



## Social Forces, University of North Carolina Press

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From Region to Class, the Changing Locus of Country Music: A Test of the Massification Hypothesis

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Source: *Social Forces*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Mar., 1975), pp. 497-506

Published by: [University of North Carolina Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2576592>

Accessed: 21/06/2011 10:43

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## *From Region to Class, The Changing Locus of Country Music: A Test of the Massification Hypothesis\**

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### ABSTRACT

The regionalization, commercialization, and subsequent diffusion of country music are examined in terms of the massification hypothesis. Each of the data sets examined suggests that the massification theorists were right in observing that the old patterns of cultural diversity along ethnic, regional, and even class lines are being destroyed or buried. But they have erred in their prediction of ever-increasing cultural homogeneity. While country music is increasingly embraced by mid-life, working and lower-middle class whites irrespective of regional origin, "easy listening" music is the preferred music in the same segment of the population. These data bring into question the assumption that social classes have distinct cultures and lead to the conjecture that these musical styles may represent convenient indicators of emerging culture classes.

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The impact of modernization on cultural diversity has long held the attention of scholars. Industrialization, urbanization, and particularly the mass media are said to destroy regional, ethnic, religious, occupational, and

similar forms of cultural diversity, replacing these with the homogenized products of mass culture. This *massification* hypothesis was derived from observations made during the 1930s of the effects of commercial radio, popular music, movies, and mass circulation magazines on cultural traits in the United States, and also the propaganda uses made of these media by the rising totalitarian governments of Europe. The hypothesis was fully articulated in diverse essays and research studies made in the decade following World War II (Jacobs, 1959; Rosenberg and White, 1957). Dwight Macdonald (1957:62) puts the hypothesis most succinctly, "Mass culture is a dynamic, revolutionary force, breaking down the old barriers of class, tradition, taste, and dissolving all cultural distinctions. It mixes and scrambles everything together, producing what might be called

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\* This project was funded in part by grant RO-7855-73-154 from the National Endowment for the Humanities which is gratefully acknowledged. Johnny Bond, Norman Cohen, George Collier, Gregory Daniels, Skeeter Davis, Archie Green, William Ivey, Grelun Landon, Ronnie Light, Jens Lund, Anthony Oberschall, Ruth Slack, and James D. Thompson provided much information, insight and encouragement along the way; Victoria Bransford and Russell Davis helped in the coding; while Patricia Averill, George Lewis, Claire Peterson, Neil V. Rosenberg, and Richard Simpson have added greatly to the clarity of the argument by their careful reading of an earlier draft of the paper.

homogenized culture." Comprehensive critiques of the theory, data, and metaphysics of massification can be found in Bauer and Bauer (1960) and Gans (1966).

For our purposes, it is convenient to separate the massification hypothesis into two elements: *first*, that the forces of modernization significantly reduced cultural diversity; and *second*, that an increasingly homogeneous mass culture has emerged. All available evidence supports the first assertion that many cultural differences have been destroyed. This can be seen whether one looks at general processes such as the "Americanization" of immigrants or traces the ebb of regional differences in a particular culture realm such as blues music or linguistic dialects. The second assertion, that of increasing homogeneity, is however an oversimplification at best. Although the few well-researched studies that have been made *do* show little significant difference in cultural tastes across a wide range of social classes or occupations, this may be, as Wilensky (1964) recognized, in part an artifact of the way measurements are made. First, media with little available diversity, such as radio in the 1940s and television in the 1950s and 1960s, are often used; and second, cultural taste is frequently conceptualized simply as "high art" versus "popular culture" or some similar distinction which arbitrarily restricts to one dimension the range of cultural diversity measured.

The difficulties with the massification hypothesis are not simply methodological, they are substantive as well. The past twenty years have seen not greater homogeneity, but rather an increasing diversity of material produced in all of the major media, with the possible exception of television. In 1954, movie, radio, popular music, and magazine media were more nearly dominated by a production and marketing strategy geared to a single national market than two decades later (Barnouw, 1970; Denisoff, 1973; Dennis and Rivers, 1974; Gans, 1964; Gillett, 1970; Jarvie, 1970). The Hollywood film factory, network radio, Tin Pan Alley homogenized popular music, and the mass market magazines such as *Life* and *Look* have been displaced by thriving media which produce a welter of different products for segmented markets. In reviewing the statistical data on this dramatic change, Maisel (1973) has noted a dramatic "decline of the mass media".

Turning from the media to their audiences,

the picture is much the same. Using national attitude survey data collected over several decades, Glenn (1967) and Reed (1972) have demonstrated continuing diversity, not massification. Gans (1966) has made a valuable attempt to understand this resilient cultural diversity in terms of taste groups stratified along a fine-art to base-art continuum. But like any differentiation along one dimension, be it aesthetic worth or income level, the ranking does not reveal the dynamics of the system. For example, consumer tastes are not simply the sum of individual preferences as Hirsch (1970), Peterson and Berger (1972), Peterson (1973) and Denisoff (1974) show in examining the linked realms of radio and music industries. They find that the neo-diversity is more a product of changing industry structure than it is of shifting audience tastes. To date, we know very little about the patterns of consumption of the newly diverse media beyond scattered case studies such as those reprinted in Lewis (1972), Denisoff and Peterson (1972), and Huebel (1973). Taken together, they point to the importance of *class*, as opposed to *mass* culture. (But, as the editors of these anthologies note, cases have been chosen to highlight cultural diversity.)

Tracing the evolution of a major cultural form over time would be the better test of the massification hypothesis. Using country music, this is the tack we will take here. Country music is appropriate for such a study because it is a longstanding form, and since it was originally embedded in a now-outmoded agrarian way of life, it has been as vulnerable to massification as any cultural form.

#### FOLK DIVERSITY

Country music has changed so much in the past century that an observer might conclude that there are *no* similarities between the folk music of the 1870s and the current Nashville product. As is the case with other cultural forms, be they musical, artistic, religious, or scientific, however, it is possible to trace a coherent evolution of the music now generally designated "country music." Malone (1968) provides the most comprehensive view of its development showing both its diversity and continuity. In this discussion, we will assume continuity, and use the term country music throughout, adding "folk," "commercial," and similar modifiers where appropriate.

At the end of the Civil War, the diverse musical forms from which contemporary coun-

try music traces its musicological lineage were the prevalent popular musical forms in North America (Ewen, 1961). European fine art music was performed only in a few large seaport cities, and black musical forms were both regionally and ethnically segregated in the slave states. At no time since has this Anglo-Saxon music, a mixture of fiddle dance songs, narrative ballads, and sacred gospel songs, been so nearly *the* music of the country at large. This precommercial country music was transmitted by amateur musicians who, working in an oral tradition, readily incorporated newly composed songs of the early touring professionals (Cohen, 1970) and elements from immigrant musical styles. As a result there was a great deal of regional variation in song texts, performance styles, and instrumentation.

This folk diversity was overwhelmed by two quite distinct social forces: the advocates of "civilization," and the emerging music industry (Seeger, 1957). While the former tried to introduce European classical music tastes and standards, its effect was to define the folk country music as rustic, backward, old fashioned, and inferior to the musical products of the music industry which burgeoned after 1880. Thus, while the civilizers succeeded in denigrating indigenous musical forms and placing a piano in every proper middle-class home, the music that was played was more likely to be the latest product of the Tin Pan Alley music publisher than Chopin or Liszt (Ewen, 1961; Goldberg, 1930; Seeger, 1957; Stone, 1957). In an era when urban ways were defined as civilized, progressive, up-to-date, smart, and fast, rural ways became seen as their mirror image. The rustic, hayseed, country bumpkin character was added to the stock of ethnic-stereotype characters of the popular stage and vaudeville (Peterson and DiMaggio, 1973). Like his ethnic brethern, the rube was supposed to become "Americanized" into the urban bourgeois mode (Ewen, 1961; Hitchcock, 1969).

Beginning as urban islands of commercially produced popular music in a sea of rural folk music, the Tin Pan Alley product spread rapidly, abetted, in the first two decades of this century, by the development of the phonograph and radio. As Charles Seeger (1957: 287), the noted ethnomusicologist, has shown, "the continental frontier had given way to a new type of frontier determined by social depth in which distance from elite urban and small-

town influences was a dominating factor. Numerous social and cultural pockets or islands were formed." By far the largest island of the old Anglo-Saxon popular-folk music extended from rural West Virginia south and west through Texas, but almost every state had at least one more-or-less isolated rural enclave. Among the most notable were the "Pine Barrens" of southern New Jersey, the "Swamp Yankee" areas of New England, the rural Midwest, and the Maritime Provinces of Canada (Rosenberg, 1973).

From the perspective of 1927, when the process of insulation had become very nearly complete, both aspects of the massification hypothesis seem to represent the data quite well. The older music with its innumerable local variations was being buried by a homogeneous mass-produced and mass media-disseminated Tin Pan Alley music. But a counter trend was well under way. Major radio stations in Dallas, Atlanta, Nashville, Chicago, and Los Angeles, featured regular barn dance shows, and the first of the nationally successful, untutored country music entertainers, Jimmy Rogers and the Carter Family, had begun to record (Malone, 1968).

Knowledgeable music commentators and music industry executives believed that the commercialized country music was nothing more than traditional music merchandised through the modern media. Like many of the purveyors of "race records" who merchandised recorded music to blacks in the 1920s, they believed that the music would survive only so long as the older unsophisticated generation survived (Botkin, 1934; Brockman, 1963; Dixon and Godrich, 1970; Ritter, 1973; Smith, 1933). The subsequent vital growth of jazz, soul, and country music show that these predictions, which were implicitly founded on a massification hypothesis, were far from the mark.

#### COMMERCIALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION

The survival and spread of country music can best be understood as a three-stage process which clearly illustrates the weakness of the massification hypothesis and suggests an alternative, the culture class hypothesis. The first stage in the changing locus of country music involved commercialization and regionalization. Beginning in the mid-1920s and continuing for the next two decades, country music became a segment of the music industry, separate from, but increasingly similar to, Tin Pan Alley

popular music in the mode of its inspiration, manufacture and dissemination (Wilgus, 1971). Many amateur performers found it possible to earn a living playing country music, thanks to the new technologies of radio, phonograph, auto, and the all-weather roads which increasingly spread into the hinterland. Performers played on the air for little or no pay in order to gain a regional reputation and earned a living by playing at dances, fairs, and festivals within the range of the radio station and the auto (Peterson and DiMaggio, 1973; Rooney, 1971). While groups could eke out a marginal existence in all parts of the country, those working in the Southeast prospered, because the greater density of country music fans in the region made the radio-plus-touring pattern most lucrative. Ambitious performers were increasingly drawn to the Southeast by the lure of larger and more stable income.

Record making was financially rewarding for only a handful of country performers before World War II, but like radio and touring, records were of vital importance in reducing the number of local variations, and in developing conventions in performance style, lyrics, and country music image. The self-satirizing hillbilly emerged in the 1920s (Green, 1965; Peterson and DiMaggio, 1973) and the self-righteous cowboy emerged a decade later, greatly popularized by the hundreds of singing Western films of that era (Malone, 1968). While Nashville was not to become the undisputed center of trend-setting and production in country music until after World War II, these hillbilly and western styles came to dominate other regional styles through the process of their commercialization (Averill, 1974; Malone, 1968).

Though the music was appreciated by rural audiences throughout North America as the data on the national dispersion of live country music programs on small-town radio stations attests (Peterson and Gowan, 1971), by 1945 it had become the most popular music in the South and Southwest (except in the largest cities of the region) whereas Tin Pan Alley music predominated elsewhere (except in the more isolated rural sections). Thus, by 1945 commercial country music was as regionally isolated as it would ever be (Malone, 1968; Willus, 1971). To that date, country music had fulfilled the first element of the massification hypothesis, because commercialization and mass media dissemination had reduced the

range of diversity. The second element of the massification hypothesis, which predicts a linear trend to greater homogeneity—which, in this case, would mean the absorption of country music by Tin Pan Alley music—did not occur and it is to this fact that we now turn.

#### MIGRATION

Migration theorists assert that country music spread from its regional enclave as a consequence of World War II (cf. Malone, 1968; Wilgus, 1971). Briefly, the argument is that white southerners streamed to northern and West Coast war-plants, while those in the armed forces carried the music around the world, and nonsoutherners stationed in the South were exposed to commercial country music for the first time. Furthermore, the war-born affluence made it economically feasible to merchandise commercial country music nationally for the first time.

The Second World War was undoubtedly of crucial importance in stimulating the out-migration from the South; but it began before World War I and, interrupted only by the Great Depression, has continued unabated almost to the present (Bacon, 1973; Bureau of the Census, 1971; Coles, 1971; Killian, 1970). The out-migration from the Appalachian region has been most pronounced and the flow has gone primarily to the urban industrial centers of the Northeast and Midwest (Brown and Hillery, 1962; Schwarzweller, 1963).

That the migrants carried the trait of commercial country music with them is suggested by the "hillbilly bars" which sprang up featuring country music both live and on the juke box wherever they settled in any great number (Killian, 1949; 1970). Country music, and the closely related white gospel music, have become badges of southern ethnic identity (Killian, 1970). The importance of country music and the hillbilly bars is illustrated in this statement from one of Coles' (1971:332) migrant interviewees in Pittsburgh:

A man has to relax a little. I feel tired enough; if I didn't sit and listen to the country music and nurse along my beer, I think I'd explode. . . We all sit around and talk about the old country, that's what some of us call it, back in Kentucky. We talk about going back, until you almost think we were back, to hear us. I'll close my eyes sometimes in the bar, and by God I can be right up that creek—sitting there, deciding whether I should go hunting or visit my cousin Jim.

The hillbilly bar for migrants is not an isolated American phenomenon. Analogous culture-preserving music clubs have become important for rural-urban migrants in Peru, Mali, Mexico City, and elsewhere around the world (Choldin, 1973; Mangin, 1970). Professional country musicians who toured outside the South during the 1940s and 1950s often note that their music was seen as news from back home, and they learned to play to this sentiment for their audiences in the diaspora.

Proponents of the migration theory need not assume that country music is consumed only by southern out-migrants but rather that they act as culture bearers from whom the trait will spread to nonsoutherners generally. It is difficult to bring evidence to bear on this theory for there is precious little demographic information on the consumers of any item of popular culture, and country music is no exception. There are no systematic data on the regional origins of the consumers of country music records, but using data provided by the Country Music Association and the National Association of Broadcasters, we have been able to calculate for each state the percentage of AM radio stations which in mid-1973 featured country music at least twelve hours a day. Of course, stations vary widely in the broadcasting power and audience size, but with only a few exceptions, country music radio stations are small, and the powerful stations are all located in states with numerous other small country music stations. A more serious problem in using these data is that stations can often be heard across state lines. Thus, for example, there are no country music stations in Vermont or New Hampshire but fans there can hear country music beamed from New York state, Maine and Canada. Employing the 1970 Census it is possible to compute, for each state, the percentage of the native-born white female population which is southern-born. This segment of the population was chosen because the country music audience is almost entirely white, and women are the primary consumers of this form of popular music (Billboard, 1973; Peterson and Davis, 1975).

Although the percent southern-born in non-southern states ranges from 1.5 to 21.9 percent and the proportion of country music stations vary from 0 to 29 percent, a scatter plot reveals that there is no consistent nationwide association between the two variables. Most Northeastern states are low on both variables, most of the Mountain and West-North-Central

states which have few southern-born, have a high or intermediate proportion of country music stations. Only two states, New Mexico and Alaska are high on both variables, while Hawaii is high on southern-born but low on country music. Thus, the simple effects of migration, if they were ever present, were not clearly apparent by 1973.

The obtained distribution does, however, suggest the continuing accuracy of the Seeger (1957) theory of urban vs. rural music—that country music is literally the music of the countryside. To probe this possibility more directly, a scatter plot was made which locates states by percentage country music stations and by percentage urban female in 1970. Whether one includes the southern states or not, the points fill a fan shaped area—the most urban states tend to have the least country music stations but no states are both quite rural and high on country music. Rather, the most rural are intermediate on country music stations and vice versa. Taken together these two sets of data suggest that migration alone is neither a necessary nor a sufficient explanation of the *current* distribution of the country music audience, although they do not vitiate the historical importance of migration in spreading country music.

#### DIFFUSION

Clues to the importance *and* inadequacy of the migration theory may come from quite a different quarter. Kroeber and other anthropologists who developed the "culture area" approach employed the migration-of-culture-bearers hypothesis much as we have. But they added a most important qualifier which fits neatly with the class culture as opposed to the mass culture formulation. We will call it the diffusion hypothesis—that a new trait would be adopted only by those elements of an indigenous population for whom the trait fits with their lifeways. Since dangers of tautology are great in testing an assertion of this conditional form, we must make the prediction explicit: country music will diffuse to persons most like the culture-bearers—the white, post-adolescent, upwardly mobile working class.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diffusion does not necessarily involve the direct individual-to-individual transfer of the taste for country music. The commercial media are often involved but not in the way described by diffusion of innovation theorists (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971). The pattern seems to be as follows: where there is a sufficient concentration of migrants, en-

Although there are no systematic national data on the social characteristics of country music record buyers, several commercial survey organizations do make regular surveys of radio listenership. While most of these studies detail age, sex, and time of day listened for each station in a particular area, the Pulse Corporation conducted a much broader survey during 1970. Their data include 49 full-time country music stations, each of which had at least 5 percent of the local listener market. Since 35 are located outside the South and 14 are in the South, it is possible to make a rough test of the diffusion hypothesis. Using the method of analysis detailed in DiMaggio *et al.* (1972), it is clear that country music station listeners differ from listeners to stations featuring other musical formats, but there is no regional difference between the South and the rest of the nation in the distribution of country music listeners by age, occupation, years of schooling, and family income. These data give strong support to, but do not comprise a critical test of, the diffusion hypothesis because there is no way of knowing the extent to which migrants account for listeners to stations outside the South.

More direct evidence that country music is not simply the music of migrant southerners is gained by observing night spots that feature country music. Hillbilly bars like those described by Killian (1949) are now located throughout the country but, as noted by Lund (1973), McDonald (1973), Stevens (1973), and Bailey (1974), there is now a constant tension between patrons who want to hear the styles of music and musicianship which recreate the old home ways, and those (many of whom are not migrants) who want to hear the *current* country music hit songs.

In a study of the Philadelphia area, DiMaggio (1973) found that the active country music scene does not depend on southern migrants. There is a full-time country music radio station, WCRP, and two monthly country music fan magazines, *Country Round-*

*up Scene*, and *Freedom's Country Flag*. During a typical weekend, 60 area clubs feature live country music. They are not unlike other drinking-dancing-eating establishments except for a few country or western embellishments. Many of these "country clubs," as they are called, are located in suburban Philadelphia and nearby New Jersey. Seating from 50 to 300, most are run by Philadelphia-born men of the same ethnic background as the neighborhood. In South Jersey, for example, country club owners have names like Zoppina, Tabone, LaBella, and Virili. On a given weekend, not more than two clubs feature nationally known performers, and the survey of 35 local country music band leaders showed that 42 percent were born within fifty miles of Philadelphia and only 23 percent came from the South. DiMaggio's observations, as well as those of others acquainted with the Philadelphia country music scene agree that only a small minority of the country music club patrons are southern migrants. While Philadelphia may not be a typical nonsouthern market,<sup>2</sup> neither does it seem to have any unusually strong links to the South, thus, further bringing into question the pure migration hypothesis, and lending further support to the diffusion hypothesis.

Final strong support for the hypothesis that country music has been diffused by migrant culture-bearers and the mass media to indigenous populations comes from the evidence of country music outside of North America. While some forms of American-generated country music can now be found in almost all parts of the world (Neese, 1972), it has become a regular part of the indigenous popular music, no longer dependent on Americans as performers or audiences, especially in those countries with an Anglo-Saxon cultural tradition—England, Scotland, Wales, and Australia, and also in those countries like Germany and Japan which garrisoned large numbers of American troops over extended periods of time. For example, a Japanese language "Tokyo Grand

terprising commercial interests from tavern owners to radio station managers find it profitable to disseminate country music. In this way, many non-migrants are exposed through the media rather than directly by migrants themselves. Though this pattern seems to have occurred throughout the United States, it is most clearly seen in the inadvertent diffusion of country music tastes to Germans and Japanese by the United States Armed Forces Radio Service in the two decades following World War II.

<sup>2</sup> There is more diversity in the country music scene than has been suggested by this brief review. Our findings from Philadelphia fit the Steward (1955) levels-of-sociocultural-integration hypothesis that folk, local, and regional traditions are not obliterated by national patterns. Rather, while some may be lost, many others thrive in segregated and specialized forms. That many older country music patterns survive in somewhat transmuted form has recently been suggested by Averill (1974) who describes the various layers of country music in terms of geological strata.

Ole Opry" has been broadcast regularly since 1959. Except for visiting guests, this show is performed by Japanese artists and it is aired to a Japanese audience (Moore, 1969).

#### THE STRUCTURE OF DIFFUSION

Turning from the fact of diffusion to focus more explicitly on the structure of diffusion, there are a number of data sets, each partial, which in composite give a fair picture of the characteristics of the people to whom commercial country music has diffused. The survey which follows is based primarily on the sample of 49 country music radio stations mentioned above (Peterson and Davis, 1975), but also includes three studies of those attending the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville (Wells, 1968; WSM, 1968, 1972); those attending a Tammy Wynette-George Jones Philharmonic Hall concert in New York City (WHN, 1973) and a Glen Campbell concert in Philadelphia (WCRP, 1970); record buyers (*Billboard*, 1973; SMA, 1970); and questionnaire data (McCarthy *et al.*, 1972; Robinson and Hirsch, 1969).

*Race:* All observers agree that the country music audience is almost exclusively white. *Age:* Few teenagers are found among the fans of country music. Rather, country music fans are concentrated in the 25-49 year age range. Not only are there few country music consumers over 50, but there are fewer older fans relative to all other forms of commercial music except teen-oriented "top forty" radio. *Education:* Country music fans have had fewer years of education than the average radio listener. They are more likely to have completed grade school only, and much less likely to have completed college. *Occupation:* Country music consumers are overrepresented in the lower-prestige occupations relative to listeners to other sorts of radio stations. Country music station listeners are nearly absent from professional occupations and are underrepresented among executives and managers. They are generally overrepresented among unskilled and service workers but are highly concentrated in the skilled and semiskilled blue-collar occupations. A preponderance of craft, skilled, and semiskilled blue-collar occupations is also found in the audience of live country music shows. The representation of country music fans with white-collar occupations varies widely from station to station without showing clear regional differences. The concert audience data show a higher proportion of country music consumers in white-collar and service-profes-

sional occupations. None of the New York audience sample was a farmer, and only 4.8 percent of the Nashville Grand Ole Opry 1972 audience were farmers, farm workers, or ranchers. Clearly, country music does not now depend on a rural audience. *Income:* The great preponderance of fans report family incomes in the \$5,000-15,000 range. Modest affluence is also found among the Grand Ole Opry audiences with a median reported family income of \$12,000 (WSM, 1972) and among country music record buyers (CMA, 1970). *Regional Origins:* None of the audience surveys asks about regional origins, but the data discussed earlier on "country clubs" and the fact that there are more country music consumers than there are southern out-migrants, suggests that the form is not now primarily a regional music. Buttressing this assertion is the finding that by 1974, country music comprised 20 percent of all records sold nationally (DeVoss, 1974), and 67 percent of all country music records were sold outside the South and Southwest (CMA, 1970).

#### CLASS CULTURE TO CULTURE CLASS

Reviewing all of the data that have been presented, it is clear that country music has broken away from its earlier ethnic and regional confines to be embraced by a broad segment of mid-life working- and lower-middle class whites. But no twisting of the data can equate country music with a distinct social class defined in terms of income and its correlates, occupation and education. Not only are country music fans more clearly distinguished by race and age than by social class, but more importantly, many people of the same strata, race, and age, do not like country music. In fact the type of Tin Pan Alley music defined in the industry as "easy listening," which includes the sorts of music identified with Frank Sinatra, Tony Bennett, Tom Jones, Carol King, Barbra Streisand, Percy Faith, and the Tijuana Brass, is still preferred by a larger segment of the working and lower-middle class as evidenced by radio station listener surveys (Peterson and Davis, 1975). Looking ahead a decade, the current widespread enthusiasm for country music (DeVoss, 1974) may prove to have been a fad. Alternatively, it may displace easy listening music. More likely, the two musical traditions may completely meld. But there is a fourth possibility: both traditions may survive as bearers of distinct world-views which are appreciated



by differing segments of the population but which are not distinguishable in *social* class terms.

This conjecture is based on the idea that a fundamental shift in the relationship between class and culture is under way. Sociologists have usually grouped persons into *social classes* on the basis of income, occupation, education, and other indicators of the amount, or means, of making money. Some have then gone on to ask if social classes, so defined, have distinct cultures. The work of Veblen (1899), Lynd and Lynd (1929), and Warner and Lunt (1946) suggests that this search for class cultures made a great deal of empirical sense in the early part of this century. Research conducted since World War II, however, has often found culture groups which are only loosely correlated with social class (cf. Merton, 1957; Reisman, 1950). The massification hypothesis can be seen as an attempt to explain the increasingly loose association between class and culture. The effort was only partially successful as we have shown in tracing the changing locus of country music. The massification theorists were right in observing that the old patterns of cultural diversity along ethnic, regional, and even class lines were destroyed or buried. They erred in their prediction of ever-increasing cultural homogeneity. Rather than begin with social classes, it may prove more fruitful to categorize persons in terms of *cultural* classes, that is shared patterns of consumption, and then search for the correlates of strata so defined, especially in advanced industrial nations in which most people have a considerable amount of discretionary income. Thus, for example, it may be possible to predict more accurately such things as voting behavior and rates of mental illness from culture class than from social class.

At this juncture, unfortunately, we know precious little about culture classes. Although essayists like Tom Wolfe provide suggestive sketches, there has been no systematic research on the *patterns* of consumption except in strictly economic terms. It is our hypothesis, to be developed in our ongoing research, that easy listening, country, and soul music as well, represent indicators of alternative world views which form distinct culture classes in America.

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# CLARIFICATION ON THE PAPER BY THOMAS P. WILSON, "Reply to Somers and Smith" IN DECEMBER'S *SOCIAL FORCES*

Unfortunately, an error in an early draft survived into print: the material in parentheses in the second paragraph on page 248 should be deleted.

The references to Parts I, II, and III of Smith's paper found in my "reply" are to headings eliminated by the Editor at a stage too late to be accommodated in my reply. Part I extends from the beginning to, but not including, the section "Analogies, Identities or Special Cases?" on page 206. Part II runs from that point to, but not including, "Generalized Product-Moment Statistics" on page 209. Part III finishes Smith's paper.

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