did was with Lee Ritenour and Asahi

³³⁹ Interview with Hiroshi Aono: July 11, 2006.

³⁴⁰ Yoshiro Kambara was the chairman of the Japan Association of Performing Arts Management. The Kambara music office managed international touring events primarily for classical orchestras and jazz performers.

³⁴¹ Hishinuma later became the President of N2K Japan and the Director of Marketing for iTunes Japan.

³⁴² Interview with Taeko Hishinuma: July 31, 2006.

³⁴³ Interview with Taeko Hishinuma: July 31, 2006.

Beer, who was the distributor for Coors. I arranged that Lee and David Foster appeared on the Coors TV commercial in Japan. So we filmed them together in LA and their music was also featured in the TV commercial.³⁴⁴ This synergistic approach to advertising media enabled the label to maximise its exposure and reach new audiences internationally. Hishinuma also coordinated GRP concerts in Japan that were filmed and later broadcast on television and radio: 'during Lee Ritenour's Asahi Beer tour, the radio station had a special programme for that event. We sent a broadcast of the show from the festival. It was also filmed and broadcast in Japan.'³⁴⁵ Hishinuma's comments provide much insight into GRP's marketing strategies. The extent to which jazz recordings and performances can be determined by the commercial context in which they are exposed is clearly considerable:

I would work with an advertising agency and present a total package to the client including the show, including the radio, including the TV commercial. We really wanted to promote jazz and fusion and make it a holistic approach with commercials and radio so that it helped to keep the fusion market alive and selling CDs.³⁴⁶

Despite the lack of marketing mediation present in jazz historiography generally, it is important to note that for an independent jazz label, these were significant commercial accomplishments. GRP's production schedule was undoubtedly constructed around these kinds of potential outlets for its products. Moreover, these practices helped to determine which artists would likely succeed alone in international markets, a key consideration for GRP when investing profits into the production of new recordings.

³⁴⁴ Interview with Taeko Hishinuma: July 31, 2006. David Foster is a Canadian record producer and composer who has worked with Whitney Houston, Céline Dion, Cher, Earth, Wind & Fire, Michael Jackson and Madonna among others.

³⁴⁵ Interview with Taeko Hishinuma: July 31, 2006.

³⁴⁶ Interview with Taeko Hishinuma: July 31, 2006.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented a case study of the marketing mediation carried out by GRP Records in order to argue that jazz products, like most other music products, are conceived and realised in line with market demands. By examining GRP's approach to the compact disc, to branding, packaging, retailing, advertising and live sponsored events, I have demonstrated GRP's extensive mediation of its output in the marketplace. Despite the lack of transparency in jazz marketing generally, jazz is clearly determined in part by the networks of mediators that rationalise and promote its products. Throughout jazz history, jazz labels like CTI, Blue Note, and GRP have created brands and attributed values to products in order to mediate the sale of jazz recordings. Indeed, even the most avant-garde jazz label must interact to some degree with the industrial frameworks that enable its products to reach audiences.

GRP is a jazz label that was founded by two entrepreneurial musicians. Through its in-house recording studio, art department and capable staff, the company was able to impact enormously on how its products were branded, packaged, described, delivered and sold. In order to communicate in the marketplace, GRP tended to focus on the preservation and enhancement of its brand identity. GRP's embrace of the compact disc helped the company to focus its efforts in pursuit of a particular type of consumer: the 'upscale audiophile'. GRP's marketing department enhanced the look, relevance and meaning of its products in order to target this audience. The process of constructing the consumer is a highly calculated activity and yet success in this area depends upon collaboration with intermediaries, with artists and audiences. Through

its live events, the company collaborated with organisations in the electronics industries, artists and audiences in pursuit of greater exposure and increased sales.

The design of products; how they sound; how they look; how they are described; where they are positioned and how they are promoted are much under-researched areas of jazz industry. GRP's success in the jazz-pop genre during the 1980s presents a clear account of jazz marketing as mediation. Through its marketing practices, GRP maintained a close relationship with its audience. As a result, GRP was better able to determine which of its artists were likely to succeed commercially; which artists were selling enough records to warrant major marketing investment and the level of demand for certain types of products, especially those yet to be produced. As Hennion has suggested, success is the 'last extension of an equation into which the public has been incorporated from the very beginning' (Hennion, 1989: 400). In Chapter Four, I shall explore the industrial mediation of jazz production through an analysis of the introduction of the 'smooth jazz' radio format and GRP's relationship to it.

Four

Jazz on Commercial Radio: Industrial Mediation and the 'Smooth Jazz' Format

Area of study

In Chapter Three, I explored how marketing strategies can mediate the ways in which jazz music is presented, promoted and sold. I argued that information obtained from marketing campaigns can impact upon decisions made in the production process as record labels, marketers and artists collaborate to create commercially successful jazz recordings. Chapter Four expands upon this area of study by examining the interrelationships between radio, record labels, artists and consumers. Record labels use radio as a promotional tool to expose new music products to consumers. Through the process of selecting music for broadcast, radio programmers help to determine which releases receive exposure on commercial radio stations.³⁴⁷ In order to maintain the support of their listeners, commercial stations frequently program music according to audience research data. In doing so, programmers enable listeners to help determine the music repertoire broadcast by commercial stations. In response to these intermediary actions, record labels and artists engage with and act upon the information gathered by the radio industry. As a result of this collaboration, jazz music can be conceived, produced and promoted according to the requirements of radio formats. This chapter therefore argues that jazz production is subject to mediation through its relationship with radio.

³⁴⁷ By 'commercial', I refer to radio stations that are supported financially by advertising revenues.

Since the late 1980s, the radio industry and its research consultants have parlayed the appeal of pop-influenced jazz into a format that is carefully tailored for its target audience. This format, known as 'smooth jazz', typically contains a mix of jazz-influenced instrumental pop music and R&B. It is aimed primarily at the 25-34 year old 'upscale' adult professional (Watrous, 1997). From its inception in the late 1980s, the success of the smooth jazz format in commercial radio markets across the United States has helped to transform contemporary jazz into a profitable and popular form of jazz music. According to DeVaux (1995: 2), in 1992, 28 percent of adult Americans (approximately 60 million) listened to jazz radio. DeVaux notes that this is 'attributable in part to the spread of new pop-jazz formats' (DeVaux, 1995: 2). Indeed, the smooth jazz station is usually the 'leading station in an area between the ages of 35-64' (Watrous, 1997). By the end of the 1990s, there were more than 200 such stations across the United States (Nicholson 2002: 232).³⁴⁸ By 2004, smooth jazz had achieved some of the highest Arbitron ratings with 'combined advertising revenues of over \$190 million each year' (Washburne, 2004: 133).³⁴⁹

Despite its popularity, there has been little research into smooth jazz. Kristin McGee's (2008) paper is one of the few studies to examine the 'mass mediated foundations' of this kind of music (McGee, 2008: 2). She concludes that these industrial frameworks are 'tantamount to its commercial longevity' (McGee, 2008: 2). Nevertheless, jazz's relationship with commercial practices has been neglected throughout jazz historiography by the positioning of jazz as a largely unmediated

³⁴⁸ Traditional jazz is not typically found on commercial radio stations in the United States, but exists primarily on non-profit public radio networks such as NPR.

³⁴⁹ Arbitron is an American company providing audience research data about radio listeners to broadcasters. Arbitron operates in a similar fashion to Nielsen Media Research, a company that delivers ratings information to the television industry.

form of art music (Taylor, 1986; Sales, 1992). This view of jazz derives primarily from its long history as an improvised music performed on the live stage and is reinforced by the tendency of most jazz histories to valorise an elite group of jazz performers.³⁵⁰ The idea of jazz as an art form implicated by commerce is usually only addressed by the significant volumes of criticism aimed at smooth jazz.³⁵¹ This criticism has tended to address what some jazz aficionados perceive to be a lack of improvisation and creativity in the music (Di Meola, 1992; Metheny, 2000). Washburne's (2004) essay *Does Kenny G Play Bad Jazz? A Case Study* is another of the few studies to consider smooth jazz's relationship to the jazz canon. He observes that 'the disjuncture between the jazz tradition and popular culture deserves close scholarly scrutiny' (Washburne, 2004: 136). This thesis is primarily concerned with how intermediaries in the music and media industries can impact upon the production of jazz music. My goal throughout has been to bring the relationship between creativity and industry to the forefront of jazz studies in order to associate jazz more readily with the industrial frameworks that contribute to the 'production of culture' (Peterson, 1976). Examining the smooth jazz radio format enhances this argument because it provides another example of how the production of jazz music can be shaped in response to intermediary figures.

This is not to suggest that jazz historiography has not accounted for the importance of audiences in creating scenes. Indeed, Ken Burns's *Jazz* (2001) documentary devotes a portion of its narrative to the social enjoyment of jazz music and the ways in which audiences are able to communicate the repertoire they want to hear. Jazz

³⁵⁰ See for example: Schuller (1986), Gridley (1988), Sales (1992), Tirro (1993) and Williams (1993).

³⁵¹ See for example: Marsalis (1988), Di Meola (1992), Watrous (1995) and Metheny (2000).

clubs like Minton's Playhouse, The Apollo Theatre and The Cotton Club have become known as historic sites of jazz creativity.³⁵² However, in terms of audience feedback, this chapter is concerned with the ways in which audiences, as consumers of jazz *products*, take part in the industrial routines of radio research, thus mediating what is broadcast and helping to determine the sound of future productions.

In order to present my argument, I first explore the dynamics of commercial radio. This is important because it provides context for the environment in which the smooth jazz format is constructed and disseminated. I use this background material as a foundation from which to consider the development of the smooth jazz format and its key characteristics. To demonstrate the ways in which this research can apply to other forms of popular music, I make comparisons between the formatting of country music radio and smooth jazz. I note that the rationalisation of music by commercial radio formatting is not limited to jazz, but can help us to know more about the mediation of a range of popular music genres. I then present my second tangential case study from within the wider music and media industries by focusing on the radio research firm Broadcast Architecture. This company has been central to the development of the smooth jazz format. Broadcast Architecture's emphasis on audience research demonstrates the agency of the listener in determining the music that receives radio exposure in the smooth jazz format. In order to examine how this

³⁵² Minton's Playhouse is a jazz club located at 210 West 118th Street in Harlem, New York. The club is famous for its role in the development of bebop music and was frequented by artists like Thelonious Monk, Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie. The Apollo Theater is a music hall located at 253 West 125th Street in Harlem, New York. It has introduced many famous African-American performers such as James Brown, Diana Ross and The Supremes, Gladys Knight and The Pips, Aretha Franklin, The Jackson 5, Marvin Gaye and Stevie Wonder among others. The Cotton Club was a nightclub in New York City located at 142nd Street and Lenox Avenue in Harlem, New York. It showcased many African-American entertainers such as Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Cab Calloway, Ella Fitzgerald, Louis Armstrong, Nat King Cole and Billie Holiday.

activity impacts upon the work of record labels and artists, I relate these findings to the case study of GRP Records (GRP). By examining GRP's collaborative approach to the smooth jazz radio format, I demonstrate the ways in which jazz music can be shaped to meet the needs of radio programmers. For GRP, this included compromises such as the creation of 'radio edits' of jazz performances and the addition of backing vocals designed to help tracks to cross over to pop radio. In order to present these case studies, I draw on a series of interviews with founders and senior executives from Broadcast Architecture plus the founders, staff and artists affiliated with GRP Records.

The dynamics of commercial radio

In commercial radio markets, 'formatting' typically describes the way in which radio is organised and compartmentalised according to music genre. Barnard (2000: 124) notes, 'the concept of a station or network devoted entirely to music of whatever kind emerged in the US during the early 1950s, in response to the loss of audiences and advertisers to television.' Peterson (1978: 296) concurs: 'the commercial success of TV in the 1950s led radio stations to program to specific demographic segments of the population.' Formatting has numerous benefits for a radio station: 'formatting ensures that a station is clearly distinguishable from other stations...and helps construct a music identity in close contact with the precise demographics and researched tastes of the targeted audience' (Berland, 1990: 181). However, as Barnes points out, formatting acts primarily as a way of addressing the marketing concerns of record companies and advertising agencies: 'by classifying a station within one of

the accepted formats, demographic and psychographic facts and figures associated with that format's listeners can be cited to bolster the station's sales story' (Barnes 1988: 43). Negus (1993b: 58) agrees: 'the system has emerged as a result of the combined influence of advertisers, radio stations and their consultants.' By targeting tightly defined niches, commercial radio stations become reliable and therefore irresistible platforms for advertisers.

There are typically four main elements to the programming of a commercial radio station: 'entertainment (games, stories, station announcements), news, commercials and music' (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 287). All programming conforms to daily repetition in a 'routinized structure' (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 288). As Berland notes:

Every format follows a complex set of rules for programming, including style and range of music selections, size and origin of playlist, quotas for musical repetition, numbers of current and past hits and their usual sequence, conventional relationships between music and speech, and so forth (Berland, 1990: 181).

For the music programmer, it is of great importance that the boundaries of a station's format are strictly maintained. The chief reason for this is that income is derived from the sale of airtime to advertisers. Berland elaborates on this point: 'music programming is not the main commodity produced by radio, but is rather the means to the production of radio's real commodity - the audience - to be sold to advertisers in exchange for revenue to the broadcaster' (Berland, 1990: 183). Hennion and Meadel (1986: 290) agree: 'the product that radio is selling is not *programmes*, which no one buys, but *listeners*' (emphasis theirs). In summary then:

The primary dynamic in commercial radio is therefore the effectiveness with which a station delivers potential customers to its advertisers. The aim of programming strategy is to attract listeners and keep them tuned in, in order to ensure that they are exposed to the advertising message (Barnard, 2000: 50).

Commercial radio has become the central mediator in the process of connecting appropriate audiences with advertisers. Sustained by the public's natural affinity for recorded music, the programming of entertainment content is essentially a 'Trojan horse' for carefully targeted advertising messages. This is emphasised by radio's 'habitual presence in work and other social contexts' (Berland, 1990: 180). Berland (1990: 188) notes that 'radio announcers are instructed to address their audience in the singular, never as a mass, and to establish a mood of friendly companionship for the listeners.' By acting like an intimate, reliable companion, radio programming aims 'to accompany us through breakfast, work and travel without stimulating either too much attention or any thought of turning it off' (Berland, 1990: 179). Through the strict adoption of these policies, commercial radio stations achieve maximum exposure for advertising messages.

There are typically two key departments involved in the process of deciding the output of a commercial radio station: 'the schedule people...are the programmers, responsible for planning, week by week, the titles which will be played in various programmes; the advertising department...plan the distribution of the commercials across the week' (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 292). This structure allows the overall tone of the station to be guided by two central departments that never lose sight of the primary goal, which is 'keeping them listening' (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 296). Ahlkvist (2001) has studied the philosophies employed by radio programmers

when making decisions. He concludes that simply viewing ‘rationalization as pervasive...and programmers as homogenous, offers an overly deterministic account of changes in this media industry’ (Ahklvist, 2001: 354). It is important to consider the discursive field in which the music programmer constructs his/her knowledge about how to program music and connect with listeners. The simplest technique is to insert familiar hit records regularly; a technique that has been described as ‘a musical rendezvous for the ear’ (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 296). On-air dialogue is also part of this process, as presenters are encouraged to use language designed to reinforce a station’s goals. Such techniques help to ‘make the audience appear and respond’ (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 298). However, Berland suggests that programming is dictated more and more by ‘sophisticated processes of audience research’ (Berland, 1990: 179). Indeed, by knowing the ‘socio-professional characteristics of the audience’ a radio station can ‘better address itself to its potential consumers’ (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 290). The financial stability of the commercial radio station is therefore dependent upon obtaining accurate information about its audience.

As demonstrated during Chapter Two, consumers can act as active agents in shaping products. This also applies to radio research, where listeners can exercise almost total control over what reaches the airwaves by giving feedback in ‘auditorium tests’. Auditorium testing involves bringing together groups of listeners in ‘demographically specified samples’ (Ahklvist, 2001: 343) in order to document their views on a station’s programming. In addition to the charts provided by radio and music industry newspapers such as *Radio and Records (R&R)*, *The Gavin Report*

(now defunct) and *Billboard*, commercial radio stations have frequently used research consultants to advise them on potentially lucrative programming trends.³⁵³ Berland (1990: 183) argues that there is a 'growing inseparability of the two functions: market research and programme direction.' As a result, 'industry and research orientations converge to produce subformats that target very narrow audience niches with highly standardized and repetitive music programming' (Ahlkvist, 2001: 352-353). In this scenario, an increasing number of listeners are exposed to fewer and fewer songs and thus programming becomes increasingly deterministic. Ahlkvist (2001: 340) notes that audience research in radio has become a homogenising practice because it tends to 'encourage programming standardisation, threaten local programming and reduce format diversity.' Barnard (2000: 51) also raises this debate in his work:

The classic critical argument against the commercialisation of mass communication media is that pursuit of advertising revenues encourages programming assumed to appeal to the greatest number, thereby marginalising less popular tastes and interests. It creates an environment most conducive to reception of the advertising message, leading to programming that is undemanding, unchallenging and pacifying (Barnard, 2000: 51).

By programming music in this way, not only does radio limit the opportunities for a variety of artists to be heard but it also impacts upon music production from its earliest stages, ensuring that future productions are equally unchallenging. Berland's response to these trends is clear: 'the flow of music offered by radio has become inseparable from the mental image of wallpaper' (Berland, 1990: 180). In their study of radio programming, Hennion and Meadel (1986: 286) explore how radio can

³⁵³ *Radio & Records (R&R)* is a weekly newspaper for the radio industry that tracks radio airplay from numerous formats including pop, country and R&B. *The Gavin Report* and *Billboard* have offered similar services. For a history of pop radio in the United States, see Sklar (1984).

‘transform an external product into a radio product that meets its needs.’ As Barnard points out:

Radio’s demand for and use of music has a profound effect on the repertoire and promotional strategies of record companies: prior exposure on radio can influence a company to sign an artist; and how a songwriter, record producer or band approaches the process of creating a single or album may be influenced not only by what is currently selling but what is likely to be chosen for airplay (Barnard, 2000: 133).

By analysing the dynamics of commercial radio and the practice of broadcasting music according to narrowly defined music formats, two things become apparent: firstly, that ‘radio is the privileged site for understanding the reality of mediators and the effectiveness of the transformations they make’ (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 287). Secondly, that ‘we can’t explain genre transformations without fully understanding how corporate organisation actively intervenes in the production, circulation and interpretation of genres’ (Negus, 1999: 28). This chapter aims to explore these areas through case studies of Broadcast Architecture and GRP Records. Before these case studies can be presented, it is first necessary to examine the development of the smooth jazz format and its key characteristics.

The development of the smooth jazz format and its key characteristics

Smooth jazz is an adult-oriented radio format whose roots can be traced to so-called ‘beautiful music’ stations in the United States. Barnes (1988: 29) records that this easy listening format largely featured ‘musak-style instrumental versions of popular hits’ supported by ‘old-skewing’ demographics. He notes that this sort of music was

often 'scorned as "elevator music"' (Barnes, 1988: 29).³⁵⁴ During the 1970s and 1980s, the radio format most closely associated with jazz-pop was known as 'Quiet Storm'. The Quiet Storm format began in 1976 at WHUR 96.3 in Washington D.C., an 'Adult Contemporary' station owned by Howard University.³⁵⁵ Taking its title from Smokey Robinson's 1975 record *A Quiet Storm*, station intern Melvin Lindsey developed the format as part of the station's late-night programming. Championed by African-American entrepreneur Cathy Hughes, then WHUR station manager, the show featured mellow rhythm and blues, soul and R&B-influenced jazz offerings aimed at the urban, African-American adult demographic. Barnes (1988: 36) notes that Quiet Storm programming usually features a mixture of 'softer R&B, mostly ballads, and the mellower brands of jazz'.³⁵⁶ The format provided an intimate, relaxing experience designed for late-night listening, a key to its appeal among adult audiences.

Washburne acknowledges that the sound of smooth jazz 'stems from a long tradition of pop and jazz mixings' (Washburne, 2004: 132), but argues that the label 'smooth jazz' is 'a conspicuously fabricated construct that originated in consumer research studies conducted by Broadcast Architecture, a radio consulting firm' (Washburne (2004: 132). Indeed, the format and its content 'is dictated by companies, like Broadcast Architecture, whose executives construct playlists based off listener

³⁵⁴ 'Elevator music', 'beautiful music' or 'muzak' usually refers to gentle instrumental arrangements of popular songs played as background music in various social situations. Musak is typically intended to pacify society in dull situations such as department stores and elevators. These terms are also frequently used in a derogatory fashion to describe smooth jazz.

³⁵⁵ Adult Contemporary, often abbreviated 'AC', is a type of radio format that offers mainstream contemporary popular music for adults in the 25-55 demographic. Smooth jazz is also sometimes referred to as 'NAC' or 'New Adult Contemporary' (Washburne, 2004: 133).

³⁵⁶ Artists who might typically be heard on Quiet Storm stations include Wes Montgomery, Grover Washington Jr., Marvin Gaye, Luther Vandross, Anita Baker and Sade.

surveys and detailed market analysis of mass reception patterns' (Washburne, 2004: 133). As Hennion and Meadel's study of commercial radio suggests, 'radio and its audience reciprocally construct one another' (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 281). By developing data gathering methods and tools for audience research, companies like Broadcast Architecture take advantage of radio's reciprocal relationship with its listeners.

Nicholson (1998: 222) defines smooth jazz as 'airplay-friendly instrumental pop-jazz' featuring 'slick production values and musical hooks from contemporary popular music.' Abram (2007) suggests that the term smooth jazz is a 'catch-all' used to classify 'primarily instrumental music that mixes some jazz improvisation in with the rhythms and song structures of pop, R&B, and occasionally rock.' Likewise, Martin and Waters (2002: 296) posit that smooth jazz 'combines rock or funk grooves with an electronic ambience to create an "easy listening" feel...the pleasant quality of the groove and melody are its dominant features.' In his thesis on jazz-rock, Wayte (2007: 288) notes that music broadcast in the smooth jazz format has 'largely abandoned the experimental credo of the early jazz-rock bands'. Wayte qualifies this statement by noting that smooth jazz tends to emphasise 'more traditional jazz harmonic progressions, diatonic melodies, regular phrase lengths, 4/4 meter, head/chorus arrangements, though nearly always to a steady funk or rock groove' (Wayte, 2007: 288). Indeed, this is a music that relies on 'mechanized beats and super slick, polished production' (Abram, 2007). As Megill and Demory (2001: 279) have stated, 'many of the more commercial-sounding fusion groups replace or

supplement the live drummer with electronic rhythm machines...use of these machines creates rigidly precise, structured patterns.'

The coherence of the smooth jazz sound stems primarily from the criteria issued by radio consultants and programmers. Nicholson (2005a: 11) notes that 'the smooth jazz stations demanded music with a catchy melodic hook, a bright and breezy theme, a contagious backbeat, and tunes that lasted no more than four minutes.' Washburne suggests that a smooth jazz station's typical song catalogue numbers 'around 30-40 songs', that these are 'usually played in 6-8 hour cycles and typically 3-4 selections are added and subtracted per week' (Washburne, 2004: 133). As a result, 'a fixed listing of selections are played repeatedly' (Washburne, 2004: 133). Like earlier easy listening formats, smooth jazz has been described pejoratively as "jazz-lite" "happy jazz" "hot tub jazz" and "fuzak" (Washburne, 2004: 124). Bayles (1996: 369) also uses the term 'fusak', a portmanteau of 'fusion' and 'musak', to denote a category of music that she has called a 'sedative for yuppies' and 'weary commuters'.

In recent years, singers with adult appeal, such as Norah Jones, have crossed over from easy listening formats like smooth jazz to the mainstream pop charts. Jones spent 97 weeks on the charts with her record *Come Away with Me* (2002), selling over 25 million copies worldwide and receiving five Grammy awards (Keightley, 2004: 387). Smooth jazz has also become something of a repository for R&B influenced popular music, with artists like Amy Winehouse, Kool and the Gang,

Stevie Wonder and Randy Crawford featuring on compilation sets.³⁵⁷ The majority of smooth jazz radio stations bookend instrumental jazz-pop tracks with soft R&B vocal music from artists like Luther Vandross, Sade, Anita Baker and Marvin Gaye or crossover adult contemporary hits from pop artists like Celine Dion and Mariah Carey. McGee notes that major labels such as Warner Brothers market their smooth jazz through their involvement with various international jazz festivals, promotions via credit card rewards programs as well as popular television commercials and soap operas (McGee, 2008: 6). In addition, smooth jazz music samplers are available at popular coffee chains and upscale food outlets (McGee, 2008: 6). Smooth jazz is frequently tied in with commercial sponsors. From smooth jazz cruises and festivals to wine tasting, golf and luxury living magazines. There is also a smooth jazz television channel and numerous Internet radio stations (McGee, 2008: 7). This broadening of the traditional sound and function of jazz by the music and media industries is not unique, but is an extension of the commercial aims of format radio across the United States.

Comparisons with country music

In order to compare how formatting practices have influenced the production of other styles of popular music, I wish to briefly examine the development of country music on commercial radio. Peterson's (1978) work on this subject clearly illustrates how developments in country music radio impacted upon record making practices and the careers of country music artists. Like the resistance to mediation shown by exponents

³⁵⁷ *The Very Best of Smooth Jazz* (2008, Universal Records)

of traditional jazz, traditional folk and country music artists felt the need to oppose developments at radio that they perceived would negatively affect the way country music was 'produced, marketed and merchandized' (Peterson, 1978: 293). Indeed, for some, these were 'changes which threatened to destroy country music' (Peterson, 1978: 293). As Negus (1999: 104) has noted, the commercial transformation of country music 'was a process that decisively involved new technologies of cultural production and communication; the phonograph and radio broadcasting.' Peterson relates that the new country-music programmers, inspired by the success of popular music stations, '*repeatedly* played a small number (ranging from 25 to 50) of the records released in recent weeks' (Peterson, 1978: 303, emphasis his). Peterson continues: 'programmers also mixed in hit records of the past, but these too were carefully screened' (Peterson, 1978: 303). Moreover, given the nature of this selection process, 'the programmer did not need to know anything about the traditions of country music' (Peterson, 1978: 303).

As with smooth jazz, the impact of radio formatting led to a narrowing of sounds until a dominant style was achieved. This meant that country music's eclectic sub-genres such as 'country gospel, folk country, country crooners and bluegrass music, once regular parts of the country-radio mix, were virtually frozen out of the new country radio' (Peterson, 1978: 306). As a result, 'this new programming practice greatly reduced not only the number of artists but also the range of styles receiving exposure through radio airplay' (Peterson, 1978: 303). During the 1970s, pop artists like Olivia Newton-John, John Denver and Kenny Rogers achieved large sales in

country music. The commercial success of the music relied on its ability to cross over to mainstream pop stations:

The general strategy was to create records that would be played on country stations and would also cross over to be played on radio stations with a format other than country music. To achieve this, the hard distinctive edges of the country sound were eliminated, and elements drawn from mood music, pop, soul, or rock were added (Peterson, 1978: 311).

Because record sales are reliant upon airplay, many people in the record industry 'tried to accommodate the changing definition of country music' (Peterson, 1978: 309). Indeed, 'songwriters, publishers, producers, arrangers...melded their efforts to fit with the new country-radio sound' (Peterson, 1978: 309). As a result, by 1977, the majority of country radio was concerned with new crossover artists. Just as labels like Motown, CTI and GRP frequently employed 'session musicians based in one location, who didn't tour but who established a reputation for being able to play together in a flexible and adaptable manner' (Negus, 1999: 105), this became prevalent in country music as Nashville studios began to 'adopt pop production techniques leading to the establishment of a narrowly defined "Nashville sound"' (Negus 1999: 106).

As I have suggested previously, rigid formatting practices can threaten to exclude certain types of artists from receiving exposure. Many country music entertainers were opposed to the 'extreme utilization in country radio of the short playlist, tight format, top-forty approach' (Peterson, 1978: 293). Likewise, Negus notes that homogenisation of the Latin music market has also produced a 'common-denominator' music he terms 'salsa lite' (Negus, 1999: 138). It can therefore be

argued that popular music production is an area profoundly affected by mediation within the commercial radio business. As with jazz-pop during the 1980s, major labels saw the commercial potential of the new country music format and began to compete aggressively, saturating the market with material: 'the new country-radio sound accelerated after 1973 when several corporations which were already powerful in the popular-music market, most notably Warner Brothers, United Artists, Playboy, and Motown Records, successfully entered the country-music field' (Peterson, 1978: 310).

'Music for a New Age'

Frank Cody, co-founder of Broadcast Architecture, began his career as a program director for NBC's 'The Source' and also instigated the successful 'Jazz Show with David Sanborn' that ran between 1980-1985.³⁵⁸ In 1986, John Kluge, owner of the Metromedia broadcasting company, sold his television stations to 20th Century Fox and rewarded his General Managers by permitting them to engineer a leveraged buy-out of Metromedia's radio division.³⁵⁹ KMET had been a successful rock radio station in Los Angeles during the 1960s, but was now floundering under formidable competition. Carl Brazell, part of Kluge's management team, came to Cody with a request for a new radio format.³⁶⁰ Brazell wanted to know if KMET could regain its former position and specifically, 'whether there was a format not being exploited in

³⁵⁸ The Source was a secondary NBC network providing news and short features to FM rock stations.

³⁵⁹ Metromedia was a media company that owned radio and television stations in the United States from 1956 to 1986.

³⁶⁰ According to Archer (2007), 'Carl Brazell became president/CEO of Metropolitan Broadcasting in 1986, when he led a leveraged buyout of Metromedia's 10 radio stations, including KMET and four news networks, forming Metropolitan to acquire them.'

the market with a large enough audience to garner significant share' (Archer, 2007).
Cody recalls: 'Carl said: "I want something that is big, fast and safe."'”³⁶¹

Brazell commissioned a study of the Los Angeles radio market with Owen Leach of Leach Research. Cody relates: 'Owen set about staging a "think tank" at his offices in Princeton, New Jersey.'³⁶² For three days, a team consisting of Cody, Leach, and a young executive named Paul Goldstein collaborated on finding an untapped radio market niche. Among suggestions of a specialist 'sex-talk' radio station, a mobile rock station called 'The Rock n' Roll Adventure', and a full-time Spanish language station, the research team soon arrived at a possible format they called 'The Malibu Suite'.³⁶³ The moniker was the working title for what would later become known as 'smooth jazz'. With the addition of program director Christine Brodie, now the Vice President of Affiliate Relations at Broadcast Architecture, Cody and Goldstein 'holed up in an off-site corporate apartment - "the bunker" - to establish the musical criteria for the new station' (Archer, 2007).³⁶⁴ For six weeks, the team worked to establish the parameters of the format. Brodie attributes their reasoning to three key trends: 'firstly, Paul Simon's *Graceland* (1986) sold millions and had no radio support; Windham Hill as a New Age label sold millions of records without radio; then melodic jazz became huge.'³⁶⁵ Archer (2007) confirms that radio had yet to address jazz-pop in an organised fashion: 'the genesis of smooth jazz, similar to the

³⁶¹ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁶² Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁶³ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁶⁴ Owen Leach was not involved in this stage of the research. 'The Bunker' was a corporate unit at the Oakwood Apartments in the Hollywood Hills. It was an off-site base of operations where executives held creative sessions, interviewed on-air talent and listened to CDs.

³⁶⁵ Interview with Christine Brodie: June 22, 2007.

birth of free-form progressive FM radio in the '60s and modern rock in the late '70s, was music for which there was an audience, but no radio airplay.'

Allen Kepler is the President of Broadcast Architecture. His first job in radio was with KIFM in San Diego in 1985. He recalls how pockets of specialist programming across the United States had begun to find audiences through a mix of soft jazz and R&B in the 'Quiet Storm' tradition:

There were stations like KIFM in San Diego, KINK in Portland, WLOQ in Orlando and LOVE94 in Miami. They were playing what you would call "contemporary jazz" at night. When I worked at KIFM, we played kind of a hybrid format of adult contemporary and then jazz music at night. We had a show called "Lights Out San Diego", which was mostly Larry Carlton, Bob James and Kenny G.³⁶⁶

Archer (2007) also notes the growing appeal of contemporary jazz during this period: 'by the mid-'80s there was a considerable body of accessible music by popular contemporary jazz artists like George Benson, David Sanborn, Pat Metheny, Dave Grusin, Earl Klugh, Jeff Lorber, Al Jarreau and the GRP stable of artists.' Nevertheless, radio had yet to consolidate an appropriate format for this music. Cody describes the problem as follows: 'the commercial jazz stations that existed back then played traditional jazz and they really didn't want to touch a lot of this "happy jazz" as they called it.'³⁶⁷

The research team believed that one radio format addressing these trends would satisfy a gap in the radio market: 'the idea was to put together a radio station that had one third "New Age", one third "contemporary jazz" and one third of this vocal

³⁶⁶ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

³⁶⁷ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

music that was being ignored.³⁶⁸ Cody recalls that all of their potential formats were tested on the public, with one clear winner: ‘we tested our ideas with storyboards, mock-up advertising and also some prototypical tapes that we played for people by doing intercept research at malls throughout southern California. Doggone, it if wasn’t the “Malibu Suite” idea that most people were excited about.’³⁶⁹ Carl Brazell and KMET’s General Manager, Howard Bloom, decided to re-launch the station, re-branding KMET as ‘The Wave’ KTWV-FM 94.7. The Wave debuted in Los Angeles on February 14, 1987.

Cody notes that great care was taken with the marketing of what they now called ‘wave music’: ‘we were a little leery of calling it “New Age” music because that has a lot of baggage with alternative spirituality and crystals and mumbo jumbo associated with it. So our slogan for the station was “Music for a New Age.”’³⁷⁰ In addition, the station’s advance marketing advertised that there would be no disc jockeys (DJs) on the new station; a concept that Cody asserts was ‘enormously appealing to listeners and a huge product differentiator’ (Archer, 2007):

That came out of research that we had done. People equated disc jockeys with commercials. So we said: “what if we didn’t have disc jockeys? Why do you need them anyway?” People really loved that idea. It created quite a controversy. The disc jockeys sued me personally and the General Manager. We got tremendous coverage because there hadn’t really been a new format in radio since “Top 40”.³⁷¹

These actions resulted in a 24-hour easy listening format ‘interrupted only by commercials and station IDs’ (Abram, 2007). Today, The Wave is among the most

³⁶⁸ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁶⁹ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁷⁰ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁷¹ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

profitable radio stations in the United States with gross revenue of over \$50 million (Archer, 2007). As stations such as KTWV (Los Angeles), KIFM (San Diego) and KKSF (San Francisco) continued to achieve strong ratings, a legion of other stations began to convert to the 'Wave' format. They included WNUA (Chicago), which was consulted by Frank Cody, Breezin' 100.7 (Milwaukee), KHIH (Denver) and WQCD (CD101.9 in New York).

Broadcast Architecture

In 1988, as a result of the success of The Wave, Frank Cody was invited by Owen Leach to form a consulting business, Cody/Leach Broadcast Architecture. The company, now known simply as Broadcast Architecture, works in 25 different countries conducting audience research for the radio industry. It was during a Broadcast Architecture research study for WNUA (Chicago) that the term 'smooth jazz' was first used by a listener giving feedback on the station. Allen Kepler was the Marketing Director for WNUA, Chicago, at that time:

The term "smooth jazz" did not exist on a radio station until late 1989. We had gone through a bunch of names: "Music for a New Age", "Music that Makes You Feel Good". Broadcast Architecture came in and did research managed by Frank Cody. The term "smooth jazz" came from a listener in one of the focus groups. I actually sat there and saw it come out of a listener's mouth.³⁷²

Despite the rigid requirements of radio formats for record labels and musicians, Kepler's comment reveals something of the democratic nature of the relationship between radio and its audience. Not only does this format rely heavily on the

³⁷² Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

opinions of its listeners to decide playlist material but it also received its name from suggestions made by a research candidate. Kepler recalls that the audience, who were attracted to WNUA's accessible blend of jazz and adult pop, were having trouble classifying the music on the station: 'people would say "well, it's jazz, but it's not like a nightclub with smoke and a bunch of old guys playing upright basses." They would try to put a feeling on it like "light" or "relaxing" because it's easy-going; it's not quite as complicated.'³⁷³ Frank Cody's recollection of the pivotal session is as follows:

As though it was yesterday, I can remember this African-American woman in Chicago and she was a big fan of WNUA. She was asked: "what do you call this music? Is it jazz?" She said "well, yeah, but I like my jazz to stay in a groove. When I go out with my husband and we go to clubs, the musicians go off on a tangent and everybody pretends like they're enjoying it and to me it sounds like they're just playing for themselves, not the listeners. With this music, the musicians are trying to make you feel good. It doesn't have any hard edges. You know what it is? It's smooth jazz." Light bulbs went off over our heads. We all stood up in the room behind the one-way mirror and said: "oh my God, that's it, that's what it is."³⁷⁴

The station was now able to summarise its programming philosophy with two simple words. Despite Kepler's and Cody's enthusiasm for the phrase, WNUA's program director was concerned that 'smooth jazz' targeted too narrow an audience and so the station temporarily adopted the slogan 'Smooth Rock, Smooth Jazz'. Under the direction of General Manager John Gehron, 'smooth rock' was dropped.³⁷⁵ Allen

³⁷³ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

³⁷⁴ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁷⁵ John Gehron is the former General Manager of Harpo Radio, which programs the 'Oprah and Friends' channel for XM Satellite Radio. Previously, Gehron was Regional VP and Market Manager for Clear Channel Chicago's seven radio stations; Vice President of Programming for CBS/Infinity Broadcasting and Co-Chief Operating Officer at American Radio Systems.

Kepler recalls: 'I remember we had some painted wall sides in Chicago. We had people go out and paint over "smooth rock."' ³⁷⁶

Audience research

Broadcast Architecture's work is focused on the use of interactive research technologies. These technologies allow the company to test music on an audience and to draw conclusions from their responses. Typically, the process is intended to inform programmers of the songs that listeners prefer. Christine Brodie was the Director of Programming for The Wave for fourteen years prior to joining Broadcast Architecture. She confirms that Broadcast Architecture tests all of its repertoire:

We use a process called the "mix master". It's a dial that you give to an audience and let them give their ratings on a piece of music. Music is an emotional thing, so we don't want them to qualify it in numbers. They just react as they would with the dial on their radio. We play the music that scores highly and mix that up as playlists. ³⁷⁷

Owen Leach had been exposed to dial technology as an employee of the New York based advertising firm 'J. Walter Thompson'. ³⁷⁸ Cody and Leach applied the technology to radio research. This kind of research has been known as 'auditorium research' because it is usually carried out in a hotel conference room or theatre. Prior to the use of the 'mix-master' system, audience research data had to be manually recorded on paper and analysed by hand. Allen Kepler recalls that 'up until 1988, all music testing was done with listeners being recruited to listen to a tape where a song

³⁷⁶ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

³⁷⁷ Interview with Christine Brodie: June 22, 2007.

³⁷⁸ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008. J. Walter Thompson, or JWT, is an advertising agency founded in 1864. It is the fourth largest marketing communications network in the world with nearly 10,000 employees in more than 200 offices in over 90 countries.

plays and they fill in a bubble, like you're taking a university exam.'³⁷⁹ The process of testing music empowers the consumer who is able to exercise control in what becomes available over the airwaves. Ahlqvist (2001: 349) notes 'audience research is valued because it maximises the likelihood that only the most "viable" records are integrated into the station's music programming.' If 'viable' is a measurement of the audience's desire to hear a particular track, then this is less a manipulation of the public and more a reaction to audience consensus. In this way, the agency of the listener has become an important component in radio programming.

Market research data allows heavily invested companies such as radio stations and movie studios to gauge the success of a product prior to costly manufacture, broadcast or distribution. Radio programmers and research consultants target the demographic complexities of each city, tailoring what they play according to these taxonomies. It is for this reason that age groups of 25-55 have been described as the 'money demographic' (Zimmerman, 1991). Berland notes: 'the format narrative proposes that communities are defined and dispersed as taste communities framed within boundaries of age and contemporaneity, and secondarily around patterns of record or other commodity consumption' (Berland, 1990: 189). In order for commercial radio to successfully target these 'taste communities', the interests and consumption patterns of listeners must be examined in detail. Frank Cody states that the digitisation of audience response data allows for a minute level of analysis:

We can look at every individual respondent and because it is gathered digitally, we can slice and dice it any way we want to. We can look at it by comparing men to women; younger demographics to older demographics;

³⁷⁹ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

divide it up geographically, economically, racially. We learned a lot about what people wanted to hear.³⁸⁰

It is clear that any system that aims to distribute content into the mass market needs to be sensitive to techniques that can lower risk and increase audience satisfaction. Such potentially homogenising practices raise concerns about music programming. If an audience has been ‘sliced and diced into dozens of minute demographically, psychographically and sociologically fine-tuned targets’ (Barnes, 1988: 10), are record labels then obligated to construct music to appeal to these groups? Frank Cody is aware that audience testing can encourage lowest common denominator programming. He notes: ‘when utilised properly, it’s very powerful, but research is only as good as the people who observe, analyse and respond to the data. In the wrong hands, it can be very destructive to creativity.’³⁸¹ Allen Kepler also concedes that ‘anything that is mass-marketed is not going to be outrageously, wildly, unique.’³⁸² However, Kepler is an advocate for audience research:

When we started doing audience research in the early ‘90s with all these big radio stations like WNUA in Chicago, KKSF in San Francisco and The Wave in Los Angeles, we saw the ratings move up markedly. The Wave went from fourteenth place in the ratings to top five and it had a run of about seven or eight years of being in the top two or three English language stations in LA.³⁸³

It is clear then that commercial radio is not attempting to sell records. Frank Cody asserts that ‘the music business and radio are two very different businesses. They happen to help each other and have some sort of synergy, but radio’s job is to have

³⁸⁰ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁸¹ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁸² Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

³⁸³ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

people listen to the radio, tune into a station and leave it on.’³⁸⁴ Hennion and Meadel reinforce this statement when they note that ‘the radio audience and record buyers do not coincide and the one is not included within the other’ (Hennion and Meadel, 1986: 286). Indeed, with advertising-supported radio formats such as smooth jazz, there is little incentive for radio to share in the music industry’s desire to ‘break’ records or sell through to retail. Hennion and Meadel (1986: 286) call this dichotomy a ‘mismatch of the two principal musical media’. Ahlqvist (2001: 343) makes the distinction clear: ‘record companies use radio to promote their records and stations use music to target listeners that are attractive to advertisers.’ Christine Brodie confirms that this is absolutely the position of Broadcast Architecture: ‘more listeners means more adverts, means more revenue. There’s no reason for a smooth jazz station to exist in the commercial market otherwise.’³⁸⁵

How, then, do these practices impact upon the kinds of jazz nominated to receive exposure on radio? Cody’s experiences have informed his view of what audiences want from jazz radio: ‘when we would try to delve into music like Chick Corea, it just didn’t really work...it’s so based in improvisation versus somebody like Joe Sample or Tom Scott who both come out of that school of CTI.’³⁸⁶ Cody notes that for the smooth jazz format, improvisation is not a desirable attribute: ‘the trick with success in commercial radio is to have people listen for long periods of time. We found that extended, intense solos drove people away from the radio experience. The downside of that is that you could blame this technique on making things safe.’³⁸⁷

³⁸⁴ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁸⁵ Interview with Christine Brodie: June 22, 2007.

³⁸⁶ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁸⁷ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

Jazz-rock guitarist Al Di Meola believes that the prevalence of smooth jazz in the marketplace does not give an accurate account of jazz music: 'Miles Davis did TV commercials for CD101. He has this incredible discography and the one tune you *might* hear is a Cyndi Lauper tune - the weakest thing he ever did' (Di Meola, 1992: 42, emphasis his). Commercial radio's fear of short attention spans and the pursuit of bite-size musical experiences continue to be problematic for purveyors of avant-garde jazz. Cody summarises the parameters of jazz on commercial radio when he says:

What really works for commercial music is for a melody to get stuck in people's heads. We're almost like drug dealers, selling melodies to people. Once testing was introduced, then we were able to fine-tune our instincts; we were able to make our bets safer in terms of content and reduce the risk factor.³⁸⁸

Cody's 'drug dealer' analogy effectively communicates commercial radio's desire to offer 24-hour satisfaction to its audience but also suggests potentially negative consequences. Al Di Meola argues that 'great playing has been sacrificed for simple melodies' (Di Meola, 1992: 42). He continues: 'the overriding fear is that exciting music turns potential listeners *off*, and that's what's happened with pop-jazz' (Di Meola, 1992: 33; emphasis his). Clearly, Di Meola's understanding of the jazz tradition, the need for improvisation and exploration, cannot be reconciled with the demands of format radio. He states: 'there is absolute, documented policy on those formats prohibiting records that exhibit too much emotion' (Di Meola, 1992: 33). In this scenario, the marketing of smooth jazz 'underestimates the audience tremendously' (Di Meola, 1992: 34).

³⁸⁸ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

Another problematic area of audience testing is the time allotted for listeners to render decisions on individual pieces of music. Frank Cody has refined the testing formula over years of experience:

At one point we were testing 30 to 40 seconds, but what we found was that after ten to fifteen seconds of playing the essence of commercial music, people have the ability to switch a radio off. Witness riding with someone in a car; if they don't like what they're hearing, they turn to another station very quickly. So what we landed on was somewhere between eight, ten, fifteen seconds being enough to establish what a song was all about.³⁸⁹

This practice has given way to an entire philosophy of immediacy and brevity on smooth jazz radio. As Allen Kepler notes:

In the early and mid-'70s, FM radio was playing twelve-minute songs and album sides; it was crazy. Nowadays, commercial radio formats typically play songs that are between three and four minutes long. They will play edits of songs. I equate it to reading a magazine rather than a book. You're really more in a *Reader's Digest* mode where you just need to get the gist of it.³⁹⁰

While this approach is restrictive for the jazz purist, it generates mass appeal among the general public. Washburne suggests that 'smooth jazz provides an opportunity for the public to be sophisticatedly "jazzy" without having to delve deep into the jazz tradition' (Washburne, 2004: 142). Indeed, as Washburne has pointed out, classic jazz catalogues such as those of Thelonious Monk, Ella Fitzgerald and Duke Ellington are largely omitted from smooth jazz radio (Washburne, 2004: 142). Despite the obvious tensions that this situation creates, jazz scholars should not be dissuaded from examining the ways in which jazz survives in the commercial radio environment.

³⁸⁹ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

³⁹⁰ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

In the United States, the 'playlist' is a vital part of how commercial radio maintains its success: 'with its strict markers of the hour, its clocked rotation of current and past hits, its advanced promotion of a new release, the playlist functions as a kind of meta-language' (Berland, 1990: 187). Moreover, 'playlists (as few as 20-30 records in rotation) composed of similar sounding records illustrate the lengths to which stations will go to target a narrowly defined audience niche' (Ahlkvist, 2001: 343). Allen Kepler notes that Broadcast Architecture's audience testing is largely devoted to older, pre-established music:

The music testing that we do, our audience research, is primarily based on "gold library", which is the older music to play in between the newer music. We really don't believe in heavily testing new music because new music is very hard to judge as to where it's going to go. Nobody can really render a great decision on a song they've never heard before.³⁹¹

With smooth jazz then, it is arguably a difficult task for new musicians and their works to emerge and become established. Wayte agrees, noting that the emphasis is normally 'comfort and predictability rather than exploration' (Wayte, 2007: 289). Jazz producer Jeff Weber, who had frequent associations with GRP Records, is not in favour of these programming trends:

You can buy radio airplay; the only thing you can't buy is smooth jazz airplay because one programmer, Broadcast Architecture, controls almost all of what people listen to in the "smooth" or "wave" format. Broadcast Architecture, in its wisdom, only endorses music that sounds like all the other music.³⁹²

This comment raises another specific question: if music programmers are reliant on audience research, then to what extent do they express their own preferences? The

³⁹¹ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

³⁹² Interview with Jeff Weber: April 10, 2005.

'musicologist programming philosophy' is a term that Ahlkvist (2001: 346) uses to describe the concept of music programmers as 'arbiters of good taste' whose goal is to 'enlighten their listeners by exposing them to music they think has integrity; music they feel passionate about; music they think is good' (Ahlkvist, 2001: 346). In practice, this is often the exception. The reality of commercial radio broadcasting is that 'programmers must compromise their personal preferences in order to satisfy the less sophisticated taste of the majority of the station's listeners' (Ahlkvist, 2001: 347). Ahlkvist also notes that it is widely accepted among programmers that they 'should not try to educate listeners' (Ahlkvist, 2001: 348-349). Allen Kepler agrees that connecting with a commercial radio audience involves a delicate balance of new and established content:

If it was really challenging, we wouldn't have any ratings, because people don't tune in to be challenged or necessarily even to learn; they tune in to the radio to be entertained. We try to achieve this balance. Our analogy is, we want to lead the audience, but we don't want to run too far ahead. If we push too hard with too much new music or too much eclectic stuff, we'll lose them. They'll just lose interest in it because they just don't have enough time to think about it.³⁹³

This is a conflicting position for the radio programmer whose personal tastes can clash with a station's programming mandate. However, it is notable that when programmers act as conduits rather than tastemakers, audiences continue to demand familiar, unchallenging repertoire: 'playing only the "best-testing" records...produces music programming that rarely strays from the format mainstream' (Ahlkvist, 2001: 352). Moreover, the generic programming of material based on test scores from audience research has become so reliable for stations that

³⁹³ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

new formats can be adopted without much knowledge of the music itself. Indeed, many ailing rock and New Age stations transitioned to smooth jazz in this way.

In 1991, Allen Kepler formed Broadcast Architecture's consulting division. The primary purpose was to rejuvenate ailing stations by switching them to the smooth jazz format. Through conducting audience research, Kepler began working with stations such as The Oasis in Dallas; WQCD CD101.9 in New York; The Wave in Los Angeles; KYOT in Phoenix and KKSF in San Francisco: 'I think in the last ten years it has grown with the "baby boom"' he notes, 'it performs with 35 to 64s the way it used to perform with 25-54. The audience has aged with it.'³⁹⁴ Kepler also founded 'The Smooth Jazz Network', an infrastructure designed to produce and syndicate shows presented by contemporary jazz musicians like Ramsey Lewis and Dave Koz. With the addition of other smooth jazz stars such as Kenny G, Norman Brown, Brian Culbertson and Paul Hardcastle, the network has 34 affiliates across the United States and an internationally syndicated weekly 'Smooth Jazz Top Twenty Countdown'. Nevertheless, 'localness' remains an important part of the radio experience. Stations broadcast within, and to, a community of shared tastes and experiences. As such, local weather and traffic information is often introduced into nationally syndicated programmes in order to 'attract the highest possible proportion of listening hours for sale to local advertisers' (Berland, 1990: 189). The Smooth Jazz Network offers its programmes to broadcasters with this in mind:

Stations can take it from a satellite and add localisation into it, so it's just "turn-key". It sounds amazingly local. Other stations in larger markets take

³⁹⁴ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

our talent and personalities. For example in Washington D.C., Ramsey Lewis is the host of the morning show, but the station is programmed locally.³⁹⁵

In terms of music programming, smooth jazz maintains an inclusive approach to popular artists who cross over to the format but who might typically be categorised in the pop, rock or R&B genres:

From the first days of the format we were playing Sade, Anita Baker, Al Jarreau. These were artists that were getting pop radio airplay. We're still playing those artists, but through the '90s, we added a lot of '70s artists like Al Green, Marvin Gaye, Stevie Wonder, Earth, Wind and Fire; that's a real important element of smooth jazz.³⁹⁶

Despite the ramifications of this broad remit for proponents of traditional jazz, the format continues to be serviced by smooth jazz labels like Concord, Peak, Narada Jazz, Trippin N' Rhythm, Heads Up International, Nu Groove and the Artizen Music Group. In recent years, an array of popular young mainstream artists such as Alicia Keys, John Legend, Corrine Bailey-Rae, John Mayer and Michael Bublé have also been incorporated into the format. Kepler emphasises the desire to continue to blur jazz's traditional genre boundaries when he says: 'there are vocal artists crossing over to our format, from Queen Latifah to Michael McDonald, that keep us as part of the mainstream of music.'³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

³⁹⁶ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

³⁹⁷ Interview with Allen Kepler: February 11, 2008.

GRP Records and the 'smooth jazz' format

New York based jazz label GRP Records, founded by Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen, was one of the most successful producers of pop-influenced jazz during the 1980s.³⁹⁸ Immediately from its incorporation as an independent label in 1982, GRP adopted an aggressive strategy towards radio promotion. The potential for jazz-pop to cross over to other markets had been evident as early as 1976 with the breakout success of George Benson's *Breezin'* for Warner Brothers. Guitarist Earl Klugh, a jazz-pop artist who has worked with both Grusin and Rosen and George Benson, recalls the feeling of commercial viability during this era:

Breezin' was a huge, huge hit. It was mainly an instrumental record, but the thing that really took it over the top was George's vocals. That success really took the contemporary sound of jazz through the roof at that time. Between 1975 and 1982, record sales for jazz artists went from 40-50,000 to 400-500,000.³⁹⁹

In 1982, New York based radio station WPIX-FM began its transition to the 'adult contemporary' (AC) format.⁴⁰⁰ The station proved to be an early supporter of GRP Records. GRP's Senior Vice President of Marketing, Mark Wexler, notes: 'I went to the warehouse and I got every piece of product we had ever made and sent it over. All they played was GRP music because we were the first ones to service them and because we were so specialised in that format.'⁴⁰¹ As a result, by the mid 1980s,

³⁹⁸ Lander (1988: 35) notes: 'from \$800,000 in sales in its first year, GRP Records' sales grew to \$10 million in 1986, and \$15 million is projected for fiscal 1988.'

³⁹⁹ Interview with Earl Klugh: April 18, 2005.

⁴⁰⁰ The station adopted the smooth jazz format as WQCD from August 22, 1988 to February 5, 2008. See Watrous (1997).

⁴⁰¹ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

GRP's sound was well established with broadcasters of adult music formats.⁴⁰² This activity pre-dated the arrival of radio stations like The Wave KTWV-FM 94.7. Guitarist Lee Ritenour notes: 'as soon as The Wave started in Los Angeles, the GRP sound was immediately the sound that they went for.'⁴⁰³ Erica Linderholm was GRP's Director of National Radio Promotion in Special Markets from 1987 until 1996. She shares this view: 'I felt like the stations embraced our music because it fit their format.'⁴⁰⁴

Deborah Lewow became the Director of National Radio Promotion for GRP in 1985. Lewow worked from her home in Atlanta, Georgia, calling radio stations to promote releases and obtain airplay data: 'I'd ask them what tracks they were playing and what kind of rotation they were getting. I would take all of that information and feed it back into the sales department and say "look, we're getting airplay in San Diego, we got to get records to the store there."⁴⁰⁵ As described in Chapter Three, GRP's radio strategy was not limited to simply sending CDs to stations but instead incorporated a wide programme of promotional activities: partnerships with technology companies; retail tie-ins and give-aways:

It helped that the music was dead right on for the time and format, but GRP was very generous with product to support airplay. If we got a new record on a radio station and it made sense to do a new release give-away, they gave me the CDs to work with. If it made sense to buy advertising, they did it. If it made sense to send an artist into the market to do an event, they did it.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² Major labels like Warner Brothers were also connecting artists such as David Sanborn and Michael Franks with pop radio during this period.

⁴⁰³ Interview with Lee Ritenour: May 18, 2005.

⁴⁰⁴ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

⁴⁰⁵ Interview with Deborah Lewow: February 26, 2004.

⁴⁰⁶ Interview with Deborah Lewow: February 26, 2004.

In addition to the launch of The Wave in Los Angeles, 1987 also saw GRP partner with a major label distributor. With the support of MCA Records, GRP had greater leverage in reaching consumers with its products.⁴⁰⁷ Frank Cody of Broadcast Architecture recalls his first encounter with Larry Rosen of GRP Records: ‘Larry couldn’t believe that there was a station, a commercial station called The Wave, run by a major broadcasting corporation, that was playing this music on one of the strongest signals in the United States. He contacted us and said: “my God, how can we help?”’⁴⁰⁸ Deborah Lewow also recognised that the launch of a radio format so closely related to its target market presented GRP with a powerful opportunity: ‘this was LA, the second biggest market in the country and the majority of people they want to play are GRP artists. So a GRP artist would do a record every eleven months and tour behind it to capitalise on that.’⁴⁰⁹

The consolidation of jazz-pop as a successful radio format had a profound impact upon the working practices of jazz producers and artists. Nicholson (1998: 220) notes that as a result of the renewed commercial potential of jazz on the radio, musicians began ‘framing their product to compete in a marketplace of playlists, formatting, and the *Billboard* charts.’ He continues, ‘the GRP label signed a whole stable of artists to function in this musical environment’ (Nicholson, 1998: 220). In addition to the promotional schemes described in Chapter Three, such as the creation of custom sampler CDs for smooth jazz stations, Erica Linderholm describes other techniques that GRP used to strengthen relationships at radio:

⁴⁰⁷ MCA would eventually purchase GRP in 1990. See Anon (1990a).

⁴⁰⁸ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

⁴⁰⁹ Interview with Deborah Lewow: February 26, 2004.

When the artists were in New York, I would always take them to the local stations. They would do station IDs in the studio. Every now and then we would do a special interview CD that we would send to radio; basically, something that a radio station could do a special on and put on the air. They liked having those promotional tools.⁴¹⁰

Pianist David Benoit's first GRP release, *Freedom at Midnight* (1987), coincided with the launch of The Wave.⁴¹¹ Michael Bloom became GRP's Director of Publicity in 1986. He notes that radio had a powerful effect on Benoit's live career as a performing artist:

One thing that made GRP very big was the radio operation. The first time David Benoit played New York, he could only get into a small room in a not well-travelled part of the island of Manhattan. Then this station CD101.9 started playing his GRP records. The next thing you know, he was playing the Blue Note for a week. The next year it was Carnegie Hall. His arrival happened to coincide with the expansion of this radio format.⁴¹²

In addition, radio industry events such as the 'Gavin Convention' gave GRP an opportunity to network with radio programmers and to introduce its artists to the programmers responsible for those all-important playlists.⁴¹³ Erica Linderholm notes: 'at the Gavin Convention we always brought artists there and showcased them. We'd host a party and the programmers would come and they'd get to meet our artists. We were always very visible.'⁴¹⁴ Throughout the late 1980s, although they frequently advertised in trade papers such as *Radio & Records* and *The Gavin Report*, Linderholm notes that GRP staff felt that jazz was poorly represented as a radio chart: 'there was no jazz chart aside from *Billboard* which was based on industry

⁴¹⁰ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

⁴¹¹ David Benoit, *Freedom at Midnight* (1987, GRD-9545).

⁴¹² Interview with Michael Bloom: April 15, 2004.

⁴¹³ The Gavin Convention was an annual conference associated with *The Gavin Report*, a radio industry trade publication.

⁴¹⁴ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

sales. There was never really a jazz chart in a trade publication that just represented radio airplay.⁴¹⁵ Unlike pop and rock, which were well represented by *The Gavin Report*, there was no jazz chart at this time. The Vice President of Jazz Promotion for GRP was Duke Dubois. Linderholm asserts the importance of Dubois' role in bringing about the acceptance of jazz by the radio industry's internal publications:

Duke was instrumental in talking to the two *Gavin* editors, Keith and Kent Zimmerman, about developing a jazz chart. They ended up having two charts, they had a smooth jazz chart and they had a straight-ahead jazz chart. That was great because it validated the format in some way.⁴¹⁶

Clearly, GRP was fully engaged with achieving recognition at radio. As Negus (1993b: 61) has said: 'the ultimate aim of radio promotion in North America is to achieve a "crossover" hit – to move out from Urban, New Age or Adult Contemporary and gain nationwide exposure on Top 40 Radio.' In order to do this, the label must determine the most suitable format for the artist and find related formats in which the artist might attract a new audience. Erica Linderholm describes the methods and challenges of targeting a number of different format stations with the same record:

Every now and then, we would have a record that we would service to a different format. We had the guitarist Robben Ford who had a lot of blues in his background and we promoted his release to "AAA" (Triple A/Adult Album Alternative), which is basically an adult based rock format. It was hard to go to AC (Adult Contemporary) with a GRP record because GRP was so branded as a jazz label. With some of these programmers, if it wasn't Phil Collins or Anita Baker, they really had a hard time being open to it. So going to a vocal format with an instrumental was a struggle.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

⁴¹⁶ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

⁴¹⁷ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

In order to address these issues, GRP began to tailor its recordings in an effort to achieve airplay in other formats. GRP's co-founder Dave Grusin notes: 'you couldn't get arrested if it was instrumental music. If it was aimed at the pop marketplace it had to have vocals. So there was a time when we did a lot of that. Even on an instrumental record, we would have a guest singer or back-up vocal group and cover some pop material.'⁴¹⁸ Grusin's comments clearly demonstrate that GRP was not averse to tailoring its material to satisfy programmers and audiences.

Carl Griffin was hired by Larry Rosen in 1990 in order to help GRP to cross over to radio formats popular in black communities: 'we had a phrase' notes Griffin, "“vanilla jazz”, which means “white-sounding jazz”. We needed to add an urban flavour to it in order to be competitive. That's what I brought to the table.'⁴¹⁹ Doug Wilkins started at GRP in 1992 and became GRP's Vice President of Jazz Promotion. He notes that GRP adopted a policy of signing artists that had the potential to achieve crossover success in other genres: 'we started to sign artists that musically fit the R&B format like George Howard, Phil Perry, Maysa and then eventually George Benson.'⁴²⁰ He notes: 'my job was to promote the R&B acts that Larry signed and try to cross over some of the smooth jazz artists from smooth jazz radio to urban radio and R&B radio.'⁴²¹ Producer Jeff Weber acknowledges that tailoring music to radio became a common practice: 'Lee Ritenour did a song with a vocal on and it became a hit. So, quite naturally, everybody else did the same

⁴¹⁸ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

⁴¹⁹ Interview with Carl Griffin: April 7, 2004.

⁴²⁰ Interview with Doug Wilkins: June 13, 2005.

⁴²¹ Interview with Doug Wilkins: June 13, 2005.

thing.⁴²² Doug Wilkins feels that the addition of vocal material to the GRP catalogue was a workable compromise with mainstream radio formats: 'to me, smooth jazz represents instrumental artists with a groove and a tempo. When you add a vocal element, it enables it to be crossed over to other formats.'⁴²³ Wilkins assembled a staff of regional promotion people situated in various markets across the United States. He describes some of the techniques that were adopted to try and reach larger audiences:

Phil Perry was a vocalist singing adult music that could be played on R&B radio and also cross over to smooth jazz. Someone like George Howard was an instrumental artist, but we would sit down in our meetings and try to add vocals to his tracks either in the forefront or the background. He also started to do cover songs that were familiar with listeners and that had success at R&B radio. We knew that to get different artists played at R&B radio, we needed to have a vocal element whether or not it was the artist doing the vocal or bringing on someone who had success at that format to do one or two songs as a guest artist.⁴²⁴

These reflections help to clarify the ways in which GRP shaped its products in response to the requirements of format radio. Record producer Michael Abene, a producer of several GRP recordings, understood the commercial imperative for the label to adopt such policies. He states: 'to me, that CD101 or "wave" sound had a lot to do with gathering finances for the label.'⁴²⁵ Producer Dennis Bell concurs: 'without radio, I don't think GRP would have floated. They had stuff on the R&B stations that crossed over, which is why they were successful.'⁴²⁶

⁴²² Interview with Jeff Weber: April 10, 2005. Weber is referring to Ritenour's collaboration with vocalist Eric Tagg on the song 'Is It You?' from the album *Rit* (1981). The song debuted on May 23, 1981 and spent thirteen weeks on the *Billboard* charts, peaking at number fifteen. See Whitburn (2002: 205).

⁴²³ Interview with Doug Wilkins: June 13, 2005.

⁴²⁴ Interview with Doug Wilkins: June 13, 2005.

⁴²⁵ Interview with Michael Abene: July 17, 2006.

⁴²⁶ Interview with Dennis Bell: September 12, 2005.

For record labels then, radio ‘has a direct impact on the types of acts that are signed’ (Negus, 1993b: 62). Promotional opportunities through radio are a key consideration in a record label’s acquisition of a new artist: ‘the characteristics of the promotional outlets available are carefully considered by record labels when assessing a potential acquisition’ (Negus, 1993b: 66). Negus also states, ‘the system of radio format categories permeates the entire record company operation and influences the type of artists acquired and how these artists are presented’ (Negus, 1993b: 63). The impact of commercial radio on the merchandising of records is neatly summarised by

Peterson:

First, only those records which are played on the air have a chance to become commercially successful. Second, record makers consciously tailor their productions so that they are likely to be aired, that is, be acceptable to radio station programmers. Third, the careers of artists and eventually whole genres of music are facilitated or frozen out in the process (Peterson, 1978: 297).

With its in-house recording studio, the GRP label maintained a significant capability to impact upon its products. Mike Landy worked as GRP’s Head Recording Engineer throughout the smooth jazz radio boom of the late 1980s. He recalls: ‘from day to day we did a lot of editing. Larry wanted an artist to say something important and then move on and say something else.’⁴²⁷ Indeed, production elements such as track lengths and the sequencing of recorded material were important parts of GRP’s agenda as it conformed elements of its output to the requirements of smooth jazz radio. Washburne has noted that editing for radio is a common practice among jazz companies: ‘to accommodate airplay on commercial radio, record companies, at times, will release two versions of the same song, one in its original form, and the

⁴²⁷ Interview with Mike Landy: June 7, 2005.

other with the jazziness – extended soloing or overly dissonant sections - edited out' (Washburne, 2004: 134). Landy agrees that this was a common practice at GRP and in most cases artists accepted the realities of securing airplay in the smooth jazz field:

Larry would make an edited CD for radio and the artists would be ok with that because it was also in their interest to let people know there was a new CD out there and to get some airplay. It always got less and less; it had to be under five minutes, then it was four minutes. Sometimes artists would compromise, other times they wouldn't. Larry always wanted artists to be happy so he would say "well, don't blame me if you don't get any airplay or the record doesn't sell."⁴²⁸

Landy's comments demonstrate that GRP staff were aware of the importance of radio to their business and were conscious of the need to create products that would meet little resistance in terms of media use.

Guitarist Steve Khan is the son of lyricist Sammy Cahn. He is known for his work with an array of artists including Steely Dan, Billy Joel, Hubert Laws, Buddy Rich, Billy Cobham, James Brown, Maynard Ferguson and Weather Report. Khan recorded his album *Public Access* (1990) independently and licensed the finished master to GRP.⁴²⁹ Khan was aware that his work would not be broadcast in its existing form. He notes: 'when you have a recording where the most accessible tunes are ten minutes long, I knew that if Larry took the record, he was going to chop up everything.'⁴³⁰ As part of the licensing deal, Khan arranged to personally fund an edited version of the record specifically for radio purposes: 'I said "if you take the record as is, I will pay out of my own pocket for a special radio edit CD which will

⁴²⁸ Interview with Mike Landy: June 7, 2005.

⁴²⁹ Steve Khan, *Public Access* (1990, GRD-9599).

⁴³⁰ Interview with Steve Khan: May 30, 2005.

cut down the timings, as long as you leave the CD that goes out to the public as it is.”⁴³¹ In this case, Khan felt it necessary to personally subsidise an alternate version of the music in order to protect his original work from further mediation. Evidently, the requirements of jazz formats on commercial radio, such as reduced track lengths and a lack of emphasis on improvisation, are an integral part of the negotiation between radio, record labels and artists. The needs of commercial radio can therefore impact upon which tracks are released and promoted and approaches to the arrangement and editing of compositions.

Noted songwriter Ivan Lins collaborated with Dave Grusin and Lee Ritenour on the GRP recording *Harlequin* (1985).⁴³² Lins is an example of a musician that finds the compartmentalisation of music difficult to accept: 'by creating certain types of radio stations and TV programmes, you create censorship against other kinds of jazz. That's not fair. I believe only in good music and bad music. I don't like to be told: "this is not jazz, this is smooth jazz."'⁴³³ Drummer Robby Ameen agrees: 'I don't draw a line where one kind is serious and the other is not. To me there's as much fluff and bullshit going on in so-called "straight-ahead" acoustic jazz, so I don't really draw any boundaries there.'⁴³⁴ Larry Rosen also shares this view: 'whether it was in a funk setting or whether it was in an eighth note groove or a pop setting, to me it's all the same thing.'⁴³⁵

⁴³¹ Interview with Steve Khan: May 30, 2005.

⁴³² Dave Grusin and Lee Ritenour, *Harlequin* (1985, GRD-9522)

⁴³³ Interview with Ivan Lins: August 9, 2006.

⁴³⁴ Interview with Robby Ameen: February 20, 2004.

⁴³⁵ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

Jazz-rock guitarist Al Di Meola did not record for GRP. However, he strongly objects to the practice of conforming jazz music for radio, a process he claims forces artists to ‘cut the guts out’ of their recordings (Al Di Meola, 1992: 33). He notes: ‘some businessman telling a station they shouldn’t play it, some guy who knows nothing about music being paid a lot of money...we grew up with varied formats. You could hear R&B and then something from England; that doesn’t exist today’ (Di Meola, 1992: 34). Notably, Di Meola has also openly criticised GRP’s radio practices: ‘I don’t know who’s written the policy up there at GRP Records that prohibits exciting music, but they forgot about hundreds of thousands of fans. Most of the GRP artists sound the same, and radio has adopted that whole concept’ (Di Meola, 1992: 33). Khan presents a more philosophical look at the compromise necessary to succeed in this environment:

The formula was that an artist can basically do what they want, but there has to be one or two tunes where they take a popular song, usually a popular R&B song and make a clever “jazz” version of it. It has to be short, certainly under five minutes, maybe under four-thirty. The timings that American listeners can tolerate keeps going down; we’re in the short attention span age. Nobody can listen to anything longer than two minutes.⁴³⁶

Khan’s comments demonstrate an understanding of the reasoning behind these practices and also the culture of brevity surrounding mass marketing. By accepting the realities of commercial radio programming, Khan was able to collaborate with radio programmers and record labels in order to achieve his goals. Stewart Coxhead is the manager of guitar duo Acoustic Alchemy, a successful act for GRP throughout the early 1990s. He too has experienced pressure to conform jazz-pop recordings for the smooth jazz radio format:

⁴³⁶ Interview with Steve Khan: May 30, 2005.

We lived and died on the radio. When we started in 1987, “smooth jazz” radio or “contemporary jazz” radio as it was called, used to play albums. You’d give them the album and they’d go six cuts deep into it. Nowadays when we make a record, we make two records: we make the record we want and we make two tracks for radio. We definitely orientate at least a couple of tracks towards what smooth jazz radio sounds like now. There is pressure now to do that but there wasn’t then.⁴³⁷

Again, Coxhead demonstrates that jazz artists, producers and record labels are clearly aware of the nature of radio as an advertising medium and are prepared to provide material that is sympathetic to formatting policies. Guitarist Dean Brown is a musician who worked with GRP and was also cognisant of the compromises necessary to receive exposure in smooth jazz:

There’s an avenue to play jazz on the radio, if you’ll just play the game a little bit. I had a hard time reconciling that. I think if you’re going to do something that’s for radio, it should be conceived that way from the start. You shouldn’t have to chop it down later to make a square peg fit into a round hole.⁴³⁸

Clearly, consideration of the promotional outlets for jazz can influence the production process. GRP artist Deborah Henson-Conant uses an analogy to describe how GRP approached radio: ‘the album is like a long delicious dinner, but the way GRP was doing it, which was the perfect approach to radio, was more like a delicious dessert tray.’⁴³⁹ This is an interesting comment as it highlights the themes of brevity, compromise and collaboration that have resonated throughout this case study. In order to survive in the mass market, jazz is obliged to address these considerations at the level of production. Intermediaries mediate products according to the demands of the market they are engaged with. For smooth jazz, this involves

⁴³⁷ Interview with Stewart Coxhead: February 17, 2004.

⁴³⁸ Interview with Dean Brown: February 11, 2004.

⁴³⁹ Interview with Deborah Henson-Conant: August 16, 2006.

careful research and tight playlists. In this environment, jazz-pop has found its most commercially successful outlet and yet this format is predicated upon choosing only the safest options. Erica Linderholm supports this theory: 'usually, CD sales were driven by a hit record, but in this format there weren't really hit records; it was great listening music to drive to or unwind to or have dinner to.'⁴⁴⁰ Frank Cody views the relationship between jazz and commercial radio as something of a stalemate:

Radio has become a little screwy in some ways; it has become so safe and calculated that the only version of Dave Brubeck you're ever going to hear is the edited version of *Take Five*. I listen to a lot of smooth jazz stations and I hear very little new music percentage-wise especially in the prime time hours of workplace listening. Some of it dates back more than 20 years old.⁴⁴¹

The implications of this can have serious consequences for creativity in jazz. Indeed, A lack of creativity is a common criticism levelled at smooth jazz. Deborah Lewow notes, 'when you research something to find things that appeal to the broadest common denominator, you find that everyone loves the saxophone, so there's fifteen different saxophonists on the air at any given time.'⁴⁴² Steve Khan feels that GRP's willingness to cater to the smooth jazz format has contributed to a saturation of artists pursuing the same sound:

They don't have Dave Sanborn, so they get Nelson Rangell. You have this horrible cloning effect, which in the end really kind of hurts Dave Sanborn because it makes a legion of people sick of that sound. Even though that kind of alto playing obviously sells, there must be like 20 mini-Sanborns out there selling something. Nelson, Dave Koz, I can't even name half of them.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

⁴⁴¹ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

⁴⁴² Interview with Deborah Lewow: February 26, 2004.

⁴⁴³ Interview with Steve Khan: May 30, 2005.

Negus (1999: 170) notes that ‘the pressure on musicians to churn out the same old familiar material and maintain their position is considerable, at least for those musicians who value and wish to maintain such a position within a musical aristocracy.’ This situation was also frustrating for GRP co-founder Dave Grusin. He concedes, ‘I think as a company we made all kinds of compromises musically.’⁴⁴⁴ However, Grusin feels that there is a clear gulf between GRP’s output and the present state of smooth jazz radio:

We talked about contemporary jazz in terms of Chick Corea and Joe Zawinul, as opposed to the Kenny G thing. The term “smooth jazz” used to drive me crazy. I didn’t understand it and there were entire radio stations built on the concept. Of course, it’s totally degenerated now. It’s a total joke; airplay doesn’t exist in this medium any more.⁴⁴⁵

Frank Cody is realistic about the limitations of radio formatting in the United States:

Radio is like a franchise business; like owning a McDonalds. You decide to do a particular format and maybe you get a consultant who knows how to do that format and you become the “Power 106” station or whatever. There hasn’t been a lot of creativity in radio for a long time.⁴⁴⁶

According to Nicholson (1998: 222), the revenue growth of smooth jazz stations rose to 75.7% between January 1993 and December 1995. He notes: ‘there was no doubt that the “smooth jazz” format had become a potent commercial force in the 1990s, with musicians writing tunes to coincide with the requirements of rigid formatting’ (Nicholson, 1998: 222). Dean Brown has noted the increasingly collaborative nature of this relationship:

⁴⁴⁴ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

⁴⁴⁵ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

⁴⁴⁶ Interview with Frank Cody: February 21, 2008.

As the new radio format became stronger, the whole thing was like a big circle: each aspect of the music industry was pushing the other around to create a smoother relationship between the creation of music and the marketing of music and the radio promotion of it.⁴⁴⁷

Although avant-garde jazz and commercial radio are a profound mismatch, popular forms of jazz can thrive in this climate as long as record labels and artists are willing to compromise. As Simon Frith (1996: 79) suggests ‘it’s as if radio programmers can create a territory by mapping it. And record companies can’t find their way to market without that map.’ The example of GRP Records demonstrates how jazz labels operate successfully within the limitations of the smooth jazz format and the ways in which radio has contributed to the mediation of jazz production.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that jazz production is subject to mediation through its relationship with radio. By examining the work of Broadcast Architecture, I explored how radio programmers use audience research to construct tightly defined playlists sanctioned by listeners. By broadcasting this material in steady rotation, smooth jazz stations in radio markets across the United States appeal to the widest possible audience in order to achieve exposure for advertising messages. Through audience research and the guidelines associated with formatting practices, radio programmers and listeners can mediate the promotional opportunities available to jazz artists.

⁴⁴⁷ Interview with Dean Brown: February 11, 2004.

Using the example of GRP Records, I explored some of the ways in which record labels and artists collaborate with radio programmers, addressing the needs of radio in order to achieve exposure. Evidence drawn from this study indicated that record labels conform jazz material for crossover appeal by adding vocals and abbreviating long solos or improvisations. As a result of this collaboration, it is clear that jazz music can be conceived, produced and promoted according to the requirements of radio formats and the mediation of the music and media industries. In Chapter Five, I shall use the final part of this thesis to examine the sale of GRP Records. By exploring the nature of GRP's transformation under MCA, Matsushita and Universal, I shall explore the ways in which jazz production can be impacted by business expansion, consolidation and shifts in corporate culture.

Five

The Business of Jazz: Corporate Strategy and its Impact on Jazz Production

Aims of this chapter

Chapter Five examines the impact of corporate strategy on jazz production. By this I mean that it will consider the ways in which companies form relationships with other organisations in order to expand their infrastructure, reduce risk and increase sales. These relationships usually take the form of strategic alliances, mergers or acquisitions, all of which can have a significant impact upon the production process. In terms of the music industry, these practices can be examined by studying the relationships between independent labels and major labels.⁴⁴⁸ For example, a successful independent label may need to contract with a major distributor in order to cope with a high volume of sales. Likewise, an independent record label may agree to merge into a larger, more powerful, company for financial reasons or to obtain access to greater production, marketing and distribution resources. These sorts of corporate strategies are usually of mutual benefit to both parties. The acquisition of an independent label enables a major label to grow its market share, increase turnover and maximise resources.

Intermediaries normally rationalise their actions according to the philosophies and aims of the companies for which they work. As Deal and Kennedy have stated, 'culture has a powerful influence throughout an organization; it affects practically

⁴⁴⁸ Any record label not governed by another organisation can be considered 'independent'. However, this term typically refers to record labels that are not owned by one of the four 'majors': Warner Music Group, EMI, Sony Music and the Universal Music Group.

everything - from who gets promoted and what decisions are made, to how employees dress and what sports they play...culture also has a major effect on the success of the business' (Deal and Kennedy, 1982: 4). When a record label is sold to a more powerful company, directives issued by the parent company can often supercede those of the smaller company. Thus, corporate strategies can bring about changes in the working environment that determine the effectiveness of intermediaries. In some cases, mergers can lead intermediaries towards an increase in production as more artists are signed and jobs are created. Conversely, the sale of a record label may lead to entire rosters of artists being 'dropped' and staff downsized or replaced by those of the parent company. Strategies surrounding expansion and consolidation can also impact upon a label's identity or brand power. Sometimes, associating with a more powerful company can enhance a label's profile and improve sales. In other cases, consolidation can undermine a record label's distinctive qualities, diminishing its ability to connect with consumers and thus sell records. In either case, it is clear that corporate strategies of expansion and consolidation can have a significant impact upon the ways in which intermediaries carry out their work and this can affect the future prospects of artists within a record company and the production process.

Historically, independent record labels have been the chief exponents of jazz music.⁴⁴⁹ Many such labels have signed major distribution deals or have been acquired by larger companies. Nevertheless, the business strategies of jazz labels are

⁴⁴⁹ For example: Landmark, Riverside, Prestige, Atlantic, Blue Note, CTI and GRP. See Jarrett (2004) and Gray (1988: 88).

rarely examined by scholarly research.⁴⁵⁰ This is important because addressing the ways in which intermediaries can impact upon the creation of jazz products complicates the dominant view of jazz as a largely unmediated form of art music.⁴⁵¹ With the exceptions of Herman Gray's (1988) study of Theresa Records, Laing's (2002) essay on the jazz marketplace and Pond's (2005) account of the making of Herbie Hancock's *Head Hunters*, there remains a paucity of research into the business of jazz. Indeed, many areas of jazz discourse rely on the opposing values of art and commerce and therefore rarely address jazz in both a musical and industrial sense.⁴⁵² As a result, much of my research into the relationships between independents and majors has derived from popular music studies of rock, punk and dance labels, where the impact of industrial mediation on music production has been subject to considerably more research. I refer specifically to the work of Hirsch (1972), Lee (1995), Burnett (1996), Hesmondhalgh (1996a; 1996b; 1998a; 1998b) and Negus (1998; 1999; 2002).

GRP is a suitable candidate for research in this area because the label has engaged in extensive expansion and consolidation strategies. During the 1980s, GRP expanded its operations by establishing an independent distribution network across Europe. This growth resulted in a 1987 distribution deal with MCA Records.⁴⁵³ In March 1990, MCA Records agreed the purchase of GRP for common stock valued at \$40 million (Anon, 1990a). In November 1990, Japan's Matsushita Electrical Industrial

⁴⁵⁰ Prestige was sold to Fantasy Records in 1971; Landmark became part of Muse Records in 1993; Atlantic was sold to Warner Brothers in 1967; Blue Note was sold to Liberty Records in 1965 and is now owned by EMI; GRP was sold to MCA in 1990 and is now part of Universal.

⁴⁵¹ See for example: Stearns (1970), Schuller (1986), Sales (1992) and Williams (1993).

⁴⁵² For recent thoughts on this problem see Frith (2007) and Morse (2007).

⁴⁵³ MCA Records was an American record company owned by MCA Inc. MCA, Inc. (or the Music Corporation of America) was an American conglomerate that created entertainment products such as TV shows, records and movies; it was founded in Chicago in 1924 by Jules Stein.

Co. purchased MCA Inc. for \$6.6 billion introducing an additional tier of top-level management based in Osaka.⁴⁵⁴ In early 1995, Grusin and Rosen left GRP to pursue other interests and producer Tommy LiPuma became the President of GRP Records.⁴⁵⁵ In April that year, having sold his family's 23 percent stake of the DuPont company for \$8.8 billion, Seagram's Edgar Bronfman Jr. used the funds to buy 80 percent of MCA Inc. from Matsushita for \$5.7 billion.⁴⁵⁶ In 1998, Seagram acquired Polygram and merged it with MCA to form the Universal Music Group.⁴⁵⁷ GRP Records ultimately became an imprint of the Verve Music Group owned by Universal.⁴⁵⁸ Tommy LiPuma became the Chairman of the Verve Music Group, overseeing the output of all of its jazz labels.⁴⁵⁹

Using this historical framework, I chart GRP's trajectory during an intense period of major label consolidation. I begin by examining corporate strategy and the dynamics of the relationships between independent and major labels. I explore the expansion of GRP's international affairs during the 1980s and its subsequent consolidation into increasingly larger multi-national corporations. I then examine Grusin and Rosen's

⁴⁵⁴ Matsushita was a Japanese electronics company that helped to introduce the video cassette recorder (Negus, 1999: 44). See Fabrikant (1990a; 1990b).

⁴⁵⁵ LiPuma has 29 gold and platinum records to his credit, over 30 Grammy nominations and three Grammy wins. He is considered one of the most successful pop and jazz producers in the record industry with a career that has included hits for A&M, Blue Thumb, Warner Brothers, Elektra, GRP and Verve.

⁴⁵⁶ See Fabrikant (1995), Sterngold (1995) and Truell (1995). Matsushita kept 20 percent of MCA because it had originally purchased MCA for \$6.6 billion. The transaction was essentially a loss for the company. See Anon (1995).

⁴⁵⁷ See Fabrikant (1998). The acquisition of Polygram included A&M Records, Motown Records, Island Records and Def Jam. MCA had been involved with Universal Studios since 1958 and Universal Pictures since 1962.

⁴⁵⁸ Unlike subsidiary record labels that maintain their own premises, staff and release schedules, there is often no legal business structure associated with an imprint and it often relies on a trademark, logo or other brand value for marketing purposes.

⁴⁵⁹ This presently includes Impulse!, GRP, Verve, and Verve Forecast. Polygram acquired Verve in 1972 as part of its MGM buyout. It subsequently came under the control of Universal after Seagram's 1998 merger between MCA and Polygram.

decision to sell GRP Records and the impact of its expansion and consolidation on artists, staff and the GRP brand. Intermediaries in the form of A&R personnel, marketing staff and production coordinators are the central links between executive level management and the production process. I therefore argue that changes in corporate strategy can impact significantly upon the artists and staff engaged in the production process. Studying the expansion and consolidation of GRP represents the final stage of my investigation into the impact of industrial mediation in jazz production. This chapter calls on personal interviews with the founders, artists, staff members and external distributors associated with GRP and its international partners at MCA offices around the world. I have also studied a range of secondary sources: music industry texts and academic literature that provide further context for analysing the effects of corporate strategy.

Corporate strategy

Hax (1994: 9) defines strategy as 'the pattern of decisions a firm makes.' Negus asserts that the motivation behind strategic decisions is usually a desire for control over production: 'strategy is one of the key ways that corporations seek to maintain control and deal with the uncertainties generated during the processes of production' (Negus, 1999: 31). The music industry is built around the processes of manufacturing, distributing and retailing (Burnett, 1996: 75). These are areas of industry that are carefully controlled by executive level management. As Lopes states, 'the contemporary strategy of major record companies relies on their exclusive control over large-scale manufacturing, distribution, and access to the

principal avenues of exposure' (Lopes, 1992: 70). Some of the processes developed by major labels for this purpose include the use of personnel spanning multiple roles, overproduction, differential promotion and co-optation of gatekeepers (Hirsch, 1972: 650). Consequently, 'corporate strategy is central to any consideration of musical mediation as it entails an explicit attempt to manage the production-consumption relationship' (Negus, 1999: 47).

This thesis is primarily concerned with how the actions of intermediaries feed into the production process. Corporate strategy is the central method for how the actions of intermediaries are managed. Negus points out that 'corporate strategy aims to control and order the unpredictable social processes and diversity of human behaviours which are condensed into notions of production and consumption and which riddle the music business with uncertainties' (Negus, 1999: 31). Corporate strategy is formulated and implemented in order to minimise risk and manage resources appropriately. Moreover, Negus notes that 'strategy provides a way of monitoring and accounting for the activities of producers, artists and recording industry personnel. It also provides a means of rationalizing and ordering the activities of consumers and audiences' (Negus, 1999: 31). Corporate strategy can therefore be considered a governing principle of commercial activity that can impact upon most elements of an organisation, from its staff and its products to its consumers. The expansion and sale of companies according to strategic planning can have a profound impact upon all facets of a company's operations.

The impact of strategies of expansion and consolidation can be demonstrated effectively by studying the relationships between independent and major labels. Scholars such as Hirsch (1972), Lee (1995), Burnett (1996), Hesmondhalgh (1996a; 1996b; 1998a; 1998b) and Negus (1999) have explored the complex relationships between small and large companies. For Hirsch (1972: 642), the record label is a 'cultural organisation'. Hirsch defines this term as one that is inclusive of any commercial body seeking profit from the sale of cultural products. He describes 'movies, plays, books, art prints, phonograph records and pro football games' (Hirsch, 1972: 642) as examples of cultural commodities. Independent labels often use independent distributors to introduce new sounds into the marketplace; such companies are better equipped to manage the relatively small volumes sold by the majority of independents. Some independent labels, or 'indies', take an anti-commercial stance, targeting niche audiences on the fringes of mainstream culture with highly specialist products. As Christianen (1995: 69) has noted, independents usually thrive in niche music markets that are not properly represented by major firms. This is usually because such markets are small and specialist in nature and therefore represent limited revenue potential. As such, entrepreneurial innovation has become associated with independent record companies (Gillett, 1996; Garofalo, 2002). This is not to say that such labels act freely and without thought to cost implications. Indeed, when situating independent firms within the broader social history of the music and media industries, it is clear that nearly all companies must engage with its infrastructures in order for their products to enter the system and become commercially available to the public.⁴⁶⁰ I refer here to the global industries

⁴⁶⁰ Nevertheless, as Strachan (2003) has documented, some 'micro-independents' will tailor their efforts to the uncompromising stance of musicians, financial stability notwithstanding.

of manufacturing, distribution and marketing for popular music products that have been largely co-opted, controlled, and more traditionally, owned, by major recording companies.⁴⁶¹

Burnett (1996: 62) gives an overview of the market as a two-tier system in which independent labels often act as a development platform for majors. Record labels must not only find and develop talented artists but they must predict which artists will be successful and in which genres. To minimise risk, majors frequently license products created by independent labels once they have been tested in the marketplace and proven to be safe investments (Burnett, 1996: 76). Some independent labels utilise the distribution resources of major labels in order to bring their products to market more effectively. Wacholtz (1999: 3) notes that it is customary for ‘mega’ firms to rely on small, entrepreneurial organisations to develop and test products, with larger firms typically acting more like venture capitalists or contractors.⁴⁶² Independent philosophies are also often assimilated by large firms (and their subsidiaries) hoping to capitalise on sub-cultural phenomena expanding commercially from small-scale independent scenes onto national or international platforms.⁴⁶³

In his case study of Wax Trax! Records, Lee (1995) documents the financial and ideological struggles of a small dance label and its relationships with the major label

⁴⁶¹ See Peterson and Berger (1975), Lopes (1992) and Burnett (1996).

⁴⁶² See also, Jones (1995). The work of Wacholtz (1999: 3) indicates that BMG had almost 50,000 employees and over 200 companies and yet operated with a divisional strategy based around the ‘entrepreneurial spark’ of discrete units.

⁴⁶³ For example, the impact of ‘grunge music’ during the early 1990s, an alternative rock genre that originated out of Seattle and was exemplified by bands like Nirvana (Geffen) and Pearl Jam (Epic/Sony). The scene was nurtured during the 1980s by progressive independent labels such as Sub Pop.

system. Lee's work challenges assumptions surrounding independent record company practice by arguing that independence is only practical until a maximum level of production, usually defined by the company's resources, is reached. Lee (1995: 17) contends that the manufacturing, distribution and marketing resources of major corporations become a necessity beyond this point. Wax Trax! used independent manufacturing and distribution for nine years (1981-1990) as it strived to create a self-sufficient network. However, Wax Trax! eventually outgrew this structure once sales became considerable enough to attract the attention of larger labels/distributors. GRP articulated its independent status in a similar way. However, where Wax Trax! required assistance from major labels in order to restructure inefficient business practices and adapt to a larger operational scale, GRP had a range of experienced staff who were better equipped to manage its ongoing expansion. Moreover, I shall demonstrate that GRP's infrastructure was also beneficial to its parent company's operations, suggesting, as Lee does, that collaboration is a necessary part of the expansion of an independent label. Despite the obvious financial and industrial benefits, an independent label might reject acquisition by a major because of fear of loss of control. Lee (1995: 16) notes that Wax Trax! staff 'treated interactions with the majors with suspicion'. There were concerns that any new owner 'might not "understand" the label's music or niche...losing the label's "identity" with its audience' (Lee, 1995: 16). As my research into GRP demonstrates, these sorts of concerns are not unfounded; GRP's brand was profoundly changed in the decade that followed its sale. An independent label can of course elect to remain self-sufficient for reasons of aesthetic conviction,

but few businesses opt for this route when faced with the opportunity for significant financial and industrial growth.

Gray's (1988) study of Theresa Records, a small San Francisco based independent jazz label, examines the sorts of political, aesthetic, social and economic negotiations that take place in the management of a cultural organisation as it grows to a national scale. Gray's (1988: 9-10) incisive summary of the challenges faced by a nascent independent recording company include:

The structural location of the company in the popular music industry; reliance on a network of independent record distributors and wholesalers to disseminate and market its products; a set of ideological values that guide the company's aesthetic direction and define its identity and organizational character; and the size of the company and the resources it has available to meet the demands it faces (Gray, 1988: 9-10).

Theresa was contemporaneous to GRP and lauded by jazz critics for its 'historical integrity' (Gray, 1988: 56). However, Theresa released only a few records each year because the label could not sustain the organisational demands (production costs, distribution costs and cash flow) of its own success on a national level. As discussed in the example of Wax Trax! Records, independent labels often become over-extended financially when a record becomes successful beyond the available resources of the company and additional manufacturing and promotion is required. Conversely, GRP quickly became what Gray (1988: 10) would call a 'structural independent', a mainstream jazz organisation whose music appeals to the widest possible audience and which operates essentially like a major recording company. Like GRP, Theresa relied on a national network of independent distributors (Gray, 1988: xi). However, where GRP achieved sales by the millions, Theresa averaged

sales of 7,000-8,000 units with each release. Theresa's principal staff members carried out multiple roles in addition to their primary careers as chemists (Gray, 1988: xii); GRP had full-time, experienced industry veterans in key organisational roles and was better able to cope with the demands of expansion. Gray (1998: 20) has therefore argued that labels like Theresa make a negligible financial impact but a significant cultural one.

Today, a small number of firms dominate the world's music markets. Prior to 1998, there were six major labels including WCI (Warner), CBS, RCA, MCA, Capitol-EMI and Polygram. Lopes (1992: 60) reports the following statistics: 'in the pop singles market from 1969-1990, four-firm concentration increased from 46.5 percent to 81.0 percent and eight-firm concentration from 66.0 percent to 97.0 percent.' Clearly, the period of the late 1980s and early 1990s was a particularly aggressive time for record label mergers and acquisitions. A number of corporations usually associated with other industries, such as Matsushita (electronics) and Seagram (drinks) began to invest in the entertainment industry, acquiring labels like MCA and Polygram and consolidating interests in recorded music, film and television.⁴⁶⁴ As Lee records:

Over the past ten years, the majors have systematically purchased all of the larger independent record companies operating in the USA. Independent record labels such as Island, A&M, Motown and Virgin proved attractive targets since they each had large and often successful artist rosters. In addition, these companies offered the majors well developed distribution arms external to those run by the majors (Lee, 1995: 16).

⁴⁶⁴ Negus (1999: 45) uses the MCA/Matsushita buyout and the subsequent Universal/Polygram merger as prominent case studies of corporate strategy.

The ownership of independent labels, music catalogues and distribution networks increases market share and is a vital component of corporate strategy. Between 1979-1983, the music industry was in recession (Lopes, 1992: 60). As the decade progressed, most of the remaining independent labels such as A&M, Arista, Chrysalis and Motown that had, until that point, resisted acquisition, were mostly incorporated into larger companies.⁴⁶⁵ As the six major labels (WCI, CBS, RCA, MCA, Capitol-EMI and Polygram) at this time controlled almost all music distribution in the United States (Lopes, 1992: 60), the majors essentially 'became financing and distribution companies for division labels' (Lopes, 1992: 62).

Of course, it would be too simplistic to present independent labels as bastions of creativity sabotaged in a corporate world. As Gray (1988: 133) has pointed out, 'some of the most blatant exploitation of musicians, especially black musicians, has come at the hands of independent recording entrepreneurs.' The independent label has typically been understood as more autonomous, more likely to find interesting new music because of its artistic (and sometimes literal) proximity to new sounds from the streets. Hesmondhalgh (1998b: 271) warns that claims to independence are increasingly part of a pseudo-independence manufactured by majors. Here the term 'independence' is hijacked by large companies to misrepresent mainstream products as having the sorts of artistic values and DIY (Do-It-Yourself) aesthetics typically associated with independent creativity. Hesmondhalgh (1998a: 246) is consistent on this point; in his work on the British dance music industry, he notes: 'the majors have

⁴⁶⁵ Motown founder Berry Gordy sold his label to MCA in 1988 for \$61 million; see Anon (1988). In 1989, PolyGram purchased Island Records for \$272 million; see Fabrikant (1989). Chrysalis was sold to Thorn EMI the same year; see Anon (1989a). The deal with Alpert and Moss (A&M) was reportedly worth \$500 million; see Anon (1989b).

worked to assimilate as rapidly as possible, the symbolic resonances attached to independent record companies.’ Furthermore, Hesmondhalgh (1998a: 245) states that ‘corporations have adopted various means of making it look as though dance specialists are autonomous of their parent companies.’ Despite this appearance, small labels usually do not work autonomously of the firms they contract with. The reality is that both sets of organisations are mutually reliant, whether for access to new markets and trends or for large-scale distribution and financial backing.

Hesmondhalgh’s position is congruent with the ‘open system’ put forward by Lopes (1992: 62) which argues that large companies prefer to co-opt independents in order to obtain as much market share as possible. As Gray (1990: 120) suggests, ‘the activities of large majors cannot be equated only with the commodification of music (and the corruption of its meanings) and independents only with preserving its cultural significance.’ What is clear is that the two are almost always interrelated, if not artistically, then economically. It is therefore important to note that relationships between independents and majors are often complex and reciprocal.

Scholars such as Gray (1988), Negus (1992, 1999), Lee (1995), Hesmondhalgh (1998a, 1998b) and Strachan (2003) have addressed the changing definitions of independence within the present day music and media industries. As Negus (1999: 35) has noted, the music business has become ‘increasingly institutionalized through a series of joint ventures, production, licensing, marketing and distribution deals which have led to the blurring of “indie”/“major” organizational distinctions.’ Although the term ‘independence’ still wields power in regard to the values of ‘business, capital, creativity and subjectivity’ (Lee, 1995: 30), conclusions drawn by

Hesmondhalgh (1998a: 236) in his work on the British dance music industry question the feasibility of independence given the increasingly global nature of international music business affairs and the limited fora in which companies can promote products. Record labels are increasingly homogenised into larger corporations in order to survive and thus the realities of industrial practice need to be addressed by all accounts of music production, even those pertaining to jazz. Nicholson (2005b: 81) acknowledges the importance of recognising industrial mediation as a part of jazz's ongoing survival when he says: 'the survival of jazz has to be seen in the context of today's increasingly complex infrastructure of profit-maximizing multinationals.' By presenting a case study of GRP Records, this chapter examines the expansion and consolidation of an independent jazz label and the impact of corporate strategy on jazz production.

The expansion of GRP Records

In 1984, GRP's co-founder and President, Larry Rosen, came into contact with a DJ and record store owner from Zurich, Switzerland named Vlady, who wished to import GRP releases. Vlady connected Rosen with Kurt Weil, a trombone player and broadcaster from Zurich who had worked as both a jazz artist and a distributor with EMI, Metronome and Phonogram. Given his experience in European distribution, Weil sent Rosen a proposal outlining a plan for central warehousing and distribution of GRP's product in Europe from a Zurich base. Weil felt that major labels were not best suited to the needs of an independent jazz label: 'if you go with a large company, you're one label out of fifteen or 25. Apart from that, you're jazz; you're

not pop. In other words, they don't do shit with what you have to offer.'⁴⁶⁶ Larry Rosen held a similar opinion of how jazz was handled by major labels: 'I felt we should start our own entities in Europe and not necessarily just be distributed by Warner Brothers or one of the other big companies because I saw how they treated their own jazz.'⁴⁶⁷ As a result, GRP adopted Weil's strategy for an international coalition of independent distributors. As a financial advisor to GRP, Jon Diamond describes how the operation was structured and organised: 'I spent about six months on the telephone with Kurt. We brought in an accountant who was in Zurich who knew both U.S. and Swiss accounting and who helped us formulate a plan.'⁴⁶⁸ Together they obtained offices in Zurich including a secretary and bookkeeping facilities that would act as a base for the European operations.

In order to expand into Europe, GRP decided to form alliances with the most suitable distributors it could find in each territory on a market-by-market basis. Jon Diamond notes: 'this was pre-EU, so there were sixteen countries in the former Western Bloc. We picked a distributor in each one of those countries over time to distribute us.'⁴⁶⁹ Heading the operation from the Zurich office, Kurt Weil became an important advocate for the label throughout Europe: 'I decided to undertake certain travelling voyages by car; I did 10,000 kilometres in France; I went up to Edinburgh, through Germany, through Italy and visited all the retailers myself, alone.'⁴⁷⁰ GRP's Senior Vice President of Marketing, Mark Wexler, also attributes the success of the enterprise to Weil, noting: 'Kurt got a bunch of distributors in each one of the

⁴⁶⁶ Interview with Kurt Weil: March 28, 2006.

⁴⁶⁷ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

⁴⁶⁸ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

⁴⁶⁹ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

⁴⁷⁰ Interview with Kurt Weil: March 28, 2006.

territories.⁴⁷¹ Weil carried out these extensive travels in support of the values that GRP communicated about its products. Weil relates: ‘that was done out of conviction that the product we had to sell was more than just a product; it had an artistic value, the recording, which was very important as far as I was concerned.’⁴⁷² The independent coalition began as a strategy to expand GRP’s distribution capabilities and soon began providing a similar function for other labels. As part of his efforts, Weil went to San Francisco and was able to secure the distribution rights to the Landmark Records catalogue from Orrin Keepnews.⁴⁷³ Weil also secured the distribution rights for Gramavision Records, who were based in New York. Weil relates: ‘it was a pretty hefty organisation for a three man operation.’⁴⁷⁴

Eddie Wilkinson is the co-founder of New Note distribution based in the United Kingdom. Initially, Wilkinson imported GRP releases directly from New York to the import division of Universal known as IMS. Once Wilkinson had established New Note, he maintained GRP as a client and became part of the independent coalition: ‘at the time, there was no real independent distribution. Normally a company would have gone territory by territory trying to license its product to companies like Sony, BMG, EMI and so on.’⁴⁷⁵ As Rosen and Weil have indicated, these sorts of relationships are not as readily available to jazz labels because the economics of the jazz market are less attractive to large companies. Eddie Wilkinson acknowledges

⁴⁷¹ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

⁴⁷² Interview with Kurt Weil: March 28, 2006.

⁴⁷³ Orrin Keepnews is an American writer and jazz record producer born March 2, 1923 in New York. He is recognised for collaborations with jazz artists like Thelonious Monk, Bill Evans, Wes Montgomery, McCoy Tyner and Sonny Rollins. Keepnews founded Riverside in 1953 with partner Bill Grauer. After a series of jazz projects with Milestone Records and Fantasy Records, he founded Landmark Records in 1985.

⁴⁷⁴ Interview with Kurt Weil: March 28, 2006.

⁴⁷⁵ Interview with Eddie Wilkinson: July 19, 2005.

this situation when he says: ‘the majors constantly look at the bottom line and how many units they can sell; if it doesn’t come up to a certain figure then in their view it’s not worth doing.’⁴⁷⁶ Evidently, intermediaries such as Weil and Wilkinson construct their views based on the disparities between the working practices of independents and majors. According to Jon Diamond, the European operation became profitable almost immediately.⁴⁷⁷ Kurt Weil also describes GRP’s success in Europe as unusually profitable for a jazz business: ‘Germany, France and Italy each did 120,000 units per year.’⁴⁷⁸ He continues: ‘we had an enormous turnover for a jazz label. The three of us were able to generate about twelve million Swiss francs per year with jazz and we did that for about five years.’⁴⁷⁹ The success of the venture galvanised the team and reinforced their support of GRP as an independent label. Moreover, the increase in sales necessitated more manufacturing and production, resulting in increased profits to invest in new products.

The independent coalition did not limit its role to warehousing and delivering records to retail stores. Eddie Wilkinson notes, ‘we also acted as a PR company; we did all of the press and promotion for the artists; we set up interviews. We would even get involved in concerts, putting on showcases and so on.’⁴⁸⁰ The process leading to a release in each territory worked as follows:

We’d get advance information about forthcoming releases and on that basis we had to prepare marketing and promotion plans. We’d normally work six to eight weeks in advance of a release date. We’d report back to Kurt Weil. Everything was planned to coincide with the release so the features in the

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Eddie Wilkinson: July 19, 2005.

⁴⁷⁷ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview with Kurt Weil: March 28, 2006.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with Kurt Weil: March 28, 2006.

⁴⁸⁰ Interview with Eddie Wilkinson: July 19, 2005.

press would be there and it would coincide with concerts that might be happening. In fact, we operated in the same way that any major record company would, only with specialist genre product.⁴⁸¹

These comments echo Gray's (1988: 10) earlier reference to the 'structural independent' type of organisation, operating essentially like a major label but in niche markets. GRP offered reward incentives to encourage the European distributors to compete with one another in terms of sales, but quickly discovered that its partners were sensitive to the kind of mediation that worked best in their respective countries. Kurt Weil notes, 'GRP had no notion about Europe. It thought it could apply the same kind of marketing mechanics and promotion stuff from America.'⁴⁸² As such, the European distributors frequently communicated new methodologies to GRP. A large part of GRP's success in foreign markets was therefore a result of the market-specific knowledge contributed by its partners, which was incorporated into GRP's corporate strategy. Jon Diamond agrees that on the advice of its affiliates, GRP 'tailored marketing strategies to each one of the individual markets.'⁴⁸³

Outside of the United States and Europe, Japan also remained an extremely popular market for GRP. In 1983, Hiroshi Aono of JVC became the first licensee of GRP Records in Japan. Grusin and Rosen had maintained a relationship with JVC since the late 1970s. Aono recalls: 'when GRP made a label with Arista, it used Phonogram in the territory of Japan, which was a licensee of Arista. But JVC had a direct relationship with Dave and Larry and so when GRP left Arista, JVC made a

⁴⁸¹ Interview with Eddie Wilkinson: July 19, 2005.

⁴⁸² Interview with Kurt Weil: March 28, 2006.

⁴⁸³ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

licensing deal to deal with GRP directly.⁴⁸⁴ As described in Chapter Three, by creating partnerships with major Japanese technology companies such as JVC, Panasonic and Mitsubishi, GRP was able to deliver major concert events. These were broadcast on television and radio across Japan and were also released as live recordings.⁴⁸⁵ Relationships such as these contributed to a significant expansion of GRP's international reputation, resulting in increased production and sales.

This section has demonstrated how GRP expanded its distribution network from a Swiss record shop into an international organisation. Despite the growth of the network, GRP's relationships with its affiliates typically remained on an interpersonal level. Eddie Wilkinson describes his relationship with Grusin and Rosen: 'we were on personal terms. We had home phone numbers and all of that. It was a very family orientated company. The bosses of most companies tend to be at a distance rather than down there with the troops.'⁴⁸⁶ Wilkinson's support for GRP's corporate culture reinforces the notion of the independent label as an intimate 'family' unit. Usually, this is possible when an organisation operates at a small enough scale for those at the executive level to have a constant overview of how corporate strategy is delivered and executed. Conversely, a 'family' culture is less prevalent in discussion of major conglomerations where large numbers of people are typically instructed by blanket policies instituted by parent companies and disseminated to sub-managed groups around the world.

⁴⁸⁴ Interview with Hiroshi Aono: July 11, 2006.

⁴⁸⁵ For example, *GRP Super Live in Concert* (1987, GRD 2-1650).

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Eddie Wilkinson: July 19, 2005.

Major label distribution and consolidation

In 1987, GRP signed a distribution deal with MCA. Rosen told the press that the expansion was designed to reach more consumers age 24-54 (Anon, 1990a). GRP's Senior Vice President of Sales, Bud Katzel, recalls: 'at some point we sat down and decided that our independent distributors didn't have the muscle and weren't strong enough to get us what we wanted, so we looked to go to one of the major distribution houses. MCA came to us took over our distribution.'⁴⁸⁷ Evidently, the scale of GRP's production and distribution processes had expanded beyond the means of its current infrastructure. Geoff Mayfield of *Billboard* notes that the consolidation of independent labels during this period had consequences for smaller distributors: 'independent distributors had lost Motown, Arista and A&M; these were some really important independents that had been scooped up by majors. When GRP signed on with MCA in the late '80s that was kind of a blow for independent distributors.'⁴⁸⁸ The economics of GRP's jazz business were clearly reliable enough and profitable enough to warrant the attention of MCA. GRP desired to increase its manufacturing and distribution operations to this level and to benefit from the central control and financial collection that major label distribution provides.

In 1989, GRP was voted *Billboard* magazine's 'Number One Contemporary Jazz label', an accolade that was bestowed on the company for five consecutive years. Gray argues that the involvement of major record companies in jazz coincided with the 'popularization and commercialization of fusion as a subgenre' (Gray, 1988: 27).

⁴⁸⁷ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

⁴⁸⁸ Interview with Geoff Mayfield: March 26, 2004.

Indeed, through its incorporation of rock and pop styles, fusion is typically more accessible to the general public and easier for major labels to sell to mainstream audiences. GRP's market was not driven by the 'hit single', but was instead oriented around album sales. As Lopes (1992: 59) points out, the marked increase in album sales between 1973-1988 was aided by the introduction of the compact disc and reissues of older catalogues in the digital format. Saxophonist Branford Marsalis believes that GRP took a factory-like approach to jazz production in order to introduce a large amount of product into the marketplace: 'the thing about GRP is that it worked to a formula. It built a catalogue with the intent to sell it...the rate at which it made records, for a small company, was incredible. It was like a major.'⁴⁸⁹ Jason Byrne joined GRP in 1992 and became Director of International Marketing at the label. He concurs with Marsalis that this strategy was a deliberate case of 'overproduction':

We were releasing countless numbers of albums. At one point, for a few months, I remember the production schedule had nine or ten releases per month coming out. Now I can understand that the business plan must have been "let's put all these records out and if they sell a few thousand each, collectively we'll be very profitable."⁴⁹⁰

By 1990, GRP was generating sales of approximately \$30 million per year (Anon, 1990a). At this level of commercial activity, GRP became a target for the corporate strategies of other larger companies looking to increase their market share by acquiring a profitable jazz business.⁴⁹¹ As Gray has noted: 'for specific forms and styles of music, such as those with limited commercial appeal...they are required to conform to the requirements necessary for commercial success or they remain

⁴⁸⁹ Interview with Branford Marsalis: February 18, 2004.

⁴⁹⁰ Interview with Jason Byrne: June 22, 2005.

⁴⁹¹ Interview with Bud Katzel: September 3, 2002.

marginal until there is sufficient demand to warrant investments by major companies' (Gray, 1988: 23).

Through its proximity to GRP's distribution accounts, MCA was able to observe that GRP's sales record was consistently strong. Moreover, GRP would also make a suitable outlet for MCA's jazz artists and catalogue. For GRP, selling to MCA would allow the company access to what Gray (1988: 22) calls the 'superior resources'; the means to contract artists and produce records with a vastly improved infrastructure for funding, manufacturing and marketing. It is also important to note the considerable financial incentive of selling GRP. After eight years as the owners of an independent label, the purchase price offered by MCA represented a considerable reward for Grusin and Rosen's investment: 'the deal that they offered us was so much more than I ever imagined. I mean, I never even in my wildest dreams thought that Dave and I were going to start a record label and end up selling it for \$40 million dollars.'⁴⁹² Grusin and Rosen needed to consider how selling GRP might impact upon the company they had worked hard to establish. Rosen describes the rationale that accompanied this decision:

Dave and I had to sit down and contemplate a big decision. When we started the company, we were one of the first ones involved in CDs; by the time 1990 came around, everybody else had CDs. It wasn't unique any more and what we were doing in contemporary jazz, all these major labels were trying to emulate. So we figured at this point we must be at the height of the market, so the time to sell is now. So that's exactly what we did.⁴⁹³

Rosen was aware that the popularisation of compact disc technology had served GRP well as a marketing tool, but was no longer a strong enough differentiator to sustain

⁴⁹² Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

⁴⁹³ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

the GRP brand. Demonstrating the entrepreneurial skills that gave rise to GRP, Rosen adds: 'knowing when to get into something and when to get out of something is equally as important.'⁴⁹⁴ Grusin and Rosen did not appear overly concerned with the notion of 'selling out', a concept that has featured so prominently in jazz discourse. GRP targeted so-called 'upscale' consumers with a high-tech, adult-oriented pop-jazz product. This kind of audience is not typically associated with debates concerning the relationship between art and commerce and was therefore not actively opposed to the involvement of MCA or any other major label. Rosen supports these comments when he says: 'I think the biggest responsibility we had at that point was to me and Dave. It was our company and we were the ones who put our asses on the line financially. Our blood and guts were totally into this company.'⁴⁹⁵ Co-founder Dave Grusin concurs with Rosen but also expresses reservations about the implications of the sale in terms of GRP's independence and its ability to determine its own corporate strategy in the future:

The sale was one of those milestones. It was nice to take home some money; I mean that was part of it. The other part was the facility of being affiliated with a big label like that. This was a chance to try it a different way and become a "member", but it's a double-edged sword because once you're a company person, there are certain obligations that go along with that as well.⁴⁹⁶

It is evident that despite Grusin's cautionary tone, the pair saw the offer from MCA as an opportunity to maximise their personal investments of time and money over the course of the previous decade. As Grusin puts it, GRP would become a 'member' and experience the benefits of a system they had previously rejected. Jon Diamond

⁴⁹⁴ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

⁴⁹⁵ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

⁴⁹⁶ Interview with Dave Grusin: March 20, 2006.

notes: 'we agreed to take the purchase price in stock when we closed on February 28, 1990.'⁴⁹⁷ During March 1990, MCA also made a bid and successfully acquired Geffen Records.⁴⁹⁸ The sale of Geffen to MCA for approximately \$550 million in stock options provided a clear contrast in the scale of rock and jazz economics.⁴⁹⁹

Expansion under MCA

After the sale of GRP, Grusin and Rosen signed contracts to manage the company for a further five years under the auspices of MCA. As a result of the sale, Grusin and Rosen were able to reward staff members based on their time with the company. Equity deals with founding staff members like Bud Katzel and Andy Baltimore were also honoured at this time. Baltimore recounts: 'I was rewarded very nicely when we sold the company. What we had was on a handshake; they fulfilled that handshake.'⁵⁰⁰ The sale also enabled GRP to access MCA's jazz catalogue. Larry Rosen recalls: 'since we started the company in 1982, there's only so much catalogue you can build up. MCA owned the Impulse catalogue, the Decca catalogue, the Chess catalogue; they had all these jazz catalogues and they weren't doing anything with them.'⁵⁰¹ For both parties, this situation presented a clear opportunity.

Billboard's Geoff Mayfield describes the potential benefits as follows:

⁴⁹⁷ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

⁴⁹⁸ See Stevenson (1990). Geffen Records is an American record label founded in 1980 by music industry businessman and entrepreneur David Geffen. It is currently owned by Universal Music Group and forms one third of Interscope-Geffen-A&M.

⁴⁹⁹ This disparity can of course be attributed more specifically to an extrapolation of Geffen's sales figures during the 1980s. The label had managed to build a roster which included established and profitable popular artists such as Elton John, Cher, Don Henley, Joni Mitchell, Neil Young, Peter Gabriel, and Guns N' Roses.

⁵⁰⁰ Interview with Andy Baltimore: September 16, 2002.

⁵⁰¹ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

MCA decided to make GRP the base of operations for the vast vaults of jazz repertoire that it owned. The Impulse catalogue was in the vaults at MCA, so you had John Coltrane and Sam Rivers and Yusef Lateef. Then of course you had all the Decca stuff like Billie Holiday, Count Basie, early Ellington stuff, Nat King Cole - just a treasure trove of material. So rather than just becoming this little sidebar to MCA's jazz heritage, they essentially became the curators, if you will, of the vast resources that MCA already owned and that opened up myriad possibilities for them in terms of compilations and box-sets. So the deal was far more significant than in most cases when a record company simply buys an independent.⁵⁰²

Compact disc reissues of jazz catalogues have proven to be a lucrative enterprise (Laing, 2002: 330). With the acquisition of GRP, MCA were able to mobilise its jazz assets through a proven infrastructure capable of handling, marketing and selling millions of dollars worth of jazz recordings. By reissuing MCA's dormant jazz catalogue, GRP was able to introduce large quantities of new product into the marketplace with minimal production costs. Releasing recordings by jazz artists like John Coltrane, Billie Holiday, Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong and Ella Fitzgerald also associated the GRP brand with the preservation of classic jazz works. Deborah Lewow was GRP's Director of National Radio Promotion and worked with the label from 1985-1993. She notes that GRP's strategy of consolidation impacted upon the size of the label's catalogue and expanded its artist roster: 'in the process, we inherited what had been the "MCA Master Series", which brought Larry Carlton and Acoustic Alchemy to our label.'⁵⁰³

⁵⁰² Interview with Geoff Mayfield: March 26, 2004.

⁵⁰³ Interview with Deborah Lewow: February 26, 2004. Larry Carlton, born March 2, 1948, is an American jazz, pop, and rock guitarist. In the 1970s and 1980s, Carlton was a prominent session musician in the Los Angeles area, appearing on albums by Steely Dan, Joni Mitchell, Billy Joel, Quincy Jones and The Crusaders. Carlton has won three Grammy awards, including one for his role in the theme music for the hit television series, *Hill Street Blues* (1981). Acoustic Alchemy are a British instrumental guitar duo formed in the early 1980s by acoustic guitarists Nick Webb and Simon James. The band currently features Greg Carmichael and Miles Gilderdale.

Despite consolidation into MCA, GRP staff still operated with a sense of autonomy. Erica Linderholm relates: 'we were based in New York and MCA was based in LA, so it felt very separate.'⁵⁰⁴ In November 1990, Japan's Matsushita Electrical Industrial Company purchased MCA for \$6.6 billion. The Japanese company, which owned Panasonic, Ramsa and JVC among others, bought a large stake in MCA in order to combine its hardware products with MCA's music content.⁵⁰⁵ Jon Diamond notes that the sale of MCA came as a surprise:

I got a phone call at five o'clock in the morning from a friend of mine at Goldman Sachs in London asking if I had seen the newspaper. He said: "go get the *Wall Street Journal*, MCA is being taken over by Matsushita. The stock is trading at \$55 a share up from \$27." I ran out into the street and I had to go down into a subway stop at that time of the morning to find a newspaper stand that was open. When the deal was over, the stock was worth in the high 70s.⁵⁰⁶

GRP was now part of a much bigger system of corporate consolidation, one that could affect the fortunes of GRP with little or no notice. Rosen describes the effect of the second consolidation as follows: 'after we sold GRP to MCA for \$40 million dollars in MCA stock, about eight months later, Matsushita in Japan acquired MCA for cash, which actually made it much more than \$40 million dollars for us. It was like we sold it two times in one year.'⁵⁰⁷ Despite the obvious financial benefits, the sale of MCA to Matsushita added an additional tier of executive level management with the power to determine GRP's corporate strategy.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁴ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

⁵⁰⁵ The relationship between Matsushita and MCA was allegedly fraught with tensions concerning MCA's desire to purchase and consolidate independent labels such as Virgin Records. See Fabrikant and Pollack (1994). Virgin was eventually sold to Thorn EMI in 1992 for \$1 billion.

⁵⁰⁶ Interview with Jon Diamond: March 29, 2005.

⁵⁰⁷ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

⁵⁰⁸ Notably, as MCA had purchased Geffen records for \$550 million in stock options, the Matsushita deal effectively made David Geffen a billionaire. See Fabrikant (1990c).

Under MCA and Matsushita, GRP continued to grow, hiring highly qualified staff in key positions. In 1990, Jim Fishel was appointed Director of International Operations for GRP in New York. Fishel has had an illustrious career in the music industry having acted as Senior Editor at *Billboard* magazine; Director of Product Management at Columbia Records; a record producer at CBS Records and Vice President and Executive Director of the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA).⁵⁰⁹ Fishel observed the sales boost experienced by GRP as a result of its access to MCA's resources: 'we took on the Decca and Impulse lines. We had an incredible boom in sales; we were selling boatloads of reissues. We also distributed Orrin Keepnews's label in Europe.'⁵¹⁰ At this point, the Zurich office became surplus to requirements. Distributor Eddie Wilkinson relates: 'Kurt continued to run his operation out of Zurich for a while and then the distribution from there was incorporated into MCA. That closed the Zurich office.'⁵¹¹ In July of 1992, GRP appointed Frank Hendricks as the new Director of Marketing for Europe. At the end of 1992, Hendricks moved to London to represent GRP at MCA's new international office: 'since MCA was opening up its international headquarters in London, that was the right place for the GRP office because there was GRP, Geffen and MCA and all three labels had people based in London.'⁵¹² Clearly, GRP's operations were expanding rapidly into an infrastructure that could cope more readily with increasing volumes of sales. Fishel notes: 'we got our own people, or label managers at the various MCA companies, giving us about 50 plus people who were assigned either

⁵⁰⁹ Fishel was also the producer of the noted Christmas jazz album *God Rest Ye Merry Jazzmen* (Sony, 1981).

⁵¹⁰ Interview with Jim Fishel: June 14, 2005. Fishel ran GRP's International department assisted primarily by Genevieve Stewart who is now Vice President of Administration at Wynton Marsalis Enterprises, Inc. and Gabrielle Armand who is Director of Corporate Relations at Jazz at Lincoln Center.

⁵¹¹ Interview with Eddie Wilkinson: July 19, 2005.

⁵¹² Interview with Frank Hendricks: June 12, 2005.

full-time or part-time to working with the GRP label.’⁵¹³ The role of GRP’s international department, based in New York, was to liaise with these satellite offices around the world, apprising them of forthcoming releases, approving distribution and promotion plans, offering support, promotional materials and touring opportunities. The international offices were required to submit promotional strategy plans for each release specific to their geographical regions.

Chris Boog was employed by BMG in Holland as a Product Manager for Specialist Labels. During the Matsushita consolidation, MCA announced that it would shift its overseas distribution to Bertelsmann (Anon, 1990c). Boog became the product manager for GRP within BMG in 1991. In 1994, MCA opened an office in Hilversum, Holland and Boog became the label manager at MCA for the GRP label, a position he held under Frank Hendricks from April, 1994-1999: ‘Holland is a very small market’ says Boog, ‘I prepared the plans and made sure that everybody in the company was informed and motivated to sell as many of those records as possible.’⁵¹⁴ MCA started its first company in Germany in 1992. Tom Glasgow was a Product Manager at MCA, which handled GRP in Germany. He notes that his role extended to an A&R function that proved beneficial to GRP: ‘I found the two German artists who were released on GRP in America and Japan and that was Mehmet Ergin and Nils Gessinger.’⁵¹⁵ Glasgow notes that the relationships between the international offices were highly reciprocal: ‘Hiroshi Aono also signed a Japanese pianist that was released on GRP. He released the Nils Gessinger album

⁵¹³ Interview with Jim Fishel: June 14, 2005.

⁵¹⁴ Interview with Chris Boog: July 5, 2006.

⁵¹⁵ Interview with Tom Glasgow: March 28, 2006.

and I released his piano lady. It was give and take.’⁵¹⁶ Jim Fishel makes a similar observation: ‘MCA helped me to make in-roads and I have to say, in a few cases, we helped them in certain countries, especially the smaller Central American and South American countries where we had better standing than they did for whatever reason. One hand washed the other.’⁵¹⁷

By 1994, the international distribution outlets for GRP included Argentina, Austria, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hong Kong, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom among others. In Japan, GRP’s pressing and distribution was incorporated into MCA’s deal with JVC (Anon, 1990b). As described previously, GRP’s digital strategies were the leverage that secured lucrative sponsorship deals in Japan and helped it to reach new consumer markets. While MCA’s ownership of GRP allowed the company to reach new levels of global expansion, GRP also opened up channels for MCA in South America where it was already established. The merger with MCA added artists to the GRP roster; it gave the company more catalogue, more staff and greater funding and distribution resources. In turn, MCA was able to mobilise its dormant jazz catalogue through GRP, taking advantage of its brand identity and established audience. Clearly, transnational corporations considered it worthwhile to enter into pan-European and global relationships with independent labels producing commercially sustainable jazz products. I shall now consider some of the specific effects of these corporate strategies on GRP’s recording artists, staff and brand identity.

⁵¹⁶ Interview with Tom Glasgow: March 28, 2006.

⁵¹⁷ Interview with Jim Fishel: June 14, 2005.

The effects of consolidation on recording artists

Record label staff are the central agents carrying out corporate strategy in accordance with the directives of executive level management. As scholars such as Becker (1951; 1982), Hirsch (1972) Negus (1992; 1998; 1999) and Frith (1996) have noted, the ways in which intermediaries manage their work can impact greatly upon the lives of artists. As described previously, part of the appeal of GRP for jazz artists was Grusin and Rosen's personal history as musicians. As engineer Don Murray notes: 'many of the artists thought, "well, I'm signed to a company where the guys running it are musicians."' ⁵¹⁸ Dave Valentin was the first artist signed to the newly independent GRP in 1982. Valentin's career with GRP ended in 1990 when the label was sold to MCA. Through his long-term personal relationship with Grusin and Rosen, Valentin received early notice of the plans to sell GRP: 'I went in and Larry said, "we're selling the label." With preparation I was able to find another place to go. But they told me; they always had their cards on the table.' ⁵¹⁹ For Valentin, the consequences of the sale were eased by his friendship with Grusin and Rosen. Nevertheless, some artists who remained with GRP throughout the sale to MCA, or who were signed as part of the ongoing expansion process, did experience turmoil. Vocalist Carl Anderson's release schedule was impacted negatively by corporate consolidation:

Just as my first single "How Deep Does It Go" was peaking at number seven on the national charts, GRP announced its sale to MCA. Delayed by the merger, my planned second single didn't get released until the first had fallen off the charts. My promising product got lost and never recovered. After

⁵¹⁸ Interview with Don Murray: April 13, 2005.

⁵¹⁹ Interview with Dave Valentin: March 28, 2005.

being absorbed by both MCA and Matsushita, the boardroom mentality raged.⁵²⁰

Here, GRP's sale to MCA negatively affected Anderson's ability to capitalise on chart success. What Anderson describes as the 'boardroom mentality' can be attributed to the ways in which staff were receiving and responding to strategic directives from new management. Darmon Meader, a singer with jazz vocal group New York Voices notes that the sale of GRP impacted negatively upon the 'intimacy' of the label:

By 1991, when our second CD came out, things were changing a lot. When they were purchased by MCA, the vibe changed; the roster got a lot bigger; too big. They were not able to give as much attention to the lesser-known artists. There was also a sense that they had to answer to a higher power now in MCA, which put a different pressure on them than they had when they were an indie. With all of that in mind, our experience with GRP from '91 to '93 was not that great.⁵²¹

A sudden increase in production and available resources can impact negatively upon a company's ability to maintain a detailed overview of production. The consolidation of MCA's jazz assets meant that GRP inherited numerous artists including The Yellowjackets, Acoustic Alchemy, Larry Carlton and The Brecker Brothers.⁵²² With a roster encompassing approximately 45 individuals and groups, Meader is questioning GRP's ability to successfully micro-manage the careers of so many jazz artists. Guitarist Lee Ritenour has also commented on this situation, describing the

⁵²⁰ Interview with Carl Anderson: September 28, 2002.

⁵²¹ Interview with Darmon Meader: August 9, 2002.

⁵²² Interview with Russell Ferrante: February 23, 2004. The Yellowjackets are an American jazz-fusion quartet formed in 1977 by Robben Ford, Russell Ferrante, Jimmy Haslip and Ricky Lawson. Over the years, the line-up has featured musicians like Marc Russo, William Kennedy, Bob Mintzer and Mike Stern. Brecker Brothers were a jazz-fusion group founded by saxophonist Michael Brecker and his brother, trumpeter Randy Brecker. They recorded successfully for over three decades until Michael Brecker succumbed to cancer in 2007.

roster as 'bloated'.⁵²³ Pianist Billy Taylor recalls that the sale to MCA 'meant less focus on what I was doing.'⁵²⁴ As a staff member, Carl Griffin was also aware of these issues. He states: 'we had like 40 artists and you couldn't spend the proper time on each artist. It became like a conveyor belt.'⁵²⁵ He continues: 'we couldn't market as long as we wanted to or promote at radio as long as we wanted to because we had another piece of product coming out.'⁵²⁶

Vibraphonist Gary Burton, who recorded for GRP between 1988-1996, also experienced negative consequences as a result of the sale to MCA. For Burton, how the company was sold and broken up is a matter of contention. He feels that the way in which core staff members were rewarded was unfair. He notes: 'it particularly hurt that in the handing out of rewards for loyalty to the label, it was a handful of staff who got extra compensation and none of the long term artists who had made the label the success it was.'⁵²⁷ The ways in which the financial aspects of corporate consolidation are handled can create tensions between staff and artists, thus directly impacting upon the production process. Major label control of finances can also impact upon how record sales are analysed and interpreted in the course of a corporate takeover. Distributor Eddie Wilkinson suggests that GRP was fairly lenient in its approach to sales figures, allowing a certain amount of scope for artists to develop an audience. After GRP became part of MCA, this aspect of GRP's corporate strategy changed significantly. Wilkinson notes: 'we never deleted any GRP records. Even if sales had dropped off to a trickle, you still maintained them in

⁵²³ See Ruffin (1991).

⁵²⁴ Interview with Billy Taylor: August 9, 2006.

⁵²⁵ Interview with Carl Griffin: April 7, 2004.

⁵²⁶ Interview with Carl Griffin: April 7, 2004.

⁵²⁷ Interview with Gary Burton: August 7, 2002.

the catalogue. That was a luxury that MCA would not allow. They were very hard-nosed with sales. If it didn't come up to par, it was deleted.⁵²⁸ Although it is common for record companies to rationalise their distribution strategies based on sales figures, in this case, the power relations between the two ensured that GRP had to adopt the dominant philosophy of the parent company. As a result of these developments, some artists were impacted significantly. Clarinetist Eddie Daniels notes:

As soon as they sold the label to MCA, all the catalogues of guys like myself, who had good jazz records on that label, got deleted. Suddenly eight years of work was not available to people anymore because the record company got sold and the whole vision of the label changed.⁵²⁹

For Daniels, this contrast seemed profound because he had been accustomed to a more lenient policy. With a less emotional and more 'hard-nosed' corporate strategy in place, GRP demonstrated less of the 'intimacy' that some artists associated with the label and began to act in a more systematic fashion. Harpist Deborah Henson-Conant had a similar experience. She acknowledges that such decisions are purely economic: 'when my contract wasn't renewed, it was right when GRP had sold. I think they just looked at the numbers and got rid of anyone who wasn't pulling in the figures they wanted. It was purely a sales decision.'⁵³⁰ With entire catalogues being deleted, these strategies had a significant impact upon GRP's production and manufacturing routines and the future prospects of several recording artists.

⁵²⁸ Interview with Eddie Wilkinson: July 19, 2005.

⁵²⁹ Interview with Eddie Daniels: March 19, 2005.

⁵³⁰ Interview with Deborah Henson-Conant: August 16, 2006.

British Guitarist Tony Remy released his first solo album, *Boof*, on GRP in 1994.⁵³¹ Remy has recorded and toured with artists like Courtney Pine, Gary Barlow, Simply Red and Annie Lennox. His GRP career unfolded in the transitional period between Grusin and Rosen deciding to leave the label and the instatement of Tommy LiPuma as the President of GRP Records. He confers: 'I started to make a second record and then GRP went through a load of changes; everyone was leaving and Tommy LiPuma came in. It turned into a sour moment because they gave a producer a lot of money to do four tunes and then we ran out of money, so that was it.'⁵³² Remy's experience highlights the fact that artists rely on their relationships with personnel in key organisational roles. When intermediaries are disrupted by significant developments in corporate strategy, this can significantly impact upon an artist's future prospects within a company:

I was left hanging for like a year and a half not doing anything. One minute they want you to make the record you want to make and the next minute they want you to make something that's not you. It started to be run by accountants and not musicians. The thing I thought was going to be great turned out to be hogwash really.⁵³³

The impact of these changes on Remy's career and personal life were significant. He notes: 'it was a bit of a rough time that, to the point where I put down my guitar for a while.'⁵³⁴ As Jones (1995: 4) has pointed out, a record company has to maintain schedules, hit targets and satisfy shareholders. While the notion of the ruthless corporation and the innocent artist is a simplification of this complex relationship, it

⁵³¹ Tony Remy, *Boof*, (1994, GRP 97362).

⁵³² Interview with Tony Remy: June 13, 2005.

⁵³³ Interview with Tony Remy: June 13, 2005.

⁵³⁴ Interview with Tony Remy: June 13, 2005.

is important to recognise the very real impact that corporate strategy can have on the lives of musicians affiliated with record companies.

The impact of consolidation on GRP's corporate culture

As described in Chapter Three, GRP's slogan, logo and artwork located the label in a particular cultural space. These branding tools articulated the ideology in which GRP staff and external affiliates were invested. This is reflected in the language that these ideologues use when discussing the label. Mark Wexler described the label as 'the little engine that could'.⁵³⁵ Production manager Michelle Lewis described the label as 'a bubble'; a seemingly safe environment in which selling 50,000 copies of a record was a profitable enterprise.⁵³⁶ With an Academy Award winning composer as a co-founder of the label, GRP's staff were proud of their organisation and developed numerous ways to communicate these values to consumers. Some of the first effects of the sale to MCA were changes to daily administrative processes. After the sale to MCA, GRP was required to approve expenditure with the parent company in a more rigorous fashion. Kathe Charas joined GRP in 1987 in the accounting department; she also assisted Senior Vice President of Marketing, Mark Wexler, before transferring to the International department: 'the accounts department had to do all these reports to show where all the money was going' she notes, 'it was double work because everything had to be copied to the MCA people.'⁵³⁷ The decision making process for GRP was therefore no longer as autonomous, nor as fluid. Jason Byrne also observed this transformation in company policy: 'there was demand from up

⁵³⁵ Interview with Mark Wexler: September 11, 2002.

⁵³⁶ Interview with Michelle Lewis: April 10, 2004.

⁵³⁷ Interview with Kathe Charas: March 29, 2005.

high to be accountable for how money was being spent and how many people we were operating with. You had to answer as to why you had a certain number of people in the sales department or publicity. They started tightening things up.⁵³⁸

Brian Kelleher joined GRP in April of 1992 as the Senior Vice President of Operations. He describes the transition in terms of the standardisation of GRP's internal administrative system: 'we put everybody on the same page in terms of the operating network. We digitised a lot of the sales data information. We created a standard history that didn't exist before.'⁵³⁹ Kelleher notes that GRP grew to the point where there were approximately 70 employees, including 'a lot of temps who were not on the payroll'.⁵⁴⁰ A sudden influx of personnel to cover the demands of rapid growth can lead to a less intimate feeling among staff accustomed to a familial atmosphere. Andy Baltimore, states, 'when a larger company takes over, it becomes less personal and I liked the personal part of it.'⁵⁴¹ The topography of the GRP offices was also affected by the expansion. Initially, GRP operated out of a small space at 555 West 57th Street in New York City. There were two different offices located on one floor; Larry Rosen and Dave Grusin maintained offices on one wing where the recording studio was located. The marketing and accounting departments were also situated in this area. Upstairs, Andy Baltimore ran the art department. Erica Linderholm highlights how this situation changed:

We ended up moving to a different floor in that building. We had outgrown our space and it got very congested. We finally moved to the tenth floor and we all had offices, which was nice, but then of course more people came in

⁵³⁸ Interview with Jason Byrne: June 22, 2005.

⁵³⁹ Interview with Brian Kelleher: May 31, 2005.

⁵⁴⁰ Interview with Brian Kelleher: May 31, 2005.

⁵⁴¹ Interview with Andy Baltimore: September 16, 2002.

and worked there. That changed the feeling of the place; it wasn't this close-knit little family. It was hard towards the end for me because there was just a different cast of characters there. Mark was gone; Bud was gone and the new regime was not so warm and fuzzy as the old GRP people. I guess that's what happens in business.⁵⁴²

The core staff members were clearly personally invested in the 'warm and fuzzy' corporate culture of GRP. For engineer Mike Landy, the experience was very much the same: 'I was there when it was a small tight-knit independent label; it was like a micro-brewery rather than a conglomeration.'⁵⁴³ He continues, 'Tommy LiPuma came in and pretty much cleaned house in wanting to bring in his own people; a new artist roster, a new focus and everybody kind of missed the good old days of being a small independent label.'⁵⁴⁴ In regard to GRP's in-house recording facilities, Landy observed another difference between the old corporate culture and the new regime: 'when MCA took over, the "bean-counters" started questioning the wisdom of having a studio, whereas Larry thought it was great; the studio was right outside his office.'⁵⁴⁵ Landy's choice of words here again confirms the protective attitude of GRP staff towards the displaced corporate culture. By describing GRP's independence as the 'good old days' and financial auditors as 'bean counters', Landy attempts to separate the worlds of creativity and industry, irrespective of his role as an intermediary in GRP's corporate strategy. This is an interesting position to take and demonstrates how staff in creative roles rationalise their work.

During consolidation, major labels tend to devolve strategic and industrial processes away from the smaller label, leaving it to focus on generating products for the parent

⁵⁴² Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

⁵⁴³ Interview with Mike Landy: June 7, 2005.

⁵⁴⁴ Interview with Mike Landy: June 7, 2005.

⁵⁴⁵ Interview with Mike Landy: June 7, 2005.

company. Larry Rosen describes this process and the ways in which he attempted to maintain some of GRP's independence within the major label system:

The first thing a corporation does when it acquires you is to bring in the financial people to economise expenses. They say: "you don't need an accounting department any more, you don't need a legal department and you don't need a PR department; we have all that in the mother ship for you." I knew that once you give up that independence, you lose a lot of what is unique about the company. I would not let them do that so we kept our own accounting department and we had to report back to MCA. We kept our legal department and did our own negotiations with artists and our own deals, which we had to communicate to MCA to keep them in the loop. Because we did that, we were able to maintain, even under the umbrella, a sense of independence.⁵⁴⁶

Staff clearly experienced difficulties adjusting to these changes. Cara Bridgins was Director of Production Administration at GRP: 'there were growing pains of course. You're used to doing things the way you do them and then a big company comes in and says: "no, we do it this way." It's always tough when that kind of thing happens.'⁵⁴⁷ Brian Kelleher confirms that these tensions did not exist solely between GRP and MCA but also MCA and its parent, Matsushita: 'it was really part of the transition to the so called "MCA way" which became the "Matsushita way" when MCA was in transition, so it was a real time of change.'⁵⁴⁸ Again, this is another example of how employees use a particular kind of terminology to set themselves apart from the corporate strategies of their parent companies. As an entrepreneur accustomed to being in control, Rosen experienced numerous constraints as a result of consolidation:

By the time 1994 came around, I started to get somewhat bored with the whole thing. Running a division as the President of a record label for a major

⁵⁴⁶ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

⁵⁴⁷ Interview with Cara Bridgins: June 2, 2005.

⁵⁴⁸ Interview with Brian Kelleher: May 31, 2005.

company was different from when it was just completely independent and you could do whatever you wanted to do. If they wanted to change around their distribution in Japan and I didn't think that was the best thing for us, I had to go along with it whether I liked it or not; that wasn't interesting to me.⁵⁴⁹

As Peterson and Berger have argued, the entrepreneur 'requires the freedom to work outside normal channels' and is 'likely to find the organization stultifying' (Peterson and Berger, 1971: 98). Rosen confirms, 'I went back to MCA and said, "this is just not working out for me. I need to go on to more creative things where I have total control over everything." I think they understood what that was all about.'⁵⁵⁰

The departure of Grusin and Rosen in late 1994 signalled the culmination of a period of gradual transformation since 1990. Erica Linderholm recalls that core staff members suspected an entirely new staff would soon be installed: 'in all industries, when things change, people get nervous about losing their jobs. One by one, the old GRP staffers were leaving and it became a different place.'⁵⁵¹ Freelance photographer Judy Schiller was responsible for GRP's publicity photos and live event photography. She remarks: 'things turned over there very fast. After 1995, I barely knew anyone.'⁵⁵² Jim Fishel also notes that this phase of development had a distinct impact upon the corporate culture at GRP: 'they brought in some people from other record companies who were really not raised by Larry. They changed the brand and lost the identity. Until that time, MCA couldn't have been better.'⁵⁵³ Here, Fishel attributes a shift in corporate culture to the loss of key individuals (Grusin and

⁵⁴⁹ Interview with Larry Rosen: August 20, 2002.

⁵⁵⁰ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

⁵⁵¹ Interview with Erica Linderholm: March 19, 2005.

⁵⁵² Interview with Judy Schiller: May 30, 2005.

⁵⁵³ Interview with Jim Fishel: June 14, 2005.

Rosen) and the hiring of staff that wished to institute a new regime at GRP.

Distributor Eddie Wilkinson points out that GRP's new chairman, producer Tommy LiPuma, was obliged to assert his own sensibilities in leading the company: 'Tommy obviously had such a big reputation of his own that he had to make his own mark on the label.'⁵⁵⁴ As such, the new management impacted significantly upon the corporate culture at GRP, the available staff positions, the artists signed to the label and the productions that were undertaken.

Record producer Tommy LiPuma took over as the President of GRP in September of 1994. Today, LiPuma is Chairman Emeritus of the Verve Music Group. LiPuma describes the difficult task of entering a turbulent corporate environment and making objective decisions concerning corporate strategy:

When you come in and you are suddenly "the chief", you have to take an objective look at things. Obviously, everybody runs things differently. One of my senses was that the roster was very musician-oriented. I came from a very artist-oriented background, which to me meant that there had to be some sense of identity from the artist. I guess that was one of my goals. If I was going to take this thing over, I was going to try and sign artists that I felt had all of these elements.⁵⁵⁵

LiPuma's emphasis away from GRP's large roster of musicians marked a significant strategic shift; it had a notable effect on the volume of production taking place and the number of musicians with contracts who would continue to record for the label. Drummer Robby Ameen observed this new strategy as it was implemented: 'GRP would have 30 artists on its roster and each guy would get a record budget of like \$35,000 bucks. When they sold it, Tommy LiPuma brought in big "marquee" people

⁵⁵⁴ Interview with Eddie Wilkinson: July 19, 2005.

⁵⁵⁵ Interview with Tommy LiPuma: July 18, 2006.

like George Benson and it went down to four or five artists who each got like \$150,000 budgets.’⁵⁵⁶ LiPuma’s team began to experience tension between the new regime and the established corporate culture. LiPuma notes: ‘it’s very important when you run a company that you surround yourself with people that are loyal to you; that you’ve hired. I was walking into a situation where everyone had been hired by, and was loyal to, Larry.’⁵⁵⁷

Loyalty can help to determine the effectiveness of staff in their roles and their attitudes to corporate strategy. Tensions in this area can impact upon the relationships between artists and intermediaries, affecting both creativity and productivity. At this time, Rosen was still maintaining an office in the building. LiPuma relates that he felt it was important to make a clean break from the old regime: ‘I just basically had a meeting with Larry and said, “look Larry, it’s very difficult here because you’re right in the next office.” We worked something out and that’s the point when he left. I was then running the company.’⁵⁵⁸ By constructing a team of executives loyal to GRP’s new corporate strategy, LiPuma was able to introduce change more readily and achieve his goals with the company. He relates: ‘I started getting into a groove when I started getting my own people.’⁵⁵⁹ Nevertheless, LiPuma’s team also felt the effects of transformation brought on by corporate consolidation during the sale of MCA to Seagram. He notes: ‘every time you turned

⁵⁵⁶ Interview with Robby Ameen: February 20, 2004.

⁵⁵⁷ Interview with Tommy LiPuma: July 18, 2006.

⁵⁵⁸ Interview with Tommy LiPuma: July 18, 2006.

⁵⁵⁹ Interview with Tommy LiPuma: July 18, 2006.

around, there was someone else who owned you; a whole new group of individuals to align yourself to and they had to get to know you and vice-versa.⁵⁶⁰

The effects of consolidation on GRP's brand identity

In 1995, Edgar Bronfman Jr. of the Seagram company purchased 80 percent of MCA Inc. from Matsushita for \$5.7 billion. In 1998, Seagram acquired Polygram and merged it with MCA to form the Universal Music Group. As a result, GRP Records became part of Universal's Verve Music Group. The 'golden age' Hollywood studio culture of MCA's Lew Wasserman and Sidney Sheinberg was superseded by the 'jeans-wearing' culture of a new Universal Studios.⁵⁶¹ The mid 1990s were a time of great change at GRP. One of the proposals made by GRP's new management was to update and redefine GRP's brand identity. Tom Glasgow notes:

Tommy LiPuma didn't like the GRP logo. That was kind of frustrating in the beginning because we had all these huge image campaigns done. When he came on board, he said he wanted to get rid of the GRP logo and to change the meaning of GRP from "Grusin/Rosen Productions" to "Great Records, Period." I didn't like that. I didn't transport that information to the retail store because we had a great standing on GRP. So I left it there and did my work.⁵⁶²

In this case, Glasgow remained protective of the GRP brand in the face of new directives from management. He exercised his own judgement based on his position as an intermediary and his proximity to the production and retail processes. This example illustrates some of the difficulties of instituting change in the corporate environment. Given the critical positions of some intermediaries, the success of any

⁵⁶⁰ Interview with Tommy LiPuma: July 18, 2006.

⁵⁶¹ See Fabrikant and Weinraub (1996) and Negus (1999: 77-78).

⁵⁶² Interview with Tom Glasgow: March 28, 2006.

corporate strategy relies upon achieving widespread support for new aims and objectives and monitoring progress as these directives are communicated throughout the chain of command. Deborah Lewow accepts that attempts to remodel GRP were inevitable: ‘that’s kind of what happens in the music industry. You have an entrepreneurial, boutique situation; you develop up to a point where the majors are interested in buying you; then the majors buy you and institute a major label mentality.’⁵⁶³ GRP’s expansion and subsequent consolidation into MCA, Matsushita and Universal demonstrates this arc and its effects on all aspects of the label’s operations.

The affiliation between jazz and small independent labels has depended traditionally on the need to satisfy a niche market. When jazz-fusion began to demonstrate its power as a commercial force, jazz became part of the strategic operations of major companies. Despite his position as the head of a group of Universal-owned labels, Tommy LiPuma disagrees with the large scale consolidation of the music industry: ‘one of the worst things that happened to the record business as far as I’m concerned was its take-over by big business, by corporations.’⁵⁶⁴ LiPuma notes that the major label environment operates at such a scale that even commercially sustainable forms of jazz-fusion are a risky proposition: ‘in today’s business, the stakes are so high, every time you put out a record, it’s a million dollar bullet.’⁵⁶⁵ Carl Griffin agrees that production is difficult to maintain at this level, especially for a jazz label:

When you’re a “mom and pop” company, every piece of product has to sell a certain amount of units; we live and die by that code. If you sell 100,000

⁵⁶³ Interview with Deborah Lewow: February 26, 2004.

⁵⁶⁴ Interview with Tommy LiPuma: July 18, 2006.

⁵⁶⁵ Interview with Tommy LiPuma: July 18, 2006

units in the jazz world, we're all having a party. If you sell 100,000 units in a major corporation, they're ready to drop you. It was just a different environment.⁵⁶⁶

Corporate strategies of expansion and consolidation help to determine the scale of jazz production required to survive in the major label environment. Universal's corporate strategy afforded GRP greater resources, but had a deleterious effect on its position in the jazz market overall. Carl Griffin notes: 'we had more money to play with, but when you have to rely on somebody to sell your records and go through a system like that, it changes everything. If you look at where GRP is now in the Universal Music Group, it's nowhere near the same company.'⁵⁶⁷ Jim Fishel shares this view: 'Universal has destroyed the whole brand and everything else connected to it. I mean, they bought the company and now it's almost a non-existent entity.'⁵⁶⁸

Larry Rosen feels that GRP's current lack of identity is the result of Universal's inability, or unwillingness, to maintain the GRP brand in a niche market: 'there were people there who didn't understand the legacy or wanted to create their own legacy and didn't continue what was there before. It was just homogenised into a whole bunch of other labels.'⁵⁶⁹ As a result, GRP's catalogue from the Grusin/Rosen era is now largely out of print with most albums reduced to a series of 'best of' releases through the Verve label.⁵⁷⁰ Rosen attributes the dilution of the GRP brand to the mass-market approach of most major labels: 'GRP lost its total brand image that we built up. Corporations buy entities from entrepreneurs which are successful and then

⁵⁶⁶ Interview with Carl Griffin: April 7, 2004.

⁵⁶⁷ Interview with Carl Griffin: April 7, 2004.

⁵⁶⁸ Interview with Jim Fishel: June 14, 2005.

⁵⁶⁹ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

⁵⁷⁰ See for example, *The Very Best of Acoustic Alchemy* (2002, Verve Music Group 589 238-2).

somewhere along the line the corporate people take over and screw up the value of what it was that they bought.’⁵⁷¹ Despite the positions he has held within the hierarchy of the major label system, Rosen distances himself from ‘corporate people’ by positioning himself as an independent entrepreneur sensitive to the requirements of brand management:

To me, the hardest thing you can do is establish a brand. If you establish “Coca-Cola” or “Mercedes Benz”, that’s the biggest possible asset you could have. The best thing you can do is make sure you are always enhancing that brand image because it will sell anything. People would buy GRP records when they didn’t even know who the artist was. They totally lost track of that and I think that was a huge mistake on their part.⁵⁷²

Although Rosen holds strong opinions about the current status of GRP Records, it is clear that from 1987 onwards, GRP demonstrated one consistent corporate strategy: to expand, to consolidate and to maximise profits and this was carried out by intermediaries within GRP and its parent companies: MCA, Matsushita and Universal.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a case study of the expansion and consolidation of GRP Records in order to argue that corporate strategy can impact significantly upon jazz production. I have demonstrated that corporate strategy can determine which artists are contracted to a label, how staff carry out their work and the value of symbols that articulate a company’s mission. Corporate strategy affects artists and intermediaries engaged in the production process and therefore directly impacts upon a company’s

⁵⁷¹ Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

⁵⁷² Interview with Larry Rosen: June 12, 2005.

ability to create products for sale and generate profits. This analysis presents jazz not as art music, but as music made within the context of the jazz business, with all of the ramifications of industrial practice. As McPhee (1966: 227) notes, 'commercialism is not new; money has always followed artistry.'

Corporate strategy illustrates much about industrial mediation: from changing definitions of independence, to the power relations that go along with takeovers. In order to explore these themes, I have examined Grusin and Rosen's decision to sell GRP Records and the impact that the sale had on artists, staff and the GRP brand. MCA provided GRP with access to resources it did not have as an independent label, but this expansion had a significant impact upon GRP's corporate culture. The roster expanded and sales increased, but some staff did not agree with the new corporate strategy. Some of GRP's artists did not get the attention they deserved and others found themselves without contracts or their catalogues were deleted. I have shown that GRP's corporate culture was not unique; rather it was representative of most independent organisations dealing with transformation and the powerful ideologies reinforced by the actions of intermediaries.

Relationships between independents and majors are complex and reciprocal. The consolidation of independent labels leads to the incorporation of small entrepreneurial companies into large multi-divisional firms. With each successive consolidation, corporate strategy can become less alert to the maintenance of niche markets. Moreover, major labels sometimes cannot contribute full-time dedicated teams to labels they acquire and brand management in niche markets is often not a

cost effective exercise for large corporations. This generates tension between new staff and long-term employees who value an existing corporate culture. Once new staff initiated into MCA/Universal's corporate culture replaced the old regime at GRP, progress could be achieved. This account of GRP's expansion and consolidation demonstrates that jazz is part of the strategic planning of multi-national organisations. The mediation of jazz is therefore subject to the same strategies of globalisation and commodification as any other form of music. The positioning of jazz in an industrial context can only help to better communicate the effects of corporate strategy on jazz production.

Conclusions

The previous five chapters have presented a case study of industrial mediation in jazz production. I have argued that intermediaries within the music and media industries can impact significantly upon the creation of jazz music products. The opportunity to examine these relationships has come most readily from popular forms of jazz such as jazz-fusion. The music and media industries have helped to galvanise jazz-fusion as a successful genre that appeals to large audiences. However, jazz-fusion has been subject to criticism from the jazz establishment. By demonstrating the musical, critical and industrial continuities present throughout jazz historiography, I have attempted to justify the place of jazz-fusion in the jazz canon and stimulate debate around the industrial realities of jazz production. This discursive foundation has provided a platform from which to present a case study of GRP Records and tangential case studies of Soundstream and Broadcast Architecture. Through these case studies, I have demonstrated that jazz products are frequently made, sold and consumed within a mediated context.

GRP Records represents a distinctive music and business project in the jazz industry. As musicians and entrepreneurs, founders Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen defined their target audience, created a coherent sound and established a brand identity. They were quick to adopt digital recording technologies and the compact disc format, producing a high quality product and appealing to niche audio markets. By marketing products to specialist audiences, GRP helped to bring jazz to a wider audience. GRP Records signed artists and produced recordings that were ideally

suited to the emerging sound of jazz on commercial radio during the 1980s.

Ultimately, Grusin and Rosen were able to achieve a return on their investment by selling the company, a strategic move that introduced the label to an ongoing chain of corporate consolidation. I have documented the growth of Grusin/Rosen Productions from a small independent label to its current status within the Universal Music Group. I have situated GRP within the discourses that surround scene-building labels like Motown and CTI. That is, I have positioned it among companies led by producer/entrepreneurs that have been recognised for adopting in-house production routines and establishing coherent, identifiable sounds.

In Chapter One, I examined the importance of the producer as an intermediary in shaping the sounds made by jazz musicians. I documented Grusin and Rosen's entrepreneurial practices, how they sought out talented young jazz artists and negotiated with them in order to determine the scope of their influence in the creative environment. Indeed, these sorts of negotiations can lead to tensions and are reliant upon the sensitivity of intermediaries engaged in the creative process. Grusin's musical sensibilities had a significant impact upon the 'signature' sound that is often attributed to GRP. By exploring Grusin and Rosen's collaborations with musicians, I demonstrated some of the ways in which producers can help shape the sounds that jazz artists make.

In Chapter Two, I explored the introduction of commercial digital recording equipment and the agency of the recording engineer as a user of technology. Prototypical recording technologies presented constraints that had to be negotiated

by engineers, producers and artists in order to achieve high quality productions. Sound engineers in the field gave feedback to designers, establishing new recording paradigms and improving sound quality. The uptake of these technologies among classical and jazz labels demonstrated a commitment to advancing the recorded sound of music and represented powerful transformations in many areas of studio practice. The development of recording technology, from direct-to-disc to multi-track tape recording and digital recording had a profound impact upon the working practices of jazz musicians. Recordings are essential to historicising jazz; they are also products that are sold in commercial environments. Through an analysis of the introduction of the Soundstream digital recorder and its use by GRP, I demonstrated that engineers have used recording technologies to transform the paradigms of jazz recording, impacting significantly on artists and their recorded works. Grusin and Rosen's ongoing pursuit of high fidelity solutions helped to determine the way in which performances were recorded, edited and mixed.

In Chapter Three, I explored the ways in which marketing mediation has affected jazz production. I used the example of GRP Records in order to argue that marketing mediation can impact upon how jazz products are conceived and realised in line with market demands. During the 1980s, Dave Grusin and Larry Rosen initiated a range of marketing strategies in order to strengthen the brand identity of their label and increase sales. Like CTI and Blue Note before it, GRP built a brand image, establishing symbols to denote the values of the company. GRP made an early embrace of the compact disc format; it developed a signature approach to branding and packaging; it developed a relationship with the home audio consumer market; it

conducted promotional campaigns at retail and negotiated sponsored partnerships with major technology firms. All of these practices were central to how the label communicated its high-tech values through its products. As mediators, marketers describe and interpret products for the public. Marketing data is fed back into the production process, helping to influence which artists are signed by labels, what repertoire they play, which artists receive promotion, how they are described, the companies that affiliate with them and the markets they are exposed to. Because of its marketing mediation, GRP was better able to determine which of its artists were selling enough records to warrant major investment in future productions.

In Chapter Four, I examined the creation of the 'smooth jazz' radio format and its impact on jazz production. Through a case study of the radio research firm Broadcast Architecture, I explored radio's reliance on market research data. By examining the ways in which radio programmers determine which releases receive exposure on commercial radio stations and GRP's collaborative approach to the smooth jazz radio format, I demonstrated that jazz music can be shaped to meet the needs of radio programmers. For GRP, this included compromises such as the creation of 'radio edits' of jazz performances and the addition of backing vocals designed to help tracks to cross over to pop radio. This research therefore provides an example of how the production of jazz music can be shaped in response to intermediary figures in order to accommodate the needs of commercial radio.

In Chapter Five, I explored the impact of corporate strategy on jazz production. By focusing on the relationship between independent and major labels, I examined the

ways in which record label management pursue strategies of expansion and consolidation in order to increase control, improve sales, reduce expenditure and minimise risk. Such strategies can determine how employees carry out their work and this can directly affect artists contracted to a record company. By documenting the expansion of GRP Records, its subsequent sale to MCA Records and consolidation into Matsushita and Universal, I illustrated how corporate strategy impacted upon GRP's artists, its brand, its staff and corporate culture. The scale of production and distribution were increased; artists were dropped from the label and new ones acquired; staff were reconfigured and the GRP brand was redefined. GRP's expansion and consolidation has demonstrated that jazz is part of the strategic planning of multi-national organisations and that these processes can affect jazz at the level of production.

By addressing the ways in which intermediaries can impact upon the creation of jazz products, I have endeavoured to complicate the dominant view of jazz as a largely unmediated form of art music. GRP is a jazz label that was founded by two entrepreneurial musicians. Through its in-house recording studio, art department and experienced staff, the company was able to impact enormously upon how its products sounded, how they were branded, packaged, described, delivered and sold. In order to communicate in the marketplace, GRP tended to focus on the preservation and enhancement of its brand identity. GRP's embrace of the compact disc helped the company to focus its efforts in pursuit of a particular type of consumer. Through radio and live events, the company collaborated with organisations, artists and audiences in pursuit of greater exposure and increased sales.

The issues raised by this thesis can, of course, also be applied in the context of other music genres. Oftentimes, the relationship between an artist's intentions and the products they bring to market is presented as a fluid and uncompromising process. Music products are often compartmentalised into exclusive canons consisting of self-evident 'masterpieces' and as a result, the context of production can be neglected.⁵⁷³ Classical music is an example of a music genre that has privileged its historical traditions as art music and rationalised the works of individuals into a formal canon of key composers and stylistic periods (Dubal, 2001). Nevertheless, in recent years, crossover classical music artists such as Vanessa Mae, Sarah Brightman, The Three Tenors and Andrea Bocelli have achieved international success in a variety of popular music genres. Just as Louis Armstrong drew large crowds with accessible expressions of popular jazz, there is a critical, musical and industrial continuity in the lineage between popular tenors like Mario Lanza in the 1950s with latter-day crossover classical artists like Katherine Jenkins, Il Divo or Josh Groban. The mass-market mediation of classical music has impacted significantly upon its recording, marketing, promotion and sales. It is my view that rather than dismissing this music (and its enormous appeal) as an ersatz version of 'real' classical music, it is important to engage with the realities of industrial mediation in all forms of music. Indeed, although jazz and classical music have achieved the status of high art, this does not necessarily dictate the terms by which all future expressions of jazz or classical music ought to be judged.

⁵⁷³ Jones (2008), for example, has called for greater variety in the construction of the rock canon.

During the Introduction, I presented two quotations that posed questions about the nature of how jazz is understood. The first, from Simon Frith (2007: 17), asked: 'is jazz best understood *canonically* by reference to its history, its great names, its established sonic and stylistic conventions? Or is it best understood as a *process*?' (emphasis his). While it makes for an effective narrative, accounts that position jazz as a series of stylistic periods exemplified by a small group of gifted individuals tend to neglect the industrial contexts in which jazz is made, sold and consumed. The production of culture relies on negotiation and collaboration with intermediaries within a framework of industry. This process helps shape those products that come to be known as jazz. The second quotation from Gary Tomlinson (1992: 77) asked: 'why not search for jazz meanings *behind* the music, in the life-shapes that gave rise to it and that continue to sustain it?' (emphasis his). This case study of GRP Records has focused specifically on the ways in which intermediaries can mediate the production of jazz. I have examined the impact of producers in shaping musical sounds; the agency of engineers in the recording process; the role of promotions staff in marketing; the work of programmers in format radio and the effects of corporate strategy carried out by record label executives. In each of these examples, commerce and creativity have been partners in the process of cultural production.

In terms of jazz historiography, 'jazz continues to occupy an uneasy and precarious place within the music business as a whole' (Laing, 2002: 330). I have demonstrated how the frameworks of industry surround production and how the actions of intermediaries lead to negotiation and collaboration. In my view, a realistic account of how music products are created, sold and ultimately consumed cannot exist

without engaging with these issues. Although this study has specifically focused on jazz music, it is my hope that scholars adopting a 'production of culture perspective' (Peterson and Anand, 2004) to music research will find that the overarching themes of this thesis are applicable to any study of industrial mediation. Laing has suggested that 'jazz remains a music "in between" the two economic models of market entertainment and subsidised art' (Laing, 2002: 331). Through my primary research, I have endeavoured to illustrate what an inclusive approach to industrial mediation in jazz might mean. It is my wish that this case study become part of the evolving discourses surrounding jazz as we continue to develop ways of rationalising jazz production in the context of industry.

Bibliography

- Abram, M. X. (2007) 'Roughing up smooth jazz: Artists look to break out of mold set by recording industry, radio', *Akron Beacon Journal*, March 22 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/gIdR> (Accessed: February 20, 2008).
- Adorno, T. (1991) *The Culture Industry, Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Ahlkvist, J. A. (2001) 'Programming Philosophies and the Rationalization of Music Radio', *Media, Culture and Society*, 23 (3), pp.339-358.
- Ake, D. (2007) 'The Emergence of the Rural American Ideal in Jazz: Keith Jarrett and Pat Metheny on ECM Records', *Jazz Perspectives*, 1 (1), pp.29-59.
- All Music Guide (n.d) *Bernard Wright – Charts and Awards* [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/1wHLX> (Accessed: February 25, 2009).
- All Music Guide (n.d) *Crossover Jazz* [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/2OwtiE> (Accessed: June 3, 2007).
- All Music Guide (n.d) *Ray Charles* [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/5iY74> (Accessed: January 20, 2008).
- Anderson, C. (2006) *The Long Tail: How Endless Choice is Creating Unlimited Demand*. London: Random House.
- Anon (1968) 'Wesward Ho, or A Day in the Life', *Time*, May 17 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/b2ldq> (Accessed: February 12, 2009).
- Anon (1977) 'New Audio Tape Machine Delivers "Digital Fidelity"', *BM/E*, February, pp.56-58.
- Anon (1988) 'Motown Sold to MCA', *New York Times*, June 29 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/NrqUQ> (Accessed: August 14, 2008).
- Anon (1989a) 'Chrysalis Deal Made by Thorn', *New York Times*, March 23 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/TwSi> (Accessed: August 14, 2008).
- Anon (1989b) 'A&M Records Confirms Sale', *New York Times*, September 25 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/BtjAJ> (Accessed: August 14, 2008).
- Anon (1990a) 'The Media Business; MCA Buys a Jazz Label', *New York Times*, March 2 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/OHMHr> (Accessed: July 30, 2008).

- Anon (1990b) 'JVC and MCA in Venture', *New York Times*, October 2 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/EHchn> (Accessed: August 16, 2008).
- Anon (1990c) 'Bertelsmann Wins MCA', *New York Times*, November 13 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/itg1Z> (Accessed: August 16, 2008).
- Anon (1995) 'Company Reports; Matsushita Loss Is Linked to Sale of MCA', *New York Times*, August 25 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/1Ym1> (Accessed: August 3, 2008).
- Anon (1997) 'Ex-MCA Holders Win Right to Sue', *New York Times*, October 25 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/nydM5> (Accessed: March 13, 2009).
- Anon (2001) 'MUSIC; Watching "Jazz" for its High Notes and Low', *New York Times*, January 7 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/fxa11> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Archer, C. (2007) 'The Wave Breaks', *Radio & Records*, March 25 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/PU1V> (Accessed: May 18, 2008).
- Atkins, E. T. (2001) *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Ballou, J. (2003) *REVIEW: Miles Davis: The Complete In A Silent Way Sessions*, *All About Jazz*, October 27 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/Tu7S> (Accessed: September 11, 2007).
- Baraka, A. and Baraka, A. (1987) *The Music: Reflections on Jazz and Blues*. New York: William Morrow.
- Barber, G. (1990) 'Scratch and After – Edit Suite Technology and the Determination of Style in Video Art'. In: Hayward, P. (ed.) (1990) *Culture, Technology and Creativity in the Late Twentieth Century*. London: John Libbey, pp.111-124.
- Barfe, L. (2004) *Where Have all the Good Times Gone? The Rise and Fall of the Record Industry*. London: Atlantic Books.
- Barnard, S. (2000) *Studying Radio*. London: Arnold.
- Barnes, K. (1988) 'Top 40 Radio: A Fragment of the Imagination'. In: Frith, S. (ed.) (1990) *Facing the Music*. London: Mandarin, pp.8-50.
- Bauman, J. (1999) 'Father of digital sound: Engineer figured out how to record music digitally and in real time', *Deseret News*, January 13 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/11FwhS> (Accessed: March 13, 2009).

- Bayles, M. (1996) *Hole in Our Soul: The Loss of Beauty and Meaning in American Popular Music*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Becker, H. S. (1951) 'The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (2), pp.136-144.
- Becker, H. (1974) 'Art as Collective Action', *American Sociological Review*, 39 (6), pp.767-76.
- Becker, H. S. (1982) *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1968) 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction'. In: Benjamin, W. (1999) *Illuminations*. London: Pimlico, pp.211-244.
- Berendt, J. E. (1975) *The Jazz Book: From New Orleans to Rock and Free Jazz*. London: Paladin.
- Berger, J., Zelditch Jr, M. and Anderson, B. (eds.) (1966) *Sociological Theories in Progress*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Bergeron, K. and Bohlman, P. V. (eds.) (1992) *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Berland, J. (1990) 'Radio Space and Industrial Time: Music Formats, Local Narratives and Technological Mediation', *Popular Music*, 9 (2), pp.179-192.
- Best, C. (1978) 'A Musician's View of Digital Recording', *The B.A.S. Speaker*, 6 (4), p.13.
- Bijker, W. E., Hughes, T. P. and Pinch, T. (eds.) (1989) *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Blessner, B. and Lee, F. F. (1971) 'An Audio Delay System Using Digital Technology', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 19 (5), pp.393-397.
- Blessner, B. A. (1978) 'Digitization of Audio: A Comprehensive Examination of Theory, Implementation, and Current Practice', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 26 (10), pp.739-771.
- Bohlman, P. V. (1988) *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.

- Braham, P. (1997) 'Fashion: Unpacking a Cultural Production'. In: Du Gay, P. (ed.) (1997) *Production of Culture/Cultures of Production*. Open University London: Sage, pp.119-165.
- Braun, H. J. (ed.) (2002) *Music and Technology in the Twentieth Century*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.
- Brennan, M. (2005) 'Down Beat vs. Rolling Stone: the battle for authority in the American music press: 1967-1970', *IASPM Conference*, July 24-30, Rome, Italy.
- Brennan, M. (2007) 'Failure to fuse: the jazz-rock culture war at the 1969 Newport Jazz Festival', *Jazz Research Journal*, 1 (1), pp.73-98.
- Brewster, B. and Broughton, F. (2006) *Last Night a DJ Saved My Life: The History of the Disc Jockey*. London: Headline.
- Brown, L. B. (2004) 'Marsalis and Baraka: an essay in comparative cultural discourse', *Popular Music*, 23 (3), pp.241-255.
- Burgess, R. J. (1997) *The Art of Record Production*. London: Omnibus Press.
- Burkowitz, P. K. (1977) 'Recording, Art of the Century?', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 25 (10/11), pp.873-879.
- Burnett, R. (1996) *The Global Jukebox: The International Music Industry*. London: Routledge.
- Byrnes, S. (2005) 'Jazz killed by smooth operators', *The Independent*, February 18 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/iFOn> (Accessed: March 13, 2009).
- Carver, R. and Bernstein, L. (1998) *Jazz Profiles: The Spirit of the Nineties*. New York: Billboard Books.
- Case, B. and Britt, S. (1978) *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Jazz*. London: Salamander.
- Casson, M. (2003) *The Entrepreneur: An Economic Theory*. 2nd ed. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Chanan, M. (1995) *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music*. London: Verso.
- Chapple, S. and Garofalo, R. (1977) *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Chinen, N. (2006) 'In the Blogosphere, an Evolving Movement Brings Life to a Lost Era of Jazz', *New York Times*, December 6 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/7reCF> (Accessed: March 13, 2009).

Christianen, M. (1995) 'Cycles in Symbol Production? A New Model to Explain Concentration, Diversity and Innovation in the Music Industry', *Popular Music*, 14 (1), pp.55-93.

Cogan, J. and Clark, W. (2003) *Temples of Sound: Inside the Great Recording Studios*. San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books.

Cole, P. (1995) 'George Duke: Radio Formats be Damned!', *Down Beat*, May, pp.26-28.

Collier, J. L. (1978) *The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Considine, J. D. (2002) 'That 70's Jazz (for the Discriminating Rapper)', *New York Times*, March 31 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/Gs8YV> (Accessed: February 12, 2009).

Cook, R. (2001) *Blue Note Records: The Biography*. Secker and Warburg: London.

Cook, R. and Morton, B. (2006) *The Penguin Guide to Jazz Recordings*. 8th ed. London: Penguin Books.

Cooke, M. (1998) *Jazz*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Cooke, M. and Horn, D. (eds.) (2002) *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coryell, J. and Friedman, L. (2000) *Jazz-Rock Fusion: The People, the Music*. 2nd ed. Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard.

Coser, L. (ed.) (1978) 'The Production of Culture', *Social Research*, 45 (2).

Crouch, S. (1990) 'Play the Right Thing', *The New Republic*, 202 (7), pp.30-37.

Crouch, S. (2004) *The Artificial White Man: Essays on Authenticity*. New York: Basic Civitas.

Curtis, J. M. (1984) 'Toward a Sociotechnological Interpretation of Popular Music in the Electronic Age', *Technology and Culture*, 25 (1), pp.91-102.

Cuscuna, M. (2005) 'Strictly on the Record: The Art of Jazz and the Recording Industry', *The Source*, 2 (1), pp.63-70.

- Danielsen, A. (2006) *Presence and Pleasure: The Funk Grooves of James Brown and Parliament*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Dannen, F. (1991) *Hit Men: Power Brokers and Fast Money Inside the Music Business*. London: Helter Skelter Publishing.
- Davis, F. (1996a) *In The Moment: Jazz in the 1980s*. New York: Da Capo.
- Davis, F. (1996b) *Bebop and Nothingness: Jazz and Pop at the end of the Century*. New York: Schirmer.
- Davis, M. and Troupe, Q. (1989) *Miles: The Autobiography*. London: Picador.
- Deal, T. E. and Kennedy, A. A. (1982) *Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life*. London: Addison-Wesley.
- DeVeaux, S. (1991) 'Constructing the Jazz Tradition'. In: O'Meally, R. G. (ed.) (1998) *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp.483-512.
- DeVeaux, S. (1995) *Jazz in America: Who's Listening? Research Division Report #31*. Carson, CA: Seven Locks Press.
- DeVeaux, S. (1997) *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- De Wit, B. and Meyer, R. (eds.) (1994) *Strategy: Process, Content, Context*. St Paul, MN: West Publishing Company.
- Di Meola, A. (1992) 'Why Has Music Become Wallpaper?', *Musician*, No. 165, July, pp.33-34; 42.
- Doi, T., Tsuchiya, Y. and Iga, A. (1978) 'On Several Standards for Converting PCM Signals into Video Signals', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 26 (9), pp.641-649.
- Drake, J. (1976) 'The "Real" Voice of Enrico Caruso?', *High Fidelity Magazine*, October, page numbers unavailable.
- Drucker, P. F. (1985) *Innovation and Entrepreneurship: Practice and Principles*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Dubal, D. (2001) *The Essential Canon of Classical Music*. New York: North Point Press.
- Du Gay, P. and Negus, K. (1994) 'The Changing Sites of Sound: Music Retailing and the Composition of Consumers', *Media, Culture and Society*, 16 (3), pp.395-413.

- Du Gay, P. (ed.) (1997) *Production of Culture/Cultures of Production*. Open University London: Sage.
- Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H. and Negus, K. (2003) *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman*. Open University London: Sage.
- Durant, A. (1990) 'A New Day for Music? Digital Technologies in Contemporary Music-Making'. In: Hayward, P. (ed.) (1990) *Culture, Technology and Creativity in the Late Twentieth Century*. London: John Libbey, pp.175-196.
- Easlea, D. (2004) *Everybody Dance: Chic and the Politics of Disco*. London: Helter Skelter.
- Easton, R. (1976) 'Soundstream: The First Digital Studio', *Recording Engineer/Producer*, 7 (2), April, pp.57-61.
- Eddy, T. (2005) "'The Bass Drum Heard 'Round the World': Telarc, Frederick Fennell, and an Overture to Digital Recording', *IEEE-USA Today's Engineer Online*, July [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/I9CyQ> (Accessed: July, 2007).
- Edge, K. (1991) *The Art of Selling Songs: Graphics for the Music Business 1690-1990*. London: Futures Publications.
- Elworth, S. B. (1995) 'Jazz in Crisis, 1948-1958: Ideology and Representation'. In: Gabbard, K. (ed.) (1995b) *Jazz Among the Discourses*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp.57-75.
- Emerick, G. and Massey, H. (2006) *Here, There and Everywhere: My Life Recording the Music of The Beatles*. London: Gotham Books.
- Ertegun, A. (2001) "What'd I Say" *The Atlantic Story: 50 Years Of Music*. London: Orion.
- Fabbri, F. (1982) 'A Theory of Music Genres: Two Applications'. In: Tagg, P. and Horn, D. (eds.) (1982) *Popular Music Perspectives*. Gothenburg and Exeter: IASPM, pp.52-81.
- Fabrikant, G. (1989) 'Philips's Polygram Buying Island Records', *New York Times*, August 2 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/sqQb2> (Accessed: August 14, 2008).
- Fabrikant, G. (1990a) 'Matsushita In Talks With MCA', *New York Times*, September 26 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/3E0o> (Accessed: July 30, 2008).

Fabrikant, G. (1990b) 'The Media Business; MCA's Stock Rises Again On Talk of Matsushita Offer', *New York Times*, October 4 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/texPe> (Accessed: July 30, 2008).

Fabrikant, G. (1990c) 'The Record Man With Flawless Timing', *New York Times*, December 9 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/GeHkY> (Accessed: August 16, 2008).

Fabrikant, G. (1992) 'The Osaka Decision', *New York Times*, May 3 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/iD0Hr> (Accessed: August 3, 2008).

Fabrikant, G. (1994) 'The Media Business; MCA Chiefs Fail to Sway Matsushita', *New York Times*, October 20 [Online]. Available: <http://bit.ly/eqBiE> (Accessed: August 3, 2008).

Fabrikant, G. and Pollack, A. (1994) 'The Media Business; MCA's Impatience With Wary Parent', *New York Times*, November 4 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/PPshW> (Accessed: August 3, 2008).

Fabrikant, G. (1995) 'The MCA Sale: The Deal; Seagram Puts the Finishing Touches on Its \$5.7 Billion Acquisition of MCA', *New York Times*, April 10 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/1Fbn> (Accessed: July 30, 2008).

Fabrikant, G. and Weinraub, B. (1996) 'Having Gotten the Part, Bronfman Plays the Mogul', *New York Times*, February 4 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/PmhJ3> (Accessed: July 30, 2008).

Fabrikant, G. (1998) 'International Business; \$10.6 Billion Seagram Deal For Polygram', *New York Times*, May 22 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/8fvr3> (Accessed: August 3, 2008).

Faith, N. (2006) *The Bronfmans: The Rise and Fall of The House of Seagram*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Feather, L. (1957) *The Book of Jazz: A Guide to the Entire Field*. New York: Horizon.

Feather, L. and Gitler, I. (1976) *The Encyclopedia of Jazz in the 70s*. New York: Da Capo.

Feather, L. and Gitler, I. (1999) *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fellezs, K. (2008) 'Emergency! Race and Genre in Tony Williams's Lifetime', *Jazz Perspectives*, 2 (1), pp.1-27.

Ferguson, E. S. (1992) *Engineering and the Mind's Eye*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Fine, T. (2008) 'The Dawn of Commercial Digital Recording', *ARSC Journal*, 39 (1), pp.1-17.
- Fligstein, N. (1990) *The Transformation of Corporate Control*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) 'Five Misunderstandings About Case Study Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12 (2), pp.219-245.
- Franzwa, D. (2005) 'The Invention of Optical Digital Recording with James T. Russell', *Audio Engineering Society Pacific Northwest Section Meeting Report*, November 11 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/1aEuOL>. (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Frith, S. (1986) 'Art Versus Technology: The Strange Case of Popular Music', *Media, Culture and Society*, 8 (3), pp.263-279.
- Frith, S. and Goodwin, A. (eds.) (1990) *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*. London: Routledge.
- Frith, S. (ed.) (1990) *Facing The Music*. London: Mandarin.
- Frith, S. (1996) *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Frith, S. (2007) 'Is Jazz Popular Music?', *Jazz Research Journal*, 1 (1), pp.7-23.
- Gabbard, K. (ed.) (1995a) *Representing Jazz*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gabbard, K. (ed.) (1995b) *Jazz Among the Discourses*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gabbard, K. (1995c) 'The Jazz Canon and Its Consequences'. In: Gabbard, K. (ed.) (1995b) *Jazz Among the Discourses*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp.1-28.
- Gabbard, K. (2000) 'Ken Burn's "Jazz": Beautiful Music, but Missing a Beat', *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 15, p.B18-B19.
- Garofalo, R. (2002) *Rockin' Out: Popular Music in the USA*. 2nd ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Gendron, B. (1995) "'Moldy Figs" and Modernists: Jazz at War (1942-1946)'. In: Gabbard, K. (ed.) (1995b) *Jazz Among the Discourses*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp.31-56.

- Gennari, J. (2006) *Blowin' Hot and Cool: Jazz and its Critics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- George, N. (1985) *Where Did Our Love Go?* London: Omnibus.
- Giddins, G. (1981) *Riding on a Blue Note: Jazz and American Pop*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Giddins, G. (1986) *Rhythm-a-ning: Jazz Tradition and Innovation in the '80s*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Giddins, G. (1998) *Visions of Jazz: The First Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gillett, C. (1996) *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll*. 3rd ed. London: Souvenir Press.
- Gilpin, K. N. (2004) 'Thomas G. Stockham Jr., 70, Digital Pioneer', *New York Times*, January 31 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/pul2U> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Gioia, T. (1997) *The History of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gioia, T. (1998) *West Coast Jazz: Modern Jazz in California 1945-1960*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gold, G. (1985) 'Record Notes: Caruso Series Nears Its End', *New York Times*, September 15 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/15uFyV> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Gold, G. (1988) 'Record Notes: DAT's Arrive But No Players', *New York Times*, April 17 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/niIgf> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Goodwin, A. (1988) 'Sample and Hold: Pop Music in the Digital Age of Reproduction'. In: Frith, S. and Goodwin, A. (eds.) (1990) *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*. London: Routledge, pp.258-273.
- Gourse, L. (1995) *Madame Jazz: Contemporary Women Instrumentalists*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gray, H. (1988) *Producing Jazz: The Experience of an Independent Record Company*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Gridley, M. C. (1988) *Jazz Styles: History and Analysis*. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Gridley, M. C. (1990) 'Clarifying Labels: Cool Jazz, West Coast and Hard Bop', *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, 2 (2), pp.8-16.

Griffiths, M. and Bloom, P. J. (1982) 'A Flexible Digital Sound-Editing Program for Minicomputer Systems', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 30 (3), p.127-134.

Guinness World Records (2006) *Guinness World Records 2006*. London: HIT Entertainment.

Hammond, J. and Townsend, I. (1977) *John Hammond On Record: An Autobiography*. New York: Ridge Press.

Hansell, S. (1998) '2 Top Internet Music Sellers Make an Agreement to Merge', *New York Times*, October 23 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/cRncZ> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).

Hansen, J. (1983) 'The Record that Doesn't Go Round', *Hi-fi News and Record Review*, January, page numbers unavailable.

Haring, B. (1996) *Off the Charts: Ruthless Days and Reckless Nights Inside the Music Industry*. New York: Birch Lane Press.

Harlan, D. (2003) 'Ken Burns and the Coming Crisis of Academic History', *The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 7 (2), pp.169-192.

Hayward, P. (ed.) (1990) *Culture, Technology and Creativity in the Late Twentieth Century*. London: John Libbey.

Hayward, P. (1990) 'Industrial Light and Magic - Style, Technology and Special Effects in the music Video and Music Television'. In: Hayward, P. (ed.) (1990) *Culture, Technology and Creativity in the Late Twentieth Century*. London: John Libbey, pp.125-147.

Hax, A. (1994) 'Defining the Concept of Strategy'. In: De Wit, B. and Meyer, R. (eds.) (1994) *Strategy: Process, Content, Context*. St Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, pp.8-12.

Hennion, A. and Meadel, C. (1986) 'Programming Music: Radio as Mediator', *Media, Culture and Society*, 8 (3), pp.281-303.

Hennion, A. (1989) 'An Intermediary Between Production and Consumption: The Producer of Popular Music', *Science, Technology and Human Values*, 14 (4), pp.400-424.

Hentoff, N. (1978) *Jazz Is*. New York: Avon.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (1996a) 'Flexibility, Post-Fordism and the Music Industries', *Media, Culture and Society*, 18 (3), pp. 469-88.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (1996b) *Independent Record Companies and Democratisation in the Popular Music Industry*, Ph.D thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (1998a) 'The British Dance Music Industry: A Case Study of Independent Cultural Production', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 49 (2), pp.234-251.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (1998b) 'Post-Punk's Attempt to Democratise the Music Industry: The Success and Failure of Rough Trade', *Popular Music*, 16 (3), pp.255-274.

Hirsch, P. M. (1972) 'Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organisation-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 77 (4), pp.639-659.

Hodeir, A. (1956) *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence*. New York: Grove Press.

Holden, S. (1982) 'Pop Jazz', *New York Times*, February 5 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/9vg6F> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).

Holt, D. B. (2004) *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Horning, S. S. (2004) 'Engineering the Performance: Recording Engineers, Tacit Knowledge and the Art of Controlling Sound', *Social Studies of Science*, 34 (5), pp.703-731.

Immink, K. A. S. (1998) 'The Compact Disc Story', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 46 (5), pp.458-460; 462; 464; 465.

Ingebretsen, R. B. (1977) 'A Strategy for Automated Editing of Digital Recordings', *58th Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, November 4-7, New York, United States.

Ingebretsen, R. B. (1982) 'Random Access Editing of Digital Audio', *72nd Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, October 23-27, Anaheim, California.

Inglis, I. (2005) 'Embassy Records: Covering the Market, Marketing the Cover', *Popular Music and Society*, 28 (2), pp.163-170.

Jackson, K. (1996) 'Why America Has Gone Suburban', *New York Times*, June 9 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/HrF2Y> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).

- Jarrett, K. (2001) 'JAZZ'; 40 Years Missing', *New York Times*, letters page, January 21 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/rOkB> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Jarrett, M. (2004) 'Cutting Sides: Jazz Record Producers and Improvisation'. In: Fischlin, D. and Heble, A. (eds.) (2004) *The Other Side of Nowhere: Jazz, Improvisation, and Communities in Dialogue*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, pp.319-347.
- Jenkins, H. W. Jr. (1998) 'A Fine Young –Well, Middle-Aged–Cannibal', *The Wall Street Journal*, August 12 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/moaM> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Johnson, B. (1993) 'Hear Me Talkin' To Ya: Problems of Jazz Discourse', *Popular Music*, 12 (1), pp.1-12.
- Jones IV, J. T. (1990) 'GRP Jazz Label on the Upbeat', *USA Today*, January 24, p.4.
- Jones, C. W. (2008) *The Rock Canon: Canonical Values in the Reception of Rock Albums*. London: Ashgate.
- Jones, M. (1995) 'Composition Under Industrial Conditions: The Significance of the Methods and Priorities of the Record Industry in Pop Music Making', *Proceedings of the 8th International IASPM Conference*, July, Glasgow, Scotland.
- Jones, Q. (2001) *The Autobiography of Quincy Jones*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Jones, S. (1992) *Rock Formation: Music, Technology and Mass Communication*. California: Sage Publications.
- Jones, S. and Sorger, M. (1999) 'Covering Music: A Brief History and Analysis of Album Cover Design', *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, 11-12 (1), pp.68-102.
- Julien, O. (1999) 'The Diverting of Musical Technology by Rock Musicians: The Example of Double-Tracking', *Popular Music*, 18 (3), pp.357-365.
- Kahn, A. (2006) *The House that Trane Built: The Story of Impulse Records*. London: Granta Publications.
- Karmark, E. (2007) 'Living the Brand'. In: Schultz, M., Antorini, Y. M. and Csaba, F. F. (eds.) (2007) *Corporate Branding: Purpose/People/Process*. Copenhagen: CBS Press, pp.103-126.

- Kart, L. (1990) 'Provocative Opinion: The Death of Jazz?', *Black Music Research Journal*, 10 (1), pp.76-81.
- Katz, M. (2004) *Capturing Sound: How Technology has Changed Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kealy, E. R. (1979) 'From Craft to Art: The Case of Sound Mixers and Popular Music'. In: Frith, S. and Goodwin, A. (eds.) (1990) *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*. London: Routledge, pp.207-220.
- Keene, S. (1982) 'Soundstream Digital Editing Facility', *DB: The Sound Engineering Magazine*, September, page numbers unavailable.
- Kehew, B. and Ryan, K. (2006) *Recording the Beatles: The Studio Equipment and Techniques Used to Create their Classic Albums*. Houston, Texas: Curvender Publishing.
- Keightley, K. (1996) "'Turn it Down!' She Shrieked: Gender, Domestic Space, and High Fidelity, 1948-59", *Popular Music*, 15 (2), pp.149-177.
- Keightley, K. (2003) 'Low Television, High Fidelity: Taste and the Gendering of Home Entertainment Technologies', *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 47 (2), pp.236-259.
- Keightley, K. (2004) 'Long Play: Adult-Oriented Popular Music and the Temporal Logics of the Post-War Sound Recording Industry in the USA', *Media, Culture and Society*, 26 (3), pp.375-391.
- Kenney, W. H. (1995) 'Historical Context and the Definition of Jazz: Putting More of the History in "Jazz History"'. In: Gabbard, K. (ed.) (1995b) *Jazz Among the Discourses*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp.100-116.
- Kerr, P. (1986) *The Hollywood Film Industry*. London: Routledge.
- Klein, B. (2009) *As Heard on TV: Popular Music in Advertising*. London: Ashgate.
- Klein, N. (2005) *No Logo*. London: Harper Perennial.
- Knoedelseder, W. (1993) *Stiffed: A True Story of MCA, the Music Business and the Mafia*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Kofsky, F. (1998) *Black Music, White Business: Illuminating the History and Political Economy of Jazz*. New York: Pathfinder.
- Kotler, P. (1984) *Marketing Management; Analysis, Planning, Implementation and Control*. 5th ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Lagadec, R. and Stockham Jr, T. G. (1984) 'Dispersive Models for A-to-D and D-to-A Conversion Systems', *75th Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, March 27-30, Paris, France.

Laing, D. (2002) 'The Jazz Market'. In: Cooke, M. and Horn, D. (eds.) (2002) *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.321-331.

Lake S. and Griffiths, P. (2007) *Horizons Touched: The Music of ECM*. London: Granta.

Lander, D. (1988) 'Grusin & Rosen of GRP, The Musician's Label', *Audio*, March, pp.34-39.

Lander, D. (2004) 'Tom Jung of DMP: Making Musical Sense', *Stereophile*, June [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/uazm> (Accessed: September 16, 2007).

Lawrence, T. (2003) *Love Saves the Day: A History of American Dance Music Culture, 1970-1979*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lee, S. (1995) 'Re-Examining the Concept of the "Independent" Record Company: The Case of Wax Trax! Records', *Popular Music*, 14 (1), pp.13-31.

Leonard, G. and Kusek, D. (2005) *The Future of Music: Manifesto for the Digital Music Revolution*. Boston, MA: Berklee Press.

Levitin, D. (1991) 'The REP Interview: Jack Renner', *Recording – Engineering - Production*, 22 (1), January, pp.28-32.

Levitin, D. (1993a) 'Telarc Chief Captures Concert-like Sound; 13 Time Grammy Nominee Shuns Doctoring Effects', *Billboard*, December 4, pp.68-69.

Levitin, D. (1993b) 'Orchestral Maneuvers: From Eugene Ormandy to Oscar Peterson, Jack Renner Takes a Less-Is-More Approach to Recording', *Grammy*, 11 (3), December, pp.7-9.

Levitin, D. (1994a) 'Pioneer Addresses Digital Debate: Says Listeners Often Need Analog 'Energy'', *Billboard*, January 22, p.72.

Levitin, D. (1994b) 'Tom Stockham: Fidelity vs. Familiarity', *Audio*, 78 (11), November, pp.38-45.

Levitin, D. (1994c) 'Signal Parent: Thomas Stockham on the Birth of Digital Audio', *NARAS Journal*, 5 (1), pp.7-24.

- Lindsay, C. (2003) 'From the Shadows: Users as Designers, Producers, Marketers, Distributors, and Technical Support'. In: Oudshoorn, N. and Pinch, T. (eds.) (2003) *How Users Matter: The Co-Construction of Users and Technology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp.29-50.
- Lipshitz, S. P. and Vanderkooy, J. (1981) 'The Great Debate: Subjective Evaluation', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 29 (7/8), pp.482-491.
- Lipshitz, S. P. (1998) 'Dawn of the Digital Age', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 46 (1/2), pp.37-42.
- Lopes, P. (1992) 'Innovation and Diversity in the Popular Music Industry, 1969 to 1990', *American Sociological Review*, 57 (1), pp.56-71.
- Lopes, P. (2002) *The Rise of a Jazz Art World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lury, C. (1996) *Consumer Culture*. Cambridge: Polity.
- MacDonald, I. (1998) *Revolution in the Head: The Beatles' Records and the Sixties*. London: Pimlico.
- Mandel, H. (2005) 'The History, Myths, Values and Practices of Jazz Journalists', *The Source*, 2 (1), pp.71-75.
- Marmorstein, G. (2007) *The Label: The Story of Columbia Records*. New York: Thunder's Mouth.
- Marsalis, W. (1988) 'MUSIC; What Jazz Is - and Isn't', *New York Times*, July 31 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/wyyXS> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Marsalis, W. (1990) 'Why We Must Preserve Our Jazz Heritage', *Ebony 45th Anniversary Edition*, November, pp.159-164.
- Marsh, G. and Callingham, G. (2002) *Blue Note Album Cover Art: The Ultimate Collection*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.
- Martin, G. and Hornsby, J. (1979) *All You Need is Ears*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Martin, G. (ed.) (1983) *Making Music: The Guide to Writing, Performing and Recording*. London: Frederick Muller Ltd.
- Martin, H. (1986) *Enjoying Jazz*. New York: Schirmer Books.
- Martin, H. and Waters, K. (2002) *Jazz: The First 100 Years*. Ontario: Schirmer.

- Massey, H. (2001) *Behind the Glass: Top Record Producers Tell How They Craft the Hits*. San Francisco: Backbeat Books.
- Massey, K. K. (2002) *Readings in Mass Communication: Media Literacy and Culture*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Mattick, P. (2003) *Art in Its Time: Theories and Practices of Modern Aesthetics*. London: Routledge.
- McCalla, J. (2001) *Jazz: A Listener's Guide*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- McClain, D. L. (1998) 'New Yorkers & Co; The Sounds of Change', *New York Times*, August 16 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/1c5EdV> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- McGee, K. (2008) 'Smooth jazz, Transnationalism and Jazz's Mobile Representations', *EASA Conference*, August 29, Ljubljana, Slovenia.
- McGinn, R. E. (1983) 'Stokowski and the Bell Telephone Laboratories: Collaboration in the Development of High Fidelity Sound Reproduction', *Technology and Culture*, 24 (1), pp.38-75.
- McGrath, R. G and MacMillan, I. (2000) *The Entrepreneurial Mindset*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- McPhee, W. (1966) 'When Culture Becomes a Business'. In: Berger, J., Zelditch Jr., M. and Anderson, B. (eds.) (1966) *Sociological Theories in Progress*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, pp.227-243.
- Megill, D. D. and Demory, R. S. (2001) *Introduction to Jazz History*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Metheny, P. (2000) 'Pat Metheny on Kenny G', *Jazz Oasis* [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/4fTkym> (Accessed: June 1, 2007).
- Middleton, R. (1990) *Studying Popular Music*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Miklosz, J. (1981) 'Digital Audio System uses Rectangular Records', *Electronic Engineering Times*, November 23, page numbers unavailable.
- Milkowski, B. (1995) *Jaco: The Extraordinary and Tragic Life of Jaco Pastorius*. San Francisco, CA: Miller Freeman Books.
- Molstad, R. W. (1981) 'Design Consideration of Digital Cross-Fade in Multi-Channel Recorders', *69th Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, May 12-15, Los Angeles, California.

- Monson, I. (1996) *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moore, J. N. (1999) *Sound Revolutions: A Biography of Fred Gaisberg, Founding Father of Commercial Sound Recording*. London: Sanctuary.
- Moorefield, V. (2005) *The Producer as Composer: Shaping the Sounds of Popular Music*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Morganstern, D. (1967) 'A Message to Our Readers', *Down Beat*, June 29, p.13.
- Morris, D. F. (1977) 'The Audio Engineer – Circa 1977: What Does He (or She) Do?', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 25 (10/11), pp.864-872.
- Morse, M. W. (2007) 'Musical Genre Distinction and the Uniculture: a reply to Simon Frith's "Is Jazz Popular Music?"', *Jazz Research Journal*, 1 (2), pp.153-172.
- Morton, D. (2000) *Off the Record: The Technology and Culture of Sound Recording in America*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Muirhead, B. (1983) *Stiff: The Story of a Record Label 1976-1982*. Dorset: Blandford Press.
- Myers, J. P. and Feinberg, A. (1972) 'High-Quality Professional Recording Using New Digital Techniques', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 20 (8), pp.622-628.
- Neale, S. (1980) *Genre*. London: British Film Institute.
- Negus, K. (1992) *Producing Pop: Culture and Conflict in the Popular Music Industry*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Negus, K. (1993a) 'Global Harmonies and Local Discords: Transnational Policies and Practices in the European Recording Industry', *European Journal of Communication*, 8 (3), pp.295-316.
- Negus, K. (1993b) 'Plugging and Programming: Pop Radio and Record Promotion in Britain and the United States', *Popular Music*, 12 (1), pp.57-68.
- Negus, K. (1996) *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Polity.
- Negus, K. (1998) 'Cultural Production and the Corporation: Musical Genres and the Strategic Management of Creativity in the U.S. Recording Industry', *Media, Culture and Society*, 20 (3), pp.359-379.
- Negus, K. (1999) *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*. London: Routledge.

- Negus, K. (2002) 'The Work of Cultural Intermediaries and the Enduring Distance Between Production and Consumption', *Cultural Studies*, 16 (4), pp.501-515.
- Negus, K. and Pickering, M. (2004) *Creativity, Communication and Cultural Value*. London: Sage.
- Nicholson, S. (1998) *Jazz-Rock: A History*. Edinburgh: Canongate.
- Nicholson, S. (2002) 'Fusions and Crossovers'. In: Cooke, M. and Horn, D. (eds.) (2002) *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.217-252.
- Nicholson, S. (2005a) *Is Jazz Dead? Or has it moved to a new address*. London: Routledge.
- Nicholson, S. (2005b) 'Tensions in the Marketplace: Reflections on the Major Recording Companies Documentation of Jazz in the late 1990s and New Millennium Years', *The Source*, 2 (1), pp.77-82.
- Noah, S. (2005) 'Jazz FM Made Smooth To Lure More Mainstream Listeners', *The Independent*, February 15 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/zVyCS> (Accessed: November 25, 2008).
- O'Connell, J. (1992) 'The Fine-Tuning of a Golden Ear: High-End Audio and the Evolutionary Model of Technology', *Technology and Culture*, 33 (1), pp.1-37.
- O'Meally, R.G. (ed.) (1998) *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Onishi, K., Ozaki, M., Kawabata, M. and Tanaka, K. (1978) 'Tape Cut Editing of a Stereo PCM Tape Deck Employing Stationary Heads', *60th Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, May 2-5, Los Angeles, California.
- Ostransky, L. (1977) *Understanding Jazz*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Oudshoorn, N. and Pinch, T. (eds.) (2003) *How Users Matter: The Co-Construction of Users and Technology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Page, T. (2001) 'In Avant-Guarded Condition; What's Ahead for Jazz? Mostly, What's Behind', *Washington Post*, January 7 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/11C7id> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Palmer, R. (1987) 'POP VIEW; Jazz Injustice: Genius in the Shadows', *New York Times*, November 22 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/Xrdgx> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).

- Panassié, H. (1936) *Hot Jazz: The Guide to Swing Music*. London: Cassell & Company.
- Passman, D. S. (2002) *All You Need to Know About the Music Business*. London: Penguin.
- Penchansky, A. (1977) 'Soundstream Uses Computer for RCA LPs: Sound Restoration Improves', *Billboard*, December 3, page numbers unavailable.
- Peretti, B. W. (1995) 'Oral Histories of Jazz Musicians: The NEA Transcripts as Texts in Context'. In: Gabbard, K. (ed.) (1995b) *Jazz Among the Discourses*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp.117-133.
- Perlman, M. (2004) 'Golden Ears and Meter Readers: The Contest for Epistemic Authority in Audiophilia', *Social Studies of Science*, 34 (5), pp.783-807.
- Peterson, R. and Berger, D. (1971) 'Entrepreneurship in Organizations: Evidence from the Popular Music Industry', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 16 (1), pp.97-106.
- Peterson, R. and Berger, D. (1975) 'Cycles in Symbol Production: The Case of Popular Music', *American Sociological Review*, 40 (2), pp.158-173.
- Peterson, R. A. (ed.) (1976) *The Production of Culture*. London: Sage.
- Peterson, R. A. (1978) 'The Production of Cultural Change: The Case of Contemporary Country Music', *Social Research*, 45 (2), pp.292-314.
- Peterson, R. and Berger, D. (1996) 'Measuring Industry Concentration, Diversity, and Innovation in Popular Music', *American Sociological Review*, 61 (1), pp.175-178.
- Peterson, R. A. and Kern, R. M. (1996) 'Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore', *American Sociological Review*, 61 (5), pp.900-907.
- Peterson, R. A. and Anand, N. (2004) 'The Production of Culture Perspective', *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 30, pp.311-334.
- Phelan, J. G. (2005) 'MUSIC; He Helped Put the Blue in Blue Note', *New York Times*, May 22 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/ahdGY> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Pinch, T. and Trocco, F. (2002) *Analog Days: The Invention and Impact of the Moog Synthesizer*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pinch, T. (2003) 'Giving Birth to New Users: How the Minimoog Was Sold to Rock and Roll'. In: Oudshoorn, N. and Pinch, T. (eds.) (2003) *How Users Matter: The Co-Construction of Users and Technology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp.247-270.

Pinch, T. and Bijsterveld, K. (2003) "'Should One Applaud?'" Breaches and Boundaries in the Reception of New Technology in Music', *Technology and Culture*, 44 (3), pp.536-559.

Pinch, T. and Bijsterveld, K. (2004) 'Sound Studies: New Technologies and Music', *Social Studies of Science*, 34 (5), pp.635-648.

Pollack, A. (1988) 'Moves to End Digital Tape Dispute', *New York Times*, January 16 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/qoXbr> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).

Pollack, A. (1994) 'For MCA's Japanese Parent, No Signs Yet of Letting Go', *New York Times*, October 14 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/bJDDF> (Accessed: August 3, 2008).

Pond, S. F. (1997) 'Jazz/Rock Fusion in the Studio: Improvisation and Competence', *Society for Ethnomusicology Annual Meeting*, October 23-26, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Pond, S. F. (1998) 'The Boundaries of Jazz: Bob James and the Master Narrative', *Society for Ethnomusicology Annual Meeting*, October 22-25, Bloomington, Indiana.

Pond, S. F. (2003) 'Jamming the Reception: Ken Burns, Jazz, and the Problem of "America's Music"', *Notes*, 60 (1), pp.11-45.

Pond, S. F. (2005) *Head Hunters: The Making of Jazz's First Platinum Album*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Porcello, T. (1991) 'The Ethics of Digital Audio-Sampling: Engineer's Discourse', *Popular Music*, 10 (1), pp.69-84.

Porcello, T. (2004) 'Speaking of Sound: Language and the Professionalization of Sound-Recording Engineers', *Social Studies of Science*, 34 (5), pp.733-758.

Radano, R. (2001) 'Myth today: the color of Ken Burns jazz', *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noire*, 3 (3), pp.43-54.

Ranada, D. (1980) 'A Dozen Digital Demo Discs', *Stereo Review*, January, pp.64-66.

Randall, G. (2000) *Branding: A Practical Guide to Planning Your Strategy*. London, Kogan Page.

- Ratliff, B. (2001) 'Fixing, For Now, The Image of Jazz', *New York Times*, January 7 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/AZma> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Ratliff, B. (2006) 'Legends of Jazz with Ramsey Lewis Lets Musicians Do the Talking', *New York Times*, April 4 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/DiRpJ> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Renner, J. (1992a) 'The Roots of Telarc', *Telarc Newsletter*, Part One, Fall.
- Renner, J. (1992b) 'The Roots of Telarc', *Telarc Newsletter*, Part Two, Fall.
- Richards, J. W. and Craven, I. (1982) 'An Experimental "All Digital" Studio Mixing Desk', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 30 (3), pp.117-126.
- Rubin, R. and Melnick, J. (2001) *American Popular Music: New Approaches to the Twentieth Century*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Ruffin, M. (1991) 'Jazz Remains GRP's Only Business', *Chicago Sun Times*, July 7 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/HGQK> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Sachs, L. (1992) 'GRP-'NUA: A Sellout to the Bland and Ugly', *Chicago Sun Times*, August 30 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/49WZS> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Sales, G. (1992) *Jazz: America's Classical Music*. New York: Da Capo.
- Sancton, T. (1990) 'Horns of Plenty', *Time*, October 22 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/lBbb4> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Sanjek, R. and Sanjek, D. (1991) *American Popular Music Business in the 20th Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Santoro, G. (1994) *Dancing in your Head: Jazz, Blues, Rock and Beyond*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Santoro, G. (2001) 'All that Jazz', *The Nation*, 272 (44), pp.34.
- Sax, D. and Archibald, L. (1983) 'CD: A Lie Repeated Often Enough Becomes Truth', *Stereophile*, November [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/lDwyX> (Accessed: November 25, 2008).
- Schafer, R. M. (1994) *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*. Vermont: Destiny Books.
- Scherer, F. M. (1980) *Industrial Market Structure and Economic Performance*. 2nd ed. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company.

- Schot, J. and De La Bruheze, A. A. (2003) 'The Mediated Design of Products, Consumption and Consumers in the Twentieth Century'. In: Oudshoorn, N. and Pinch, T. (eds.) (2003) *How Users Matter: The Co-Construction of Users and Technology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp.229-245.
- Schroeder, M. R. and Logan, B. F. (1961) "'Colorless" Artificial Reverberation', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 9 (3), pp.192-197.
- Schuller, G. (1986) *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schumacher, T. G. (1995) 'This is Sampling Sport: Digital Sampling, Rap Music and the Law in Cultural Production', *Media, Culture and Society*, 17 (2), pp.253-273.
- Scull, J. (1998) 'Jack Renner of Telarc: Direct from Cleveland!', *Stereophile*, October [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/8lPch> (Accessed: August 3, 2007).
- Shapiro, N. and Hentoff, N. (eds.) (1962) *Hear Me Talkin' To Ya: The Story of Jazz by the Men Who Made It*. Middlesex: Penguin.
- Shipton, A. (2007) *A New History of Jazz*. New York: Continuum.
- Sklar, R. (1984) *Rocking America: How the All-Hit Radio Stations Took Over; An Insider's Story*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Smith, M. R. and Marx, L. (eds.) (1994) *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Smulyan, S. (1994) *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting 1920-1934*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Solis, G. (2006) 'REVIEW: Avant-Gardism, the "Long 1960s" and Jazz Historiography', *Journal of The Royal Musical Association*, 131 (2), pp.331-349.
- Soundstream (1982) 'Soundstream Mastered Recordings', *Thomas G. Stockham Papers*, Series V: Published and Unpublished Documents, Box 110, Folders 15-16, Utah: University of Utah.
- Southall, N. (2003) 'REVIEW: Miles Davis, In A Silent Way', *Stylus*, September 1 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/xZgGO> (Accessed: September 11, 2007).
- Stake, R. E. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Stanbridge, A. (2004a) 'Burns, Baby, Burns: Jazz History as a Contested Cultural Site', *The Source*, 2 (1), pp.82-100.
- Stanbridge, A. (2004b) 'A Question of Standards: "My Funny Valentine" and Musical Intertextuality', *Popular Music History*, 1 (1), pp.83-108.
- Stanbridge, A. (2004c) 'Preserving Spontaneity: Jazz, Sound Recording and Paradox of Authenticity', *On the Right Track: The Role of the Recording Studio in Popular Music and Media: Annual Conference of IASPM-Canada*, 15-17 May, Carleton University, Ottawa.
- Stearns, M. W. (1958), *The Story of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stearns, M. W. (1970), *The Story of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stebbins, R. A. (1966) 'Class, Status, and Power among Jazz and Commercial Musicians', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 7 (2), pp.197-213.
- Stephenson, W. (1993) 'The Eyes and Ears of GRP', *Jazziz*, 10 (1), pp.56-60; 65.
- Sterne, J. (2003) *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Sterngold, J. (1995) 'The MCA Sale: The Glittering Prize; Seagram Deal Buys Glamour And a Cash Cow Called Music', *New York Times*, April 10 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/kZfYR> (Accessed: August 3, 2008).
- Stevenson, R. W. (1990) 'Geffen Records Sold to MCA For Stock Worth \$550 Million', *New York Times*, March 15 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/7m96q> (Accessed: August 15, 2008).
- Stewart, A. (2000) "'Funky Drummer": New Orleans, James Brown and the Rhythmic Transformation of American Popular Music', *Popular Music*, 19 (3), pp.293-318.
- Stockham Jr, T. G. (1971a) 'Restoration of Old Acoustic Recordings by Means of Digital Signal Processing', *41st Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, October 5-8, New York, United States.
- Stockham Jr, T. G. (1971b) 'A-D and D-A Converters: Their Effect on Digital Audio Fidelity', *41st Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, October 5-8, New York, United States.
- Stockham Jr, T. G., Cannon, T. M. and Ingebretsen, R. B. (1975) 'Blind Deconvolution Through Digital Signal Processing', *Proceedings of the IEEE*, 63 (4), pp.678-692.

- Stockham Jr, T. G. (1977) 'Records of the Future', *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society*, 25 (10/11), pp.892-895.
- Stockham Jr, T. G. (1982) 'The Promise of Digital Audio', *Collected Papers from the AES Premiere Conference: Digital Audio*, June 3-6, New York, United States.
- Stockham Jr, T. G. (1987) 'The Impact of Digital Audio', *2nd Regional Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, June 17-19, Tokyo, Japan.
- Storey, J. (1993) *An Introductory Guide to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Strachan, R. (2003) *Do-It-Yourself: Industry, Ideology, Aesthetics and Micro-Independent Record Labels in the UK*, Ph.D thesis, University of Liverpool.
- Stratton, J. (2004) 'Between Two Worlds: Art and Commercialism in the Record Industry'. In: Simon Frith (ed.) (2004) *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, Volume 2: The Rock Era. London: Routledge, pp.7-23.
- Straw, W. (1991) 'Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music', *Cultural Studies*, 5 (3), pp.368-388.
- Swedien, B. (2003) *Make Mine Music*. Norway: MIA Musikk.
- Szwed (2002) *So What: The Life of Miles Davis*. London: Arrow Books.
- Tagg, P. (1987) 'Musicology and the Semiotics of Popular Music', *Semiotica*, 66 (1/3), pp.279-298.
- Taylor, W. (1986) 'Jazz: America's Classical Music'. In: Walser, R. (ed.) (1999) *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp.327-332.
- Teachout, T. (2006) 'John Hammond's Jazz', *Commentary*, 122 (3), pp.55-59.
- Théberge, P. (1997) *Any Sound You Can Imagine: Making Music/Consuming Technology*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.
- Théberge, P. (2004) 'The Network Studio: Historical and Technological Paths to a New Ideal in Music Making', *Social Studies of Science*, 34 (5), pp.759-781.
- Thompson, E. (1995) 'Machines, Music, and the Quest for Fidelity: Marketing the Edison Phonograph in America, 1877-1925', *The Musical Quarterly*, 79 (1), pp.131-171.

- Thornton, S. (1990) 'Strategies for Reconstructing the Popular Past', *Popular Music*, 9 (1), pp.87-95.
- Tiegel, E. (1996) 'Smooth Moves on the Air', *Down Beat*, December, p.10.
- Tirro, F. (1993) *Jazz: A History*. 2nd ed. New York: Norton.
- Tomlinson, G. (1992) 'Cultural Dialogics and Jazz: A White Historian Signifies'. In: Bergeron, K. and Bohlman, P. V. (eds.) (1992) *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.64-94.
- Toynbee, J. (2000) *Making Popular Music: Musicians, Creativity and Institutions*. London: Arnold.
- Truell, P. (1995) 'The MCA Sale: The Bankers; The Edgar Transactions: A Skillful Brewing of Deals', *New York Times*, April 10 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/ByiB0> (Accessed: August 3, 2008).
- Tucker, S. (2000) *Swing Shift: "All-Girl" Bands of the 1940s*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Ulanov, B. (1960) *A History Of Jazz In America*. London: Jazz Book Club.
- Vejlgaard, H. (2007) *Anatomy of a Trend*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Vignolle, J. P. (1980) 'Mixing Genres and Reaching the Public: The Production of Popular Music', *Social Science Information*, 19 (1), pp.79-105.
- Wacholtz, L. E., Edwards, L. B. and Thompson, M. (1999) 'Entrepreneurship: The Vital Link to Financial Success in the Music and Entertainment Industry', *USASBE/SBIDA Annual National Conference: Sailing the Entrepreneurial Wave Into the 21st Century*, 14-17 January, San Diego, California.
- Waksman, S. (2004) 'California Noise: Tinkering with Hardcore and Heavy Metal in Southern California', *Social Studies of Science*, 34 (5), pp.675-702.
- Wald, E. (2007) 'Louis Armstrong Loves Guy Lombardo! Acknowledging the Smoother Roots of Jazz', *Jazz Research Journal*, 1 (1), pp.129-145.
- Walser, R. (ed.) (1999) *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Warner, T. (2003) *Pop Music, Technology and Creativity: Trevor Horn and the Digital Revolution*. Hants: Ashgate.
- Warnock, R. B. (1976) 'Longitudinal Recording of Digital Audio', *55th Convention of the Audio Engineering Society*, October 29–November 1, New York, United States.

- Washburne, C. J. and Maiken, D. (eds.) (2004) *Bad Music: The Music We Love to Hate*. New York: Routledge.
- Washburne, C. J. (2004) 'Does Kenny G Play Bad Jazz? A Case Study'. In: Washburne, C. J. and Maiken, D. (eds.) (2004) *Bad Music: The Music We Love to Hate*. New York: Routledge, pp.123-147.
- Watrous, P. (1995) 'JAZZ VIEW; A Jazz Generation and the Miles Davis Curse', *New York Times*, October 15 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/OGcSx> (Accessed: March 14, 2009).
- Watrous, P. (1997) 'Radio Stations Enjoy Rising Ratings as Music Purist Fume', *New York Times*, June 5 [Online]. Available from: <http://bit.ly/Unk6h> (Accessed: February 28, 2009).
- Wayte, L. A. (2007) *Bitches Brood: The Progeny of Miles Davis's Bitches Brew and the Sound of Jazz-Rock*, Ph.D thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Weissman, D. and Jermance, F. (eds.) (2003) *Navigating the Music Industry: Current Issues and Business Models*. Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard.
- Whitburn, J. (2002) *Top Adult Contemporary: 1961-2001*. Wisconsin: Record Research.
- Whitehead, K. (1993) 'It's Jazz, Stupid', *Village Voice Jazz Special*, November 23, page numbers unavailable.
- Williams, M. (1970) *The Jazz Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, M. (1973) *Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc.
- Williams, M. (1993) *The Jazz Tradition*. 2nd revised ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Willis, A. (1995) 'Bronfman Sells DuPont', *Maclean's*, April 17, page numbers unavailable.
- Wilson, B. and Gold, T. (1996) *Wouldn't It Be Nice: My Own Story*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Wilson-Smith, A. (1998) 'Seagram's Shift in Direction', *Maclean's*, November 16, page numbers unavailable.
- Wolff, J. (1993) *The Social Production of Art*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.
- Wright, J. L. (ed.) (1992) *Possible Dreams: Enthusiasm for Technology in America*. Michigan: Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

Zimmerman, D. (1991) 'Adult Top 40 Makes Waves in Radio', *USA Today*, April 1, page numbers unavailable.

Zrzavy, H. C. (1990) 'Issues of Incoherence and Cohesion in New Age Music', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 24 (2), pp.33-53.

Video

GRP All-Stars Live from the Record Plant (1985). Concert film. DVD (1999). Directed by Stanley Dorfman. California: Eagle Rock Entertainment.

Jazz (2001). Documentary film. DVD. Directed by Ken Burns. London: DD Video.

Ken Burns and Wynton Marsalis Roundtable Discussion (2001). Charlie Rose Show. Television broadcast. January 8. New York: PBS Network. Available from: <http://bit.ly/yMhUT> (Accessed: March 13, 2009).

Legends of Jazz with Ramsey Lewis (2006). Television series. DVD. PBS Network. Chicago: LRSmedia.

Standing in the Shadows of Motown (2002). Documentary film. DVD. Directed by Paul Justman. California: Artisan Entertainment.

Appendix

List of Interviews

Michael Abene

Composer, arranger, keyboard player, and record producer. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: July 17, 2006.

Alex Acuña

Jazz drummer and percussionist. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: June 2, 2005.

Robby Ameen

Drummer. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: February 20, 2004.

Morgan Ames

Composer, singer, jazz vocal arranger and producer. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: April 5, 2005.

Carl Anderson

Singer, film and theatre actor. Email questionnaire interview: September 28, 2002.

Kent Anderson

Mid-West Regional Sales Manager and National Director of Sales for GRP Records. Email questionnaire interview: August 22, 2002.

Hiroshi Aono

Product manager for GRP Records at JVC, Japan. Recorded telephone interview. Tokyo, Japan: July 11, 2006.

Andy Baltimore

Vice President of Creative Services at GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: September 16, 2002.

Dennis Bell

Pianist, producer, arranger, conductor and music educator. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: September 12, 2005.

David Benoit

Pianist, composer and conductor. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: August 16, 2006.

Tom Biondo

Freelance photographer for Arista/GRP. Personal email communication: April 7, 2005.

Don Blackman

Keyboardist, singer and composer. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: June 12, 2004.

Michael Bloom

Director of Publicity for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: April 15, 2004.

Jules Bloomenthal

Engineer and Director of Recording Services for Soundstream Inc. Email questionnaire interview: September 14, 2002. Recorded telephone interview. Seattle, United States: July 20, 2007. Numerous personal communications.

Chris Boog

Label Manager for GRP Records at MCA, Holland. Recorded telephone interview. Holland, Netherlands: July 5, 2006.

Randy Brecker

Trumpeter and flugelhornist. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: March 30, 2004.

Cara Bridgins

Director of Production Administration for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: June 2, 2005.

Christine Brodie

Vice President Affiliate Relations for Broadcast Architecture. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: June 22, 2007.

Bobby Broom

Guitarist. Recorded telephone interview. Chicago, United States: March 27, 2005.

Dean Brown

Guitarist. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: February 11, 2004.

Gary Burton

Vibraphonist. Email questionnaire interview: August 7, 2002.

Jason Byrne

Director of International Marketing for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: June 22, 2005.

Ken Caillat

Recording engineer and record producer. Personal email communication: June 21, 2007.

Francisco Centeno

Bassist. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: March 13, 2004.

Kathe Charas

Accounting, international marketing and product management for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interviews. New Jersey, United States: March 29, 2005 and May 30, 2005. Numerous personal communications.

Frank Cody

Co-founder of Broadcast Architecture. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: February 21, 2008.

Ollie Cotton

Recording engineer. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: March 28, 2005.

Stewart Coxhead

Manager of Acoustic Alchemy. Recorded telephone interview. Leeds, United Kingdom: February 17, 2004.

Eddie Daniels

Clarinetist. Recorded telephone interview. New Mexico, United States: March 19, 2005.

Sydney Davis

Digital editor for Soundstream Inc. Recorded telephone interview. New Mexico, United States: February 29, 2004.

Jon Diamond

Financial advisor and silent partner in GRP. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: March 29, 2005.

Anne Donnelly-Florio

Director of Advertising for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: June 8, 2005.

Mark Egan

Bassist. Email questionnaire interview: February 25, 2004.

Rich Feldman

Digital recorder operator for Soundstream Inc. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: July 4, 2007. Numerous personal communications.

Russell Ferrante

Pianist and founder of the group Yellowjackets. Email questionnaire interview: February 23, 2004.

Sheryl Feuerstein

Freelance publicist for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: May 24, 2005.

Jim Fishel

Director of International Operations for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Virginia, United States: June 14, 2005.

Steve Forman

Percussionist. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: March 28, 2005.

Russ Freeman

Guitarist, composer with The Rippingtons and co-founder of Peak Records. Email questionnaire interview: August 10, 2002.

Steve Gadd

Drummer. Recorded telephone interview. Massachusetts, United States: June 8, 2005.

Tom Glagow

Product Manager for GRP Records at MCA, Germany. Recorded telephone interview. Munich, Germany: March 28, 2006.

Josiah Gluck

Chief Engineer and Technical Director for GRP Records. Email questionnaire interview: September 18, 2002. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: March 13, 2005.

Lincoln Goines

Bassist. Email questionnaire interview: February 22, 2004.

Carl Griffin

Vice President of A&R for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New Jersey, United States: April 7, 2004.

Dave Grusin

Pianist, composer, Co-Founder and Executive Vice President of GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New Mexico, United States: March 20, 2006.

Don Grusin

Pianist and producer. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: March 7, 2006.

Frank Hendricks

Director of Marketing for Europe and Vice President International (UK) for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New Jersey, United States: June 12, 2005.

Deborah Henson-Conant

Harpist and composer. Recorded telephone interview. Massachusetts, United States: August 16, 2006.

Taeko Hishinuma

Concert promoter for Kambara Music, Japan. Recorded telephone interview. Yokohama, Japan: July 31, 2006.

Jay Hoggard

Vibraphonist. Recorded telephone interview. Connecticut, United States: May 31, 2005.

Bob James

Pianist, composer and arranger. Email questionnaire interview: February 20, 2004.

Scott Jarrett

Guitarist, singer and songwriter. Recorded telephone interview. Minneapolis, United States: July 28, 2007.

Blue Johnson

Tour manager for Lee Ritenour and Seawind. Email questionnaire interview: April 9, 2004.

Tom Jung

Producer, engineer and CEO of DMP Records. Email questionnaire interview: July 20, 2007.

Bud Katzel

Senior Vice President of Sales for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Santa Rosa, California, United States: September 3, 2002.

Brian Kelleher

Senior Vice President of Operations for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New Jersey, United States: May 31, 2005.

Allen Kepler

President of Broadcast Architecture. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: February 11, 2008.

Steve Khan

Guitarist. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: May 30, 2005.

Alison King

Advertising for GRP Records. Email questionnaire interview: June 17, 2005.

Earl Klugh

Guitarist. Recorded telephone interview. Georgia, United States: April 18, 2005.

Abraham Laboriel

Bassist. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: April 5, 2005.

Mike Landy

Head Recording Engineer for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New Jersey, United States: June 7, 2005.

Michelle Lewis

Production Coordinator for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: April 10, 2004.

Deborah Lewow

Director of National Radio Promotion for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Georgia, United States: February 26, 2004.

Erica Linderholm

Director of National Radio Promotion in Special Markets for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: March 19, 2005.

Ivan Lins

Keyboardist, singer, songwriter. Recorded telephone interview. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: August 9, 2006.

Tommy LiPuma

Chairman Emeritus of the Verve Music Group. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: July 18, 2006.

Tom MacCluskey

Digital editor for Soundstream Inc. Recorded telephone interview. Colorado, United States: March 26, 2004. Numerous personal communications.

Branford Marsalis

Saxophonist. Recorded telephone interview. Derby, United Kingdom: February 18, 2004.

Elaine Martone

Executive Vice President of Production and Senior Record Producer for Telarc Records. Personal email communication: July 18, 2007.

Harvey Mason

Drummer. Email questionnaire interview: August 14, 2002.

Geoff Mayfield

Director of Charts and Senior Analyst at *Billboard*. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: March 26, 2004.

Darmon Meader

Vocalist with New York Voices. Email questionnaire interview: August 9, 2002.

Roy Mendl

Freelance designer, Trella/Mendl Design Group. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: May 24, 2005.

Marcus Miller

Bassist and producer. Email questionnaire interview: August 5, 2002. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: September 7, 2005.

Chieli Minucci

Guitarist, composer, producer with Special EFX. Email questionnaire interview: February 13, 2004.

Joseph Moore

Production Coordinator for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Texas, United States: May 30, 2005.

Don Murray

Recording engineer. Recorded telephone interview. California, United States: April 13, 2005.

Ginny Pallante

Executive Assistant to the President of GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: March 30, 2004.

Phil Perry

Singer. Recorded telephone interview. California, United States: April 5, 2005.

Michael Pollard

Director of Production Administration for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New Jersey, United States: June 20, 2005.

Freddie Ravel

Pianist and producer. Email questionnaire interview: August 6, 2002.

Tony Remy

Guitarist. Recorded telephone interview. London, United Kingdom: June 13, 2005.

Lee Ritenour

Guitarist, composer and producer. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: May 18, 2005.

Larry Rosen

Co-Founder, President and Chairman Emeritus of GRP Records. Recorded telephone interviews. New Jersey, United States: August 20, 2002 and June 12, 2005. Numerous personal communications.

Bruce Rothaar

Electrical engineer for Soundstream Inc. Email questionnaire interview: March 16, 2004.

Sergio Salvatore

Pianist. Email questionnaire interview: August 6, 2002.

Dave Samuels

Vibraphonist with Spyro Gyra. Email questionnaire interview: March 6, 2004.

Doug Sax

Mastering engineer. Personal email communication: March 7, 2004.

Judy Schiller

Freelance photographer. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: May 30, 2005.

Dianne Schuur

Singer and pianist. Recorded telephone interview. California, United States: March 27, 2004.

Suzanne Sherman

Production Coordinator and Director of Production for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Connecticut, United States: June 6, 2005.

Roger Squitiero

Percussionist. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: July 10, 2006.

Bruce Swedien

Recording engineer. Personal email communication: August 25, 2007.

Billy Taylor

Pianist, composer and educator. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: August 9, 2006.

Deborah Trella

Freelance designer, Trella/Mendl Design Group. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: May 24, 2005.

Dave Valentin

Flautist. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: March 28, 2005.

Ernie Watts

Saxophonist. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: April 18, 2005.

Jeff Weber

Record producer. Recorded telephone interview. California, United States: April 10, 2005.

Kurt Weil

Director of European Distribution for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Zürich, Switzerland: March 28, 2006.

Mark Wexler

Senior Vice President of Marketing for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New Jersey, United States: September 11, 2002.

Doug Wilkins

Vice President of Jazz Promotion for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. New Jersey, United States: June 13, 2005.

Eddie Wilkinson

UK distributor for GRP Records. Recorded telephone interview. Kent, United Kingdom: July 19, 2005.

Buddy Williams

Drummer. Recorded telephone interview. New York, United States: May 7, 2004.

Larry Williams

Keyboardist and saxophonist. Recorded telephone interview. Los Angeles, United States: February 19, 2004.

Sherry Winston

National Director of Jazz Promotion for Arista Records. Recorded telephone interview. Connecticut, United States: May 31, 2005.

Jim Wolvington

Digital editor for Soundstream Inc. Email questionnaire interview: March 3, 2004.

Robert Woods

President of Telarc Records. Personal email communication: July 18, 2007.

Bernard Wright

Keyboardist. Recorded telephone interview. Texas, United States: April 13, 2005.