The Politics and Practice of "Crossover" in American Popular Music, 1963 to 1965

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Between February 1987 and October 1990, a series of front-page *Billboard* headlines announced a recurring preoccupation with the terminology used to classify popular music associated with African Americans: "Hot 30 Crossover Chart Tracks New Breed of Radio"; "Trade Debates Black Terminology: Does 'African-American' Strike a Musical Note?"; and "*Billboard* Adopts 'R&B' as New Name for 2 Charts."[1] That *Billboard,* the leading publication of the music industry, should struggle repeatedly with this terminology suggests that the topic is controversial, perhaps even politically charged.

When we examine the history of *Billboard's* popularity charts, we discover that this particular preoccupation is nothing new. Since the first chart for African-American popular music appeared in 1942, the boundaries between "mainstream" popular music and what *Billboard* now calls "R&B" have shifted constantly and been highly contested. *Billboard* has rarely clarified the precise reasons for these shifts, yet a close reading of this trade journal permits us to identify the forces contesting the boundaries: in conflict here are the interests of the music industry (including the record companies, radio stations, retailers, club owners, and music publishers), racial ideologies permeating the society at large, certain preconceptions about what constitutes "African-American music," and the never wholly predictable aspects of audience taste.

This article examines a particularly turbulent period in the relationship (or nonrelationship) between the R&B and pop charts, a period extending from November 1963 to December 1965. Within this period, from 23 November 1963 to 30 January 1965, sixty-two issues of *Billboard* were published that did not include a R&B chart. Immediately after the R&B chart's reinstatement, R&B songs with an unprecedented stylistic range began to "crossover" to the pop charts;

by "crossing over," I mean that these songs were listed on the pop charts following an initial period of success on the R&B charts. This article will speculate on the reasons for the R&B chart's disappearance and subsequent reappearance, examine correlations between musical style and success on the R&B and pop charts for several songs during 1965, and suggest that these phenomena are linked by *Billboard*'s (and by implication, the popular music industry's) attitude toward R&B music. But before delving into a detailed study of this two-year period, I will examine how popularity charts such as those featured in *Billboard* present their information and convey a sense of authority. This will give us a framework with which to understand the sometimes irrational operations of the charts, operations that often cannot be explained by cause-and-effect analyses. We will also look at the history of the term "crossover" in order better to appreciate the exceptional nature of the period to be studied later in the article.

Charting Popularity

To open a copy of *Billboard* is to enter a space dominated by charts, numbers, hierarchies, predictions, and speculations. Accompanying these numerically organized lists are brief articles that describe the charts in terms of the trends, the surprises, and the legal battles of companies in the music industry, creating a narrative that accompanies the information paradigmatically arranged in the charts. The charts themselves contain a syntagmatic dimension as they display a song's position relative to its position in the previous three weeks; the articles attempt to explain both paradigmatic and syntagmatic dimensions of the charts, to elaborate what the numbers imply. In addition, ads for products related to the recording industry occupy almost half of the total space of the magazine, and the charts and articles also function as free advertising for the same products. This all makes a certain kind of sense, since the putative audience for *Billboard* consists of record shop retailers, radio personnel, jukebox operators, and others who are trying to maximize their profits in dealing with recorded products in one form or another.[2] In this respect, industry publications such as *Billboard* function similarly to commercial radio and MTV, in which advertisements alternate with the playing of recordings and videos, which are in turn intended to stimulate sales of recordings.

The emphasis on numeracy in the charts, on paradigmatic hierarchies and syntagmatic narratives, finds echoes in other aspects of mass culture, most prominently in business and sports. As in sports, the emphasis on statisticity may explain the interest of the charts for

consumers; but the pop charts tell a story with information that is more clearly directed toward retailers.[3] Numbers have had the ability to confer legitimacy on media events since at least the 1830s, when numerically based accounts of "disease, madness, and the state of the threatening underworld . . . created a morbid and fearful fascination for numbers upon which the bureaucracies fed."[4] Numeracy and the marshaling of quantitative "facts" can become a means of legitimating information by distancing the "facts" from the background practices that make them possible. *Billboard* presents the world of popular music as if all products were created equal, distinguished solely by their "popularity," but never acknowledges that not all products have equal access to this particular form of popularity.[5] This is illustrated by the oft-cited circularity of the charts: the "Hot 100" list (of the one hundred most popular songs) is supposedly based on a combination of radio play and record sales, although *Billboard* has never explicitly revealed the way in which these factors influence the charts. Yet radio play directly *influences* record sales and *is in turn based on* record sales or "promotional pitches" from record companies (as well as the "taste" of disc jockeys, particularly prior to 1970).[6] The numeracy of the charts creates additional illusions of equivalence, found most prominently in the taxonomies of Joel Whitburn (author of *Pop Memories, 1890–1954, Top 40 Albums, USA Top 1000 Singles, Top Rhythm and Blues Singles, 1942–1988,* and many more), where we can find direct comparisons of songs and musicians widely separated in time, content, and sound based solely on their representation in the charts.[7]

However, the numeracy of the charts as presented in *Billboard* may only partly explain the fascination they hold for consumers. The fact that *Your Hit Parade* quickly became one of the most listened-to radio shows in the United States upon its inception in 1935 illustrates the immediate appeal of the public ranking of the popularity of songs.[8] This may be because the charts perform a kind of self-citation similar to that of the public opinion poll (which, judging from the success of *USA Today,* also exerts a powerful hold on the public imagination): opinion surveys allow citizens to assume that others believe what they can not believe themselves.[9]

The history of the charts can also be told as a story of increasing surveillance of the population, of increasing differentiation of the market as it is divided into an ever finer grid.[10] From one chart in 1939, to three in 1943, to the thirty-two charts that vie for our attention today, the charts, combined with radio audience surveys, continue to refine the apparatus with which they monitor and inform consumers' taste. Against this overall movement, the years 1964–65

(during which the number of charts momentarily *decreased*) appear exceptional, to say the least.

The Topography of Crossover

The term "crossover" has its own curious history, and it—as well as the term "popularity"—has served as a sign in ideological debates. Some see the idea of crossover as utopian, a metaphor for integration, upward mobility, and ever-greater acceptance of marginalized groups by the larger society.[11] Others see it as an inevitable result of dividing and hierarchizing musical style and audiences: after all, a mainstream can define itself only in relation to the margins.[12] Put another way, the term "crossover" implies that there must be discrete boundaries between musical styles, for a recording can only "cross over" when one style is clearly demarcated from another. However, the act of dividing and hierarchizing musical styles and audiences is never innocent or natural (and the fact that it is unstable attests to this): some stand to benefit from the way the hierarchy is constructed while others will lose out.

Since the 1920s, the recording industry has organized the popular music field around divisions, initially "popular," "race," and "hillbilly," each supposedly referring to a distinct musical style with its own audience. From the first appearance of multiple popularity charts, which produced a representation of musical and audience categories corresponding to the divisions of the musical field, the term "crossover" has usually referred to a song crossing over from one of the "marginal" (race or hillbilly) charts to the mainstream (the reverse has been somewhat rarer). It must be pointed out that publications such as *Billboard* added the marginal charts only reluctantly, adding first a "Hillbilly" chart in 1939 (for jukebox play) and then the "Harlem Hit Parade" in 1942. At this point the mainstream consisted of swing: Tin Pan Alley–type songs recorded by big bands, solo singers, or vocal groups, the vast majority of them white. A number of mechanisms held this mainstream in place, most prominently the dominance of the publishing rights organization ASCAP.[13] The assumed mainstream pop audience was northern, urban, middle or upper class, and also white. The charts for the marginal musics also assumed an audience—African American for race and R&B, rural southern white for hillbilly, folk, and country and western (as these charts were variously designated during the 1940s). These charts tended to function as testing grounds that might reveal an extraordinarily popular song in those markets; by the 1950s, these testing grounds had become increasingly

useful in determining which songs might have broad enough appeal to cross over to the mainstream.

This tripartite configuration of pop, R&B, and country makes obvious generalizations about audiences based on ethnicity, class, and geographical location and equates these audiences with a specific type of music; these generalizations are difficult to verify but nonetheless generate an ideology that radio stations, record shops, and industry publications can then propagate. A formulation such as this tends to reify both audiences and music in an attempt to create a maximally profitable and predictable formula. That these categories were necessarily more fluid than many would have liked is reflected by the many stories expressed in alarming tones in *Billboard* and other entertainment publications as yet another new trend emerges that does not fit the preset categories; these trends tend to initiate periods in which the major companies then scramble to incorporate or diffuse the trend, producing the well-known "indies-majors" alternation model found in some histories of pop music.[14] It was the unexpected popularity of both R&B and C&W that led to the creation of the new charts (which assumed their modern form in 1949), despite prolonged disbelief and resistance on the part of the New York–centered industry toward recognizing the economic importance of these musics; and because economic importance equals aesthetic importance in the world of the charts, this recognition included admitting these musics' implicit value.[15] We find in *Billboard* a representation of society—a society in which races, classes, and "markets" are separate but by no means equal.

The Disappearance: 23 November 1963 to 30 January 1965

As stated earlier, on 23 November 1963, for the first time in twenty-one years, *Billboard* did not publish a chart representing the popularity of music associated with African Americans. The reason usually given in histories of the pop charts is that the large number of R&B tunes crossing over in 1963 obviated the need for a separate chart.[16] But observation of the 1963 charts does not support any rigid equation between heightened racial equality and increased integration of the Hot 100: the 23 November 1963 issue of *Billboard* reveals six songs by black artists in the top thirty slots of the Hot 100; oddly enough, the R&B chart includes eleven songs by white artists in its top 30.[17] Racial distinctions between the charts may have been weakening, but not because of the number of songs by African-American artists in the Hot 100.

In addition to the supposed weakening of distinctions between charts, hubris may have contributed to the disappearance of the charts: the music industry, feeling increasingly confident of its ability to predict R&B crossovers, did not perceive African-American audiences as big record buyers and therefore did not consider this audience an important market in itself. The elimination of the chart had real effects on the R&B recording industry, principally by making it more difficult for retailers and radio station program directors to pay attention to records made by African-American artists. This decrease in attention is mirrored by a decrease in the number of top-10 singles by African American artists in the Hot 100, a total that went from 37 in 1963 to 21 in 1964, with a disproportionate reduction in the number of strongly gospel-oriented songs by African-American artists (the degree of gospel influence is often considered one of the primary determinants of R&B style during this period).[18] Because it is likely that this decrease in the number of R&B–oriented hits had a negative impact on the music industry as a whole, we could argue that in January 1965, after over a year without an R&B chart, the music industry reasoned that it was missing out on potential crossovers by not surveying the black audience; the industry's taste in R&B had proved fallible, and consequently, the R&B chart was reinstated.[19] Thereafter, the R&B charts continued to function as they had before: as a trial market for the industry to alert it to which R&B records might sell to the larger audience. The music industry still had little interest in turning African-American performers into stars or in contributing to the success of black-owned record companies: presumably, they only wanted to keep track of a potentially profitable source of novelty.

The Reappearance: 30 January 1965 to 4 December 1965

Upon its reappearance in the 30 January 1965 issue, the R&B chart listed forty songs. Despite (or because of) the reinstatement of the R&B chart, the ways in which *Billboard* represented the different categories of music in the popularity charts continued to imply differences in value. During this period, recordings made by African-American musicians were seen in the pages of *Billboard* as being interchangeable in a way the records of Sonny and Cher (or the Beatles) were not: for example, as soon as the Four Tops' "It's the Same Old Song" appeared on the Hot 100, their previous song, "I Can't Help Myself," faded away. As soon as it became clear that Marvin Gaye's "Pretty Little Baby" would not be a hit, it dropped off the Hot 100. This contrasted sharply with the performance of these songs on the R&B chart, where

both "I Can't Help Myself" and "Pretty Little Baby" lingered far beyond their stay on the Hot 100 (the performance of these songs on the charts is discussed in greater detail below). This pattern in the Hot 100 did not exist for white pop artists, many of whom at that time had several records on the Hot 100 at once and whose records were not therefore immediately displaced by one another. Moreover, record companies presented and continued to present white pop as having a history: entire catalogs are kept in print, even for marginally successful groups, while the works of all but the best-selling black acts are rapidly being deleted.[20]

As mentioned above, the articles in *Billboard* attempt to elaborate what the numbers in the charts imply. The articles during this period mirror the type of differential treatment received by R&B artists in the popularity charts. For example, by June 1965, the latest craze in pop music was "folk rock." *Billboard* made no qualitative (or sonic) distinctions between the different white performers associated with this style, paying prominent attention to a large group of them: an article in the 21 August issue described Sonny and Cher as leading exponents of this new form with their "I Got You Baby" [*sic*] while Bob Dylan was described as a "Columbia artist . . . on the folk-rock kick," who "is also on the charts with 'Like A Rolling Stone'." "Songs with a message," such as Barry McGuire's "Eve of Destruction," Jody Miller's "Home of the Brave," and the latest release by the "reconstituted Highwaymen" were also described as stirring up a furor.[21] What seemed to escape notice were all the contemporaneous R&B songs with somewhat more subtle protest overtones: the Impressions' "People Get Ready" and "Keep on Pushing," written by Curtis Mayfield, Sam Cooke's "A Change Is Gonna Come," James Brown's "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag," Little Milton's "We're Gonna Make It," and Otis Redding's "Respect" (the connotations of protest in the latter are more obvious in Aretha Franklin's 1967 cover).

Not surprisingly, industry attitudes toward the difference between pop and R&B musicians were represented in the *Billboard* articles as well. Jim Stewart, owner of Stax records, came dangerously close to iterating the myth of "natural talent" when he described the "Memphis Sound" as "deriv[ing] from the influence of the uninhibited nature of the Negro in the South. He put into words and music the things that troubled him, the things he enjoyed, to convey not only to others but to himself."[22] In "UK Rock 'n' Rollers Are Called Copycats" (19 June 1965), *Billboard* presented the complaints of an R&B record-store owner, Ray Dobard, who wondered why the British versions of a number of African-American R&B tunes sold so many more

copies than the originals. He charged that the major record companies were spending vast amounts of money promoting these acts. Dobard asked, "How can the British act be unique when they copy the r&b sound of American Negroes?" and observed that "the one differing feature that the British have is their *long hair*" (my emphasis); he then suggested that "Americans can buy wigs to gain that effect" as a response. Due to its insignificant placement, lack of space, and the inclusion of irrelevant (albeit humorous) details, *Billboard* presented this article with an air of faint bemusement that weakened whatever force it may have had as a legitimate critique.

Stranger yet is a rather long article in the 9 October 1965 issue, "R&B Stations Open Airplay Gates to 'Blue-Eyed Soulists.' " The general tenor of this article is that R&B stations are finally becoming more open minded and programming music by white musicians, which the author views as directly related to the increased presence of white disc jockeys on R&B stations. The artists referred to as "blue-eyed soul artists" include "Barry McGuire, Sonny and Cher, Tom Jones, and Sam the Sham and the Pharoahs," all artists with little audible link to the R&B of the time. The article notes that some white Top 40 stations are integrating their staffs, but what is "more interesting" is "the trend toward integration on R&B radio stations." The article labors to assure its readers that "[t]he Negro audience is no longer a specialized 'in' group. Musically, they have grown out of the strictly heavy-accented R&B field limited only to Negro artists." This is "more interesting" because, as the article concludes, "Top 40 stations are playing R&B product, why can't R&B stations play Top 40?" (During the week in question there were three records by "brown-eyed soul" artists in the top 40 of the Hot 100—exactly as many "blue-eyed soul" artists as appeared in the R&B top 40.) This appears to put the blame on the boundaries between pop and R&B on the R&B stations. Yet most of the people interviewed who were associated with R&B radio stations stated that they played records "if we feel it goes with our sound . . . if it has a little bit of soul." A reading of the R&B charts supports this (and although Sonny and Cher and Tom Jones may crack the lower reaches of the R&B charts, Barry McGuire is nowhere to be found—could he lack that "little bit of soul"?). Still, the writer of the article claims that a "dee-jay shouldn't consider what he likes exclusively; he must think of his audience first." This statement implies that R&B disc jockeys are not playing what their audience wants to hear and assumes that the R&B audience wants to hear the same songs as the pop audience. It fails to consider that an audience member probably chooses to listen to one station rather than to

another because of its *difference* from other stations; it also seems unaware of the way in which R&B stations function as trial markets, a function that plays a role in creating the typical crossover pattern. What, indeed, would be the sense of R&B charts and R&B radio stations that played the same songs as the Top 40 stations?

A *Slice of the Charts, May–December 1965*

This section of the article analyzes the performance of five songs during a period of a little over six months of the charts. I selected this particular period to examine because it includes several of the most popular (as represented by the charts) R&B songs of the year and because these songs represent a wide spectrum of R&B musical styles heard during the mid-1960s. Close attention to this period therefore permits us to compare synchronically the treatment in the charts of a diverse group of songs.

At the end of 1965, "I Can't Help Myself," by the Four Tops, was rated the number 1 R&B single and the number 2 pop single of 1965 by *Billboard* in its chart of the one hundred most popular songs of the year. We could thereby award it the honorific of "crossover" song of the year. Table 1 shows the week-by-week rankings of "I Can't Help Myself" in the R&B and pop charts between 15 May and 11 September (the figure in the left-hand column reports week-by-week R&B chart rankings, the figure in the right-hand column the pop chart rankings). Although "I Can't Help Myself" starts off much higher in the R&B chart, by the fourth week it is in the same basic range in both charts, eventually reaching number 1 in both by the sixth week. Although it evidences considerable longevity in both charts, it does fade more rapidly in the pop chart. The rankings for "I Can't Help Myself," though not identical in the two charts, parallel each other fairly closely.

In the same end-of-year polls, Wilson Pickett's "In the Midnight Hour" was ranked the number 2 R&B song of the year but was not listed in the Top 100 pop singles of the year. In contrast to "I Can't Help Myself," then, "In the Midnight Hour" did not display a very high degree of crossover success. Table 1 reveals that "Midnight Hour" gathered momentum in the pop chart only after six weeks of popularity on the R&B chart. While it remained for twenty-three weeks on the R&B chart, its stay on the pop charts was limited to twelve weeks. Only for one week were the positions on the two charts within ten slots of each other (compare this with the performance of "I Can't Help Myself," in which the positions on the two charts were within ten slots of each other for ten weeks); and "Midnight Hour"

Table 1. Comparison of crossover success for five R&B songs, May–Dec. 1965

Title	"I Can't Help Myself"	"In the Midnight Hour"	"Papa's Got a Brand New Bag"	"Tracks of My Tears"	"Pretty Little Baby"
Artist	Four Tops	Wilson Pickett	James Brown	Miracles	Marvin Gaye
	R&B/pop	*R&B/pop*	*R&B/pop*	*R&B/pop*	*R&B/pop*
15 May	29/67				
22 May	6/32				
29 May	2/17				
5 June	1/7				
12 June	1/4				
19 June	1/1				
26 June	1/2	35/-			
3 July	1/1	19/135			
10 July	1/2	12/83		38/103	-/66
17 July	1/2	8/79	39/80	34/81	-/49
24 July	1/3	6/77	30/65	26/61	39/37
31 July	1/6	2/62	13/44	14/51	39/30
7 Aug.	2/9	1/52	4/30	5/37	33/27
14 Aug.	4/35	2/37	1/20	3/30	23/25
21 Aug.	7/-	5/27	1/14	3/23	22/33
28 Aug.	9/-	8/24	1/10	3/19	22/-
4 Sept.	13/-	12/21	1/8	2/16	17/-
11 Sept.	28/-	12/25	1/8	3/20	16/-
18 Sept.		11/39	1/12	4/20	20/-
25 Sept.		9/48	1/28	5/31	29/-
2 Oct.		6/-	1/37	5/46	
9 Oct.		12/-	2/49	8/-	
16 Oct.		15/-	7/-	9/-	
23 Oct.		15/-	10/-	16/-	
30 Oct.		10/-	16/-	23/-	
6 Nov.		12/-	26/-	28/-	
13 Nov.		20/-			
20 Nov.		27/-			
27 Nov.		31/-			
4 Dec.					
Year-end rankings	1/2	2/-	6/33	7/78	-/-

never rose higher than number 21 on the pop chart, although it reached number 1 on the R&B chart. This presents the case of a song that was hugely popular in the R&B market but crossed over only in a fairly limited way. It probably never entered what would nowadays be called "heavy rotation" on the pop stations and thus never received the exposure of a song like "I'm Henry VIII, I Am" by Herman's Hermits, a huge pop hit during the same span.

Several other songs present cases falling in between "I Can't Help Myself" and "In the Midnight Hour." James Brown's "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" is every bit as big an R&B hit as "I Can't Help Myself," but its pop success falls somewhere between "I Can't Help Myself" and "In the Midnight Hour" (see Table 1). Yet another type of pattern is presented by Marvin Gaye's "Pretty Little Baby": it starts off much *higher* in the pop charts than in the R&B charts, peaks at number 25, and then drops off five weeks before it disappears from the R&B chart. It is especially interesting to compare "Pretty Little Baby" to "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" and the Miracles' "Tracks of My Tears," all of which entered the charts on 10 July. While "Pretty Little Baby" did not end up being anywhere near the hits that "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" and "Tracks of My Tears" were—a fact that was never in doubt if one followed the R&B charts—it initially had much more of the appearance of a hit in the pop charts, remaining ahead of the other two songs for five weeks. This probably meant it received more initial exposure on Top 40 radio and therefore stood a better chance of becoming a pop hit.

What could account for the discrepancies between the treatment of these three songs? Both "Tracks" and "Pretty Little Baby" were released by Motown, so company affiliation could not account for the difference. The difference may lie in the different expectations that the industry had for the songs: Gaye's previous two songs ("How Sweet It Is to Be Loved by You," and "I'll Be Doggone") had been top-10 pop hits, whereas Pickett had only placed one song as high as number 49, and that had occurred two years earlier; Brown had not released a single for a year since "Out of Sight," which had been a modest pop hit; and the highest spot for the Miracles' last four singles had been number 16. A similar set of expectations does not seem to have affected the performance of the songs on the R&B chart, where initial placement and movement in the chart corresponds to the peak popularity of the songs. This suggests the role initial beliefs and expectations about a R&B artist could play in a song's crossover success and the effect these beliefs could have on (initial) airplay.

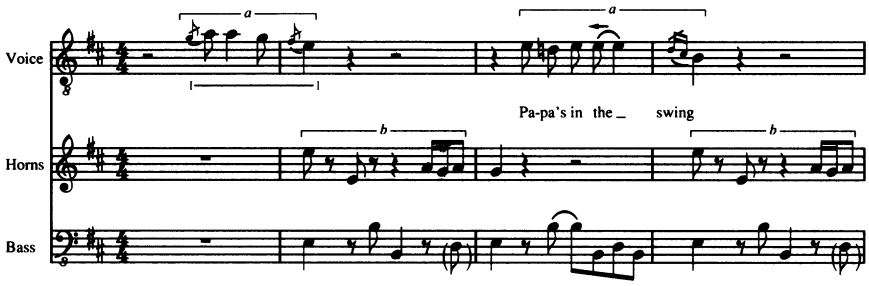
Let us now examine the sound of these songs for correlations to these observations. This may tell us whether the music industry had some notion of "African-American" music that influenced how these songs were promoted. As pointed out above, the expectations of the industry affected the amount of media attention a song would receive. However, to some extent these expectations and the resultant chart performance of a song correspond to the presence or absence of traits that many writers have identified with African-American musical styles of this period, derived in particular from gospel music and including elements of performance influenced by African-American preaching.[23] I will compare several elements: (1) the type of phrase structure employed and its relationship to harmony and melody; (2) the degree to which emphasis is placed either on the overall arrangement or on the variative procedures of a lead voice or instrument; (3) the degree and type of repetition used in the instrumental parts; (4) the timbral character of the voice; (5) instrumentation; and (6) the subject matter of the lyrics. Of course, there are songs that contradict any attempt to posit an essential musical "blackness" or "whiteness," but I think we can understand the grid through which I am examining these musical elements as a set of general tendencies which are associated discursively with a range of style labels.

Where do the songs mentioned earlier fall into these classificatory schemtaa? "I Can't Help Myself," as "crossover song of the year," reveals its basis in R&B through its vocal timbre, call-and-response technique, overall rhythmic feel, and insistently repeating instrumental riffs; and the use of the baritone sax harks back to R&B styles in instrumentation of the 1940s and 1950s. The voice also makes sparing use of melisma, paralinguistic effects, melodic variation, and pitch inflection. Its does include more than a nod to pop style, as we might expect from a product emanating from Motown, the subsidiary label of which, Tamla, was named by owner Berry Gordy after "Tammy," a song made popular by Debbie Reynolds; these nods include a complex formal arrangement, fairly limited extemporization by the lead vocalist, the use of closed periodic phrase structure and functional harmony, and the use of Western orchestral instruments. The eight-measure phrase structure repeats a great deal, yet this does not serve as a basis for constant variation by the lead singer, nor are the extemporizations of the singer the focus of the song; rather, the focus falls on the overall sound of the song and on the hook, which emphasizes the words of the title in the consequent part of its antecedent-consequent phrase structure.[24]

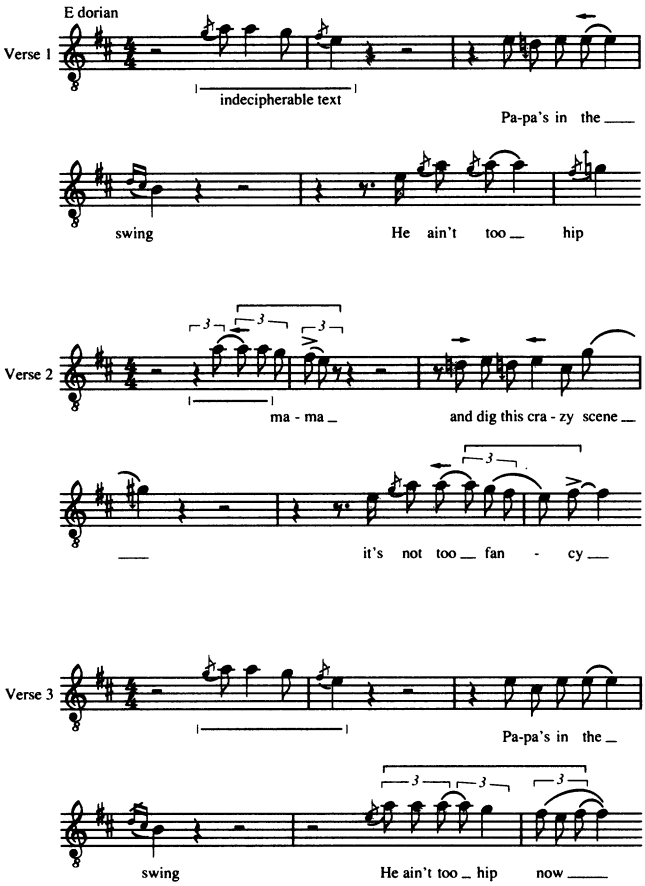
"In the Midnight Hour," as "non-crossover hit of the year," emphasizes musical conventions rather different from those found in "I Can't Help Myself." By comparison, "In the Midnight Hour" makes more explicit its connections to gospel and blues in almost every category. The vocal is harsher and makes more use of paralinguistic grunts and groans; the timbral variety is wider; and perhaps most importantly, the phrasing is more open ended, the first eight measures being based on a rifflike pattern. This throws the focus onto the singer's variations, which include a wide range of vocal techniques to convey a sense of emotional engagement. The result is one we would expect: the song that crosses over less has more audible links to "standards and aesthetics understood by the black community."[25] This is true of the lyrics as well: while "I Can't Help Myself" presents a typical (albeit clever) pop narrative of a jilted lover pleading with the object of his desire, the protagonist of "In the Midnight Hour" makes it clear that he can indeed "help himself," presenting a grown-up approach to physical love that suggests another possible factor in its failure to cross over. But the comparison of these two songs can only take us so far, for how can it explain the fact that James Brown's "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" experienced greater crossover success than Wilson Pickett's song?

"Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" emphasizes the variative technique of the lead singer and the rifflike repetitions of the band even more than "In the Midnight Hour." The "brand new bag" here is musical as well as social: the spare instrumental parts combined with the extreme complexity of their interlocking accents made the song Brown's first studio recording to imply so strongly the style that would become known as "funk"; meanwhile, the song's title was heard by many at the time as a reference to the civil rights movement.[26] Example 1 shows the way in which voice, horns, and bass all occupy their own rhythmic space, creating a variety of call-and-response effects, most noticeably between voice and horns. While the horns play a one-measure pattern and the bass a two-measure pattern, both coinciding with the bar lines, the vocal calls begin and end in the middle of measures. Both "Brand New Bag" and "Midnight Hour" use phrases that contrast harmonically with the stable riff passages; however, these contrasting phrases derive from blues phrasing patterns and as such are not based on the "hierarchical patterns" of Tin Pan Alley pop. As always, the impact of short, insistent riffs is to "challenge any 'narrative' functionality attaching to chord patterns."[27]

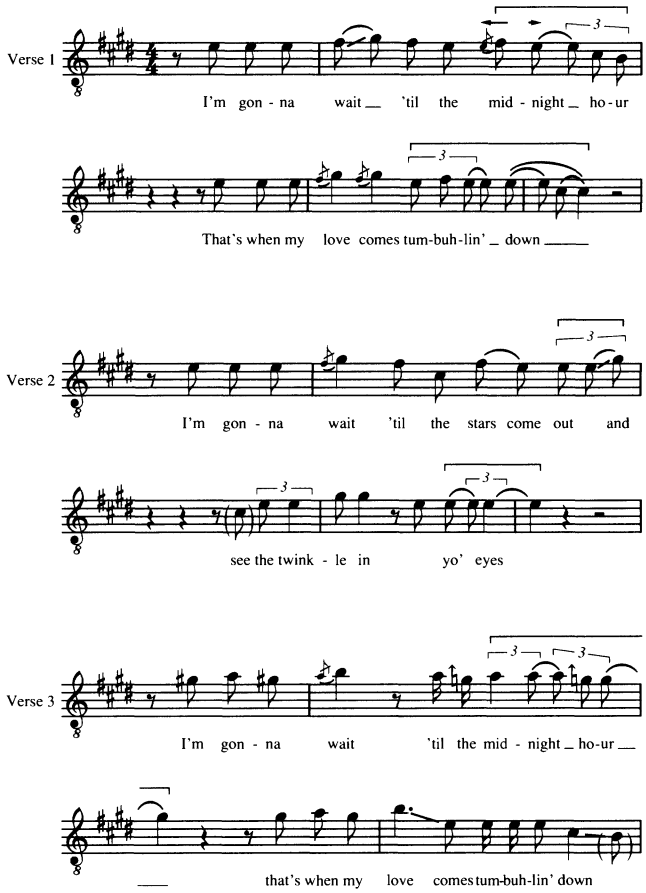
Examples 2, 3, and 4 compare the opening four measures of the first three verses of "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag," "In the Midnight



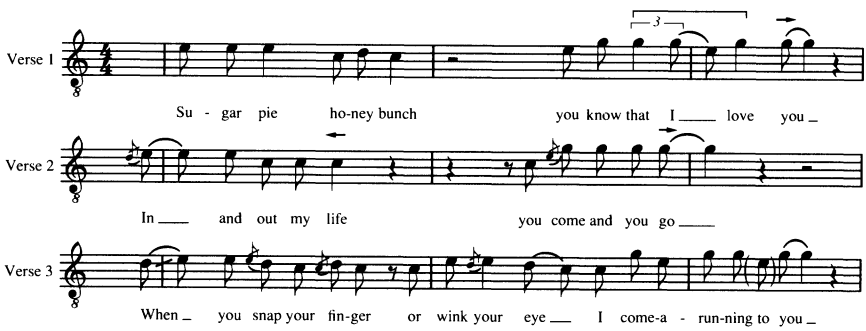
Example 1. "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag": call and response between voice and horns (Transcription by David Brackett)



Example 2. "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag": a comparison of the first four measures of the vocal line in verses 1–3 (Transcription by David Brackett)



Example 3. "In the Midnight Hour": a comparison of the first four measures of the vocal line in verses 1–3 (Transcription by David Brackett)



Example 4. "I Can't Help Myself": a comparison of the first four measures of the vocal line in verses 1–3 (Transcription by David Brackett)

Hour," and "I Can't Help Myself." Examples 2 and 3 demonstrate how Brown and Pickett superimpose at key moments (usually over the bar lines) an implied meter based on an approximate triple subdivision of the pulse articulated by complex internal accents (these passages are marked by brackets), a device Levi Stubbs, the lead singer of the Four Tops, only hints at once (shown in Ex. 4).[28] The examples also indicate that Brown and Pickett use microtonal inflection, particularly of the third scale degree, much more than Stubbs. The passages with triple subdivision are the passages that best illustrate the inadequacy of Western notation in representing the rhythmic play of these performers; this notation can only approximate where the voice's pitches lie in relation to the underlying pulse. In these passages, the effect is that of the voice disengaging from the beat. In most of the cases, this play results in eliding an accent on beat one, the normative downbeat and the most strongly accented beat in most Western music.

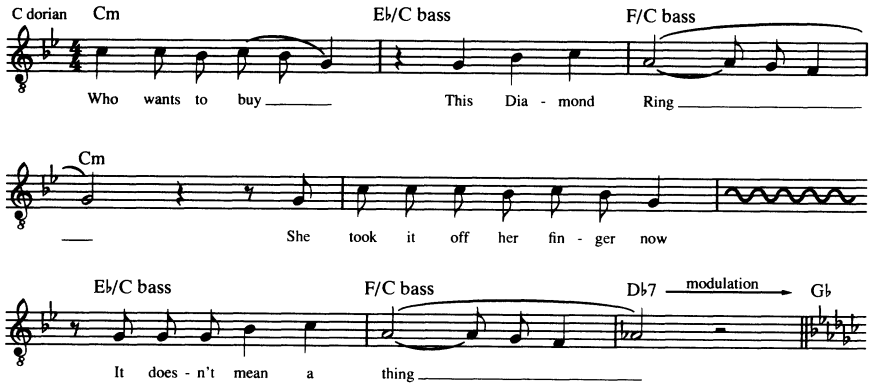
In terms of subject matter, Brown's words do not convey a narrative but rather, in their exhortations to the implied listeners to dance, invoke a participatory aesthetic in a way the other songs do not; in a sense, the words conjure up an imaginary audience to respond to the song. Brown recounts that he knew he had a take when he looked around the studio during playback and noticed that everybody was dancing.[29] Yet if we interpret this as meaning that "Brand New Bag" is further from pop conventions than the other songs discussed in this article, then this song should have crossed over less than the other songs surveyed if there were a strict correlation between style and pop success. Since this is not the case, what could account for "Papa's" greater success in the pop charts than, say, "Midnight Hour"? One possibility is that while "Midnight Hour" had great longevity in the R&B chart, its performance in the charts suggested a steady sales pattern (assuming that the charts have any correlation to sales) rather than a sudden explosion.[30] Thus it was less likely than "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag"—with its rapid ascent up the R&B chart—to attract attention as a possible crossover. James Brown had experienced a few minor pop hits before this time, while Wilson Pickett had not, so expectations differed for the two artists as well. But however much we try to explain the discrepancies between the sojourns of the two songs in the charts, some aspects of their treatment manage to evade the analysis of external evidence.

Let me expand on that last point: a close reading of *Billboard*'s charts and articles reveals no discernible cause-and-effect mechanism as to the succession of pop styles, no consistent correlation between style and popularity, between R&B success and the degree of crossover

success. But when "soul" songs that had proved popular in the black community received exposure on Top 40 radio, they *did* sell to a broader audience, even if the songs conceded little to pop style (and some songs, such as "Midnight Hour," have subsequently become so popular as to be enshrined in the canon of "classic rock"). I have examined the relationship between musical style, other factors that influence chart performance, and the degree of crossover success in the cases of three R&B tunes. In order to better understand the difference between *Billboard*'s (and the music industry's) treatment of these songs and a successful non–R&B song of the period, let us examine the case history of a nonpareil exemplar of what Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo call "schlock rock."[31] This will also give us a better idea of how nonmusical factors can affect the popularity of a song.

"This Diamond Ring" by Gary Lewis and the Playboys, a huge pop hit of 1965, illustrates how arbitrary the star-making process could be. Except for using combo instrumentation, a basic rock beat, and somewhat modal inflections in the harmony and melody, this song closely resembles an easy listening–type song, displaying little affinity with contemporaneous R&B style: it contains a chorus that features clearly functional harmony accompanied by closed phrase structure, a minimum either of instrumental riffing or of melodic variation on the part of the lead singer, and little of the rhythmic play found in "Midnight Hour" or "Brand New Bag" (see Ex. 5). Instrumentally, the verse features timpani, an instrument rarely found in any R&B song, while the arrangement uses other "novelty" percussion instruments throughout the piece.[32] The lyrics, which belong to the genre of puppy-love songs, in which a youthful suitor wallows in self-pity, clearly reside in a different part of the emotional spectrum from "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" and "In the Midnight Hour." The transition between verse and chorus contains a modulation of a type I have not yet found in any R&B song of the period (see Ex. 5). In addition to its distance from gospel or blues singing, the vocal timbre lacks the full sound used by many Tin Pan Alley crooners; in fact, the adenoidal sound could only be made either by someone with little or no vocal training in any style or by someone affecting an amateurish technique. But the vocal does have a strange, otherworldly quality not wholly attributable to the singer's youth or inexperience. John Morthland explains the curious genesis of this song:

> Producer Snuff Garrett . . . signed Gary Lewis and the Playboys simply because he lived two doors down from Jerry Lewis in Bel Air and was intrigued by the idea of breaking a group fronted by the child of a celebrity. He moved Gary from drums to vocals, but the boy's voice



Example 5. "This Diamond Ring": first verse and modulation (Transcription by David Brackett)

> made it onto "This Diamond Ring" only after it had been well reinforced by the overdubbed voice of one Ron Hicklin. Similarly, the Playboys didn't play on the song.[33]

Simulation is piled upon simulation: a song "recorded" by a group who does not play on it, who did not write it, with a lead singer who is barely present on it. One's head spins in search of the original in this instance of artistic production. Yet this was a megahit, ranking higher (no. 17) in year-end polls than all but three R&B songs; and Gary Lewis was rated number 8 in the "Top Singles Artist of 1965," topping all R&B artists except the Supremes.

James Brown himself comments on the absurdity of the pop process from the perspective of an African-American R&B performer. Brown's performance in November 1964 on the T.A.M.I. (Teenage Awards Music International) show has been often remarked upon; it documents his unadultered debt to gospel music and preaching styles as well as any other recording of his career. The moment when he engages the mostly white teenage audience in a call-and-response in the middle of "Night Train" is one of the few moments in the entire film in which the audience reacts directly to a musical gesture; much of the audience's response in the remainder of the film consists of nonstop, undifferentiated screaming cued as much by the go-go dancers as by the musicians. Also on the program was schlock-rock star Lesley Gore. This is how Brown described his reaction to her:

> A funny thing happened when the actual show went on. Lesley Gore went out and did two songs. When she came off, a bunch of people crowded around asking for her autograph. Then this older lady—I

> didn't know if it was her mother, her keeper, or whoever—said, "Oh, no don't bother her, don't bother her. She's tired now. Wait until she rests." We had already been out there and nearly killed ourselves twice already, and she hadn't even done any rehearsals. When the lady said that, we all looked at each other and said, "There must be something we don't know."[34]

Despite the protestations of incomprehension in the last sentence, this incident must have resembled many other events in Brown's career. The difference between the treatment of Gore and Brown at the T.A.M.I. show mirrored in many respects the difference in the attitude of the larger music industry toward the two performers.

This essay has discussed three factors that influenced the process of "crossover" during a six-month period in 1965: industry-wide expectations based on previous chart performance; initial strength of popularity in the R&B charts; and the sound of the record itself—especially when one looks at the year-end ratings, the biggest crossovers tend to be songs that make the most obvious concessions to values that date back to the conventions of Tin Pan Alley pop.

Perhaps it seems as if I am critical of the effects both of the disappearance of the R&B chart in 1964 (less attention was paid to R&B artists) *and* of its continued existence (R&B was maintained as a marginalized category). The point here is that in both cases music classified as R&B was neither promoted as heavily as pop, nor did R&B recordings have access to the extensive distribution network of pop recordings; consequently, R&B recordings never had as much of a chance of reaching as broad an audience.[35] Of course there were exceptions, some of which I have described here, but the divisions and classifications within the industry itself made it more unlikely that an R&B song would accomplish this; and even if it did, lacking a big initial promotional push, it could never equal the sales it might have had. Apparently, the only thing that could convince the music industry to push these songs was if it became convinced it risked losing money otherwise.

The charts may be a fiction that we use, like public opinion polls, to convince ourselves of the existence of the real by pointing to what others believe in even if we do not believe in it ourselves; but they are a fiction with real political and economic consequences. The dual modes in which the charts present their information, the scientific and the narrative, insure that they will appeal to consumers in a way similar to the baseball pennant race or the league leader in bat-

ting average. But the information has a different effect: it creates a representation of what is popular and what is not, what is mainstream and what is marginal, while helping to maintain America's illusions about its society and participating in the process that funnels the products of musicians' labor in ever the same direction.[36]

Notes

This article is an expanded and altered version of a paper given at the Seventh International Conference on Popular Music Studies, held at the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California, in July 1993. I would like to thank Calvin Elliker, Don M. Randel, Mary Ann Smart, and Judith Tick for their comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper.

1. These articles appear in the following: *Billboard* 99, no. 9 (28 Feb. 1987): 1, 83; *Billboard* 101, no. 8 (25 Feb. 1989): 1, 82; *Billboard* 102, no. 43 (27 Oct. 1990): 1, 35.

2. These are the groups specified in a 9 Jan. 1961 *Billboard* editorial, "The 'New' Billboard" (3).

3. The connection between the emphasis on statistics in the business and sports sections of the newspaper was adapted from Bill Brown, "The Meaning of Baseball in 1992 (with Notes on the Post-American)," *Public Culture* 4, no. 1 (Fall 1991): 43–71 (see especially 57–61). Regarding the paradigmatic and syntagmatic aspects of the charts, Martin Parker has preceded me with a similar formulation ("Reading the Charts: Making Sense with the Hit Parade," *Popular Music* 10, no. 2 [1991]: 212).

4. Ian Hacking, "Biopower and the Avalanche of Printed Numbers," *Humanities in Society* 5, nos. 3 & 4 (1982): 287.

5. Parker makes a similar point ("Reading the Charts," 211).

6. See Frederic Dannen, *Hit Men: Power Brokers and Fast Money Inside the Music Business* (New York: Times Books, 1990) for an argument about the power of "promotional pitches" in determining airplay.

7. Whitburn also makes the connection between the pop charts and sports when he writes, "It is the one race that continues all year round, it never starts over, and yet it provides new standings every week of the year. With a plethora of Top 40 countdown programs . . . it is clear that this country is hooked on the unending dash to the top" (quoted in Parker, "Reading the Charts," 205).

8. Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 337.

9. This statement paraphrases the following by Michel de Certeau: "Replacing doctrines that have become unbelievable, citation allows the technocratic mechanisms to make themselves credible for each individual *in the name of the others.* To cite is thus to give reality to the simulacrum produced by a power, by making people believe that others believe in it, but without providing any believable object" (*The Practice of Everyday Life* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984], 188–89). See Jean Baudrillard, "The Masses: the Implosion of the Social in the Media," in *Jean Baudrillard:*

Selected Writings, ed. Mark Poster (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 207–19, for a view of public opinion polls as neither manipulative nor beneficial but rather as part of an excessive flow of information that creates a state of uncertainty and results in "continual voyeurism of the group in relation to itself" (210).

10. The usage of "surveillance" derives from Michel Foucault's in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977). Parker makes a similar observation (and a similar invocation of Foucault) in "Reading the Charts," 213–14; he also comments on the charts' circularity (208). For a description of radio survey techniques, see Steve Chappel and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here to Pay* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977), 103. For a description of the effect of market fragmentation on radio programming, see Ken Barnes, "A Fragment of the Popular Imagination," in *Facing the Music,* ed. Simon Frith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 8–50.

11. This is the view espoused in Steve Perry, "Ain't No Mountain High Enough: The Politics of Crossover," in *Facing the Music,* 51–87.

12. In addition to works previously cited, the sociomusicological literature on crossover includes Reebee Garofalo, "How Autonomous is Relative: Popular Music, the Social Formation and Cultural Struggle," *Popular Music* 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1987): 77–92 (esp. 81–82); Garafalo, "Crossing Over: 1939–1989," in *Split Image: African-Americans in the Mass Media,* ed. Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990), 57–121; Philip Brian Harper, "Synesthesia, 'Crossover,' and Blacks in Popular Music," *Social Text* 23 (Fall/Winter 1989): 102–21; Don M. Randel, "Crossing Over with Ruben Blades," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (Summer 1991): 301–23; Venise Berry, "Crossing Over: Musical Perceptions of Black Adolescent Culture,"*Journal of Popular Music Studies* 5 (1993): 26–38; Simon Jones, "Crossover Culture: Popular Music and the Politics of 'Race'," *Stanford Humanities Review* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 103–18.

13. This is implied by Hamm (*Yesterdays,* 339). See also Simon Frith, "The Industrialization of Music," in *Music for Pleasure: Essays in the Sociology of Pop* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 19, for a summary of the shift in the music industry in the 1930s. Philip H. Ennis also views the confrontation between ASCAP and BMI as central to many of the upheavals in the music industry in the last fifty years (*The Seventh Stream: The Emergence of Rocknroll in American Popular Music* [Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1992]).

14. Probably the first and best known of these histories is Charlie Gillett's *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983 [1970]). For examples of articles written in alarming tones (in this case, during the emergence of rock 'n' roll in the mid-1950s), see Hamm, *Yesterdays,* 399–402.

15. I develop this point further in "A *Billboard*'s-Eye View of the Emergence of Country-Western Music," paper presented at the twentieth annual conference of the Sonneck Society for American Music, Apr. 1994.

16. See, for example, Gillett, *Sound of the City,* 233. However, Gillett seems to question this explanation himself in the next paragraph. This explanatory lacuna occurs in several recent *Billboard* histories of the R&B charts, including two of the *Billboard* articles mentioned at the beginning of this article: "Trade Debates Black Terminology" (25 Feb. 1989) states that the R&B chart disappeared because it was becoming "the mainstream for American pop music" and that it reappeared because

(in what could be viewed as a contradiction) "many R&B records continued to record hits that did not show up on the pop chart." "*Billboard* Adopts 'R&B' as New Name for 2 Charts" (27 Oct. 1990) (mis-)informs us that between November 1963 and January 1965, "all black artists were charted in the pop category." A recent article recounting the history of the black charts omits any reference to the 1964 disappearance altogether ("Saluting the Roots: Five Decades of R&B Hit-Makers," *Billboard* 105, no. 24 [12 June 1993], special section, R3).

17. This is documented by Gillett in *Sound of the City,* 189–91.

18. These figures on the top ten come from Gillett, *Sound of the City,* 233. According to Chapple and Garofalo, the number of R&B songs in the Hot 100 was part of an overall trend of declining R&B presence in the Hot 100 from a high point of 42% in 1962 to a low of 22% in 1966 (*Rock 'n' Roll Is Here to Pay,* 249). It should also be pointed out that 1964 was the year that the "British invasion" took U.S. popular music by storm, displacing most directly the African-American girl groups, which had provided the most popular link with 1950s rock 'n' roll during the early 1960s (see Garofalo, "Crossing Over," 84–90). I will discuss the musical aspects of R&B in greater detail later in the article.

19. This is corroborated indirectly by the 1989 *Billboard* article discussed in n. 16, "Trade Debates Black Terminology."

20. See Harper, "Synesthesia," 116.

21. The actual title of Sonny and Cher's hit song is "I Got You Babe." Dylan's historical importance to the emergence of "folk-rock" (a label he detested) is now widely recognized as being far greater than the other artists mentioned in this paragraph. Also see "West Coast Clamors for Dylan Tunes," *Billboard,* 4 Sept. 1965, an article devoted to upcoming releases of cover tunes of Dylan, the most amusing being "Chimes of Freedom," "Rolling Stone," "It Ain't Me Babe," and "Tambourine Man" by Dino, Desi, and Billy. This sort of confusion in the mid- to late-1960s in the recording industry reached absurd proportions, as an infrastructure oriented to "good music" (another synonym for "easy listening" or "middle-of-the-road") revealed its inability to respond to the new music increasingly associated with the counterculture. For an informative description of this moment, see Mary Harron, "McRock: Pop as a Commodity," in *Facing the Music,* ed. Simon Frith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 173–220.

22. *Billboard,* 12 June 1965. Stewart goes on to make the telling remark: "[B]ut that beat—a hard rhythm section—is an integral part of our sound. The combination of horns, instead of a smooth sound, produces a rough, growly, rasping sound, which carries into the melody."

23. This conception of African-American music draws upon the writings of (among others) Olly Wilson, "The Significance of the Relationship between Afro-American Music and West African Music," *Black Perspective in Music* 2 (Spring 1974): 3–22; Pearl Williams-Jones, "Afro-American Gospel Music: a Crystallization of the Black Aesthetic," *Ethnomusicology* 19:3 (Sept. 1975): 373–85; Portia Maultsby, "Soul Music: Its Sociological and Political Significance in American Popular Culture," *Journal of Popular Culture* 17, no. 2 (Fall 1983): 51–60; Maultsby, "Africanisms in African-American Music," in *Africanisms in American Culture,* ed. Joseph E. Holloway (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 185–210; James A. Snead,

"Repetition as a Figure of Black Culture," in *Black Literature and Literary Theory,* ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (London: Routledge, 1984), 59–80; Samuel A. Floyd "Ring Shout! Literary Studies, Historical Studies, and Black Music Inquiry," *Black Music Research Journal* 11:2 (Fall 1991): 265–88; and Morton Marks, "Uncovering Ritual Structures in Afro-American Music," in *Religious Movements in Contemporary America,* ed. Irving I. Zaretsky and Mark P. Leone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 60–134. Also useful were Richard Middleton's distinctions between "musematic" and "discursive" repetition (*Studying Popular Music* [Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990], 269–84).

24. It should be noted that one of the major R&B hits of the year, "Shotgun"—which was released on a Motown subsidiary called, not coincidentally, the "Soul" label—contained none of the above-mentioned concessions to pop. The "Motown style" itself was far from homogeneous and included the gospel-oriented records of Marvin Gaye, "Can I Get a Witness" and "Pride and Joy," the intense crooning, rhythmic intricacy, and verbal wit of Smokey Robinson, and the updated doo-wop of the early Temptations. Both Robinson and Gaye had a hand in writing and producing their recordings. It was the production-writing team of Holland-Dozier-Holland that created the slickest pop in the recordings they produced with the Supremes and the Four Tops. The lead singer of the Four Tops, Levi Stubbs, was relatively restrained, but his intensely expressive tenor revealed a strong connection to gospel and the black vernacular. Diana Ross was another story: she was chosen as the lead singer of the Supremes because of the distance of her voice from gospel timbre, as well as for its ethereal quality. For an entertaining and thorough history of Motown, see Nelson George, *Where Did Our Love Go? The Rise and Fall of the Motown Sound* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985); and for a detailed analysis of Motown songwriting and recording that debunks the myth of Motown's sameness and "whitewashing," see Jon Fitzgerald, "Black or White: Stylistic Analysis of Early Motown Crossover Hits" (unpublished paper presented at the international meeting of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music, July 1993). At the same time, it should be pointed out that the owners of the major R&B record companies expressed both an awareness of the R&B/pop dichotomy and widely differing attitudes towards it. Berry Gordy of Motown emblazoned the "Sound of Young America" on his products, while Jim Stewart of Stax admitted that this company was making records directed toward the African-American community (*Billboard,* 12 June 1965; see n. 22 above). See James Brown, *The Godfather of Soul* (with Bruce Tucker) (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 132; and Nelson George, *The Death of Rhythm and Blues* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1988), 98–99, for comments on the "softer," more "pop" sound of Motown in contrast to Brown's "rawer" sound of "badass funk."

25. Maultsby, "Soul Music," 51.

26. "Think," from *Live at the Apollo* (1962), reveals that he was already using arrangements similar to this in live performance as early as 1962 ("Out of Sight" from the T.A.M.I. show, recorded in 1964, is another clear, pre-1965 example). See Brown's account of "Papa's" significance in *Godfather of Soul,* 149, 157–60; for an account of the song's social impact, see Cliff White, liner notes for *James Brown: The CD of JB: Sex Machine And Other Soul Classics* (Polydor 825 714–2, 1985).

27. Middleton, *Studying Popular Music,* 270, 281. Middleton's usage of "narrative" in this context refers to the idea that harmonic succession in a teleological, functional

harmonic context relies on "structures of difference" comparable to those responsible for narrative "in the so-called classic realist text" (216).

28. The variation in the third verse of "I Can't Help Myself" is necessitated by the lyrics and does not result from the kind of extemporaneous variation technique employed by Brown and Pickett.

29. *Godfather of Soul,* 158. For a more detailed description of Brown's verbal strategies and a more in-depth paradigmatic analysis of his use of discrete variation within a framework of repetition, see my "James Brown's 'Superbad' and the Double-Voiced Utterance," *Popular Music* 11, no. 3 (Oct. 1992): 309–24.

30. The correlation between rate of sales and chart performance is made by Parker in "Reading the Charts," 208. Also see Dave Harker, *One for the Money: Politics and Popular Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 97–100, for an examination of the way in which charts distort sales figures.

31. *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here to Pay,* 246–48.

32. A note on pop orchestration: timpani and other auxiliary percussion instruments (besides drum kit) feature in numerous other 1965 hits. For example, recordings using Phil Spector's "wall of sound," such as the Righteous Brothers' "You've Lost That Lovin' Feeling," employ a range of dense orchestral effects; a song such as Little Anthony's "Hurts So Bad" uses timpani and effects such as violins playing in artificial harmonics. The difference between these songs and "This Diamond Ring" lies in the way the latter song's instrumentation signifies "novelty," an effect that I suspect could be corroborated by studying the sound track of contemporaneous TV shows such as *I Dream of Jeannie* and *Bewitched.*

33. Liner notes from *Superhits 1965,* Time-Life Music.

34. *Godfather of Soul,* 153.

35. Ennis, *Seventh Stream,* 184. Gillett suggests that program directors at Top 40 stations resisted programming what they regarded to be "raunchy" R&B music (*Sound of the City,* 189–91).

36. The notion that the conflation of "scientific and narrative forms of knowledge" may be a particularly American phenomenon is again adapted from Brown (see n. 3). He in turn derives the idea of the distinction between scientific and narrative forms of knowledge from the extensive discussion in Jean-François Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).