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Ashley Petkovski
Ryerson University

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"WALK LIKE THE HEROES":
THE PERFORMED IDENTITY OF BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN AND THE RELATIONSHIP TO CONTEMPORARY POPULAR MUSIC PERFORMANCE

by

Ashley Petkovski

Bachelor of Journalism (Hons.)

Ryerson University, 2008

Toronto, Ontario, Canada

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Ashley Petkovski

"Walk Like the Heroes":
The Performed Identity of Bruce Springsteen and the Relationship to Contemporary Popular Music Performance

Ashley Petkovski

Master of Arts, Program in Communication and Culture

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2010

Abstract: This thesis examines the trend of contemporary popular musicians referencing and being compared to Bruce Springsteen. To do so, the work analyzes the performed social identity of Springsteen and its relationship to popular music performance, particularly in terms of understanding and assessing the motivations behind comparisons with Brian Fallon of The Gaslight Anthem, a band frequently thought to represent Springsteen's influence. Two case studies were conducted to examine the performed personas of both artists, informed by theories of the communication of meaning and identity. Springsteen is found to portray a traditionally American, White, working class male, representative of the idealized image of early American republican philosophy. Alternately, Fallon is found to perform a similar social identity without the significant evocation of this republicanism. Comparisons between these artists are theorized as emerging from their use of similar identity representations and indicators of meaning, particularly in their communication of authenticity.

Acknowledgments

to those who stayed.

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

In a 1998 study of Bruce Springsteen fans, Springsteen is described as the "last great white, male hero" (Cavicchi, 1998). While few know the "real" Springsteen, his public image – the figure of Springsteen – is a Western icon. He serves as a symbol of a particular kind of man, communicating a particular identity – a "regular guy," a figure that is politically and socially aware, spiritual, idealistic, authentic and ultimately conventionally masculine, American, White and working class.

Since permanently reforming the E Street Band, his most acclaimed group of long-time touring and recording musicians, in 1999, Springsteen's performance identity – the white, American, working class male he symbolizes – has become part of a trend in modern rock and punk music. Contemporary artists have begun publically displaying an appreciation for Springsteen by commenting on his influence, referencing his work in their own, covering his songs and displaying similar aesthetic and behavioural gestures onstage, a trend that has most concisely been referred to as a Springsteen renaissance (Barclay, 2007). These bands, including The Hold Steady, The Constantines, The National and The Killers are embedded – or in the case of The Killers, have attempted to be embedded – in North American music cultures rooted in punk and rock values, particularly musical integrity, authenticity and the sharing of the life experiences of ordinary, working class American men. Generally, these bands are often more recognized for their echoing of the Springsteen figure than for their original music. The most obvious and recently recognized example of such a band may be The Gaslight Anthem, a New Jersey quartet fronted by Brian Fallon.

The band have been followed by constant comparisons to Springsteen particularly after releasing their second full-length album, *The '59 Sound*, in 2008, arguably more so than any other band in recent memory. As they prepare to release their third full-length, *American Slang,* on June 15, 2010, associations with New Jersey's favourite son continue, with much recent press coverage seeking out the band's reactions to the comparisons and questioning if The Gaslight Anthem can break out of the Springsteen shadow.

Arguably, Fallon has deliberately brought on some of the overwhelming comparisons himself. The singer and sole lyricist quotes Springsteen's lyrics in his songs, has covered Springsteen's material both with his band and in solo performances, has spoken about Springsteen's influence on his music and his personal life, recently performed with him at two U.K. music festivals and as of June 22, 2010, will be

the first guest musician to appear on an official Springsteen DVD, singing "No Surrender" with Springsteen and the E Street Band in London, England's Hyde Park.

However, Fallon is hardly the first musician to demonstrate a debt to Springsteen, his band only having released their first album less than six months before *Eye Weekly* gave the "Springsteen renaissance" a name. Other artists have sought the comparison, sometimes subtly and sometimes by declaring it themselves. None, however, have connected with the icon of Springsteen in the public imagination with as much intensity as The Gaslight Anthem.

This then begs the question of why such comparisons exist. Moreover, the relatively recent resurgence of Springsteen comparisons in popular music prompts an examination of what the social identity of Springsteen – the figure of Springsteen – represents, how it was created, what it symbolizes and how it has manifested in contemporary music.

As The Gaslight Anthem are the most recently notable band being cited as bearing Springsteen's influence, this analysis will examine and compare the social identities of both Springsteen and frontman Fallon in order to make these conclusions. In addition to attempting to identify the figure of Springsteen, this thesis will look to articulate the performed identity of Fallon and how the figure of Springsteen is echoed in his performance, in order to reveal the root of comparisons of the two artists.

To do so, this thesis will look to live concert performances in order to understand how social identities are constructed and communicated to an audience. Informed by performance and identity theory, this thesis will determine the kind of gender, class, national and racial identity being represented in Springsteen and Fallon's performances, demonstrate how performed expressions and actions are coded with this status information, and reveal how meaning about identity is communicated during a live music performance. Only information conveyed through the non-sonic elements of performance will be considered, including clothing, personal aesthetics, gestures, instrument choices (for their visual impact), speech and lyrical content. Additionally, only information available in live performances will be studied. Personal biographies, sound and song titles will not be included.

Chapter 2: Social Identity Performance

2.1. Theories of Identity

This project is an examination of how identity is created and made interpretable. It is therefore rooted in studies of identity, social performance, popular music studies, and the perspective that identity is a kind of enacted performance as articulated in sociologist Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

In an examination of theories of identity during the last century, Peter James Burke and Jan E. Steets (2009) broadly define identity as the set of meanings that define who one is when they occupy a social role or position in a group. This is more specifically referred to as cultural or social identity, and serves to provide or project a sense of the individual's place in society, often based on the individual's relationship to power hierarchies (Akindes, 2004; Bornstein cited in Akindes, 2004). As people occupy multiple social positions, they have multiple identities (Burke & Steets, 2009; Fong, 2004b), which are employed based on the nature of varying interactions. Burke and Steets (2009) also define identity as the set of characteristics that mark a human as a unique individual - their personal identity. Studies of identity often follow one of three purposes: to examine internal self dynamics influencing behaviour, to examine how identity is shaped by society and to examine how identities are maintained in face-to-face interaction (Burke & Steets, 2009). This thesis is concerned with the last two approaches, looking at how social identities – gender, class, race and national identity – are demonstrated and where they derive their meaning.

This project approaches identity as coming from the outside, as conceptualized by Simon Frith (1996, p. 237). Social identities are discernable in interactions with others and are made available through a person's physical, verbal and visual expressions. In the social sciences, popular music studies and varying cultural theories, identity is conceptualized as a performance (Alexander & Mast, 2006; Goffman, 1959; Kirby cited in Pattie, 2007; Osborne & Wintle, 2006; Palmer, 1997). The display of identity is a social and communicative process, described by Frith as a rhetoric of gestures (1996). Individuals intentionally and inadvertently control how they are seen through interpersonal prompts that guide others' reactions and responses. This is done by associating with certain social groups or socially marked individuals, and by displaying signs and symbols of who they are (Burke & Steets, 2009). All of this activity is a matter of performance. Individuals who display their identity are described as actors, orienting towards others as if they are onstage (Alexander & Mast, 2006, p. 2). Identity

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performances may also be described as a matter of persona, particularly in studies of literal onstage activity. Personas are not necessarily demonstrations of the real personalities of their performers, but characterizations and/or representations of constructed, socially and culturally situated identities often meant to be discerned by an audience. Individuals onstage enact personas and this process of exhibiting an identity is considered a sustained piece of acting (Kirby cited in Pattie, 2007, p. 33). This project ultimately concerns itself with identities that can be considered personas: the identities musical performers assume when they are onstage in front of an audience, without concern for motives or possible connections to the performer's offstage identity.

The literal performance of identity is structured by physical traits, markings, and expressions and gestures including language and speech. More significant, however, is the role of the body. Frith (1996) describes performance as a communicative or social process where bodily signs and movements are the dominant sites of meaning (p. 205). In literal onstage performances, audiences are expected to see bodies objectively, in terms of their aesthetic qualities and capabilities, and as subjective, where bodies are intentionally willed to communicate and their actions are used to convey meaning (Frith, 1996, p. 205). These signs and movements include overt and minor physical gestures, body size, stature, age and physical appearance, particularly in terms of sex and race characteristics. Frith (1996) offers a more specific model of the kinds of body language composing identity, citing the work of Paul Eckman. Eckman divides body language in to four categories (cited in Frith, 1996). The first is the direct physical expression of emotional states, which involves human expressions. These emotional expressions are influenced by cultural constraints on expressiveness and therefore differ situationally. The second is illustrative movements, which are tied to the narrative or verbal content of the performance. This category involves consciously using gestures to mimic emotions. Body manipulations is the third category. These are unconscious and sometimes nervous movements that occur during a performance, having the potential to negatively impact the impression.[1] The final category is emblems. These are specifically symbolic body movements that have no connection to emotional states.

Generally, symbols or symbolic activities work to anchor the visible in the invisible (Giesen, 2006, p. 331), providing names and shared meanings for objects and categories involved in social interaction (Burke & Steets, 2009). They are indicators of meaning in a performance, and only understood by those familiar with the interpretive rules and codes of a culture (Eckman cited in Frith, 1996). In identity performance, verbal and physical expressions and presentations all ultimately serve as

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[1] Goffman (1959) refers to the most disruptive of these gestures as faux pas.

signs and symbols, which are used to articulate the self (S. Smith, 1999, p. 104). All of the actions and presentations considered here make up a performance's means of symbolic production. These are the materials an actor uses in order to dramatize what is they want to present (Alexander, 2006). Ultimately, these performance gestures and expressions communicate messages about an actor's demeanor, values and social position or status. These materials are made readable through relations to larger social structures, which imbue them with familiar meanings (Burke & Steets, 2009). Performances follow culturally specific rules and scripts (Alexander & Mast, 2006; Giesen, 2006, pg.338-339), and the understanding of a performance is thought to be culturally based (Alexander, 2006a; Alexander & Mast, 2006; Frith, 1996; Mast, 2006; Taylor cited in Alexander & Mast, 2006). Actions, gestures and images contain explicit meanings as well as background structures of meaning, which code these elements with other culturally specific connotations (Alexander, 2006b, p. 94; Westerfelhaus, 2004). Performances are all suffused by preexisting and active symbolic systems, which are invested with meaning at particular times for particular purposes (Conquergood cited in Dimitriadis, 2001, p. 10). Performers rely on audiences to come to a performance with a certain amount of pre-knowledge, particularly when it comes to interpreting gestures (Alexander, 2006a; Alexander, 2006b; Alexander & Mast, 2006; Frith, 1996; Goffman, 1959; Ore, 2003). This pre-knowledge is a familiarity with social categories, behavioural expectations, and the common meanings associated with varying expressions.

According to Stuart Hall, social life is made intelligible and meaningful through connotative codes (cited in Hebdige, 2005). These codes contain information about a society's norms and values, and more broadly, its definitions of status categories such as gender, race, class and national identity. More specifically, the physical, verbal and aesthetic elements of a performance are where these codes are expressed (Shumway cited in Pfeil, 1995, p. 80). These codes inform identity conceptions, such as what it means to be "masculine" in a particular society, or what it means when someone's actions do not match the familiar, widely understood expectations of their social position.

Though there are a variety of understandings of where these cultural codes are derived, identity and performance theory are concerned with how these codes enter society and come to be used in identity construction. It is suggested that these codes are expressed and understood through representations (Alexander & Mast, 2006; Dyer, 1997; Hall cited in Maingard, 2006; Hebdige, 2005; M. Smith, 1992; S. Smith, 1999). According to Jeffrey C. Alexander (2006a), performances are informed by the collective representations that compose culture (p. 58). Every performance is based on systems of collective representation, the body of physical, social and natural referents a performance draws from

(Alexander, 2006a). Ultimately, representations both precede and determine performance (Pattie, 2007, p. 22). These representations may include narratives, discourses, icons, symbols, images and other performances. These representations are in and of themselves locations of identity, the place where identity is enacted or displayed. All of the actions and expressions discussed previously are elements of representation, gaining their meanings by symbolically referencing previously existing representations in a culture. Any performance, therefore, can be read as a representation of an identity. At the same time, representations serve as the basis for identities. New representations are built on previously existing ones. In terms of identity, ideals and prototypes are particularly important. These tend to be common, familiar and clearly understood depictions of particular values and behaviours that become reference points for members of a social group – as suggested by Frith (1996), identity is already an ideal (p. 174). Any emerging performance of identity may be inspired by and understood through its displayed connections to previously existing representations. As well, representations are considered the means by which outsiders form their feelings towards that being performed (Dyer, 1997). These ideas of understanding and response are particularly important in considering social positions, which are constructed concepts (Fong & Chuang, 2004). These positions become intelligible to a culture through representations which then guide public responses so that they are accepted and willingly reproduced. Social attitudes, perceptions and stereotypes are expressed in identities (Osborne & Wintle, 2006), particularly in ideals and prototypes, and shape how performers conduct themselves and how audiences react to them. Idealized or prototypical images of masculinity, Whiteness, and of being working class and American inform members of a group about how they are expected to act and appear in order to be accepted into any social status position. Elements of these representations can be borrowed in other performances in order to demonstrate one's social position and location within social norms and expectations, or be manipulated and modified in order to demonstrate alternative or ideologically differing identities.

Erving Goffman and _The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life_

This project is largely informed by the work of sociologist Erving Goffman in 1959's _The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life_, where he considers the concept of identity performance and explains how such performances are structured and carried out. Goffman prefaces his work on the statement that in interactions, people look to define their situation. They seek information about the individuals they are interacting with, and information about how they and the others are expected to

act in that situation. Goffman (1959) defines all identity as a performance – information about the self that is presented by an individual in interactions with others. This information includes all of the categories that comprise one's social identity: their social class, gender, race and sense of national belonging and background. This information is, itself, conveyed by more general, interpretable cues about occupation, authoritativeness, personal morals and values, the exhibition of particular social and cultural norms, and regional backgrounds and identities. Goffman (1959) theorizes that in interaction, individuals – or actors, as he refers to them in the text – convey identity information through "sign vehicles." These are cues carried by both conduct and appearance. Sign vehicles are often familiar expressions that allow audiences to apply their previous experiences or preexisting knowledge and stereotypes to what is being communicated (Goffman, 1959). This allows audiences to contextualize the performances of any individual in their existing understandings of different identities.

This pre-knowledge has an individual component, in that it can come from personal experiences or from information one has deliberately collected on a particular subject. Generally, however, pre-knowledge refers to common stereotypes, norms, codes, characterizations and representations – meaning-making elements which are shared by a culture or social group that inform how its members come to understand situation. As such, no social position or status is material – they are solely created through patterns of conduct and representation (Goffman, 1959). According to Goffman (1959), performers act within the traditions of particular social groups or statuses, either consciously or unconsciously. Performers are said to offer familiar, idealized impressions, presenting and reaffirming the accredited values of society (Goffman, 1959). Being is a matter of acting out and sustaining particular codes of conduct (Goffman, 1959). In this case, pre-knowledge informs the definitions of status categories and, therefore, individual identities. Goffman further explains that sign vehicles are part of impression creation. Actors continually give and give off information that creates an overall impression of their identity (Goffman, 1959). He distinguishes the information that an actor gives as the verbal symbols or their substitutes, including symbolic gestures, clothing choices and so on. These are used specifically to convey the information that is commonly known to be attached to these symbols. What is given off, then, are actions performed for reasons other than the communication of specific symbolic information. These actions can appear neutral, unintentional or accidental, though Goffman (1959) asserts that both that which is given and given off may involve misinformation, pretending and deception. In order to achieve the sense of an identity as being real or true, the performance must seem to be actively declaring the truth, or be read as an involuntary expression of the person's supposed self.

Part of the goal of a performance is to maintain some control and attempt to ensure that the audience understands the impression being made. Action must be conducted in such a way as to present the kind of impression that will lead the audience to act voluntarily with the impression's intention (Goffman, 1959). Such statements seem to assume a degree of intentionality and motivation in the performance of identity. However, a performance may be entirely unmotivated, and may be intentional or unintentional. The external representation of a self may be entirely performed – in no way connected to one's personality, or to the impressions made in other interactions. However, it may also be informed by one's actual self, made up of automatic mannerisms, or learned or deliberately employed mannerisms meant to communicate actor's sense of their "true self" and their actual membership to particular social groups.

Audiences expect a sense of coherence in a performance (Goffman, 1959). Indicators of social status must somehow be present throughout the entire performance in order for them to be understood as an indication of identity rather than as an inconsistency or error. Audiences often expect there to be connotative consistencies in a performer's manner, appearance and the setting of the performance. Additionally, a performer is expected to appear as though their performance is not calculated or a routine, and appear as though they give the same impression to difference audiences. Performances are expected to seem spontaneous, and the interactions between performer and a particular audience are expected to appear "special" (Goffman, 1959). This idea applies particularly to those in a position of fame.

Goffman's conception of performance involves what he refers to as the "front." This is otherwise defined as the expressive equipment that forms a performance – the geographic, physical, visual and status information that creates identity impressions. The most significant of this information is what Goffman (1959) calls the "personal front" – an actor's clothing, sex, age, race, size, speech and bodily gestures. The personal front has two elements. The first is appearance, which conveys social status and the activity being done, be it work, recreation, or otherwise. The second is manner, which involves action and behaviour, both as performed by the actor and as expected from the audience.

Pre-knowledge directly influences the creation and comprehension of the front. Fronts are often not unique and are, themselves, an element of an audience's previous experiences or existing understandings. As well, performers possess a limited range of sign equipment, and the roles a performer may demonstrate are often predetermined (Goffman, 1959). Most identities are interrelated

and based on common tropes. Fronts as a whole are often similar, allowing audiences to easily mobilize their pre-knowledge and understand the overall impression of the performance (Goffman, 1959).

Earlier, it was noted that geographic setting is an element of the front. Setting is also an important element of the regional nature of performances. Goffman (1959) theorizes that performances are bounded by regions and the barriers to audience perception they entail. The most significant region, and the only one of concern in this thesis, is the "front region," the location where the front is enacted. Front regions have their own set of fixed sign equipment, known as the "setting," which can serve to contextualize the performance. Goffman (1959) notes the performance of an individual in the front region may serve to create the appearance that the actor is maintaining or embodying certain standards. In short, this is where the interpretable impression of identity is made. It is through the actions and presentations taking place in the front region that an audience can come to understand the performer's persona.

Impressions, as suggested, need to be managed in order to be effective. The elements given in a performance are usually done with some purpose and may be influenced by the situation. However, an individual never stops giving off information, and much of what is given off is done so unknowingly and constantly (Goffman, 1959). Due to such uncontrollable elements of performance, controlling and defending impressions is important to actors, particularly when invested in demonstrating and maintaining a particular identity. This is accomplished through both defensive and protective measures.

Defensive measures involve a variety of dramaturgical methods: loyalty, discipline and circumspection (Goffman, 1959). Dramaturgical loyalty may also be defined as group solidarity. The performer's impression is managed by a team, who must make sure to support the performer. The performer too must remain loyal to their team and maintain distance from the audience where there is risk of disturbing the performance impression. As well, dramaturgical loyalty is maintained by occasionally changing audiences to make consistency more achievable and keep audiences from overanalyzing performances. Dramatalurgical discipline is also necessary in order to defend a performance. This involves making sure a performer remembers their role and avoids faux pas, defined here as inopportune gestures or intrusions in the performance. As well, it involves being prepared to account for disruptions and suppress any spontaneous reactions or feelings that may become interruptive. Dramatalurgical circumspection involves using prudence in how to best stage a performance, choosing the right team members, controlling the length of a performance, and being aware of what an audience already knows about the individual, as this will determine what actions are

inappropriate and which are already familiar. Circumspection also involves rehearsing, scripting, ordering and establishing audience behaviour expectations before the performance takes place – self-defence through defining the audience. The performer and team have to ensure that the audience or outside observers are able to use protective measures for themselves in interaction. This element of audience consideration allows the performers and their team to not only assure a familiarity with the audience, but to actually shape the audience's reactions through particular cues. These cues establish the behavioural norms for the performance, telling the audience when and how they are supposed to conduct themselves and respond during the interaction.

Protective measures are those taken by the audience in order to assist a performer in making the desired impression. Audiences deliberately recognize boundaries and use tact in interactions (Goffman, 1959). Audiences are expected to read the behavioural cues given to them by the performer and the performance situation and react accordingly, and agree to disregard or accept explanations for any errors or inconsistencies that do not fundamentally damage performance coherence. The performer also has a particular role in aiding protection, in addition to providing behavioural cues. Actors need to be aware of any signs that the audience is not accepting of the performance, and assure that any deliberate inconsistencies have a defended reason within the interaction.

2.2. Social Construction of Identities: Masculinity

Currently, research into gender is concerned with history and ethnography, looking into the relationship between gender differences and institutions, historical changes and economic structures (Connell, 1995). This is where much of the research on gender consulted for this thesis is based. R.W. Connell (1995) states sociological research views gender as being constructed in interaction, as do selected works in the more specific disciplines of performance studies and popular music studies. The body is considered an important site of creating, explaining and inscribing social difference (Dyer, 1997). Gender is dependent on the way bodies function and appear. Bodies are mapped to show what are conceived of as the essences of social identities (S. Smith, 1999, p. 4). Gender is thought to be inherent in, or express something true about the male or female body (Connell, 1995). However, bodies do not actually predate gender (S. Smith, 1999), and discourses create status positions and apply them to bodies. Gender is also conceptualized as a mechanism that works to maintain patriarchal order, dividing society and assembling status categories in a hierarchy of power and influence (Connell, 1995, p. 42). Therefore, bodies are responsible for demonstrating their social identities, serve as a basis for identity

types, and are used as a justification for how status categories are defined and the inequality they produce.

Social statuses function to assign rights and responsibilities to members in varying situations (Lorber, 2003). Gender types are thought of as subjectivities organized within systems of authority and control, meant to maintain those systems (Chapman & Rutherford cited in Pfeil, 1995, p. 18). Gender is, therefore, a social position or category that serves to guide and evaluate behaviour and appearance, based on a set of norms established to serve the interests of a particular social order (Kokopeli & Lakey, 2001). These norms dictate what is considered masculine and what is considered feminine in a society. They are relational definitions: that which is masculine implies what is not feminine and vice versa (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 2003; Zinn, Hondagneu-Sotelo & Messner, 2001).

As gender is a matter of the body, it is made in social practice (Connell, 1995). Gender is articulated through languages, positions, institutions and apparatuses (Berger & Watson, 1995). It needs to be produced through physical or visual signals in order to exist and be meaningful. Gender performances need to draw on preexisting, coded representations of gender in order to be discernable in a given situation. This system of identity production creates the models of masculinity that are to be emulated (Wallace, 2000). Differing situations demand different things of gender performances, and therefore, enactments of gender identity will vary depending on the context (Epstein, 2003). Theories about the social construction of gender may consider the body a neutral surface, where social symbols are displayed. Connell (1995) disagrees, stating these theories ignore the importance of sex and bodily materiality. Masculinity is at once a gender position, a set of practices used to identify oneself with that position, and the produced effect of these practices on the body, personality and culture (Connell, 1995). Some of masculinity's meaning is defined by how male bodies move, their possibilities for sex and muscle shapes. The social symbolic is therefore dependent on the body and vice versa. The body helps make some of what we think of as masculine through physical performance, and some of the characteristics of and norms about masculinity stem from the properties of the male body.

There are a number of traits that compose the norms of masculinity. These traits – the body of behaviours, dispositions and values that make up what it means to be a "true" man – are elements of what is referred to as hegemonic masculinity. This is the masculinity that is idealized in a society, securing the dominant position of men and the legitimacy of patriarchy (Connell, 1995). Additionally, as hegemonic masculinity is the most powerful social position, it is also the most normalized category, the standard against which all social difference is measured (Epstein, 2003; Haynes & Sussman cited in

Bhaba, 1995). Through exclusion, hegemonic masculinity creates subordination and marginality and defines who in a society has the "right" to authority (Connell, 1995). Gender needs to be constantly demonstrated and is affirmed and monitored by other men (Kimmel, 2003). Respect, credibility and authority are resultantly granted on the basis of meeting the established expectations physically, aesthetically and behaviourally. Any failure to do so forces men to either find other claims to respect, or to negotiate their way through the gender system (Connell, 1995).

Hegemonic masculinity has been defined as being based on a variety of characteristics and values. Hegemonically masculine men are envisioned to be White, heterosexual and of the professional class. They are thought to be, and therefore expected to be enterprising, controlling, willful, physically strong, employed, independent, resilient, in control of their emotions or unemotional, rational, active, in positions of authority, powerful, tough, competitive, dominant, productive, virtuous, natural drivers, patriotic and hard-working. Hegemonically masculine men have also been described as violent, evil, defined by a lust for power over others, gain access to power by degrading others, unrecognizing of their social advantage, racist, homophobic, defined by conquest, desiring of recognition, having a possessive, predatory sexuality, and mistrustful of women. These men draw strength through dominance, actively deny their sexuality by promoting reason and the mind over the body, exhibit musical, technical and intellectual mastery, and are thought to have different leadership styles than women (Connell, 1995; Dyer, 1997; Epstein, 2003; Fox, 2004; Garman, 2000; Gilmore cited in Connell, 1995; Goffman cited in Kimmel, 2003; Jakle & Sculle, 2008; Kimmel, 2003; Kokopeli & Lakey, 2001; McIntosh, 2001; Palmer, 1997; Pfeil, 1995; Pfeil, 1997; Riley, 2004; Seidler cited in Connell, 1995; Sinfield cited in Simpson, 2004; Thompson; 2001). These traits are embodied in idealized representations of hegemonic masculinity, and create the expectations that inform how masculine identities are recognized in American society.

Male homosocial interaction is also important in communicating and reading hegemonic masculinity. Masculinity itself has been said to be built on competitiveness and is performed to and judged by other men (M. Kimmel cited in Flood, 2007; S. Bird, 1996). According to Jean Lipman-Blumen, homosociality is based on female exclusion and intended to maintain male dominance (cited in Kimmel & Aronson, 2004). A homosocial environment, therefore, serves such identity practices, providing a space where patriarchy can be reinforced and masculinity can be created and affirmed. In a homosocial environment, members of the same sex are the most important, and those of the opposite sex are

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usually excluded and/or devalued[2] (Menser, 2004; Flood, 2007; Nye cited in Flood, 2007). Additionally, a homosocial environment is marked by a union with others of the same sex, where individuals can feel as if they are being "themselves" and having "fun" (Menser, 2004). Male homosociality supports identities that fit into hegemonic ideals (S. Bird, 1996). It serves to demonstrate solidarity, power, dominance and prowess, and can provide an environment where unappealing demands of patriarchy such as families and marriage can be avoided without compromising hegemonic male identity (Flood, 2007; Gerson & Reiss cited in Menser, 2004; Horrocks, 1995). Male friendship, specifically, is thought to affirm masculinity through associations with virility and manhood (Flood, 2007). Homosociality, then, reinforces hegemonic masculinity, male social power and gender divides (Menser, 2004) and can provide an impression of masculine identity in performance.

Masculine identities are ultimately formed around wage earning abilities, mechanical skills and the patriarchal order (Connell, 1995). Work is considered a major basis of masculine identity (Morgan cited in Palmer, 1997). The cultural imagery of masculinity is concerned with work – men are motivated to concern themselves with work as, ideologically, this is what men are supposed to do and where they are supposed to succeed (Connell, 1995). Work offers men the opportunity to demonstrate mastery and authority, but this is not available to all men in all positions. Certain types of work are defined as masculine based on patriarchal ideology's construction of men as rational and women as emotional (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity claims to embody rationality, casting itself as the position that represents the interests of society. Rationality is also a key value of capitalism, and it is thought that masculinity defines itself in accordance to corporate economies and their cultures (Winter & Robert cited in Connell, 1995, p. 164-5). Resultantly, positions in law, politics, defence and, increasingly, technology are thought of as masculine jobs, and being in these positions transfers their authority onto the employee. However, men working in postindustrial, capitalist societies often work for wages and hold manual labour positions, where they are not allowed the same kind of power as other men. These workers often lack the control and financial superiority of other job positions, and are faced with the pressure to reassert their masculinity in alternative ways (Palmer, 1997). This leads men to engage in what is referred to as "face work" – the exaggerating of claims of masculine potency to compensate for their inability to acquire hegemonic masculinity through work (Palmer, 1997).

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[2] In a male homosocial environment, women may also be included if they perform as an are treated as "one of the boys" (Fine cited in Kimmel & Aronson, 2004).

Changes in industry, economic conditions, wages and the organization of national power all contribute directly to ideas about gender and distinguishing gender categories. The varying masculine archetypes that have emerged throughout the last number of centuries have often been influenced by power distribution and accumulation. These male types were often structured around a perceived need to protect patriarchy and capitalist practices (Connell, 1995).

Several archetypal masculinities from the 18th and 19th Century are identified as having established the ideal masculinities of the present (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 2003). Significant to this thesis are heroic artisan masculinity and the 1830s marketplace man. Heroic artisan masculinity is based in republican virtue, and is depicted as physically strong, economically autonomous, a good father, and a participant in both community and democracy (Kimmel, 2003). 1830s marketplace man masculinity was defined by success in the capitalist marketplace and the accumulation of wealth, power and status (Kimmel, 2003). This ideal was a businessman or an entrepreneur, devoted to his work rather than family, engaged in homosocial competition and interaction, and validated through the demonstration of acquisition and exclusion of others (Kimmel, 2003). The marketplace man remains the ideal form of masculinity in North America, a masculinity defined by a presence in the public sphere, capitalist accumulation and displays of homosocial competitiveness (Kimmel, 2003).

In the latter half of the 20th Century, hegemonic masculinity based on the marketplace man began to undergo scrutiny and re-conceptualization brought on by queer and women's movements, economic changes that saw more men entering the service industry, and an increased focus on male bodies in media and entertainment (Simpson, 1994). The 1980s were marked by what Simpson (1994) calls a fashionable "crisis of masculinity," the result of social, political and economic developments altering many of the positions and values hegemonic masculinity drew from in order to construct itself (p. 1). Political and social movements began in order to "defend" men from this instability and reinstate or reinforce the masculinity that propped up the authority and dominance of patriarchal institutions. During this period, representations of hegemonic masculinity began focusing on the action hero and the bodybuilder (or, often, the bodybuilding action hero), both masculine types that inverted the position of the male figure on display. These representations of masculinity cast the exaggeratedly muscular White male as a hero, a patriot or true American and a warrior, disavowing the passive qualities of the male body on display (Simpson, 1994). These bodies were also representative of then-U.S. President Ronald Reagan's discourse of personal responsibility and individual liberty (Simpson, 1994). Action (and Western) narratives are centered on the powerful masculine body, initially showing it as a spectacle or

object of display, threatening it to show its fallibility and ultimately redeeming it by showing the powerful body's ability to regenerate (P. Smith, 1995). The built body of these popular representations also indicates achievement, the demonstration of mind and will to create these powerful, hyper-masculine bodies without interference from physical limitations (Dyer, 1997).

2.3. Social Construction of Identities: American National Identity

Nations are, in Benedict Anderson's oft-cited definition – imagined communities (Gilbert, 2006; Lopez, 2006; S. Smith, 1999; Theiss-Morse, 2009). They are sovereign, self-governing and have limitations and boundaries (Theiss-Morse, 2009). National identity is therefore a social situation about feeling a part of a particular group (Theiss-Morse, 2009). Community itself is based on the belief of group members that a community actually exists, and that people are bound by common characteristics (Miller cited in Theiss-Morse, 2009). Generally, a sense of community can bring with it a sense of common fate or destiny, common history, and a common cultural and political consciousness (Fong, 2004b; Miller cited in Theiss-Morse, 2009). These national communities are marked by a common cultural legacy and history, a willingness of its members to share a future, and a defence of shared social customs, practices, norms and values (Lopez, 2006). These shared values are not necessarily shared in reality, but are subjective, dependent on the power structure of a nation. These are values meant to be internalized as representations of the "national character" of a community (Gilbert, 2006). Generally, cultures are conceptualized as having specific, coded models of personhood which are themselves aspects of that culture's identity (Fong, 2004a). Nations – and more specifically, the group members of nations – are expected to display particular identities that display national values. National identity is defined by social forces, from what it means to be a member of that group, to how that identity is enacted, to how important national identity is to that group (Theiss-Morse, 2009). It is also important to note that identity is not only nation-specific but region-specific. Regions, like nations, are also discursive constructs (Dimitriadis, 2001), sharing geographical and cultural bonds. These regions often have their own histories that influence identity performance, providing specific values and differing representations that define and typify identities (Dimitriadis, 2001).

America is thought to identify as a country valuing individualism, personal courage and exploration (related to a greater national interest in and history of discovery and expansion), hard work, mobility, progress, change, success, wanderlust, independence, freedom, social equality, patriotism, utilitarianism and the drive for perfection (Bird, 1994; Jakle & Sculle, 2008; Langston, 2001; Ortner,

2003; Riley, 2004; Theiss-Morse, 2009; Zalinsky cited in Jakle & Sculle, 2008). Ultimately, though, there is little formal consensus on the true meaning of American national identity. However, it is known that national identities are often connected to the characteristics of dominant group members and their stereotypes (Sidanius & Pratlo cited in Theiss-Morse, 2009). Moreover, group members are constantly surrounded by symbolic systems and norms that create national consciousness (Billig cited in Theiss-Morse, 2009). These things suggest – overtly or otherwise – that Americans should love their country, respect American values, and uphold the political and historical structures that established the nation (Theiss-Morse, 2009). Elizabeth Theiss-Morse (2009) ultimately identifies four primary understandings of American national identity, informed by the theorized substance of general national identities: identity as historically ethno-cultural, identity as a set of beliefs or principles, identity as community and identity as patriotism.

Historically ethno-cultural American identity considers nation to be defined by ancestry, language, religion and principles of government, and believes its people are similar in manners and customs. This view is where the United States gets its racial and religious identity. Historically and ethno-culturally, America is thought to be built on Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture. It is argued that Americans don't have to be Protestant to be American, but that undermining this culture is detrimental to one's perceived status as an American (Huntington cited in Theiss-Morse, 2009, p. 17). Currently, this form of identity is reflected in the definition of Americanness as White and Christian.

The idea that identity is formed by a set of beliefs or principles looks to the ideas articulated in the writings of the founders of the United States. They outline a common set of principles referred to as the "American Creed" (Huntington cited in Theiss-Morse, 2009, p. 18). These include liberty, equality, democracy, constitutionalism, limited government and private enterprise.

Identity may also be understood in terms of community. This perspective prioritizes an interest in the group as the source of American identity, grounded in ideas of civic republicanism. Therefore, American identity is represented by active, participatory citizenry, a commitment to the common good and to community (Theiss-Morse, 2009). This does not necessarily mandate political action in order to identify as American, but instead indicates a more general feeling of obligation to other Americans.

The final understanding sees identity as patriotism. Patriotism is defined by an attachment to American symbols, history and forms of government, more so than an attachment to its people (Theiss-Morse, 2009). Patriotism demonstrates attachment to one's country, and the prioritizing one's country

over oneself (Theiss-Morse, 2009). Thiess-Morse (2009) argues that patriotism is more a norm than an identity and may even be interchangeable with identity itself.

An encompassing definition of what it means to be an American may be the most effective in addressing all of the representational elements that compose national identity. Despite a lack of defining statements regarding American identity, several ideas exist about such a position. Theiss-Morse (2009) states that national identities are structured by group dynamics and levels of personal identification. America has strong identifiers – those who believe themselves to be prototypical members and have strong, exclusionary opinions on who that prototypical member should be – and low identifiers, who feel less connected to the community as a whole, prioritize different values from strong identifiers, and are more inclusionary as to who should or can be a member. Thiess-Morse (2009) finds that the prototypical American is thought of as White, Christian, born in America and individualistic (p. 80). Strong identifiers tended to identify as older, Christian, less educated, less politically knowledgeable, generally trusting of others, likely to identify with a variety of other social groups, aren't usually Black or extremely liberal in their values, and believe "true" Americans should be native-born, hold citizenship, speak English, live in the United States for most of their lives and hold a similarly ethno-cultural view of belonging. They are also less inclined to dismiss the need to be White in order to be American, and believe Americans ought to identify as Christians, value freedom and support national institutions (Theiss-Morse, 2009).

As with every social category, national identity and its attributes are created. Americanness is artifactual and reproducible (Wallace, 2000), communicated and created through symbols and performances. Symbolism is required to create a national identity (Lopez, 2006), in order to provide representations that can later be incorporated into identity performances to define oneself as an American. These performances may include direct representations of the values that compose national identity, symbolic representations of the nation as a whole – specifically seen in colours, flags, anthems and other American national symbols – or representations of a prototypical member of this identity (Bird, 1994; Billig cited in Theiss-Morse, 2009; Osborne & Wintle, 2006; Roediger, 2007; Samuels, 2000; Sidanus & Pratlo cited in Theiss-Morse, 2009; S. Smith, 1999; Wallace, 2000). Visual images and the body have been central in defining American identity (S. Smith, 1999). The images of the Founding Fathers are heavily embedded in both American ideology and visual identities: the Founding Fathers are America and its cultural values, and are also White, male, Protestant, Northern European and English-speaking (Theiss-Morse, 2009). As suggested here, much of national identity – the demonstration of being

American – is at once composed of both "looking" American and "acting" American. Many values in America's national ideology are demonstrated through performative rituals, the acting out of one's patriotism, independence, and so on (S. Smith, 1999), while others are in and of themselves social positions that are visually symbolized through sex, class and race characteristics. In addition to images of prototypical, "average" Americans, this national identity is also represented by a variety of popular icons. Though these will be discussed more specifically at other points during this project, it should be noted that the icons that represent idealized Americanness also represent North American hegemonic masculinity and Whiteness, demonstrating the interconnectedness of these categories. These icons represent strength, simplicity, enterprise, (Connell, 1995; Dyer, 1997, Limón, 2000; Simpson, 1994; P. Smith, 1995) and usually have some connection to images of the frontier, particularly in Western novels and films. To be defined as American, an actor may show one or all of these types of representations in identity performance.

In researching the concept of American national identity with regard to American popular music and the artists considered in this thesis, several sources of representation emerged as particularly significant. Integral to the identities of Springsteen, and to some extent, to the social identities of Fallon is the philosophy of early American republicanism. Though Springsteen employs some of the representations of working class people to be discussed in section 2.5., Springsteen's performed identity is largely rooted in republican values.[3] Republican philosophy and its art tradition, and the related myth of the American Dream and the construction of the American work ethic have all provided a basis for Springsteen as well as a significant number of other musicians to be able to display themselves as American, as well as White, working class and masculine.

Republicanism played an important role in shaping American national identity (Cullen, 1997) since the American Revolution in the 18th Century. Colloquially referred to as modern "small 'R' republicanism," this is the philosophical position of the figures considered responsible for founding the United States of America (Cullen, 1997). It is, in essence a philosophy driven by a desire to instate what this group of men and their supporters believed to be a realistic, appropriate system of democracy. Republicanism argued against capitalist distributions of power and fought conceptions of entrenched privilege, instead promoting individual aspiration and achievement (Cullen, 1997). Republicanism valued mobility. It conceptualized the American people as being free to move from one social position to another through tenacity and hard work, and sought to represent the interests of the working class. As

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[3] As has previously been argued in works by Jim Cullen (1997) and Bryan K. Garman (2000).

well, republican philosophy believed humans were to be accountable for their actions (Cullen, 1997, p. 19). As such, republicanism was informed by several ideals, including meritocracy, serving the public good and fundamental social equality (Cullen, 1997, p. 6-7). Republicanism envisioned an America defined by equality, mobility, optimism, community, social responsibility and at the same time, a concern for the individual's best interests. Republicanism was also marked by its own paranoia, a fear of failing to succeed in making America a society of independent workers which would eventually contribute to the consciousness of its working class and give due to racial segregation in early America[4] (Roediger, 2007).

Republicanism birthed its own art tradition, rooted in the ideas of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman. Republican art products were interested in connecting individual's personal stories to greater society and the daily lives of "average" Americans, and identified simplicity as the core of American life. These artists were inspired, as well, by the music of their time. Musicians creating within the republican tradition were also telling stories of everyday life in the post-Civil War period (Cullen, 1997, p. 30). Their music displayed some awareness of class distinctions and referenced traditions from Black music (Cullen, 1997). These traditions were thought to produce songs meant to be shared and easily appreciated, and represented a technical simplicity valued by republican artists as these performers were often enslaved people with no access to formal musical training (Cullen, 1997). Republican artists also worked with the philosophy's prioritization of movement, identifying movement as a representation and value of freedom and travel as the way to experience idealized freedom and a sense of boundlessness (Cullen, 1997).

The values of hard work and achievable mobility promoted in the philosophy of republicanism connect to and inspire the ultimate mythologizing of American social mobility. In nearly every discussion of American society and identity, the idea of the "American Dream" – a term coined by historian James Truslow Adams in 1931 – emerges (Cullen, 1994). The American Dream is based on the idea that anything is possible if it is wanted badly enough (Cullen, 1997). American Dream ideology glorifies mobility and opportunity, representing individual achievement as inevitable, despite reality (Ortner, 2003). The mythologized legacy of The United States itself is based on such an ideology – one of fulfilling desire through tenacity and determination – as it continually imagines itself as an imperial power and place of unlimited progress. In popular conception, America's history is a one of victory that glosses over

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[4] Republicanism is also recognized for its connections to Whiteness and hegemonic masculinity (Garman, 2000; Roediger, 2007) – while the philosophy promoted equality, real republicanism was marked by male exclusivity and maintenance of the interests of the White working class.

or reinterprets negativity and positions loss or error as something that is transcended, with few exceptions (Cullen, 1997). Leslie Fielder stated that to be American is to imagine a destiny rather than inherit one, to be the inhabitant of myth rather than history (cited in Cullen, 1997, p. 164). America itself is built on this American dream, its myth of its own greatness inspired by a history and common imagery of its people – in the words of Theiss-Morse (2009) – pulling themselves up by the bootstraps (p. 138). Ultimately, the American Dream is inspired by Christianity. It is a largely Protestant ideology, one based on the tenet of perfectionism, a religious conception of personal freedom and agency in controlling one's destiny (Cullen, 1997).

America has also long mythologized a strong work ethic. Hard work – the process of achievement and the true marker of achievement in republican terms – is considered a core value of the American identity, a value that characterizes its people. Jim Cullen (1997) defines this portrayal of work in terms of Max Weber, who argued that work during the emergence of capitalism was branded as a calling rather than a necessity. This idealized view of work that underlies the American Dream has, however, proven to be just that - an idealization of what, for many, barely provides survival. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it has been demonstrated that the upward mobility promised through the internalization of the American work ethic is impossible. Those who experience the fallibility of America's mythologized work ethic, then, could align themselves with another ethic, one that could offer some kind of fulfillment (while still ensuring their position as contributors to the economy) (Cullen, 1997). This is what Cullen (1997) describes as the American "play ethic," another ideology that promotes a focus on a commitment to leisure as an end in itself. Leisure is thereby offered as a means for some to enrich their lives and find a sense of community, and would ultimately come to structure entertainment forms.

2.4. Social Construction of Identities: Whiteness and Racialized Identity

Race is a social concept, an ideological construction with no objective dimensions (Omi & Winant, 2003; Rodegier, 2007). It exists in a relationship with other social status positions, and is a foundational concept in power hierarchies. These social relations along with a situatedness in a larger historical context give racial categories their meaning (Omi & Winant, 2003). Race is as much a performed identity as class, gender and national identity, with Whiteness in particular being identified as a distinct, recent historical fiction (Hill, 1997). It is based on particular expectations and norms, which are actualized and transmitted through representations. The way a society understands race and what racial identities are supposed to look like serve to shape identity presentations, conduct and categories

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of status themselves (Omi & Winant, 2003). Racial codes and identities are created and transmitted through visuals and moral terminologies (Lott, 2000; S. Smith, 1999). These representations help to create Whiteness by articulating its other, and rarely through articulating specific meanings of Whiteness. These representations have not changed significantly over time (Dyer, 1997).

A variety of historical events were active in creating White identity, including colonialism and European conquest, slavery, waves of immigration, and associated policies addressing non-White and economically disadvantaged populations (Lipsitz, 2003). All of these things articulated and positioned Whiteness as dominant - as a criteria for and administrator of power. Popular representations would resultantly reflect and disseminate these ideas about race, essentially helping to solidify racial consciousness (or, where appropriate, a lack of consciousness) among American people. There are few directly articulated explanations of White culture. Likely, this is because of its efforts to naturalize itself and its racial position. White culture only takes shape in relation to others (Frankenberg, 2003), and would then therefore be defined by the nature of its relations with other groups. It has been considered the standard against which all else is defined against, and is itself defined by what it is not (Dyer, 1997; Rubin, 2001).

Non-White cultures are, in the American imagination, usually clearly defined. Whiteness and White culture, however, claims to be natural and to speak just as human (Dyer, 1997), while other races are thought to speak for a particular, imagined group. White in and of itself represents neutrality, lending well to the idea of Whiteness as a norm (Dyer, 1997). Whiteness has often been thought of as a fact of life, not requiring of public declaration or deliberate characterization (Rubin, 2001). In order for Whiteness to remain dominant, it needs to be visible and invisible, not monitored or strictly defined. White identity is based on what has been called "white terror" – the struggle to be omnipresent, yet passive, and indistinct or invisible yet dominant (Hill, 1997, p.2).

Whiteness is most often thought of as cultureless and formless, distinct from being an ethnic or regional identity (Frankenberg, 2003). Representations offer White people the impression that there are an infinite number of White identities to choose from (Dyer, 1997, p.12). It is a fetishized identity, one that provides its embodiments with cultural capital (Fox, 2004). To be White is to be granted a kind of automatic social privilege. White people are seen as individuals, their accomplishments and actions thought of as personal ones (McIntosh cited in Dyer, 1997). Those who are identified as White are thought to have the option of disassociating themselves from whatever ethnicity they may have, and

simply being White or American, while those with other racially marked ethnicities are restricted in terms of where they can live and who they can associate with, among other things (Waters, 2001).

White culture, therefore, may ultimately be defined by its power dynamics rather than any particular stereotypes. It is, then, a culture defined as possessing the right to feel and have superiority over other races, a culture characterized by an industrial or enterprising work discipline, as an ethnic-less culture, and as a consumer culture (Pfeil, 1997). Ruth Frankenberg (2003) posits factors that mark White culture, most significant here being a sense of being ruined by capitalism and a feeling of the modern industrial condition, and a perspective of power and capitalism as destructive.

Frankenberg (2003) finds White culture is thought to have fully internalized capitalism and its perspectives on fulfillment and work. White culture is created and articulated through signifiers of what Frankenberg (2003) terms the "modern condition." This refers to feelings of alienation and isolation that became part of daily life for (though not exclusively for) White workers with the onset of industrialization. White culture is therefore concerned with a longing for the preindustrial, pastoral past, an idealized vision of what life was (never really) like before the corruptive influence of capitalism.

These elements of White culture defined by Frankenberg are also reflected in and may be understood through the work of Richard Dyer. Dyer (1997) identifies three primary elements that help depict Whiteness as an embodied quality: Christianity, race, and imperialism and enterprise. All of these discourses provide a definition of Whiteness and White culture.

Christianity itself is not White, but is thought of as the religion of Europe brought to America by European settlers, helping to distinguish "American" culture from Native American culture. European culture was marked with Christianity. Christianity was itself marked by Europe in the depicting of Christ as White and its invocation in doctrines that claim god created Whiteness. Christianity gives Whiteness a basis to depict itself as natural and a product of the human body (Dyer, 1997). Christianity provides the grounding for the idea of the mind as being superior to the inferior, evil body, a dynamic that orders ideas of race. Race is based on different embodiments of spirit, a distinction that can be seen in popular music. The White body is thought to have "spirit" – aspiration, intellectual power, determination and aesthetic refinement (Dyer, 1997). Black bodies, on the other hand, were characterized as having soul. Soul was a quality of the body, based on immediate feeling and pleasure. This relates to a conceptualization of African people as more natural, physical and sexual (Frith, 1996). Soul was equated with evil and was at the mercy of the fallibilities of the body, according to some doctrines of White Christianity (Dyer, 1997). Christianity values aspiration and continued striving for transcendence even

when it is known to be impossible. These values appear in images of suffering, self-denial, self-control, material achievement and issues of the superiority of mind and will – images that are used to define White culture and its values (Dyer, 1997). Black culture, because of its perceived relationship to the body and soul, becomes an Other, constructed in opposition to this idea of White culture (Frith, 1996).

Race is the second formation that created representations of Whiteness. Discussions and depictions of race inform what we currently conceive of as Whiteness. Significant here are the romanticized depictions of Switzerland, North Germany and Scotland that helped to give definition to the "white character" (Berger cited in Dyer, 1997). These regions were portrayed as cold, harsh, demanding of enterprise to deal with the land, sublimely beautiful, near to god, and visually White, both in terms of climate and population. This portrayal came to represent White people, ascribing Whiteness with the values of discipline, enterprise, energy and spiritual elevation. It also constructed the White body as one that was suited to facing such elements – hard, upright and muscular (Dyer, 1997). This White body was further constructed against non-White bodies, and was meant to represent White superiority and a national right to conquest (Dyer, 1997).

These ideas of will and determination inform the third element of White representations: enterprise. Enterprise is associated with will, defined as the control of the self and others, and with an ability to lead. Enterprise was cast as a natural, racially motivated need to achieve greatness (Dyer, 1997). Enterprise is best seen in imperialism, a concept dominated in the present imagination by White men. Whiteness in America has its immediate history in European colonialism. "White" was used to distinguish European traders, explorers and settlers who would come into contact with African and indigenous peoples and in some instances, justify colonization (Roediger, 2007). Colonial victory created the image of the White work ethic – White men were thought to have a strong, inherent connection to work and discipline – making it appear as if these White Europeans were more deserving of others' land because the Native Americans failed to use its resources to their supposed full potential (Roediger, 2007). Enterprise is the key value expressed in classically American images of the Western and the Frontier, where the purpose is largely to achieve control and bring order to a place and a people thought of as lacking it (Dyer, 1997). White culture's values of achievement and dominance come from these images.

Additionally, Ralph Ellison argues that representations of Black people also serve to define White identity (cited in West, 2001). The marginalized social positions of Black Americans defined them as outsiders and symbols of limits, and served as examples of the extent to which someone was or was

not American (Ellison cited in West, 2001). Images of American people during the time of slavery served to define Black people, non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, and resultantly, White people as well. Ways of seeing that prioritize Whiteness and White superiority are justified by claims of scientific objectivity (hooks cited in S. Smith, 1999). Race and racial difference are based on a discourse of biological racism, which made race genetic and natural, and constructed a hierarchy where Anglo-Saxon identity implied a scientifically accounted-for superiority (S. Smith, 1999; Thandeka, 2003). This biological racism was often created and disseminated through illustrations which visualized racial and species differences, alluding to the inhumanity and immorality of those who were not considered White, and idealized and specified the image of Whiteness as a stereotypical Anglo-Saxon subject (S. Smith, 1999).

2.5. Social Construction of Identities: Economic Class

Classes are difficult to define, existing as both economic identities and as something more imaginary or iconic (Newitz & Wray, 1997). Classes are thought to have their own artistic and expressive practices (Fox, 2004), ones that encode ideas about that class's values and norms, and how that class position interacts with other categories. These practices, therefore, create a discernable class culture (Fox, 2004). Class is ultimately a system of categorization, or more accurately, hierarchy, and a cultural identity demonstrated by how its members look, act, speak and their occupations (Langston, 2001). These identities are often maintained and adapted to justify and preserve this and other ordering systems. Class cultures may be constructed in response to economic changes on a regional, national and economic level (Fox, 2004). In general, class is meant to imply and designate pathology and taste to particular social groups, more than to reference an economic position (Murray & Gilder cited in Newitz & Wray, 1997). Class culture is based on marginalization and stereotypes, and is therefore necessary in justifying the capitalist organization of society (Butsch, 2003).

The identifying mark of social class in a performed identity is based on what Goffman (1959) calls the "status symbol." This involves the manipulation of one's class in performance, either downplaying wealth or making certain activities look less profitable (Goffman, 1959). The same can be said for disguising a working class position by employing performances that give the illusion of belonging to a different social stratum. In identity performance, articulating class is largely dependent on representations of status. These range from clothing, regional associations, political associations, speech and iconic and symbolic representations of "low" or "high" culture.

This project concerns itself with White working class culture, as this is the class category both musicians' performed identities are associated with (regardless of their "actual" relationship to the class system). The working class is, in the briefest definition possible, the group of people who are required to provide labour in order to earn their survival, people whose work is paid as a wage rather than a salary, and whose occupations are not defined as "professional" (Ehrenreich, 2001). Cultural representations often depict the working class negatively, but also help direct the narratives of the self-made man and the American Dream directly to the working class, an ideological attempt to ensure working class compliance with their class position.[5] Representations of White working men, specifically, identify them as class-centred, racist, traditionally masculine, populist, inarticulate, loyal to old fashioned values, reactionaries, irresponsible and requiring supervision, parochial, nationalistic, patriarchal, inscrutable, territorial, and macho (Butsch, 2003; Ehrenreich, 2001; Fox, 2004; Hebdige, 2005; Pfeil, 1995). The class distinction thought to be used most in America is that of know and know not, characterizing the classes as inherently different and in a relationship of superiority, (Ross cited in Ching, 1997), with the lowest earning classes finding themselves cast as "lower" both economically and culturally.

Working class expressive practices are often centred on the value of ordinariness, which implies a concern for nostalgia and a longing to return to a past that was less complicated and better, but gone (Fox, 2004). Representations of Americans not included in the professional classes depict them as talking for talk's sake, which marks them as a White cultural Other (Fox, 2004). Talk is also identified as the central value of ordinariness, the way the past is mythologized, momentarily returned to and eulogized (Fox, 2004). Clothing, too, plays a large part in articulating working class identity (Ortner, 2003). The working class have a stereotyped costume, based on the clothing most closely associated with labour: blue jeans, overalls and boots (Hebdige, 2005; Langston, 2001), These clothing symbols, regardless of the intention behind their being typed as "working class clothing," also display casualness, an alternative to the sophisticated wardrobe or (certain types of) uniform dress, and therefore, the masculinities of the corporate or defence worlds.

Representations of the American "poor"[6] and working class treat them in ways meant to marginalize them. They are made invisible or faceless, on account of a need to maintain social difference and to disguise the failure of any middle class[7] myths (Allison, 2003; Mantsios, 2003). The economically

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[5] Compliance is also created by defining class from the outside, reflecting deliberately constructed images of its members back to themselves through the media (Hebdige, 2005).
[6] "Poor" is the term employed by both authors.
[7] "Middle class" is the term employed by both authors.

disadvantaged are characterized as unworthy, unwelcome, deserving of or responsible for their class status and less sensitive to hopelessness (Allison, 2003; Mantsios, 2003). They are, however, also offered representations that reinforce the image of America as a classless society, a place where mobility is not only possible but normal, and a place where the American working class can succeed through their own labour. The working class is offered images of themselves that perpetuate these mythologies. Representations of the American Dream achieved occur relatively often, and are visible, real (or at least seemingly real) stories of success and possibility, employed to both realize mythologies and develop the sense of false hope and self-denigration which keeps order in the class system (Langston, 2001).

Dorothy Allison (2003) summarizes depictions of the working class as being either mythical or ordinary. Popular images of the American working class casts them in one of two ways, particularly when there is little pre-stereotyping of the people being imagined, as the "good poor" or the "bad poor" (Allison, 2003). The "good poor" are hardworking, ragged but clean and intrinsically noble, the kind of man's man discussed previously. The "bad poor" are ungrateful, working dead-end jobs, drunk, old, worn, fat, get pregnant young and have no options for mobility or change, even in future generations (Allison, 2003).[8] Allison (2003) also argues that poverty is romanticized in American culture, often serving as the backdrop for escape narratives. As well, the role of the union in the lives of the American working class is seen as exaggerated. Historical images of workers show people either mobilized and engaged in unions, or broken by union failure, and the role of the union is still thought of as a powerful influence in the lives and struggles of working people (Allison, 2003). However, unions are not necessarily a part of real experiences, and belief in them and other forms of social or political organization is considered suspect and futile (Allison, 2003; Fox, 2004).

Aaron A. Fox (2004) suggests that the historical project of working class culture is to respond to and resist the objectification and alienation of a class-based political economy (p. 42). As such, working class cultural forms often address their marginalization (Hebdige, 2005), concerning themselves with dignity and agency because of their lack of access to those qualities in their political and economic experiences (Fox, 2004).

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[8] The culturally-defined, negative connotations of these descriptors are implied in Allison's definition.

2.6. Intersections of Social Identities

      Social identities are often interrelated in their definitions. American identity is thought to be White, while American working class identity is thought to create Whiteness. Additionally, classes have their own particularly gender prototypes. This section looks to highlight some of those significant intersections.

      In considering American national identity, it is important to recognize that this identity is interrelated with Whiteness. Though Protestant belief practices, republicanism, the American Dream, and a glorified work ethic are theorized as all-American, and, in some aspects, available to or concerned with every American, all of these fundamentals are imagined as White. Protestantism is characterized as a White religion, republicanism and its art are largely the products of White men representing the interests of their fellow White men, and hard work and the American dream are often depicted as being accomplished and carried out by White people, with leisure often being associated with Black or other non-White forms. Most of these foundational elements of American identity are concerned with equality, to the point where it is considered a core American value. Efforts have been made to depict America as multicultural, accepting, and a place where racial distinctions are invalid. However, early America was inarguably a raced construct, built on images of "true" Americans as White, and non-White people as disruptive of American social order (Allen cited in Dyer, 1997; Roediger, 2007; S. Smith, 1999). Today's America is still, ideologically, a White country where power and Whiteness are reciprocal and the images that created race in early America are still present and active (Martinez, 2001; S. Smith, 1999). As mentioned, White Americans are currently in the unique position of being able to performatively choose their ethnicity and to identify exclusively as "American" (Waters, 2001).

      Whiteness also plays a significant role in the image of the American working class. The industrial working class identity types considered here are almost entirely imagined as White and communicated through White prototypes. This is the result of developments during the 18th and 19th Centuries. The formation of what we know to be the American working class occurred simultaneously with the development of their sense of Whiteness, a development which came to define the working class as inherently White and therefore superior to other races, a fiction that, in part, remains (Roediger, 2007). The American Revolution came to solidify preexisting connections between White as free and independent – and therefore, more American – and Black as enslaved and anti-citizen (Roediger, 2007). Revolutionary rhetoric played on the insecurities of working class structure, which was becoming increasingly stratified and alienated as industrialization spread. Workers sought a republican-informed

economy and society, one not built on a master and worker (or, according to the rhetoric at the time, slave) duality, opposed to the inequalities of capitalism, and seeking small producers and less alienation (Roediger, 2007). However, republicanism still believed in some presence of wage or hired labour, and feared revolt from both the upper classes and the labouring and enslaved classes. As a result of encroaching capitalism and the shakiness of republican ideology, Whiteness was constructed as a compensatory wage. In exchange for serving a labour system that ensured insufficient pay, routinized behaviour, no recognition and little hope for change, White workers would be rewarded by privileges associated with their race. Whiteness would allow them to feel superior to those outside of this category, and be entitled to head their households, use their private property as they pleased and have access to a variety of other social and psychological privileges (Pfeil , 1997; DuBois cited in Roediger, 2007). These "wages" of Whiteness rewarded participation in the industrial system, developed a class bond by developing a racial bond, and created a way of controlling the behaviour of those who did not comply with capitalist labour organization (Roediger, 2007).

Identifying working class Whiteness as privileged depended on a general change in the definition of both White and Black labourers. Though republican ideology claimed to believe in slave freedom, there also existed a vested interest in maintaining slavery because of its ability to act as a threat and as an example of the consequences of straying from republican ideals and failing to become a labour republic (Roediger, 2007, p. 46-47). Wage work was equated with a kind of slavery, and needed to be ideologically differentiated in order to maintain republican values and avoid the degradation and dehumanization associated with slavery. Post-Revolution America also came to define independence as an ideal of masculinity. People had to somehow make peace with their labour situation and gender ideologies praising independence, control and mastery (Roediger, 2007). Due to these developments, the White worker came to be defined as a "free White labourer," existing in a language system and a social system that was determined to demonstrate their position as distinct from slavery. Due to the need to differentiate themselves from slaves, White labourers also needed a new term to address their employers with, in order to at least superficially avoid becoming cast as White slaves. Certain jobs held by White workers were reflective of the master-slave order. David Roediger (2007) explains that in jobs like mechanic and artisan – skilled labour positions – workers had and could potentially become masters of their trade. Masters more closely represented capitalism in their identities, as they were the owners of the materials workers needed in order to produce commodities (Roediger, 2007). Masters, therefore, were more masters of men than they were of the job – this made White slavery seem probable and was

an easily exploited relationship for the purpose of developing protective White superiority (Roediger, 2007). In labour movements, then, "master" became "Bos," a Dutch term that in its Anglophonized version, "Boss," would remain in use well past the dismantling of slavery (Roediger, 2007). Ultimately, the distinguishing of White work from Black slave work happened largely through these kinds of linguistic changes: master to boss, wage work into free White labour, labeling work as hired or help instead of service, and the shifting of the term servant to slave (which was particularly important in distinguishing White indentured servitude from, and removing the agency of, Black labour) (Roediger, 2007). These changes in the names of racialized working identities gave White people, specifically workers, access to different self-concepts and privileges than enslaved non-White populations (Cooper in Roediger, 2007; Roediger, 2007).

This redefinition of White labour relied on the implementation of racist thinking. Black people, who were at the time a largely enslaved population, had to become the Other, defined as less masculine and less worthy of freedom and opportunity than the White worker (Roediger, 2007).

As well, racism served another purpose for the White worker - the reveling in and casting out of their preindustrial past. As much as republicanism fought for the instilment of its values, capitalist ideologies were to prevail, and relied on the presence of a strong, productive working class that was frequently exploited. Through common cultural representations, Blackness was made to symbolize what had been lost in capitalist culture (Rawick cited in Roediger, 2007). Capitalism had separated workers from holidays, contact with nature and sexuality, and delayed experiences of gratification (Gutman cited in Roediger, 2007). Blackness came to represent the past that was lost, demonizing it and yet turning it into a kind of "pornography" of preindustrial life, open to being viewed vicariously and scorned, rejecting it through racism and the embracing of a White identity (Rawick cited in Roediger, 2007; Roediger, 2007). This conceptualizing of Black identity directly influenced how Black music would be viewed and used in White artistic practices.

In addition to distinct intersection between class, race and nationality, there are also intersections between class and gender types. The working class is largely defined as male. Working class women are depicted as being of a higher class position and often excluded from images of working class life, as their typical occupations are less physical labour-oriented (Ortner, 2003). Men are sometimes cast as the masters of working class social life, responsible for reinstating a male, classed solidarity lost to an increasingly complex, capitalistic society (Fox, 2004).

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Labourers are depicted through the image of the "working man" – the primary identity available to working class labouring men. The working man is a literal worker, whose worth and skill comes from hard, physical labour (Halle cited in Ortner, 2003). A working class man is also often categorized as a "man's man," someone whose identity is based on duty and discipline, a representation of an authentic or "real" man (Simpson, 1994). Working class men were sometimes seen as a myth in themselves, a harkening back to a fantasy of pre-consumer America's definitions of masculinity (Simpson, 1994). The body, again, plays a significant role for working class men, here. The social self is often created through labour (Gilroy cited in Wallace, 2000). For working class people, work is a matter of survival rather than of choice or taste (Langston, 2001). The working body is conceived of as the only resource these men have to demonstrate power and stake a claim to hegemonic masculinity, as their work denies them the opportunity to show independence, success and authority. The working class male body is thought of as "fully armoured," displaying the kind of muscle structure that shows male physical superiority (Pfeil, 1995). These men are defined as possessing force alone, particularly when working in unskilled labour, or when their labour is redefined by being deskilled and casualized (Donaldson cited in Connell, 1995). Authenticity in labour is shown as masculine, hard and productive, and these highly masculine bodies are a reflection of that conceptualization (Simpson, 1994, p. 266). Their bodies are their only capital, both in terms of being an asset and source of albeit limited power in the labour market, and in terms of being a tool to articulate their masculinity (Donaldson cited in Connell, 1995; Dyer, 1997; Pfeil, 1995).

Allison's image of the "good poor" is also worked into many of popular culture's representations of male working class identity. The American working class male is often represented by the image of the blue collar man, thought to be a reformulation of stereotypes long associated with American southerners (Watts, 2008). The blue collar man has the sense of feeling familiarly Southern, suggesting mischievous, youthful good old boy masculinity and ties to male leisure activities. The blue collar man is distinct from the intellectualized, upper class North, but is devoid of any of the threatening or exclusionary elements of Southern identity (Watts, 2008). The blue collar man is the conservative-friendly, "humanized," sanitized, authentic American labourer, hardworking, pragmatic, good-humoured, patriotic, and distinct from the image of "bad poor" America and of politicized class solidarity (Simpson, 1994; Watts, 2008).[9]

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[9] This image is particularly important to discourses of masculinity that sought to reaffirm patriarchy and hegemonic values. It was also directly employed in Reagan's political rhetoric of hyper-masculinity, heroism and (anti-union) independence targeting working class men during the 1980s, and would therefore influence readings of Springsteen' s image at the time (Cowie & Boehm, 2006; Pfeil, 1995; Simpson, 1994).

2.7. Popular Music and Authenticity

Springsteen and Fallon, as this project will suggest, are embedded in a number of musical subcultures, but are both predominantly situated in a culture of rock and roll. Their music and aesthetic conventions place them both within this established musical tradition, developed in the 1950s. Rock and roll – what is considered the originating or earliest form of what we now more commonly call "rock" music – emerged in postwar America during a period of significant economic prosperity, where the category of the "teenager" began to emerge as a targeted demographic. Rock and roll, which drew from the early 20th Century contributions of blues and country – primarily told stories of being in and out of love, the meaning of youth, and the struggle toward adulthood (Riley, 2004). It was and remains a music of spectacle (Frith, 1996), where the visual was an important way to access and understand the music and its culture. Rock and roll was, to a certain extent, an inherently social form, prioritizing dancing, concert performances, and the creation of identities and therefore communities that were built around common values and images.

Different genres of music are, similarly, marked by different values and different semiotic rules, which dictate how truth, sincerity and overarching messages are communicated and understood (Fabbri cited in Frith, 1996, p. 91). Music is heard through a number of discourses, which determine its values and social functions. These discourses derive from the institutional and discursive practices that construct them (Becker cited in Frith, 1996, p. 36). These discourses are art, folk and pop. Rock appears to bridge the discourses of folk and pop. It is a form that is at once deliberately interested in pop's commercialism, star personas and value of or entertainment for entertainment's sake, and folk's pursuits of intimacy, separation from (obvious) commerce, and musical truth. The central value of rock music, or what could potentially be referred to as the discourse of rock, is authenticity. It is difficult to define authenticity as a fixed term, as anything other than a perceived phenomenon. What it means to be "authentic" is subject to redefinition. It is highly contingent on developing technologies, changes in the economic production of music, changes in social values and the structures of music (sub)cultures (Pattie, 2007). Ideas of authenticity, truth and realness as they pertain to music and musical identities are essentially myths. There is no concrete, universal, essential form of any of these elements, only differing constructions of them (Pfeil, 1995). Judgments about qualities that make up authenticity are based on performances – what is seen and heard (Frith, 1996). In order to be perceived as authentic, musicians need to perform accordingly, demonstrating either an authentic investment in the kind of

music they are playing, or an authentic investment in the message of their music and persona (Pattie, 2007).

There is a general consensus on the definition of rock authenticity over the last 60 years, drawing most of its fundamental values from early rock and roll. Frith (1996) defines authenticity as created through perceived qualities of sincerity and commitment, a term coded with ideological elements. Authenticity is represented by a close relationship with origins, and in a performer's relationship with the capitalist production of their music – the demonstration of giving primacy to the creative integrity of the music, and not to its capital potential (Moore, 2002). Rock authenticity is built on a romantic ideology (Pfeil, 1995), where both the music and performers, as well as the history of the form itself, are all built on the praising of energy, passion, freedom, truthfulness and the overall message of heroic triumph and emergence (Pfeil, 1995, p.74-75). Rock authenticity is based on the notion of what Keir Keighley calls romantic authenticity (cited in Pattie, 2007). It values community, populism, sincerity, directness, traditions and a continuity of the past (and therefore, embraces change that is gradual rather than extreme), the use of an "essential" rock sound, and a sense of liveness, both of which involve reliance on natural sounds and hiding musical technology (Keighley cited in Pattie, 2007, p. 8). Rock also highly values independence and the individual, having originated as a language of freedom (Pfeil, 1995; Riley, 2004), even though the ultimate goal appears to be the creation of a community often based on emotion or feeling.

Rock music in and of itself is conceptualized as being authentic – as "real," genuine, non-commercial, sincere and from the heart. Resultantly, any attachment to this tradition – the fitting in to the tropes and imagery of rock music and culture – transfers this sense of authenticity to the performer. A rock performer's responsibility, then, is to "act realness" (Dyer cited in Pattie, 2007, p. 11), to convey this sense of authenticity to their audience. Differing modes of expressing this authenticity are available to performers. A musician can demonstrate what Allan Moore refers to as first-person authenticity (cited in Pattie, 2007; Moore, 2002). Here, the audience is made aware of the presence of a creative musician in the performance of the music – the performance is meant to demonstrate the music as a true expression of the artist (Moore cited in Pattie, 2007, p. 10). Additionally, a musician may display third person authenticity, where both the performer and audience are aware of their music's relationship with a preexisting musical tradition (Moore cited in Pattie, 2007; Moore, 2002). In this instance, the artist's music must demonstrate the kind of relationship that is tributary or at least seemingly respectful of the traditions they evoke.

In rock, demonstrating a connection to the past is at the core of third person authenticity. Frith (1996) argues the "past of music" is endlessly experienced in its present (p. 239). Much like other stylistically distinct, authenticity-driven genres including rap and country music (Ching, 1997), rock music has a compulsion to display its roots. An understanding of contemporary rock music comes from an understanding of its history and, resultantly, the musical cultures it references (Frith, 1996). Contemporary rock music often borrows sounds, textual images, themes, physical presentations, ideological values and overall identities from its past, elements that have at once come to define "rock" and become the symbols musicians can use to include themselves in the tradition. In doing so, musicians can convey specific meanings as well as authenticate themselves by paying tribute to their cultural past. This is often accomplished through intertextuality and/or appropriation. Music is understood relationally, and as such, specific nuances of meaning are built into songs and artist identities through references to other sources. The comprehension of intertextuality comes from an interpreter's familiarity with the relational texts. As such, every listener will experience music differently based on their pre-knowledge, though an artist can usually rely on a common awareness of certain conventions, including connections to genres and culturally significant popular performers and songs. Musicians may not be able to guarantee a single, consensual understanding of their music, or bind their music to an exclusive meaning, but they do have some control over how their music is to be interpreted (Gracyk, 2001). Through using the kind of basic sign equipment that references other music, new music can be contextualized and new performers allied with particular identities almost instantly. Hearing something that sounds or looks like punk music, for example, can communicate all of the values associated with the genre just by presenting a passing resemblance.

The most common methods of creating intertextuality are the use of paradigms and covers. Paradigms are, according to Theodore Gracyk (2001), bands or musical products used as common reference points for later music, that act as signs of greater movements. Newer artists may borrow the ethics, sounds, or ideologies of these paradigms in order to incorporate the associated meanings into their performances. Often, these paradigms do not relate to rarely-known specificities or the personal lives of their sources, but of culturally familiar representations. The cover is the most deliberate citation of a paradigm, a band's (re)interpretation of a classic song meant to either allude to the original artist or to the cultural period of the song, and more rarely, to the meaning of the song itself. Gracyk refers to covers as having "high level intent" in eliciting emotion and therefore connecting to their reference (2001). Appropriation, too, is of concern in the meaning-making process behind music. Appropriation

usually involves the borrowing and incorporation of forms that are considered exotic or markedly different from the borrower's culture (Gracyk, 2001). This music is borrowed, therefore, in order to associate the borrower with the cultural or social identity of that music. Appropriation, unlike common paradigm use, often aims to obscure or manipulate the original content or meanings of the appropriated music. Though it is not necessarily a matter of putting the values of one culture onto the other, appropriation is considered a symbolic action which positions the dominant culture's music as the authority and replacing the practices of the borrowed form (Gracyk, 2001). Appropriation may also involve a process of authentication. An artist may appropriate music identified as "authentic" in order to transfer this sense of authenticity (Moore, 2002).

Authenticity is not only in the structure of the music, but marked on the body (Pfeil, 1995). In order to be recognized, the qualities that comprise authenticity need to be performed. While this is done in part by paying tribute to the genre, it also involves physical performance. An artist's persona needs to show coherence with their music, as this is the surface upon which their investment in their music is demonstrated (Pattie, 1999). To demonstrate this coherence, a performer must, to a certain extent, perform a rock identity. As suggested previously, rock may be defined as a resource for displaying and promoting the familiar rather than the new (Gracyk, 2001, p. 193). This relates not only to its reliance on the musically familiar, but to its representation and dissemination of a rock-informed social identity, an identity reflecting the values of rock and roll music and built on rock's visual paradigms.

2.8. Rock and Roll Social Identities

Popular culture is a primary site for representations, including images of performers (Goodwin cited in Pfeil, 1995, p. 73; Hall cited in Maingard, 2006). Musicians often engage in this process of using representations in their performances, and often become representations of greater social identities themselves. As with any other cultural product, a musician's performed identity can never truly be understood outside of the context he/she exists in (Dyer, 1997). These performers have what Fred Pfeil (1995) describes as a "nest of assumptions and histories packed inside them" (p. 71) – a variety of social, political, national and cultural identities that structure their performance and make them intelligible (Gracyk, 2001; Pattie, 2007). Musical figures can personalize, embody or otherwise represent a variety of mythologies and archetypes (Dimitriadis, 2001) and, if their performance identities are accepted and popularized, become key representations themselves.

Rock authenticity, and therefore rock ideology, is based on the "realest" performer, and that performer's identity (Pfeil, 1995). The realest performers are thought to be the ones closest to the genre's archetypes, the performers who either made or echo the music that defined "true" rock and roll. These performers are usually White, American, working class males who borrow codes from non-traditionally masculine and Black-American identities, including Elvis Presley and Mick Jagger. Rock and roll[10] represents its own images and definitions of national, class, race and gender identities. The social identities represented by rock are coded in both their performers and in the values and history of the music itself. Not only are the originating archetypes of rock representations of identities that are transferred with the use of the music, but these identities are coded into the values of rock music and its historical structure. As such, presenting oneself as a rock musician not only authenticates one's performance, placing a performer within a particular set of values, but associates that performer with a conception of identity defined by their genre or subgenre's historical values and prototypical representations. What follows is an articulation of those identities and how they were formed.

Rock music itself, in being an amalgam of blues and country – the supposed origins of much of modern American music – eventually came to mean "America," a representation of a particular national identity (Hebdige, 2005). Much of rock's sign equipment also comes from the symbols that have come to mythologize America – cars, freeways, alcohol, beaches and parties (Goodwin cited in Pfeil, 1995, p. 73). It is also directly embedded and representative of American ideologies of work and leisure. Rock began as the music of working class male youth, an identity category granted access to power through this music and its values. Rock music is itself a form of leisure and therefore fundamentally tied to the working class in defining itself as the Saturday night to the working week. However, rock also derives its authenticity from its exhibition of work. Performances that are seen as authentic are performances that display physical exertion (Frith, 1996). The American work ethic is demonstrated in the labour of performance and supported by the performer's status as a star, even if this in no way indicates upward mobility except in name recognition. This display of work and play simultaneously grounds rock music in both a working class image and in American values, helping to define it as a symbol of American identity.

Historically, as well, rock is a form of "White" music, a form that openly borrowed music and performance styles from the "Black" genres. Rock look to elements of R&B, blues and even jazz, and interpreted them through White musical tropes,[11] through White performers, and to White audiences –

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[10] Here generalized and recognized as small-r rock for the sake of clarity in this section.
[11] Specifically country and rockabilly.

what Andrew Goodwin refers to as racist/capitalist processes of appropriation and exploitation (cited in Pfeil, 1995, p.73). Musical styles created and primarily played by Black artists are seen as more authentic, more meaningful, more organic and less commercial than White music (Hebdige, 2005; Melnick, 1997; Pattie, 1999; Pfeil, 1995; Roediger, 2007; Wald; 1997). The image of Blackness as being of the "soul" and body, characterized by different emotional styles than Whiteness, and of Blackness as informed by non-capitalist values, also came to define Black cultural products. White music's borrowing of Black forms and identities reified notions of racial difference and romanticized Black musical achievement and exceptionalism (Wald, 1997).

Representations of Black people also became important to defining particular values in popular music. Black musical forms were often defined by their prototypical performers who embodied the values of their genres. In the early 20th Century, Black people were considered "quintessential subterraneans," representing the values of excitement, adventure and seeking, embodying the jazz era's view of what was missing from mainstream White society (Goodman and Young cited in Hebdige, 2005; Hebdige, 2005). When rock music began to develop in mid-20th Century America, performers began to create a new version of Whiteness (Pfeil, 1995). Their music and performances drew heavily from Black styles. This image is thought to be best captured by Norman Mailer's (1957) idea of the "white negro," a name given to an identity of existentialist defiance, summarized as hip, rebellious, concerned with bodily pleasures rather than the rational mind, surviving off of the present, the "frontiersman in the Wild West of American night life," and subsisting "for his Saturday night kicks" (Riley, 2004; Wald, 1997). By associating themselves with the identity of the White male rock musician and the White male rock music fan, they had access to what Pfeil (1995) calls the musical-libidinal resources of Blackness. Rock music's racialized structure allows rock performers to borrow from the bodily, "soul"-oriented Black male image and recast it into a White, unquestioned identity (Pfeil, 1995).

As well, rock has been defined as a masculine form (Gracyk, 2001; Pattie, 2007; Pfeil, 1995) that has connections to hegemonic masculinity, in that it is defined as White and represents male perspectives. Rock is thought of as an ideological project interested in the definition and social placement of White male youth (Pfeil, 1995, p. 74). It is a genre lyrically concerned with the interests of men who struggle with power – in terms of age, social class and position, and in their relationships with women – and is therefore coded as masculine.

Inspired by early blues, R&B and country music, rockabilly and rock forms would eventually provide their audiences with models of men who valued honesty, intimacy, openness, emotional

expressiveness, tolerance, individualism and social responsibility (Riley, 2004). In rock masculinity, youth is empowered – though one does not necessarily have to be young, in order to meet the ideal masculinity, one must act "young," both in their physical performances and in their attitudes and values. This relates to the value placed on a maintained state of arrested adolescence suggested in dominant masculine codes (Lott cited in Frith, 1996, p.130), already suggesting the relationship between rock and traditional masculinity. The music's earliest forms were targeted to a new social subject – the American teenager – and provided a version of masculinity for their audience, one that previously had relatively little access to hegemonic masculinity because of their age and social position (Pfeil, 1995).

The identity developed to reach this audience was the White rocker, a male who maintains the authority and social position of being a White male, defines the male body as sexual and vulnerable – something to be looked at – and gives these men access to the musical and desire-based resources of Black cultural forms without ever having to give up their racial privilege (Pfeil, 1995). Rock masculinity in the 1950s coexisted with an overarching culture that was increasingly integrationist and concerned with masculine inadequacy (Estes, 2008). Men were being sent messages not to become too domesticated or feminized in the post-war climate, so cultural representations had to compensate for such anxieties by reinforcing domestic patriarchal dominance. However, while integrationist culture was elsewhere being resisted by a push in spreading White ideals and racist rhetoric (Estes, 2008) and male culture increasingly focused on distributing traditional masculine images, rock and roll was challenging mainstream culture's direction. It was, in and of itself, a racially hybridized form of music on the surface (though the politics of appropriation are at play) and its biggest White stars embodied integration through their clothing and dance styles (Estes, 2008). While some argue rock and roll gave men an opportunity to articulate an alternative type of masculinity, one with a different sense of emotionality and relationship to desire, rock and roll masculinity retained a relationship with hegemonic masculinity. The use of romanticized Black cultural forms was one way of doing this, particularly for young men who held little of the economic power and authority it took to be a "true" White man (Beavers cited in Wald, 1997). Borrowing aesthetically and musically from Black popular culture allowed some males access to a successful masculinity defined as sexually powerful, aloof, stylish, self-sufficient and street smart (Wald, 1997). By appropriating this view of masculinity and treating these characteristics as if they originate from the White performer's body – while simultaneously helping to define "natural" Black masculinity by these characteristics through their performances – these men performed identities that could be

read as hegemonically masculine (Beavers cited in Wald, 1997). This borrowing remains a key element of rock identity and continues to connect the form and its performers with hegemonic masculinity.

With the advent of the "teenage" market and subsequently, rock and roll, men were placed into the object position, the focus of visual attention. Traditionally, men are not the objects of viewing in a culture – they may be in a photograph or scene, but they are not there to be "looked at." The position where one is the focus of an investigative, exploitative, or sexualized look is that of the Other, of the object, the one who is cast in a society as lacking power. A man in this position ultimately contradicts patriarchal order (Pattie, 2007; Simpson, 1994). In rock music performance, the man is the privileged focal point, highlighted onstage and made both the object and subject of desire (Pattie, 2007). It is argued that rock itself is based on an idea of masculinity in crisis, a place where male codes can be reinterpreted and combined in a variety of ways to a variety of resulting impressions (Pattie, 2007). Rock music positions men in the position of gazed upon object, but this in and of itself is a part of the music's power and appeal. Male performers are often meant to elicit desire and rebel against traditional sources of capitalist power that define hegemonic masculinity. At the same time, they operate within the discourse of rock – a masculine discourse where men are permitted to express themselves and their sexuality, and gain power through these elements. Men in rock are, however, still bound by some of the expectations of hegemonic masculinity. To compensate for the non-masculine elements of their performances, they are still expected to be armed with symbols of masculinity in the themes they sing about, in the way they use their bodies and in the instruments they play, and are essentially forced to demonstrate some degree of traditional masculinity in the physicality of their performance work (Frith & McRobbie cited in Dimitriadis, 2001; Simpson, 1994). Due to this somewhat unique positioning, male musicians are held to a slightly different standard of masculinity, which is an oft accepted alternative to hegemonic masculinity, but not a subordinate or subversive form. Rock has a built-in way of regarding a stage performer that accounts for any transgressions of male norms that come from shifts in the visual position of men. Mark Simpson (1994) describes rock as a kind of male glamour, where men and their physicality are on display, often made especially showy with the use of culturally feminized symbols and gestures. Male glamour is constructed as a kind of rebellion against suburban life, its destabilizing potential removed in the overall misogyny and maleness of the rock form (Simpson, 1994). Pfeil (1995) also argues that performers present a variety of alternative masculinities, and the most praised is the one which is deemed most authentic. This allows rock musicians to be on display and not lose their access to hegemonic masculinity, so long as they present themselves authentically.

A discussion of rock masculinity seems incomplete without considering the representation it is so closely related to and came to disturb in the 1950s: the American cowboy. The cowboy image is frequently referenced in American music cultures, often used to connote rebellion or heroism. The cowboy is a White, American male icon, representing glorified Anglo conquest both geographically and sexually, particularly in relations with Mexican communities (Limón, 2000), and in its early incarnations, with Native Americans. Generally, most images of the cowboy are representations of hegemonic masculinity. The most notable and commonly referenced prototype of American cowboy masculinity was actor John Wayne, who played characters that established him as the American male ideal in mid-20th Century America (Riley, 2004). Wayne's male ideal was certain of his power, motivated by vengeance and sadism, in control, deliberately unemotional, distrusting of women, initially requiring to prove its own power, and invested in silence as a form of protection (Riley, 2004). Wayne's masculinity was embodied, signaling a self-reliant sense of authority, impatience with complexity and a complete absence of any female qualities (Willis cited in Riley, 2004, p. 6-7).

Rock and roll ultimately came to challenge this stoic, prototypical American Western man, particularly with its most popular figure, Elvis Presley. He was at once raw, tough, swaggering, secure, sensitive and sexual. He came to represent not a weaker man but a different kind of man (Riley, 2004). Presley redefined gender at the time without ever fully disturbing core elements of hegemonic masculinity, and became the ultimate archetype of rock masculinity that remains the model for much contemporary rock music.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1. Research Questions

This study seeks to examine the performances of Bruce Springsteen and Brian Fallon in order to answer several questions. This will be approached through a comparative analysis of the two artists, presented in two case studies (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). The first case study seeks to answer the following: What is the figure of Springsteen, and what kind of social identities are being communicated during his concert performances? This, thereby, will determine what Bruce Springsteen symbolizes or represents in popular culture. The second case study seeks to understand the identities being performed by Brian Fallon, and how the figure of Springsteen is reflected in this performance.

3.2. Data Collection

This study is a qualitative visual and textual analysis of the live performances and song lyrics of both artists. It considers displays of the social status categories of gender, race, class and nationality in each artists' clothing choices, body presentations, mannerisms and gestures, band interactions, instrument choices, languages choices and verbal delivery, speech content, cover song choices and other intertextual references, and the lyrical content of the songs performed.

This study considers a number of live concert performances from Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band and The Gaslight Anthem for the purpose of studying the performances of their frontmen. Four[12] Springsteen performances were chosen to represent the span of his career with the E Street Band: *Live in Barcelona*, a full-length concert from Palau Sant Jordi in Barcelona, Spain in 2002; *Live in New York*, a televised HBO special shot in 2000 over two days (June 29, July 1)[13] at Madison Square Garden; a series of 10 professionally shot videos of individual performances from the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum over the last four days of Springsteen's 1985 *Born in the U.S.A.* tour (September 27, 29, 30 and October 2); and *Hammersmith Odeon London '75*, a full-length live concert film shot in London, England. All of this footage is professionally filmed. With the exception of the *Born in the U.S.A*. tour footage, the other performances are on commercially available, official DVD releases, and were

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[12] There are technically eight concerts being considered here. For the purpose of clarity, multiple performances shot in the same city on the same tour are counted as one unit and denoted by year (1975, 1985, 2000 and 2002).
[13] Only the televised portion of this performance is included in this study. The official DVD also included a disc of songs cut from the HBO special.

chosen not only to show varying phases of Springsteen's career, but for their clarity and completeness. As *Born in the U.S.A.* was a defining album, tour and image for Springsteen, the most complete American footage available online was used. This footage was also chosen to look for patterns or differences in Springsteen's home (American) and international performances, though no marked differences were revealed.

Springsteen's E Street Band performances were chosen for two reasons. The band has been his primary touring unit for most of his career, and the somewhat consistent backdrop he has created his most notable live impressions against. Additionally, footage of E Street Band performances is significantly easier to access through officially released DVDs and professionally recorded footage than any of Springsteen's solo or non-E Street Band concerts.

Four Gaslight Anthem performances were also considered in the evaluation of Brian Fallon's onstage persona: a full live show from the 9:30 Club in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on October 22, 2009; a series of mostly incomplete clips from The Kool Haus in Toronto, ON, Canada on October 13, 2009; a series of mostly complete clips from The Opera House in Toronto, ON, Canada on March 20, 2009; and a full live show from The Annandale Hotel in Sydney, Australia on July 30, 2008. With the exception of the Sydney concert, none of this footage is professionally filmed, and is all found online. The intention of this project was to use as complete a set of concert footage as possible. Though the Toronto shows are only partially available, I was an audience member at both performances and can therefore contribute some missing information from memory, personal photographs and notes. Again, both American and international performances were deliberately considered, but no patterns were determined.

3.3. Framework for Performance Analysis

This research into performed identity is based on the criteria set out in Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* This study looks at the impression-making equipment and techniques outlined by Goffman and applies them to this analysis of specific performers. Performance was analyzed at face value, based on the perspective of an audience member. Only information available in an onstage performance was taken into consideration – personal biographies and statements to media are not included. This study makes no claims into understanding the "true" personal identities of either performer, and does not seek to determine if any identity impressions were

intentionally or unintentionally made. Personal identity is not taken into consideration, nor are any of the conclusions here meant to be a reflection of this aspect of identity.[14]

Frith (1996) theorizes that all live performance contains role playing and spontaneous action (p. 207). Musicians have visible, discernable identities or personas when they are playing to an audience. Frith (1996) states that star personalities in popular music are "double enactments," required to act out two personas during a literal performance (p. 211). They have the responsibility of performing both their star image and what he calls the "song personality." They are required not only to perform their identity, but to enact the identities of their protagonists and to portray the appropriate emotions necessary to make their songs believable, while also keeping in consideration the demands and restrictions on appropriate emotional responses mandated by culture and genre conventions (Frith, 1996). This concept of the elements of live performance, the musician's persona and the techniques required to create and sustain it inform the perspective this project takes, providing the groundwork for how a performer's identity will be approached and understood.

Also, Philip Auslander's (2004) approach to studying popular music was helpful for approaching an understanding about the personas of particular musicians in the terms of identity performance described here. Auslander's (2004) approach has the intention of finding "ways of discussing what popular musicians do as performers – the meanings they create… and the means they use to create them," which is essentially what this study aims to accomplish. The most important element of a live performance, to Auslander (2004), is the person's "performance persona," and the influence of songs and music industry relations. As this project intentionally isolates onstage performances and does not involve the participation or the detailed biography of those being studied, Auslander's suggested focus guided this decision to only consider performance persona and therefore only consider the musician's onstage performance and the meaning of his songs on its meaning. The influence of music industry relations will not be considered, as they are not obviously apparent during a performance and would require far more personal information about the artist in order to draw any justifiable conclusions. This would alter the intention of the project, which is to analyze two performer's social identities by way of their onstage performances, with the intention of understanding how performance works to create meaning and impressions of identity.

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[14] Conclusions about artist identities drawn here do not take into account any personal information that may be public knowledge. Therefore, when this study asserts that Springsteen is working class, it is only making such a statement about the persona he performs, rather than his actual economic status.

3.4. Limitations

There are several limitations that influence this study. The first is the availability of professional or clear, high-quality footage for Gaslight Anthem performances. Though the band has an international profile, a significant following and considerable media attention, The Gaslight Anthem are still, relatively, a small, independently-signed touring act. There is no band-sanctioned commercially available, professionally shot footage, and the network of people who film their performances is very small. Footage is mostly accessible through online video-hosting website Youtube, and at the time this research was conducted, no audience-shot full band shows were available uncut and in full on this or other popular video sharing sites. Many of the clips available begin several seconds into the start of a song, often omitting Fallon's talking to the audience or between-song band interactions. Additionally, no full (or nearing full) performances predating 2008 are publically available online, though the bad had been actively touring for some time already. As such, only performances from around the time of the band's *The '59 Sound* period are available for study. It is possible, then, that full performances from before or around the time of their band's 2007 debut album release are markedly different.

Additionally, though The Gaslight Anthem's live concerts include all but one song from their recorded repertoire, Springsteen's performances only cover a small portion of his recorded output. Due to the study's exclusive focus on four live performances, the analysis of major themes in Springsteen's music is limited by the songs included in this footage. A broader study of Springsteen's lyrics may reveal different dominant themes.

Chapter 4: The Performed Identity of Bruce Springsteen

4.1. Clothing

According to Goffman (1959), clothing gives off the information attached to it during a performance, and audiences use this information to discern the performer's identity. Individual items of clothing, fabrics and more general ways of putting clothes together may all act as symbols for identity information. In this case, the information clothing connotes is largely derived from representations and popular images that carry information about class, race, nationality and gender.

Springsteen's clothing serves to create an impression of his identity as hegemonically masculine both by the standards of Western capitalist society and rock and roll culture. It also creates an impression of Springsteen's class, and establishes him, somewhat indirectly, as American and White. His clothing creates his identity in the tradition of the 1950s teen rebel, the industrial and postindustrial physical labourer, soul and rock musicians, the American fantasies of the working man and the blue collar man, and the American Western cowboy.

Springsteen's early shows reflect an image almost identical to the iconic album covers of *Born to Run* and *Darkness on the Edge of Town*. In 1975, he takes the stage wearing a zipped-up black leather motorcycle jacket, wide-legged, baggy black slacks worn low on his hips and a white or possibly light blue short-sleeved button-up work or uniform-style shirt,[15] and a thick knitted tuque with an upturned brim. The rest of his band appears more "dressed up," most of them wearing light-colored suits or long-sleeved pressed shirts and hats. The band and Springsteen look as though they are from different eras, with the band wearing period-specific white suits with wide lapels, shirts with exaggerated, pointed collars and white fedora-style hats.

During the final concerts of his over $200 million-grossing *Born in the U.S.A.* tour in 1985 (Bird, 1994), Springsteen looks like a different man than the Springsteen of the 1970s. In the 10 different clips, shot over four days, Springsteen wears either the same or similar light blue, worn, tight jeans, worn hitched up above his waist and tightly belted. He wears three different shirt combinations tucked into his jeans. The first is a white v-neck T-shirt, again with slightly rolled-up sleeves, exposing most of his arms. The shirt is entirely sweat-soaked and stretched out. Springsteen also wears a black button-up Western shirt with white embroidery. The sleeves of this shirt are either cut off or rolled up to bare his

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[15] The lighting quality of the video makes it difficult to determine its color or fabrication.

arms. Springsteen is also filmed wearing this shirt with a red shirt underneath. Both shirts, in both sets of footage, are unbuttoned to the chest and sweat-soaked. The third outfit consists of a blue plaid button-up with cut off sleeves, its sides cut open to expose Springsteen's ribcage. Underneath, he wears a black undershirt or another cut off T-shirt. The plaid shirt is loose and far away from his body. Springsteen also sometimes wears a blue baseball cap. Springsteen's band is no longer outfitted as a cohesive unit. Their clothes are casual and current for the period. Springsteen's clothes are less period-specific in terms of fabrication and pattern than the rest of his band, though they are still styled in a decade-specific manner.

Springsteen's 2000s wardrobe is his least connotative. Springsteen and his band now wear dark-toned ensembles, all suiting up for the performance. For his New York City appearance, Springsteen wears black boots, a black button-up shirt with the sleeves rolled up to his elbows and tucked into black Levi's jeans. In Barcelona, Springsteen wears a brown button-up with a subtle paisley pattern and a black vest, which he removes (off camera) 10 songs into the concert. His shirtsleeves are again rolled up to the elbow and tucked into black jeans. After returning to the stage for the encore, he returns in a dark gray T-shirt. His clothing is significantly dressier now than during any of the previous footage considered, and is relatively close- and better-fitted than in London and Los Angeles.

Springsteen's 1975 clothing clearly references the 1950s teen rebel or greaser. Springsteen's close-cut leather jacket channels Brando in 1953's *The Wild One*, while also suggesting other pop culture teen rebels, including James Dean in 1955's *Rebel Without a Cause*. Springsteen wears the iconography of American rock and roll and teenhood. This image is associated with values of vulnerability, insecurity and youth, traditionally masculine expressions of toughness, and a sense of needing to test and affirm one's masculinity. Though the teen rebel addressed decidedly un-masculine insecurity in 1950s popular culture, it also existed to reaffirm the importance of hegemonic manhood. Springsteen is presenting to his audience an impression of his masculinity as being at once sensitive and hard. This is a direct reflection of rock and roll identity. Rock and roll masculinity concerns itself with the same feelings of vulnerability and powerlessness, and is now often popularly associated with the same image of narrow blue jeans, white T-shirts and motorcycle jackets. Springsteen's masculinity is therefore also communicated as a rock and roll identity, which shares a similar conceptualization of masculinity as the 1950s teen rebel. It also serves to embed him in rock music culture, therefore granting him an impression of innate authenticity through genre. Additionally, these referenced archetypes are of working class young men, thereby transferring this working identity to Springsteen.

Springsteen's 1975 appearance defies the denim-clad image he is defined by in America's collective pop culture memory. He wears what appear to be oversized dress slacks, a distinctly different kind of pant than in his other concerts. Pfeil (1995) theorizes this image of Springsteen dressing up (as well as his band's suits) tie in to a tradition of performers playing to working class audiences, who are thought to appreciate the performer's effort in presenting himself for them. As well, Springsteen's slacks and his band's coordinated dressed up appearance may be a tie to the suited-up early soul performer image. Early soul music was concerned with meaningful adult relationships and equality, and used a mode of masculinity seen as sexually powerful and self-sufficient (Riley, 2004; Wald, 1997).[16] Springsteen reprises this image of presenting a dressed-up band in the 2000s, again presenting these symbols of working class and musical identity.

Springsteen's other major visual connotation is the image of the industrial-era worker, and the blue collar and working man identities it has informed. Springsteen's torn, sweat-soaked shirts and his worn jeans, present an image of the performer as a worker, both in the sense that they show the wear and tear potentially created by his performances – particularly as he wears the same worn-out jeans – and in their representation of casualness and visual association with manual labour. Springsteen became associated with wearing denim throughout his career. Denim itself is a symbol of American culture and work. Though not originally an American invention, indigo denim would become the unofficial uniform for American labourers in the 19th Century (Ashby, n.d.). Denim was a mark of workers, particularly in the trades and in farming – occupational sectors characterized then, and now, as male. Plaid, as well, has been ingrained in the popular imagination as a fabric worn by workers, and therefore has become an element of images of workers.

The loosely knitted tuque Springsteen wears in 1975 is an article of clothing commonly seen in representations of dock workers, therefore acting as another symbol of working class identity particularly when presented in a context with other class associations. The baseball cap Springsteen wears in 1985 symbolizes a similarly classed identity. The cap is most commonly associated with sports memorabilia, and therefore stands as a symbol of recreation and an appreciation of athletics – an interest and pursuit defined as male. The baseball cap is also commonly associated with youth, outdoor labour and trucking. However, unlike the knitted hat, Springsteen's 1985 baseball cap is a more common, blatantly connotative symbol of the working man and the blue collar man, images also created in Springsteen's wearing of denim, white and torn T-shirts and plaid. These images are American

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[16] Soul identity will be revisited in section 4.7..

representations of idealized working men – hegemonically masculine and embedded in the American ideologies of independence, hard work and perseverance.

These associations with blue collar and working man identities created an impression of Springsteen, particularly in the 1980s when these representations were most blatantly apparent in his wardrobe and body, as a member of the "good poor," (Allison, 2003) a symbol of American Dream ideology and hegemonic masculinity. During this period, masculinity was perceived to be "in crisis," and Ronald Reagan's rhetoric and policies were attempting to target working American men (Cowie & Boehm, 2006). Springsteen's physical presentation would therefore feed into an impression of his identity as fitting into Reagan's preferred image of the blue collar conservative male – patriotic, pragmatic, hard-working and entirely American. Springsteen's Western shirt, also worn in 1985, is subtle enough not to present a strong connection to country music and style, instead referencing images of cowboy masculinity and American popular culture's image of the frontier West. This connoted representation, then, drafts an impression of Springsteen as White and American, while also connecting him to a working class identity that is also at the core of definitions of hegemonic masculinity – powerful, enduring, silent and composed, and heroic.

Springsteen's class identity is also demonstrated in his use of status symbols in his wardrobe. Goffman (1959) theorizes status symbols are used to represent a person's class, either by intentionally using symbols of wealth to present an impression of owning such wealth, or by intentionally downplaying one's actual class position through presenting symbols of lower economic status positions. Springsteen's wardrobe is a specific example of demonstrating working class status symbols – here, denim, plaid, specific hats, white T-shirts and motorcycle jackets – an impression that remains consistent throughout his career, even though the symbols differ.

Ultimately, Springsteen's clothing symbolizes identities that are markedly American. The identities he draws from are all important images in American history and cultural iconography. The archetypes Springsteen's clothing performance reflects are popularly conceived of as White, and in the case of the working class identities he resembles, were created with the specific intention of creating a sense of Whiteness in a social group. Though he may be read as referencing soul musicians in his clothing and therefore Black identity, Springsteen's identity is built upon and in a White image – an impression of race further compounded when Springsteen is thought of as an American.

4.2. Physical Body

Springsteen's 1980s body has been the subject of much of the academic work on his identity and status as an American icon, and with significant reason. His 1980s body is among the most connotative elements of Springsteen's performed identity. Springsteen's 1985 frame is significantly more muscular than in the 1970s and best described as "jocked" (Riley, 2004). While his physique is not that of a bodybuilder, his body has been compared to that of 1980s-era action stars, particularly Sylvester Stallone in *Rambo* (Garman, 2000), largely thanks to his hyper-muscled arms, developed chest and the comparative narrowness of his lower body, all exaggerated by his close-cut clothing and his tendency to maintain a tensed upper body.

Springsteen's body, here, is both the body of the idealized masculine man – defined entirely apart from a woman's and reflective of ideal representations of masculine strength and power – and the industrial worker, who possesses and gains access to hegemonic masculinity through a body built by hard labour. Significantly, Springsteen's "jocked" body was revealed on tour in the mid-1980s, a time where such a body was culturally conceived as representing true, authentic, unambiguous hegemonic masculinity. The albeit realistically muscled body of Springsteen was another in a line of famous bodies meant to communicate the period's hegemonic masculinity (Simpson, 1994), bodies therefore meant to represent White male power.

Springsteen's body appears shaped by labour, again reinforcing the representation of the working man and the blue collar man. His onstage performance is one of constant hard work, literally demonstrated through visible sweat, grueling pacing and body tension. His body represented the values of American and White culture, as therefore re-performed the impressions of the working man and the blue collar man already denoted in his clothing. This exertion of physical power is thought to be the only way many working class men may access hegemonic masculinity. In presenting himself as both working class and as having a body with considerable physical power from 1985 onward, Springsteen demonstrates a hegemonic male identity, the version of acceptable, normative traditional masculinity awarded to those of his performed class status.

As Springsteen has aged, his body, in a sense, has mellowed. He still appears muscular, broad-shouldered and strong, though not nearly as obviously as in 1985. His body in the 2000s does not change the impression of his masculinity. Though Springsteen turns 61 in 2010, he appears to have the idealized body for a man of his age. As such, Springsteen retains the impression of looking physically strong and useful, while also looking younger than his biological age and therefore, appearing more

physically powerful than the norm. His masculinity as created by his physical body is, again, unambiguous and reflective of hegemonic cultural values. His age ultimately helps to make him appear more masculine, as it gives him an impression of maturity and wisdom while also serving to exaggerate his physical potency.

Springsteen's body has also come to display an American identity. It is thought that Americanness is achieved by "looking American" – that is, American identity is communicated through the physical manifestation of American values, including strength and enterprise. In 1975, Springsteen presents himself as American in ways that did not include the size and shape of his body. Beginning in 1985 and to a lessened extent in the 2000s, Springsteen's body begins to show these values of strength and enterprise in his presentation of physical strength. His is a body that is built, and possibly built by onstage labour rather than private exercise, and therefore representative of exerted will and a successful work ethic. At the same time, it is a body that appears strong as a result of enterprise. As such, Springsteen's body looks American and therefore creates an impression of his national identity.

This bodily display of strength and enterprise also serves to identify Springsteen as White. As Dyer (1997) argues, representations of Whiteness are demonstrative of the same kind of will and enterprise for men. White bodies are thought to appear hard and upright, and to display a sense of perseverance and dominance (Dyer, 1997). Springsteen's body as of 1985 does just this, and therefore, connotes the visual ideal of Whiteness. His image is that of an industrial, urban American male worker, a social category that was defined as White in its inception (Roediger, 2007), and therefore remains White in popular consciousness. Springsteen's Western and worker presentations both reflect masculinities that were almost exclusively created and depicted as White, and helped in and of themselves to create Whiteness.

Springsteen's body also prompts a discussion of the role of desire and display in the creation of his somewhat contradictory gender impression. Springsteen is a man in front of an audience and therefore a man on display, meaning he may be subject to the feminization that occurs when male figures are the focus of attention and the creators of desire. Music and the field of live performance, however, gave men a certain kind of power in being seen. The male rock body is a body already defined as being on display – a sexualized body and a body meant to be looked at (Pattie, 2007; Simpson, 1994).

Springsteen's 1975 performance is one of emotional expressivity and looseness, channeling the frenetic sensuality of early rock and soul performers. Though his 1970s body was considered masculine and attractive by the decade's standards, it wasn't on blatant display, not overtly soliciting the

audience's gaze. Springsteen's 1985 body was presented differently and fed into a different kind of desirability. Springsteen's appeal was traditional, satisfying the social norm dictating that men ought to possess a hard, taut, outwardly fit body, and the imagining of this body as desirable. Springsteen was now presenting himself as a conventional sex symbol. Springsteen seemed to fully embrace his position of masculinity on display, particularly when he bends completely forward at the waist and shakes his now-infamous posterior at the camera and at the crowd. Ultimately, Springsteen's image seems to deliberately target his female fans, particularly considering his address of women in his songs, and therefore verifies his masculinity.[17]

In the 2000s, Springsteen seemingly remains aware of and emphasizes the desirability he played upon in the 1980s. His displays of his body as sexualized and desirable continue – evidenced in hip thrusts, more butt-shaking, and kissing female audience members - though they are now performed with some self-knowing humour. He also engages in some sarcastic posturing, his hands on his hips and behind his back, chest puffed out, in full, stage-crossing strut, aping what brings to mind a typical Mick Jagger stance. His sexuality is considerably more coy and more a wink to his former image. This may be another way of masculinizing his visibility, by demonstrating awareness of his position and therefore suggesting his having control. Though his exaggerated rock star masculinity may be read as a campy joke to both performer and audience, it still manages to deliver what some of his audience wants and maintains his position as a masculine figure who elicits heterosexual desire.

Ultimately, Springsteen's physical aesthetics and related sexual expressions are never feminized as masculinity on display is expected to be. They are structured so that they can be read within cultural conventions of attractiveness and accepted norms of music-culture-based sexual display. This, therefore, makes his being on display and enticing desire from the audience appropriate to and affirming of his masculinity.

4.3. Physical Performativity

Springsteen's onstage mannerisms ultimately serve to communicate his belonging in rock music culture and to communicate the values in his music. This performance style affirms Springsteen's first-person authenticity (Moore cited in Pattie, 2007) and reflects his visual relationship to the prototypical

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[17] Springsteen's physical display has also been read as being a point of homosexual desire (M. Smith, 1992), though this thesis takes the position that this is largely overridden by the other heterosexual connotations in his lyrics. His dominant image – which is of concern here – is therefore heterosexual.

performances of rock music. This suggests to an audience that he may have a prototypical rock and roll identity – White, young, male, working class, and concerned with leisure and music.

Expressing a belonging to rock and roll culture, significantly, serves to create an impression of authenticity. This impression of first-person authenticity is important in making his songs and his appearance and performance style seem "real" or true – therefore, when Springsteen sings or tells stories with information about national, class or gender status, it becomes feasible that he sings from personal experience. A sense of authenticity also suggests to an audience that other visual elements of his performance are, indeed, to be read as symbols of identity. Springsteen presents an image of authenticity and it is therefore probable to assume that all the elements of that image – if consistent – are a result and product of this authenticity of self.

Eckman identifies modes of physical expressions meant to convey authenticity (cited in Frith, 1996). Most significant in Springsteen's impression creation is the direct expression of emotional states. Springsteen communicates the intensity, or intended intensity of his music with his posture and his eyes, using his body to convey the tone of each song. During his more serious songs[18] Springsteen often stands close to his microphone stand. He occasionally sways slightly or shifts his weight from foot to foot. He sometimes stops playing his guitar and clutches his microphone stand, wrapping his hand around it from the top. If he raises an arm or reaches out for something, he doesn't necessarily extend his arm fully, doesn't bring it up or down with any great speed or enthusiasm. Instead, his motions – like his body position – are tense, his movements forceful but generally brief and kept close to his body. During songs like "Thunder Road," his eyes remain closed, though rarely in any tight, exaggerated fashion. It seems as if Springsteen's demonstrated intensity matches the mood of these slower songs. In more laid-back songs, like "Mansion on the Hill," Springsteen's body is more relaxed even though it remains relatively still, while in others like "Youngstown" or "Born in the U.S.A." – songs that in and of themselves have more tension and aggression in their sound – his body takes on this mood. Springsteen seethes during these kinds of songs, his face showing strain, his jaw clenched, pronounced veins appropriately ready to explode. He demonstrates considerable energy but also, as Pfeil (1995) notes, considerable, visible restraint. During these performances, Springsteen looks as if he could only give more if he entirely lost control and unleashed whatever force he seems to be holding back. This method of physical expressivity remains identifiable and present from his earliest show to his most recent.

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[18] Serious refers to his slower or more dynamic songs – songs that "sound" serious - as opposed to his up-tempo rock songs, which may also have serious themes.

In 1975, Springsteen also plays with his hat almost constantly, taking it off and putting it on during songs, holding it from hand to hand and once hanging it from his microphone stand. His constant movement may be interpreted as nervousness, a fidget or a way to occupy his hands when not playing the guitar. Springsteen seems to take some kind of tension out on the hat, his reactions actually reflective of some excess of energy building up within, as if he's about to explode. This energy, though, is ultimately restrained (Pfeil, 1995), his level of seemingly potential mania held back.

In Springsteen's tendency to convey the emotion of a song through his gestures, he shows his own commitment to his music and his authenticity, while also creating an impression of his gender. Pfeil's (1995) identification of Springsteen's tension suggests that his emotional responses match both the demands of his musical genres and of his gender. As Frith (1996) argues, a performer is expected to express emotion while adhering to the behavioural norms and demands of their gender. Onstage, Springsteen clearly adheres to the levels of expressivity granted to mainstream hegemonic masculinity, performing characteristically White, male emotional restraint and strength while also performing appropriate gestures of sincerity and commitment to his musical product. Pfeil (1995) sees connotations of the "heavy-duty white male worker" in Springsteen's performance of tension, of "energies *confined*" (p. 87). Masculinity is marked by self-denial and emotional control (Connell, 1995), as is male Whiteness (Dyer, 1997). Masculinity and patriarchy is defined by the exhibition of control (Pfeil, 1995), and in the physical performance of Springsteen, the sense of seething and of restraint suggesting the employment of a strong sense of self-control. This also relates to ideas of enterprise, and of White people needing to transcend and control their physical bodies in order to perform their racial identity (Dyer, 1997). Springsteen's performed tension, then, provides him with both a masculine and White identity.

Consistency is an important factor in delivering impressions through performance (Goffman, 1959). During his more serious numbers, Springsteen is never distracted by the crowd or by what else may be going on onstage. He commits to the performance entirely, and maintains consistency through this display of concentration. He even asks for crowd silence at one point during "American Skin (41 Shots)," maintaining his impression of intensity and minimizing distraction that could throw off his performance and ruin the contemplative effect he is attempting to create.

Even while not singing, Springsteen expresses an emotional connection and commitment to the performance, again creating a feeling of authenticity. Springsteen has moments during the 1975 show where he watches the other musicians onstage, dances along and seems to lose himself in what is being heard. He keeps his eyes closed and physically responds to the sound around him by swaying and

keeping rhythm with his body. Springsteen seems entranced in the sound, and the band frequently extends the instrumental sections of their songs throughout the show. All of this situates Springsteen as a kind of music fan, himself, taken more with the band than with the crowd (with whom his interaction is minimal in this show).

Springsteen's emotional and physical relationship to the music contributes to an image of youth – of the people targeted by and most deeply emotionally invested in rock music – and therefore suggesting the image of the working class American teen male. Eventually in the 2000s, his physical gestures come to represent both retention of this early expression of youth and a demonstration of masculinized physical power. Springsteen slides across the stage on his knees repeatedly, climbs and jumps off of Roy Bittan's piano, and demonstrates fairly remarkable agility and flexibility by hanging from his microphone stand with one hand. His other performance gestures, however, represent an equal commitment to his music, though he does not appear as "lost" in it as in the London show. In both shows, particularly during his more upbeat, fast-paced songs, Springsteen appears engaged and entertained by his own spectacle – dancing, interacting with his band members and laughing at his own jokes, again exhibiting an appropriate, authentic emotional state. While the tone of much of these shows is somewhat sombre or emotional, Springsteen's ability to act youthful keeps the event from being one-dimensional or heavy-handed, keeping the proceedings solidly linked to an authenticating tradition of rock and roll as leisure and entertainment for entertainment's sake, and maintaining a sense of youthfulness. Springsteen still sheds blood for his performance, showing the masculinity of hard work and of rock music culture, as well as a display of masculine physical strength, and retains a sense of staging an American, working class, leisure-ethic-oriented Saturday night party through his physical commitment and joy.

Springsteen also uses Eckman's illustrative gestures, the performing of accentuating gestures during significant elements of a performer's repertoire. This is often best evidenced in Springsteen's hand and arm gestures. His hands do not move in loud or exaggerated ways, remaining relatively still and occupied by his guitar-playing except to emphasize particular parts of the songs. Springsteen's emphasis comes during the elements in a song that communicate his overall ideological vision, punctuating lines about community, hope, and love with triumphant punches to the air.

In his 2000s shows, Springsteen begins to incorporate the body language of faith healing and evangelical preaching, with one or both arms in the air, his palm upturned and facing in front of him or facing the sky. This gesture, possibly innocuous, takes on a more clearly religious connotation as it is

most often used to accompany the singing of the word "faith," or when used in songs with other religious imagery. Springsteen takes on the pose of a preacher communing with his god, or a congregation communing with their preacher during moments of audience participation. Specifically, this happens during the portion of "Badlands" in New York, when the crowd is chanting a melody line while the band plays, before Springsteen delivers the line, "It ain't no sin to be glad you're alive." Springsteen faces the audience with his arms up and angled slightly forward, his palms open to them and his head down for the duration of their chant. Significantly more of these motions happen during the Barcelona show, during songs with distinctly spiritual themes like "The Rising," "Into the Fire," "Land of Hope and Dreams," "My City of Ruins" and songs about loss like "You're Missing."

4.4. Instruments

Springsteen plays only a few guitars during the four performances analyzed. In 1975, Springsteen appears with his 1950s era Fender Esquire[19] – the guitar that appears on the cover of *Born to Run*. Springsteen only plays one guitar during the show and doesn't have a guitar tech to tune it or handle it when he isn't playing. This same guitar will appear in his 1985 and 2000s shows, displaying obvious wear and tear.

Springsteen's old Fender is a symbol of his constructed identity as a 1950s rock and roll rebel, of his hard work, his authenticity, his sense of grounding and his stability. Springsteen's worn guitars are thought to represent his working class identity (Rodak, 1996), and symbolize having paid dues in the live arena (Riley, 2004). Springsteen having used the same guitar since the 1970s and using relatively few others onstage also reflects a musician who does not show wealth or commercial abundance through playing with a variety of instruments onstage. Springsteen's dedication to his old guitar suggests a dedication to his own creative past, suggesting that he's comfortable reflecting his past in his present performances. It may also symbolize consistency in Springsteen's identity, a consistency that he is the same artist he was when he first started making music on that same guitar, and that the size of the arena does not speak to the integrity of the performer. Springsteen only plays with two guitars that look new (or at least unworn): a black laminate-top acoustic and another black electric Fender. Springsteen's second-most used guitar, seen in the New York and Barcelona shows is another Fender Telecaster[20]

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[19] The precise year of the guitar itself is a matter of debate, perhaps best described as a "mutt of an instrument" (Hunter, 2009).
[20] A renamed version of the Esquire.

model, this time with a starburst copper and black face. The camera occasionally picks up a significant chip on its back, it too looking well-worn.

Springsteen also occasionally plays harmonica in his concerts. In 1975, Springsteen plays a small, hand-held harmonica, stashing it in his shirt pocket when not playing. In 1985, Springsteen strikes a resemblance to images of early American folk journeymen, appearing with a larger harmonica with a holster worn around his neck. Already having forged a popular reputation as a second-coming of Bob Dylan, his harmonica and acoustic guitar image only emphasized this folk balladeer association, as did his Woody Guthrie cover and his reworking "No Surrender" into an acoustic ballad. Springsteen repeats this image in his later shows, playing the harmonica in his hands without a guitar on during "The River" in New York, and wearing it on a holster with a low-slung acoustic guitar in Barcelona for "Empty Sky." His image here is still connoting folk and country singers, but the position of his guitar modifies the image to be a little more rock and roll and a little more original.

4.5. Band Interactions

The interactions Springsteen has onstage with his band members speak to the values articulated in Springsteen's live performance and to his social identity. It establishes a sense of Springsteen as traditionally male, affirms the value of homosocial interaction in a Springsteen performance, expresses ideas about race and presents Springsteen as working class.

In 1975, the E Street Band was entirely male. Springsteen played off male figures, and even when backup vocalist and guitarist Patti Scialfa joined the band in the 1980s, or when Springsteen added a female violinist – Soozie Tyrell – to his live show in Barcelona, Springsteen primarily interacted with the men in his band. More specifically, Springsteen interacts most with the two performers who occupy the front third of the stage with him, guitarist Steven Van Zandt and saxophonist Clarence Clemons (with the exception of the 1985 show where Nils Lofgren took Van Zandt's place). Even then, Springsteen interacted significantly less with Lofgren and more with Clemons. Springsteen eventually married Scialfa and continued playing music with her after disbanding the E Street Band, but even after her personal relationship with Springsteen changed, Springsteen still connected most with his original front line, Van Zandt and Clemons.

What Springsteen really seems to be suggesting in his interactions with fellow band members is the creation and value of a brotherhood, something he himself declares the band to be when he calls Clemons the "secretary of the brotherhood" in New York. In 1985, Springsteen introduces "No

Surrender," as "one for friendship," dedicating it to Van Zandt, who by that time had departed the band. "No Surrender," with its imagery of "blood brothers" reflects a value of community, of permanent bonds. Not only are men prioritized in Springsteen's narratives, but the value of the male relationships is integral in his performances. Springsteen's most meaningful, valuable bonds are demonstrated to exist with other men. This accomplishes several things in terms of creating Springsteen's social identity. Springsteen's best friends onstage are part of his history – through his relationship with them he demonstrates a connection to his personal history in Asbury Park, a working class town. He also demonstrates an importance of male friendship, of forging meaningful, lifelong bonds with other men, and through them, with your roots. Male homosocial interaction is considered a mark of capitalist-era masculinity (Kimmel, 2003). As established with the emergence of the capitalist masculinity of the 1830s marketplace man, it became increasingly important to define masculinity through interactions with other men. In mainstream American culture, masculinities are tested in interactions with other men and are often performed for the purpose of meeting the standards set by peer groups and larger social structures. In presenting himself in an all-male environment, articulated as a brotherhood, Springsteen is performing to and acknowledging the traditional importance of male homosociality. Therefore, Springsteen's performance of the band as a brotherhood – a male environment demonstrative of male bonds and focused on telling the stories of men – communicates his hegemonic masculinity. However, male homosociality is also defined as promoting heterosexual friendship and love (Sedgwick in Storr, 2003), which is demonstrated in Springsteen's band interactions. Through his performance gestures, Springsteen suggests the value of brotherhood is more significant than the bond between those of different genders. It is a symbolic excision of women and celebration of men. Additionally, this male reverence and love of other men is a part of the republican artistic tradition (Cullen, 1997), and as such, the concept of brotherhood is fundamental to the philosophy. Therefore, Springsteen's onstage brotherhood also binds him to a republican identity, which in turn communicates a working class, masculine, American and White identity.

Springsteen's interactions with women, specifically his band member and (now) wife Scialfa, are limited, and usually take on the tone of a sexual relationship rather than a friendship, also affirming Springsteen's homosocial brotherhood. Particularly when they perform together, Springsteen will affectionately take Scialfa's hand, or kiss her on the cheek, calls her "red" and "sweetie" while onstage, and in New York, introduces her with a few lines from his "Red Headed Woman," a song about a strawberry-haired woman in a "tight skirt" who can "get a dirty job done." Scialfa has a place in the

band, but is approached with a slightly different vernacular and mode of conduct than the other members. In treating Scialfa as the token female and sexualizing her presence, Springsteen reinforces his masculinity through not only his heterosexuality, but by distinguishing genders in his brotherhood and reaffirming the hegemonic masculinity communicated by his band interactions. Springsteen creates a visual prioritization of men, while simultaneously feeding into masculine and republican images of homosocial interaction and idealized brotherhood (Garman, 2000). Tyrell's presence in Barcelona is, as well, not disruptive to the impression of brotherhood. In referring to her as "Sister" in his introduction, Springsteen essentially accomplishes two things. In one sense, he affirms her as a member of the union,[21] as "one of the boys" who is otherwise left alone and not made exceptional. In another sense, "Sister" can be read as an indicator of gender difference, symbolically separating Tyrell from the brotherhood.

Springsteen's idealized brotherhood is most clearly articulated through his onstage relationship with Clemons, a relationship that has also been thought to disturb Springsteen's traditional masculinity (M. Smith, 1992). In New York, the band enters the stage in pairs, with Springsteen and Clemons entering together, rather than having Springsteen take the stage last and on his own as in Barcelona. His particular relationship with Clemons is immortalized both in song and in his stage show. Springsteen seems to share the greatest number of significant moments with his saxophone player. They dance together, mock-chase each other, sing together and exchange supportive or congratulatory touches. Two significant moments occur during the 1985 show, during "Thunder Road" and "Growin' Up". During "Growin' Up," Springsteen launches into a choreographed story about youthful confusion and the attempt to find a purpose. In his story, the lost young Springsteen decides to go down to the Asbury Park boardwalk and (somewhat jokingly) contemplates throwing himself in the water. Clemons enters Springsteen's monologue, appearing as the "big handsome dude" with whom he bonds. In the story, the two are led to find salvation in their instruments and their bond with each other. Springsteen finishes the story with, "And as we stood there in the moonlight, we knew that everything was gonna be alright, because… because… when we touched…" Springsteen and Clemons then raise their arms and press their palms together for a few seconds, and the band re-starts the song. During the last few minutes of "Thunder Road," Springsteen slides across the stage on his knees over to Clemons, gets up, and kisses him on the mouth. Springsteen then raises his guitar in the air, facing the crowd at the side of the stage, and returns to Clemons, his back turned to him. Springsteen grabs his hands and Clemons hugs him from

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[21] To be discussed on page 59.

behind, Springsteen eventually collapsing back. It's a strong display of affection between two men onstage, easily interpreted as a homoerotic gesture, and may be read as destabilizing the hegemonically masculine impression of identity Springsteen creates in the other elements of his performances.

However, Bryan K. Garman interprets this motion as a masculine invocation of republican working class hero masculinity (2000). This kiss may be an enactment of the republican philosophical position that heterosexual male relations are to be based on love and social respect, and as a display that symbolically reinforces male superiority by once again shutting out women (Garman, 2000; Simpson, 1994). One may interpret the kiss as a kind of romantic notion, and to an extent it is. Springsteen establishes his relationship with Clemons as distinct from that of other band members in its level of devotion and sense of respect. Clemons and Van Zandt are Springsteen's closest allies onstage, but while Van Zandt is his musical partner, the person he sings with most, his relationship with Clemons is something more significant. Their bond – and to an extent, Springsteen's bond with Van Zandt, as well – is an example of a classic male homosocial union. Springsteen's band is an environment where men's relationships with other men are more significant than their relationships with women. The concept of a male homosocial environment is built on values and intentions meant to protect patriarchy, which is defined as heterosexual (Sedgwick cited in Horrocks, 1995). Male homosociality is built on the value of male family bonds (Sedgwick cited in Storr, 2003) and the hegemonically (and therefore heterosexually) masculine perspective of gender difference and male superiority. Therefore, male homosociality is thought to dismiss sexual connotations of male togetherness (Horrocks, 1995). Additionally, male bonding and brotherhood was not considered sexualized in a republican context (Cullen, 1997). Indications of normative republican masculinity expressed throughout Springsteen's performance – heterosexual desire in his lyrics and in his onstage address of Scialfa – contextualize his performance and contribute to a nullification of the possibly queer content of his performances. As Garman (2000) argues, for the kiss and for Springsteen's male interactions to be read as subversive of normative masculinity, Springsteen's social message would have to be significantly more radical and defiant of his White, working class, republican male image.

Springsteen's brotherhood may also be read as being representative of rock and roll culture and identity in that it is racially diverse, with the band serving as a symbol of the integrationist nature of rock and roll music. Springsteen's bond with Clemons – the gesture of taking or touching hands that frequently serves as a symbol of racial unity in popular culture – may perform a similar effect here. Arguments may be made, however, that Clemons racializes the band. He is the literal embodiment of

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soul and R&B music onstage – a Black saxophone player – and brings this racialized genre element and racialized image to Springsteen's otherwise White rock and roll band. More generally, Springsteen's tokenism may be an attempt at articulating a sense of acceptance or egalitarianism onstage, contributing to impressions of his republican and American identity. On the surface, Clemons's – and Scialfa's – presence in the band foster the image of a diverse union (Palmer, 1997), reflective of the supposed intentions of republican philosophy. However, as with early American republicanism, Springsteen's vision is largely White – his lyrics (at least in the concerts studied here) concern White males[22] and in the use of republican ideals, draw from an ideology that was conceptualized as egalitarian but generally considered only the interests of White working men. The presence of Clemons also has little to no influence on Springsteen's own immediate racial identity. His performance of racial identity remains entirely White, deriving from dominant representations of Whiteness and from the "White rocker" (Pfeil, 1995), a prototype whose image borrows from Black masculinities but is contextualized within an appropriation-based culture of rock and roll.

Springsteen's brotherhood may also alternately be read for class identity, with the band being a different kind of brotherhood – a union, as initially identified by Palmer (1997). Springsteen and the E Street Band reinforce the idea of music as labour, and of rock musicians as working men and women (Frith, 2009; Rodak, 1996). They are thought of as a gang or union, of men and token women acting out the industrial fantasy of efficiency (Palmer, 1997). The stage acts as an idealized workplace, presenting the band as a union with strong community values (Palmer, 1997). Springsteen calls his band a brotherhood, a word with strong union connections, and even reasserts this union rhetoric when introducing his violin player, "Sister" Soozie. Springsteen's band represents an idealized vision of employer-employee relations, with a sense of mutual respect being show by Springsteen to his fellow band members in the adoring way he introduces and addresses them, and in the way he watches his own band with pride. A Springsteen concert is, as Palmer (1997) states, built in the idealized image of an early American labour union, an impression only reinforced by the class politics in Springsteen's songs and monologues. It shapes Springsteen's identity in the image of the "good poor," but removes connotations of the Reagan era's version of the blue collar man, who stood for individualism and rejected class solidarity. It also verifies Springsteen's leadership and therefore affirms his hegemonic masculinity.

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[22] Though Springsteen makes no references to the racial identity of his characters, he depicts working men largely employed in manual labour – an identity popularly imaged as White.

Early in his career, Springsteen earned the nickname "The Boss," from his pre-E Street band members. The nickname has stuck, and is even acknowledged during his shows, when Springsteen and Van Zandt do a staple bit, letting the audience know that while the show is almost over it's still "Boss time" onstage. Not only does it contribute to the image of the show as a work activity, and of the band as a union, but of Springsteen as a "benevolent employer" (Palmer, 1997). The role of the employer – the Boss – is also traditionally male and originally White (Roediger, 2007), a somewhat dominant and authoritative social position, which therefore contributes to an impression of Springsteen's identity as hegemonically masculine.

Springsteen, indeed, performs as the "boss" of the show. His leadership is particularly obvious in 1975, when he spends much of the set with this back to the audience, cuing the band. Springsteen was almost constantly in control of the transitions and endings of the songs, cuing the band by exaggeratedly accenting beats and cutoffs by striking his guitar neck downward, alerting certain musicians with his hands, head or shoulders, counting the band in, and sometimes making conductor-like motions with his hands while standing in front of the band. Springsteen asserted himself as the leader of the band constantly, though his leadership style never gave the appearance of being strict or abrasive.

The image of the stage as a workplace, then, also adds to the impression of masculinity being made. In American gender ideology, work is thought to affirm masculinity. Men are judged by whether or not they are employed, as well as the nature of their work and the position of their job in the workplace hierarchy. The more powerful a man's job position, and the more physical, authoritarian and/or rational his work is, the more "masculine" he is believed to be. Springsteen's band is a form of physical labour, as exemplified by the physical exertion demonstrated onstage – he and his band move constantly, sweat visibly, need to take deep breaths and drink water (with Springsteen once putting a wet sponge on his face presumably to cool down). Therefore, the band performs an impression of hegemonic masculinity through their performance of physical work, with Springsteen working hardest and therefore appearing as most powerful and most obviously masculine. Springsteen demonstrates traditional masculinity because of his role as bandleader. In addition to structuring the band like a workplace, Springsteen's leadership role is an assertion of albeit subtle dominance. His directing gestures are displays of masculine control, authority and musical mastery, communicated while enacting his role as the head of the band.

Springsteen's role as "boss" also presents the impression that Springsteen was in charge of the show and therefore of the creative vision of the band. Springsteen's leadership suggests that the songs

being played are his – that he has some stake in them and how they come across. This excision of control could be viewed as a performance that verifies Springsteen's musical authenticity. Springsteen is engaging in impression management (Goffman, 1959), attempting to assure that the music played matches his intentions and assuring he looks in control of his own creative product. Springsteen authenticates himself as the creator of the entire vision, the entire sound, rather than just being the singer, a hired performer standing onstage to sing someone else's words or play in someone else's band. Springsteen's tendency to conduct the band throughout the show lessens in later performances (where it can be argued he has less at stake in terms of his reputation or need to prove his authenticity), but does not completely cease.

4.6. Language and Speech

Springsteen uses language to several effects in his live performances. Ultimately, his manner of speaking establish his class (and by way of this, his race), and his national identity. Onstage, Springsteen engages in what Fox (2004) refers to as ordinary talk. Talk is considered the primary mode of ordinariness, which is described by Fox as the mode of expression where the past is constantly memorialized, idealized and revisited, particularly through conversation, and thereby creates an expression of White working class identity. This ordinary talk considered classed because it captures an idyllic, oft-fictionalized past of simpler times, with less conflict, fewer expectations and slower pacing. This memorializing of the past happens in highly industrialized, alienated working cultures, as evidenced with the creation of a Black identity for White workers to accept otherwise uncontrollable class circumstances (Fox, 2004; Roediger, 2007).

Most basically, Springsteen acknowledges the city he is performing in by name when greeting the crowd. This acknowledgment of the audience's location during a live performance is significant to connecting the performer to his audience, and is a kind of ordinary conversation trope that suggests a working class way of speaking (Fox, 2004). Springsteen also frequently speaks in Spanish to the Barcelona audience – an exaggeration of the similarity of performer and audience (Fox, 2004) that contributes to his ordinary, working class identity and makes him appear connected and authentic.

Springsteen speaks in a distinctly regionalized manner, both in terms of his use of geographic identifiers and his dialect. Springsteen identifies himself as a product and representative of New Jersey. New Jersey is a symbol of the state's historical associations with manual labour-intensive workplaces,

extreme urbanization and class disparities ("New Jersey," n.d.), some of which may be the result of being constructed in opposition to New York – the metropolis versus the "suburb" it borders.

Springsteen speaks in his own particular dialect, a regional New Jersey drawl that has him dropping the final "g" from certain words and occasionally running them together as if he is mumbling. His words, though, utilize the grammar of casual, conversational, markedly lower-class speech, the kind of wording that makes natural use of terms like "ain't," and "gotta," and improper grammatical structures. Springsteen is by no means inarticulate, but he borrows the "talk" of New Jersey, of the working class, and even of early rock and R&B music, where women were "kittens" and men were "cats." Springsteen's dialect is relatively consistent, coming through regardless of the context and of the tone of his voice except while preaching and speaking Spanish.

Springsteen positions himself as an ambassador of his home, frequently making reference to being from the state of New Jersey, and positions Asbury Park as his hometown (though this is more metaphorical than it is true). Springsteen's performances not only present an image of a New Jersey resident but suggest a prideful affiliation with his roots. Springsteen visually and verbally accepts and performs a typical New Jersey image, and has in a sense become a representation of the state, himself. Springsteen will again refer to the image of (working class) New Jersey in his lyrics, using geographic references to similarly identify the class positions of his characters, and to indicate his representative voice of the place and its people. This is initially evidenced in 1975, when Springsteen introduces "Fourth of July, Asbury Park (Sandy)" with, "This is something for you from Asbury Park." When Springsteen yells, "Is anybody alive out there?" to the New York crowd, he summons a repeat of their boisterous response by shaking his head disappointedly then saying, "You gotta let 'em hear you in Jersey, man." Springsteen also asserts his identity as a Jersey boy – differentiating himself from a California boy – on the first night of his Los Angeles shows: "So, you think you can take us, huh? So, you think you're tough out here in California, huh? So, you think you can put the whammy on those New Jersey boys, huh? Oh, yeah?" Springsteen relies on New Jersey's national reputation here to jokingly assert his machismo and create an image of his roots.

Along with his physical appearance, his articulated regional identity, personal gestures and inter-band dynamics, Springsteen's onstage parlance has some impact on creating his national and class identity outside of his relationship to New Jersey. The first time Springsteen speaks to his audience in 1975, he tells them, "This is the first time…" he's seen England. "I've never been here before." Instantly, Springsteen sets himself up as someone who likely has not done extensive travelling outside of his home

country (not to mention declaring himself as non-British), though he later mentions that he and the band were recently in Detroit. Springsteen creates an image of being an American who has never left America, suggesting his class position and reaffirming his national identity.

In 1985, Springsteen engages in the kind of pre-song monologues he is remembered for. Essentially, the monologues in this show demonstrate Springsteen's awareness of working class conditions, and reveal a skepticism about the social order of America. Springsteen presents himself as equal parts realist and believer in a utopian vision of America, the perspective that ultimately defines Springsteen's way of seeing and relating to the world around him. In Los Angeles, Springsteen introduces a cover of Edwin Starr's "War" with the following allusion to his experience with the Vietnam draft:

> "If you grew up in the '60s, you grew up with war on T.V. every night. War that your friends were involved in. And, uh, I wanna do this song tonight for all the young people out there. If you're in your teens… I remember a lot of my friend when we were 17 or 18, we didn't have much of a chance to think about how we felt about a lot of things. And, uh, the next time they're gonna be looking at you. You're gonna need a lot of information to know what you're gonna want to do. Because in 1985, blind faith in your leaders or in anything will get you killed."

Here, Springsteen establishes this performance as a communication from a politically-aware American speaking to American youth during a peak of the Cold War. "War" serves to present Springsteen's nationality, political ideology and his position in American political society – as a teenager of Vietnam-era America watching a new political order continue to support war activities. The introduction of the song brands Springsteen as a representation of an American who maintains healthy skepticism and embraces a freedom to disagree with and directly challenge the decisions of those in authority. Springsteen defines those in power as unconcerned with the interests and safety of those they serve, taking a position that could be read as reflective of a republican view of democracy and engaged citizenship. This also aligns Springsteen with a generalized working class perspective on the Vietnam War, as an unsuccessful plight that saw the American government targeting and exploiting their population (Fox, 2004). Additionally, this speech defies images of the working class as unintelligent and apolitical, displaying a class identity that is not built on common stereotypes and instead speaking from a position of familiarity and respect.

Again in 1985, Springsteen aligns himself with a particular class position, and shows an awareness of the social circumstances of the working class, introducing his cover of Woody Guthrie's "This Land is Your Land" with the following:

"I´d like to do a song for you that I guess is about the greatest song ever written about America. And it´s by Woody Guthrie. And, what's so great about it is, it gets, it gets right to the heart of the promise of what our country was supposed to be about… If you talk to some of the unemployed steelworkers from East L.A., or Pittsburg, or Gary, there are a lot of people out there whose jobs are disappearing. I don´t know if they feel this song is true anymore and I´m not sure that it is. But I know, I know that it ought to be. So, I´d like to do this for you reminding you that with countries, just like with people, it's easy to let the best of yourself slip away."

Springsteen's monologues help to establish his personal onstage ideology, one informed by a disbelief in the capitalist rendering of the American Dream and the valuing of an early republican American form of community and egalitarianism, which marks his interests and therefore identity as working class and American by association. Springsteen also relies on the motif of creating an association with Woody Guthrie, who currently appears to be the foremost modern representation of early American republicanism in popular culture. Springsteen articulates a loyalty to Guthrie's idea of working class politics and republican community, and therefore associates himself with the same identity position. The 1985 performance of "No Surrender" also helps to create an impression of Springsteen's class politics, or more precisely, his belief in community as a point of solution and salvation. Springsteen introduces it as "a song about trying to find something to hold onto, I guess." He at once articulates a sense of hopelessness or of being displaced or lost, and proceeds to propose a song about friendship as the solution, articulating an understanding of powerlessness and suggesting at his overall republican vision of brotherhood and community.

Also significant to the performed identity of Springsteen is his now infamous sermonizing. In the 2000s, Springsteen began using the language and performance gestures of a religious revival to introduce his band and sermonize about the redemptive power of rock and roll and community. To do so, he engages in prototypical charismatic preacher posturing, stomping his feet, waving his arms, proselytizing to his congregation, eyes wild.[23] The New York concert captures this routine in full, a routine that has become a staple in his more recent tours (Friskics-Warren, 2005; Riley, 2004). Springsteen's speaking to the value of faith in his 2000s concerts proves to be particularly revealing of Springsteen's class, and of how he looks to the authenticity and values of rock and roll and leisure to articulate his ideology.

Springsteen begins this portion of the show near the end of "Tenth Avenue Freeze-Out," launching into a gospel-influenced improvisation, requesting a call and response chorus of "It's alright"

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[23] Again, Springsteen is using illustrative gestures to communicate his intentions.

from the audience. Springsteen then begins singing Al Green's "Take Me to the Water," presenting not only an image of baptism and rebirth, but of associations with driving down to the water that occasionally appear in his music (in the case of this show, just a few songs previously in "The River"). Springsteen pounds the floor with his feet and tosses himself around across the platform in front of the stage, bringing him several feet lower and closer to the audience. Then, Springsteen begins sermonizing:

> "That's right. That's where I wanna go tonight. I wanna go to that riverside. I wanna find that river of life I wanna find that river of love. I wanna find that river of faith. And, that river of hope. Tonight I wanna go to that river of transformation, where you can go and you can be changed, but you got to work at it. That's right. I wanna go to that river of sanctification, where all life's graces and blessings can fall down upon you like rain, but you've got to work at it. I want to go to that river of resurrection where everybody gets a second chance. But you've got to work at it. Tonight I wanna go to that river of sexual healing and companionship. I wanna find that river of joy and that river of happiness. I'm not bullshitting back here. But you just don't stumble onto those things. You don't find those places by accident. You've got to seek them out and search after them. And that's why we're here night after night after night after night. Because you can't get to those things by yourself. You've got to have help. But that's where I wanna go tonight and I want you to go with me, because I need to go with you. That's why I'm here. And tonight I want to throw a rock and roll exorcism, a rock and roll baptism, and a rock and roll Bar Mitzvah. That's right. We're gonna do it all tonight. Everything right here. I want them waters to fall down on me and set me free, set you free. But I stood one evening as a young man before a dark room of trees and I was frightened to pass through those trees even though I knew that on the other side, the river of life was waiting. And there was cold beer at a reasonable price. And there were no wicked cell phones either… But I stood paralyzed by my own fears. And then a Gypsy woman called me onward and she said, 'Son, come here. Let me help you. What you need. What's your line?' And I told her what I did for a living and she said, 'Well then, what you need is a band. You need some help.'"

Springsteen's speech emphasizes redemption, companionship and love, and the need to work hard and seek those things out with the help of others. Springsteen's sermon is significant in establishing his performance identity, as it essentially summarizes his ideological position directly to his audience. The sermon feeds into Springsteen's overall narrative of community, and into an American rhetoric of rock and roll, hard work, freedom and mobility and ultimately, then, serves to communicate Springsteen's allegiance to republican ideology.

Though Springsteen does not perform the preacher routine again in Barcelona, he precedes the introduction of his band with a miniature sermon of sorts. "Well, are you ready for a house party now?" Springsteen calls near the end of "Mary's Place." "If you're gonna have a house party, the music has got to be righteous!" In Springsteen's sermon, music – his own live show and his band – is posed as a path to salvation. Springsteen speaks to a perceived void – a need to find hope, faith, love, sanctification and rebirth – and proposes music (and by way of music, community) as the way to meet this need. Here,

Springsteen poses music as a form of religion, the belief in which will transport the listener to "the other side." What this effectively does is create the impression of Springsteen's class and nationality, as well as connect him with the values of rock and roll, and therefore, with authenticity, masculinity and Whiteness. Springsteen's sermon affirms he finds value in rock and roll. Springsteen is thought to retain rock and roll as a "path to salvation," possessing a belief in music and its ability to create a vision of transcending social circumstances (Friskics-Warren, 2005; Riley, 2004), and arguably of creating a feeling of transcendence itself in providing a momentary feeling of liberation. This embeds him into the tradition of rock and roll music, suggesting that he shares the genre's values, its sense of authenticity, and its White, male, working class social identity. Springsteen also uses the value of music to establish leisure as a coping mechanism, with entertainment often posed as a route to transcendence, a temporary solution to otherwise inescapable circumstances. Springsteen's valuing of entertainment feeds into the American working class leisure ethic (Cullen, 1997). This not only suggests Springsteen's national identity through association, but his demonstrated value for an ethic targeted to the working class also suggests his own understanding of and therefore position in such an identity.

Springsteen's preaching also equalizes access to freedom, independence and human connection – if someone can connect to the music, they are redeemable, given access to a new way to see themselves and others, a new way to find satisfaction and ultimately transcend, if only temporarily, their circumstances. Springsteen presents himself as a voice to those shut out of a more socially conventional access to power, and therefore creates another allegiance with working class identity. Music in a Springsteen performance isn't defined as a capitalist product, but as a place to possibly overcome oppressive capitalist social relations. As well, Springsteen still imparts the concept of hard work with importance, communicating his fundamental association with American republican mythology and hegemonic masculinity, but redefines the purpose of that hard work. Springsteen removes hard work from the context of capitalist accumulation, instead returning to republican notions of community. Springsteen praises work, but imagines it as the path to community rather than the path to wealth. Springsteen still appears to value the American Dream of mobility, but imagines it coming from bonds with other people.

This largely contextualizes Springsteen's sermon into working class republican ideology. Springsteen's primary values – hope, love and community – are all at the core of early American republican philosophy. As he accomplishes in his lyrics, Springsteen's sermon removes the American Dream from its current capitalist context and preaches a vision of idealized republicanism. This grand

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vision of republican community and hope is one deeply embedded in the history of the American White

male working class – an ideology meant to promote their interests as a social group and create an

idealized nation not built on capitalist class divisions. In connecting himself to republican rhetoric in his

live performance, Springsteen establishes himself as a White, working class, American male in the

republican artist tradition.

4.7. Intertextuality

Musical intertextuality accomplishes several things in terms of the performance of identity.

Incorporating the voices of other artists is thought to be a way of communicating and therefore

associating oneself with the original artist's identity, paying tribute to past musical traditions in order to

establish authenticity and communicate values. A cover can therefore be read as an exercise in doing

one or all of the previous, depending on context. Intertextuality plays a significant role in creating the

identity of Springsteen. His choice of cover songs and references imbue the figure of Springsteen with a

history which future references to Springsteen will later adopt for themselves.

Many of Springsteen's covers and his only obvious intertextual reference – "Roy Orbison singing

for the lonely"[24] – are all songs representing early R&B and rock and roll.[25] Springsteen uses references

to previous generations of rock and roll in order to demonstrate his position in a rock lineage,

demonstrate authenticity, and ally himself with rock and roll social identities, be they vulnerable

underdog masculinities or more typically lusty, leisure-oriented masculinities. These covers also place

Springsteen in a lineage of American song, affirming his national identity. Springsteen also

communicates that he is a White artist who shows an appreciation of the sometimes erased history of

Black musicians in creating the genre he is most indebted to and associated with, but can also be said to

be using these songs in order to access Black music's image of quality, expressivity and authenticity.

Springsteen's other frequently-covered genre is American soul.[26] Once again, Springsteen is

embedding his work in a lineage of American music. Here, Springsteen associates himself with legendary

soul artists. As early music was heavily raced in the popular imagination, Springsteen is here again

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[24] "Thunder Road"

[25] Mitch Ryder & The Detroit Wheels "Good Golly Miss Molly/Devil With A Blue Dress On" and "CC Rider/ Jenny Take a Ride," (all songs except "Jenny…" being Ryder's covers of 1950s rock staples), Van Morrison "Moondance," Jay and the Americans "Come a Little Bit Closer," and Gary U.S. Bonds "A Quarter to Three."

[26] Marvin Gaye "It Takes Two," Isaac Hayes "Shaft," Al Green "Take Me To The River," Curtis Mayfield "People Get Ready," Edwin Starr "War." Springsteen also covers Sam Cooke's "Having a Party," and bases his original, "Mary's Place" on Cooke's "Meet Me at Mary's Place."

allying himself with a tradition of Black music. Soul music is seen to have bridged Black and White audience sensibilities in the 1960s (Riley, 2004), but in being defined as a Black form, is thought to have superior access to resources of feeling, expressiveness, talent and sensuality. A White artist citing a Black artist provides them with access to this musical identity by association, and also provides access to Black soul masculinity. This was a masculinity drawn from R&B music, which valued meaningful adult relationships and ideas about love, and represented a more embattled struggle for equality (highly exemplified in "People Get Ready") (Riley, 2004). It was, at the same time, a Black music masculinity, thought to be sexually powerful, posed, aloof, stylish, self sufficient, street smart and hip (Wald, 1997). As such, soul music and its identities are symbols borrowed by Springsteen (and later, Fallon) which serves to associatively shape interpretations of his own masculinity, authenticity and racial attitudes.

Springsteen also reinvents a gospel standard to articulate his political, classed vision of community. Springsteen's "Land of Hope and Dreams," played in New York and Barcelona, is an interpretation of "This Train (Bound for Glory)."[27] Springsteen's version of the train to heaven allows everyone, regardless of their sins – a message that inverts the original intention of the song.[28] With this re-envisioning of the gospel of the old America, Springsteen demonstrates his identity as a voice for the marginalized, and his awareness of the reality of class and the emptiness of American capitalist mythology. The song's reinterpretation of gospel doesn't necessarily translate into Springsteen taking on the identity of a gospel singer (at least, not in this moment), but re-grounds the transcendent properties associated with gospel music, adapting the song to his egalitarian vision and allowing it to provide a sense of transcendence over circumstance through a different kind of music and a different way of thinking.

4.8. Lyrical Themes

According to Philip Auslander (2004), the way one reads a musician's identity is influenced by that performer's songs. While a performance persona may be structured to communicate a particular social identity through its personal front, the audience is also influenced by the meaning of the song. Goffman does not speak directly about musical performances and therefore about song lyrics. However,

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[27] "This Train…" is an American gospel standard. It was also covered by Woody Guthrie, whom Springsteen separately covers in 1985. Guthrie connects Springsteen to a tradition of American republican masculinity and social values, and to a lineage of socially-conscious protest music. Guthrie is another common image in the performances of Fallon and Springsteen.
[28] Springsteen reinterprets lines like "This train don't carry no gamblers" to "This train carries whores and gamblers" to suggest being inclusive of all those cast as having sinned.

lyrics may be read as speech and therefore have the ability to contribute to impression creation and disruption. Frith (1996) argues that in order to be believable – a core tenet and responsibility for rock musicians or performers in contexts where authenticity is a primary value and judgment criteria – a musician is required to enact the identities of his protagonists and perform the appropriate emotions. This demonstration of emotion, though largely guided by the content of the song, is structured by genre and culture conventions and their mandates about what qualifies as an appropriate emotional response.

Springsteen's lyrics, then, contribute considerably to his identity performance. Though Springsteen often tells the stories of others, he is a particularly successful enactor of emotions and performs in a way that makes his subject matter come across as sincere and intimate. Due to his performance style, it is easy to imagine connections between his song meanings and his persona – to assume that Springsteen has a vested interest in the characters and messages in his music. The personal front elements of his performance, as well, suggest a connection between singer and songs. Springsteen sings about working men often from the Northeastern United States – characters that he physically resembles onstage. This connection between performer and repertoire based on identity facilitates being able to understand one way in which Springsteen enacts his protagonists, while simultaneously creating the impression that Springsteen's songs may be read as expressions and extensions of himself. Thereby, Springsteen's performed identity may be comprehended through his lyrics.[29]

Similar, familiar and consistent themes and images appear throughout the songs played in his four performances. They include faith, geographic references, car road imagery, specific gender roles and particular class circumstances.

Faith

Springsteen's 1975 and 1985 performances were, generally speaking, free of any references to religious or spiritual faith. However, Springsteen's most recent performances have seen an element of religion enter the content of his songs and concerts. Though he uses some images from other religions, his dominant association is with Christian imagery, which is also the kind of imagery he performs in other parts of his concerts. Springsteen addresses the Lord, "prays for the faith,"[30] wears the "cross of [his] calling,"[31] acknowledges his lost love being called to a duty "someplace higher,"[32] says fate is "in

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[29] This construction of the relationship between lyrics and identity also applies to Fallon.
[30] "My City of Ruins"
[31] "The Rising"
[32] "Into the Fire"

God's hands,"[33] and repeatedly asks for faith from sources outside himself. Aside from specifically referencing the cross, a Christian symbol, his wording otherwise connotes the popular language of Christianity. As noted in sections 4.3. and 4.6., 2000s-era Springsteen punctuates the religious imagery in his songs with hand gestures thought to draw attention and communicate emotion (Eckman cited in Frith, 1994), often by outstretching his arm and pressing his palm outward, a gesture typical of both Christian worship and preaching. He also performs a preacher routine that draws from images of Christian religious leaders.

Springsteen also uses the image of water – defined directly in his New York sermon as the place where he will be reborn as free. Water provides a vivid image of redemption and escape for his characters, and, as in "The River," a place that draws them back because of the freedom and future it once allowed them to experience and consider. The image of water as a place of rebirth and regeneration is symbolic of Christian baptism and therefore Christian identity.

Springsteen's gestures and lyrics thereby symbolically connect him to an image of Christian religious identity, an identity that is used to connote Americanness, Whiteness and masculinity. His recognition and acknowledgment of a (likely) Christian higher power helps to associate Springsteen as an American. America is conceptualized as a Christian nation, and an "American citizen" is popularly thought of as someone who identifies as Christian (Theiss-Morse, 2009), therefore bolstering Springsteen's identity as an American. Additionally, Christian images are also considered to be images of prototypical Whiteness and maleness. Springsteen's body and physicality already enact the impression of Whiteness and hegemonic masculinity in their strength and exhibitions of will. These qualities, according to Dyer (1997), are shaped, initially, in a Christian image – the idealized body of Jesus Christ. Christ, in the context of most major Christian denominations, is the prototypical representation of what masculinity and Whiteness are expected to look like. Springsteen not only reflects this expectation in his body, but in establishing a Christian identity, allows his racial and gender identity can be evaluated against the identity standards established by Christianity.

Geography:

Springsteen's music uses almost constant references to place, particularly in his earlier songs where his style was to create scenes as well as narratives. Springsteen uses city names, general regional and cultural locations, roads and a general sense of being on the border or just outside of mainstream life. All of these elements help to create impressions of social identity in Springsteen's characters, and

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[33] "Countin' on a Miracle"

ultimately in Springsteen himself, reinforcing the message he already began communicating in his onstage monologues that he belongs to and is a messenger of the working classes.

Springsteen most frequently uses images of the city, particularly its so-called underbelly – the backstreets, the alleys and Lovers Lane.[34] Sometimes, streets are explicitly named to create regional images.[35] Springsteen at once acknowledges and romanticizes the ugliness of city life, describing violence as opera, and looking at places transforming at night into spaces where misfits, vagrants, criminals, street toughs and good time girls socialize.[36] Springsteen tells the story of this side of the city, himself once cast in the image of one of these rock and roll throwback rebels. This 1975 performance is where Springsteen sings the majority of these songs about shore brats and back-alley dwellers, allowing for the association between the performer and the Saint in the City dressed like "a Harley in heat"[37] to be made rather easily. Springsteen's unflinching sincerity, too, aids in associating him with the people he sings about. When Springsteen discusses the working people of America, he names specific cities and regions – Gary, Indiana, east Los Angeles, California, and Pittsburg, Pennsylvania in the 1985 introduction to "This Land is Your Land" – providing the audience with a sense of authority and authenticity in his specificity, and in grounding the 70-year-old cover song he plays in a real, recognizable present. He does the same with Youngstown, Ohio,[38] a real American city ruined by the decline of the steel industry throughout the 1970s and early 1980s.

He also sets many of his songs on the beach – on boardwalks, at carnivals, and near the water.[39] The beach is, likely, another allusion to Asbury Park, a run-down, working class beachside town on the Jersey Shore that Springsteen romanticizes as home. The beach brings in the image of youth, of leisure, of escape and of Springsteen's struggling adopted hometown. This is a space of working class leisure, again citing the American leisure ethic that will be revisited shortly. Asbury Park and the beach are also sites of young and working class social life, as well as quintessentially American locations. The stories set at the beach connect Springsteen to this mythology by association, presenting him as another of the working class youths in his songs and communicating his national identity.

One thing that is particularly important to note about Springsteen's use of geography is that it is largely concerned with borders and unseen spaces. Many of Springsteen's songs are about living in

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[34] "Backstreets," "Jungleland," "Incident on 57th Street."
[35] "Darkness on the Edge of Town," "Prove It All Night," "Youngstown," "Atlantic City," "Lost in the Flood."
[36] "It's Hard to Be a Saint in the City," "Kitty's Back," "Lost in the Flood," "The E Street Shuffle."
[37] "It's Hard to Be a Saint in the City"
[38] "Youngstown"
[39] "Backstreets," "4th of July, Asbury Park (Sandy)," "For You," "Born to Run," "Atlantic City."

these unseen and border spaces, or the efforts to cross over them – the night, the hidden parts of the city, the darkness on the edge of town, and the "dark side of route 88."[40] Springsteen being a narrator of the border spaces not only aligns him with a working class and a rock and roll identity, but allies Springsteen with an outsider society in general. Though precisely what kind of outsider Springsteen sings about – be it the self-styled Brandos of his early period, the American factory labourer, the abandoned veteran, or the criminal who is out of choices – changes throughout his career, Springsteen's music gives voice to those who identify with positions of economic disadvantage.

Springsteen articulates his own regional and national identity through his use of place. He writes about American locations or important sites of American life. Springsteen in this sense is an American singer, a voice for highly particular, recognizably American places. He is affirmed as a messenger for a particular national identity. Ultimately, though, Springsteen's place references serve to perform class as they can be defined as symbols of low culture, and are "negative" status symbols. In popular culture, New Jersey, the beach, carnivals and border spaces carry class connotations and are commonly imagined as spaces of working class social life. Consequently, then, when Springsteen identifies himself as a product of these places in his monologues, he creates the impression of his own identity as working class and feeds into an impression that he is concerned with memorializing the past and with nostalgia. This concern with one's past – an attachment to the old neighbourhood, so to speak – is thought to be a marker of the working class (Fox, 2004; Roediger, 2007).

Car and Road Imagery

The invention and proceeding accessibility of the car in America helped, to an extent, to equalize the nation, facilitate its mythology and represent its identity. Cars created an egalitarian space, awarding those who could not show their wealth and status through property the opportunity to do so in cars, reducing rural isolation, spurning a highway system that would bring rural and suburban areas some economic benefit, creating its own subcultures, and creating a space of escape and freedom for both teenagers and adult drivers (Jakle & Sculle, 2008). The car became an opportunity to experience temporary freedom, independence and escape, a place where one could be isolated from their surroundings while still experiencing them from afar (Jakle & Sculle, 2008). Early advocates for the car in American culture initially defined driving as a masculine sport, connecting the values of masculinity – independence, control, freedom, leisure and limitlessness – with driving and the road (Jakle & Sculle, 2008). Cars also came to represent what are considered fundamental American values – the privileging

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[40] "Jungleland," "Night," "Darkness on the Edge of Town," "Mansion on the Hill," "Spirit in the Night."

of the individual, mobility and change, utilitarianism and the pursuit of ideals – therefore becoming a symbol of America itself (Zalinsky cited in Jakle & Sculle, 2008). In popular culture, the road became a temporary home for those displaced and dissatisfied, and served what was thought to be an inherent need in people to keep moving (Jakle & Sculle, 2008).

Driving, the road and cars are an important site of meaning in Springsteen's music. Springsteen's music is built around the image of the car. In 1975, Springsteen's image borrows from the greaser and the teenager, two subcultures with vested interests in the car and driving. As such, he begins to define himself in the tradition that helped make the car a symbol of freedom, independence and socialization for these sometimes marginalized cultures. He also, thereby, defines himself as a figure representative of these values and therefore of their relationship to hegemonic masculinity. Though his image would change, his relationship to cars and driving, and his American rock and roll-influenced view of them remained the same until late in his career. Though it is thought that Springsteen's depiction of the road as a place of escape would eventually transform into a view of the road as a place that ultimately offers no solutions (Riley, 2004) the performances studied here reveal consistency in Springsteen's depiction of cars, driving and the American road.

Springsteen's music expressed the characteristically masculine and American desire for and importance of freedom through car imagery. Starting his 1975 concert with "Thunder Road," Springsteen sings a line that effectively summarizes the role car imagery will play throughout much of his early career, and that will reappear time and time again in the songs he performs to a modern audience: "these two lanes will take us anywhere." To Springsteen, driving becomes the tool for escape, the way the compulsion to seek better is satisfied, or as in "The River," the motion the protagonist is pushed to repeat, even though he knows the escape he once achieved is no longer possible.[41] This view of escape as provided by literal mobility is integral to American ideologies, particularly in terms of the vision of the American Dream and republicanism. Some of Springsteen's lyrics are built on these ideologies, not depicting them as successful, but depicting their internalization and a belief in their ultimate message of class mobility. The attempt to achieve the "dream," so to speak, communicates a class identity in the adoption of such ideologies and in the articulation of wanting to escape one's working class circumstances. As well, cars and the road are symbolic regions of social displacement, again reaffirming associations with the working class. Cars also serve as symbols of traditional masculinity in Springsteen. They are the tools that allow working class males to compete, be it with each

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[41] "Born to Run," "Thunder Road," "Prove It All Night," "Land of Hope and Dreams," "Rosalita (Come Out Tonight)."

other or otherwise, experience independence, engage with women and assert dominance and control over whether they are branded a winner or a loser.[42] Cars and driving are representative of masculine values, and the celebration and association with cars affirms masculinity and its normative values (Jakle & Sculle, 2008).

Characterizations of Men

Springsteen's lyrical treatment of the social roles of men communicates elements of Springsteen's onstage performance of masculinity. The majority of Springsteen's characters are working men or young people who live primarily in urban rather than rural environments. Springsteen's male characters often speak from a perspective of disempowerment, articulating their lack of power, dissatisfaction and desire to escape.[43] They are associated with social groups who in a capitalist-based social order, have little access to or opportunity for power and are embedded in American cultural mythologies that affirm their hard work or toughness and aggression as masculine, and communicate employment and work as a source of masculine identity. Springsteen represents people who are at once reflected in his own identity and for whom he is a voice, and the effects of these mythologies on their identities,

Many of Springsteen's male characters are depicted as dealing with their place in a social hierarchy and looking to test national mythologies of class mobility. Particularly in his early songs, Springsteen's narrators look to these mythologies of escape and mobility by making promises to their female companions, often promises to escape their current circumstances of mundanity or oppression.[44] In making their promises of escape to women, they are creating themselves in the image of a hero, looking to access traditional masculinity in whatever way is available to them and change their class, here through the internalization of American class mythologies.

Springsteen's post-1975 work – the songs that will appear in his 1985 and 2000s concerts - shows male characters broken by American cultural mythologies of mobility and by capitalist labour organization. Though they had once attempted escape, and occasionally still try, there is a sense in these narratives of the realization that the fundamental ideologies of social mobility embedded in American culture are faulty.[45] These characters are working men - labourers, but not of the type fashioned by blue collar man mythology, or the valorized American worker who gets his dignity from his

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[42] "Night," "Backstreets," "Cadillac Ranch," "Stand On It," "Ramrod," "Lost in the Flood."
[43] "Thunder Road," "Badlands," "The Promised Land," "Murder Incorporated," "Dancing in the Dark."
[44] "Born to Run," "Rosalita (Come Out Tonight)," "Thunder Road," "Prove It All Night," "Ramrod."
[45] "Youngstown," "Atlantic City," "Born in the U.S.A.," "Seeds," "Murder Incorporated," "Countin' on a Miracle."

hard labour and awaits fulfillment from inevitable wealth. Instead, these men are ultimately dissatisfied and have what some may call a pessimistic, others a realistic view of the American class system. Springsteen, in a sense, addresses the dreaming of his old material and refashions it, envisioning transcendence as coming from music (as also evidenced in the sermon) and ordinary life, community, brotherhood and leisure.[46] This re-envisioning looks to some of the tenets of republican philosophy, again contextualizing his social identity as one formed in an early American republican image, and therefore also White, working class and American.

Springsteen also addresses the cultural conceptions of masculinity available to these working class figures. His male characters occasionally speak from acknowledged positions of vulnerability – "I'm just a scared and lonely rider."[47] Springsteen's male characters are disappointed, apprehensive and alone. This is an articulation of generally un-masculine emotion and a need for connection, something that contradicts the standard of masculine independence and stoicism. Somewhat uniquely, Springsteen offers a depiction of his male characters (and perhaps masculinity in general) as participating in a kind of "masquerade."[48] Being a particular kind of male – looking "hard," as he summarizes it in "Born to Run" – is acknowledged to require face work. Springsteen's characters embody traditionally masculine identities – working men and macho youth – be they mainstream or subcultural. However, the attitudes and presentations that create their identities are sometimes revealed to be artifice. Springsteen talks of experimenting, acting and playing, young men testing their hardened identities against their peers.[49] Springsteen, therefore, reveals the artifice of masculinity, and his doing so can be read in several ways. On one hand, Springsteen's expression of the artifice of masculinity can be read as a personal statement, an effort by a person in a public position to speak to a perceived social reality that destabilizes the assumed naturalness of masculine machismo, strength and authority. As well, Springsteen's masquerading man is often depicted in a working class image. These masculinities receive validation through exhibitions of strength and aggressiveness, often presented on the body, as they do not possess the material or hierarchical means to access hegemonic masculinity (Donaldson in Connell, 1995; Dyer, 1997; Palmer, 1997). Springsteen's revealing of this type of tough-guy masculinity as a farce may speak to his narratives of working class reality and an understanding of the dynamics of this male identity, resultantly performing his gender and class identity.

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[46] "Countin' on a Miracle," "Out in the Street," "Mary's Place," "Land of Hope and Dreams."
[47] "Born to Run"
[48] "Growin' Up," "It's Hard to Be a Saint in the City."
[49] "Rosalita (Come Out Tonight)." "Born to Run," "It's Hard to Be a Saint in the City."

Characterizations of Women

Springsteen's treatment of women tends to reinforce a gender divide, an articulated difference in the roles and power positions granted to men and women in his songs. In his divisive, somewhat typical way of depicting and treating his female characters, Springsteen exhibits hegemonic masculinity. Though his lyrics may question the cultural demands put on men, they accepts and reinforce dominant representations of women.

Throughout the songs in his set, Springsteen refers to women as "girl," "little pretties," "honey," "darling," "baby," "mama," "sisters," "girlie," "babe," and "dolly." This helps establish Springsteen the narrator as heterosexual through his addressing of women through sexualized terms, a sign of having internalized the tendency for North American English to subordinate women through language [Wood, 2003], and a sign of speaking the male language of rock and roll. Ultimately, images of women in Springsteen's songs are traditionally feminized, shaping both performer and narrator identities as hegemonically masculine in their reinforcement of gender difference. Springsteen's women are also addressed with a recurring set of names: Mary and Janey, though he also uses Wendy, Little Angel, Kitty, Sandy, Puerto Rican Jane (also referred to as Janey), Terry and Rosalita.

Springsteen's depictions of women and particularly of female beauty help communicate his identity as White and American. Though Springsteen rarely describes the physical appearances of the women in his songs, they are occasionally described as blond[50] (a connotation of Whiteness) and considered ideals of White beauty. As is common in representations of Whiteness, Whiteness itself is not articulated although it is connoted.[51] "Mary," as well, carries some rather obvious connotations, connecting Springsteen to Christianity and Whiteness. Mary is the ultimate representation of the White female, and the ideal prototype of White female beauty and virtue (Dyer, 1997). Springsteen also adopts elements of a Western identity – the White, American cowboy. Several of Springsteen's songs allude to Hispanic women in the use of names: Puerto Rican Jane, Rosalita (who is alternately addressed as Señorita), and Maria. The image of the White All-American male promising rescue to a Hispanic woman is a typical element of the Cowboy narrative (Limón, 2000), and reinforces any connotations of Western masculinity in his wardrobe. Aside from depicting women as being in need of rescue and men as heroes, the image of the Hispanic woman provides Springsteen with the identity representation of the White American cowboy and his hegemonic masculinity.

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[50] "The E Street Shuffle"
[51] Whiteness is mentioned once in all of the songs considered here: "Them boys in their spiked heels/Ah, Sandy/their skins are so white" – "4th of July, Asbury Park (Sandy)."

Springsteen's women are, ultimately, awarded little agency in his writing. His narrators are male, but they often sing to women. He isn't held down or heavily burdened by these characters (Riley, 2004). Springsteen's women are usually, as Palmer (1997) states, "good time girls." Sometimes, the good time is implied, with women playing a role in the liberating recreation of nighttime: Crazy Janey makes "love in the dirt,"[52] Little Angel lines up the boys,[53] and Kitty leaves her man for a "top cat" in the city.[54] Springsteen asks his women to love him in the moment, often because there is little else to do, because time is passing, or because their dreams of greater things are failing and love – however momentary – is what they have left.

Springsteen's women are passive, never given the voice of primary narrator in these songs, and rarely placed in the role of active subject. Women are acted on or reacted to – the objects of desire and longing. He sings to them but not about them. They merely serve as ears for confessions and sounding boards for the desire for freedom. Springsteen's narrators are often bringers of freedom, making promises of escape to women and therefore placed in a position of masculine power. When those promises of salvation begin to fail – a failure articulated as the result of circumstance, not personal failure – Springsteen's men return to women to find their personal satisfaction. Springsteen's songs define that men can find true fulfillment through love, an idea that defies the way male success and fulfillment are culturally defined. Springsteen's men, however, also realize that the promise of great love may be fleeting, fruitless or impossible, though this is a perspective far more rarely encountered. During the New York show, Springsteen performs songs where love fades or never begins. The male character remains by the woman's side and maintains a sometimes admittedly futile sense of hope in better circumstances.[55] Ultimately, his narratives seem to prioritize a sense of companionship, duty and loyalty rather than idealized romantic love, another affirmation of republican as well as traditional masculinity in how they do not articulate dependence on women.

Class

Springsteen's music presents working class identities in an almost entirely different manner than is common in mainstream American culture. Springsteen's music concentrates on the internalization and inevitable failure of American Dream ideology. Springsteen's performance, in general, embraces, empowers and redefines American working class images and identities. The working class are given

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[52] "Spirit in the Night"
[53] "The E Street Shuffle"
[54] "Kitty's Back"
[55] "Atlantic City," "The River."

dignity in Springsteen's lyrical depictions, and his music and particularly his later live shows, are explicitly concerned with providing the service of leisure, escapism and opportunities for transcendence. Springsteen's lyrics question the dignity of embodied labour – which is in itself a mark of working class identity (Fox, 2004) - and question the validity of the American Dream, showing their truer, less-idealized circumstances and destructive consequences in his narratives.[56] In his depictions of working people and the nature of the American class system, Springsteen is ultimately dismantling the ideologies of capitalism-defined hard work and promised reward that the American industrial working class was built on, and reinstating the republican values of egalitarianism, community, an independent workforce and class solidarity.

Springsteen's reality grounds dreams of mobility to a certain extent. He acknowledges the reality of dreams that have failed, rearticulating the American male working class identity discussed in his representations of men. His famous line, "I got debts that no honest man can pay" from New York's "Atlantic City" articulates the sense of bondage-in-circumstances, the inability to necessarily fulfill fantasies when daily survival is of greater concern. His characters are pushed to bitterness, desperation, or a general loss of faith. He articulates job loss particularly in the trades, alienation, obligation, corrupt authority, homelessness and the pattern of inheriting one's social circumstances from their fathers.

These characters find temporary refuge in the life of the city and the night.[57] A predominant theme in Springsteen's work is leisure, a leisure spoken about in opposition to work, as freedom juxtaposed with bondage (Cullen, 1997). The night is when Springsteen's characters become themselves, not restricted by the behavioural expectations and social hierarchies of work. Springsteen's value of leisure does not only help create an impression of Americanness, but of a working class identity. In country music, as argued by Fox (2004), and as I would argue in rock music, leisure is dominated by men, in terms of how it is lyrically presented here. According to Fox (2004), men are the masters of working class social life. Leisure in and of itself is heavily classed. The American pursuit of leisure for leisure's sake stems out of oppressive, alienating working situations, helping to create the mentality of living for Saturday night as well as the general national interest in entertainment (Cullen, 1997; Fox, 2004; Roediger, 2007). Due to this classed, nationalized nature of leisure, Springsteen's treatment of the theme of leisure in his music helps to communicate his performance identity. His demonstration of a vested interest in leisure, along with an articulated understanding of the function of leisure in American

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[56] "Badlands," "Youngstown," "Born in the U.S.A.," "It's Hard to Be a Saint in the City," "Atlantic City," "My Hometown," "Seeds," "Murder Incorporated," "The River," "Countin' on a Miracle."
[57] "Out in the Street," "Prove It All Night," "The Promised Land," "Night," "Mary's Place."

working cultures help to not only present his identity as working class, but to form impressions of him as being American, male, and in the connotation of the blue collar man, White. In Springsteen's work, leisure pursuits do not require much money and allow for independence, passion and the opportunity to build a sense of respectability. Springsteen's characters find pleasure in driving, dancing, sex and friendship, as well as more risky pursuits like racing that allow them to compete and affirm their identities and authority. The things his characters take pleasure in are typically represented as working class pursuits. Springsteen is drawing from a pre-existing image of working people's recreation and incorporating it, deliberately or not, into his music to further identify his songs as being about the working class.

Although Springsteen's depictions of class seek to tear down the existing mythology of the American Dream, Springsteen doesn't entirely eliminate the concept of dreaming or ideological thought. Springsteen creates a new kind of idealized vision for the society he sings about. This vision serves to communicate a sense of Americanness about Springsteen's persona in his associations with American republican philosophy and in his exhibited concern for and awareness of his place of origin. His values are built entirely into the tradition of the republican artist hero, praising community, democracy and ordinary American life – an image that serves as the embodiment of a kind of White, working class, male, American national identity. As well, this loyalty to an idealized past communicates of the value ordinariness and therefore of working class identity (Fox, 2004).

Springsteen's class narratives are also escape narratives, arguably read as romanticized depictions of working people finding love, faith, community or music in order to transcend or better their circumstances. These narratives fit into Allison's (2003) image of the "good poor," the kind of economically disadvantaged people depicted as hardworking and moral, and are the target of American Dream ideology. As such, Springsteen's working class image may be read as part of this "good poor" category without embodying the traditional, capitalist-influenced mythologies of the American dream. Even though Springsteen's work concentrates on dismantling the fantasy of class mobility, Springsteen's class image still uses some of the same idealism and value for hard work that connotes this sanitized image of the American economic working class.

Ultimately, Springsteen reinterprets American mythologies in the songs played during his concerts. Springsteen constantly reaffirms the values of faith, companionship, love and a belief in music

in both his lyrics[58] and the structure of his live performance. Springsteen's solution to the American Dream he identifies as faulty is questionable, to an extent. It isn't an overthrow of the system, so to speak, but a call to reprioritize and to live by a different value system than the one promoted in modern America. Springsteen doesn't necessarily propose concrete solutions about breaking out of oppressive circumstances, or directly calling for an overthrow of the national economic order. Instead, he makes the corruptness of that order apparent through its consequences on the population he relates to, and gives those affected a way to transcend rather than escape. Springsteen speaks to coping in the present, and presenting his own ideal – the value system that could make life better if only it were enacted. All of this presents Springsteen as a figure in tune with and therefore identified with the working class. His working class identity is based in authenticating mechanisms – in this case, a sense of being relatable and of realism, the idea that Springsteen, himself an embodiment of the working class, is familiar with and willing to articulate this particular set of general social circumstances and their causes. His solution being a kind of non-solution, too, may help him appear authentic. He isn't a political reactionary in the conventional sense, nor is he an outsider speaking for the group. His solution is one that may be achievable immediately, and one that he himself is able to provide through his own live show.

All of this ultimately positions Springsteen as a contemporary model of the republican artist – a musician with a particular vision of American social life based on a particular philosophical position. Springsteen removes the capitalist rhetoric from the American Dream, returning to an albeit idealized republican vision of America. In both Springsteen's work and in early American republicanism – and more significantly, early republicanism's art – working people are celebrated, progress is related to the ability to build and sustain bonds with others (particularly other men) and ordinary life is a source of value (Cullen, 1997; Garman, 2000). Though Springsteen may create visual and other gestural impressions of the hard-working man's man and depoliticized blue collar man identities, his perspective of class nullifies all of these impressions to some degree. It proves him politically and socially aware and associates him with a different kind of American Dream. Representations of working class identity are often intended to promote mythologies about possibilities for social progress and maintain capitalist social organization. Springsteen's lyrics redefine those mythologies, demonstrating some of the realities of such a social order and revealing some of the falsities of existing ideas about mobility and class structure. Springsteen doesn't abandon the idea of the American Dream, instead returning to a

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[58] "The Rising," "My City of Ruins," "Two Hearts," "Janey Don't You Lose Heart," "Land of Hope and Dreams," "Mary's Place," "Dancing in the Dark."

republican ideal, where mobility and bettered circumstance are prioritized but believed to be achieved through equality and community, and where hope is a central value. Springsteen's early escape narratives and later stories of transcendence and coping fit into this ideology, maintaining a critical view of the current manifestation of American Dream narratives while instead upholding the values of another White, working class, masculine ideology.

Chapter 5: The Performed Identity of Brian Fallon

In order to reach a comprehensive understanding of how the figure of Springsteen is echoed – be it intentionally or unintentionally – in the identities of other popular music performers, this analysis will now turn to Brian Fallon, frontman for The Gaslight Anthem. It seems that comparisons to Springsteen become prevalent because of a number of factors apparent in live performance. Fallon's appearance, his regional background, his performance style, energy and manner of performing authenticity, and the dominant themes, images and symbols in his lyrics all seem to connect him to Springsteen in a significantly more obvious way than to any of the other artists he references. The similarities revealed in this performance analysis conclude that these comparisons are, indeed, warranted, as their performance personas are structured in a similar fashion. What follows is a more thorough examination of the performed identity of Brian Fallon, which seeks to understand his performed persona and how it specifically relates to the figure of Bruce Springsteen.

5.1. Clothing

In Sydney, Fallon wears a patchwork flat cap, a white crewneck T-shirt with a print and dark jeans. At the Opera House, he wears a black T-shirt, black jeans, and a black flat cap. At the Kool Haus, he wears dark jeans, a plain white T-shirt and a black motorcycle jacket with an off-center zipper closure – a different shape than what Springsteen wears in London, but an identical look to the one he wears on the *Born to Run* cover. In Washington, Fallon wears another plain white T-shirt and dark jeans. His clothes tend to be close-cut, and with the exception of the jacket, look "modern" in that they don't borrow too directly from another era in their styling.

Fallon's visual identity initially connects him to classic punk and more modern rockabilly cultures, as these musical movements adopted (or returned to) some of the aesthetics of rock and roll – narrow denim pants, white T-shirts and motorcycle jackets. More specifically, however, Fallon is most connected to American punk subcultures concerned with the lives of markedly ordinary men.[59] Though many of these subcultures have disparate sounds (and also lack agreed-upon labels), ranging from Americana influenced-punk to post-hardcore, they are typified by all-male bands with performance styles perhaps most accurately described as passionate and humble or modest and "authentic," in the

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[59] These subcultures are best exemplified by acts like The Replacements, Hot Water Music and The Lawrence Arms.

sense that their music and personas are representative of everyday truths and created and delivered with sincere intentions. The arrogance, bravado, overt showiness, androgyny and sexual expressivity of rock music, and the rebelliousness and defiance of early punk are not present. Aesthetically and expressively, The Gaslight Anthem fit best with this group of musicians, which serves to associate the band's collective identity with a place in a punk community and in a masculine, "everyman" musical environment.

Fallon's clothing draws from similar representations as Springsteen's, specifically the 1950s teen rebel and the industrial-era worker. The reflection of these images in his stage clothing serves the same purpose in Fallon's identity presentation as it does in Springsteen's. In echoing the 1950s teen rebel, Fallon creates an impression of that particular kind of masculinity – young, wild, impassioned, at once frustrated and concerned with displaying a macho image, and searching for power. This image of the 1950s teen rebel is still read as a rock and roll image – an aesthetic identification with hegemonic American rock and roll masculinity – and therefore places Fallon in this context.

Fallon's clothing creates an impression of being working class. His flat cap, jeans and a T-shirt look is a working class image, a reflection of visual representations of non-uniformed manual labourers. It is the same image of the working class that Springsteen employs in his performances using T-shirts, denim and plaid. Here, Fallon also echoes images of the prototypical working man and blue collar man with his wardrobe, presenting these visual symbols of a working class identity. Fallon's hat, too, may be read as a status symbol. The flat cap has, stereotypically, been viewed as a visual marker of working or lower-class identity ("Flat cap," 2010). Though it has a history of being worn by men of varying classes, it appears to be dominantly viewed as a "negative" status symbol and tends to appear in the typical fashions of lower-class groups or social movements.

Ultimately, Fallon and Springsteen channel the same classic American images of gender and class through their wardrobes. Additionally, it can also be said that Fallon's clothing uses the image of Springsteen as a representation in and of itself, in order to communicate his identity. By 2007,[60] Springsteen had become an icon in American music, and as this project attempts to articulate, a notable representation of a particular kind of identity that is recognized for one reason or another in a significant number of popular artists today. Fallon's wardrobe, generally, connotes some of Springsteen's more iconic, culturally memorable symbols. Springsteen uses this white T-shirt and jeans

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[60] In accordance with *Eye Weekly*'s article, though the actual emergence of Springsteen as a strong presence in contemporary music is impossible to date specifically.

look throughout the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in his most iconic images on the covers of *Born to Run*, *Darkness on the Edge of Town* and *Born in the U.S.A.*, as well as in the 1975 and 1985 concerts considered here. In the way that both artists can be read as presenting the symbols of American teenhood and working men through their clothing (and therefore, representing the values and identities of these images), it can also be said that Fallon presents some of the symbols popularly associated with Springsteen, and therefore associates Springsteen's identity with his own. In echoing 1975 and 1985-era Springsteen, Fallon connotes both the rock and roll and soul masculinity of early Springsteen, and the more traditional working man masculinity of Springsteen's *Born in the U.S.A.* period. Ultimately, too, this similarity displays a shared kind of White, American, republican working class identity, created by the same symbols and connotations.

5.2. Physical Body

Previously, it was noted that Fallon's wardrobe bears similarities to the visual image of Springsteen in both 1975 and 1985. Springsteen's *Born in the U.S.A.*-era masculinity – the most aesthetically traditional of his performed masculine types – is largely based on his body rather than his clothing, which is more connected to his class status. Springsteen's clothes during this time were cut to display the hyper-masculine, sexualized aspects of his body, and his physique creates the more prominent impression of the meaning of his gender performance. Though Fallon uses the same white T-shirt and jeans working man imagery, his body does not perform the same function in his identity performance.

Fallon, physically, assumes the part of both the past and present incarnations[61] of the 1950s rocker, a visual resemblance he shares with Springsteen in 1975. He is similarly small framed, like Springsteen in the 1970s, and heavily tattooed – a typical feature of the personal aesthetics associated with modern rock, punk and rockabilly (and all the hybrids thereof). This consistent look provides Fallon with an identity rooted in or at least heavily associated with music, and therefore gives him access to a kind of "alternative" masculinity, though one that is not necessarily outside the boundaries of traditional hegemonic masculinity, but derives its authority and legitimacy from a different discourse.

Otherwise, Fallon's physical body cannot be read as performing a significant identity function. He does not display any form of physically exaggerated masculinity, nor does his body display obvious signs of the kind of physical strength and will that are associated with Whiteness and American identity.

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[61] This refers to musical subcultures that borrow aesthetic styles from 1950s rock and roll.

Fallon's physical body is left to be read primarily through his clothes, not making any particular statement in its composition, but rather in how it is used.

5.3. Physical Performativity

Part of the comparison between Fallon and Springsteen, the kind of comparison that argues The Gaslight Anthem don't so much borrow from him as channel him, likely comes from Fallon and Springsteen's similar onstage conduct. It is difficult to determine if the mannerisms and gestures discussed here are intended or unmotivated, and therefore impossible to assert with certainty if any similarities are intentional or coincidental.

Fallon's engagement with his own music sometimes mirrors that of Springsteen while he is performing his more intense, emotionally-challenging material. It is this "version" of Springsteen that Fallon seems to echo in such comparisons, rather than Springsteen's physical performance in his "rocker" songs. Fallon follows the same conventions of emotional expression, using the same kind of direct emotional expressions (Eckman cited in Frith, 1994) to communicate his relationship to his songs and therefore to create a sense of authenticity and personal connection to the content of his music.

Like Springsteen, Fallon's energy doesn't wane, he never seems to lose interest in the show, and doesn't change the mood of each song from performance to performance. Fallon's music is rarely as grave or dark as Springsteen's can become, and it seems that his level of intensity in performance is therefore more subtle though equally present. Fallon generally keeps to his post onstage, only taking the microphone off the stand to roam the stage once during one of the band's more upbeat songs.[62] Like Springsteen, he stands close to his microphone particularly when singing. He holds his microphone similarly, his hands taking the microphone from on top, singing close. His body movements are similar, if slightly less from the hip. Springsteen tends to tap one of his feet to keep rhythm, holding his head fairly still, while Fallon tends to keep rhythm by nodding or bobbing his head. Both musicians sway, stand with one foot braced in front of the other, rock back and forth from one foot to the other, and pump their shoulders slightly to the rhythm on the song. Fallon's tension level is never quite as apparent as Springsteen's – his face is more relaxed, his shoulders looser – and because of this, he comes off as less restrained, as if he is giving all he has in the moment, without ever defying the limits of masculine expressiveness set by his dominant music culture affiliations. When not singing, Fallon tends to fall back, hunching over his guitar. He keeps his eyes closed during his more serious songs, as well, and in slower

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[62] "Old White Lincoln," Toronto, October 2009.

or more sombre songs, tends to look down and to his right when playing, seemingly not focused on the pedal board in front of him, but on the floor.

Another somewhat striking gestural resemblance between Springsteen and Fallon that can be read as the direct expression of an emotional state involves their hats. In London and in Sydney, Springsteen and Fallon constantly play with their hats throughout the show. Fallon generally keeps his on, while Springsteen tends to take his off for entire songs during the show. While wearing it, however, Springsteen constantly plays with it, shifting it on his head while he plays, tugging at it, doing what may most appropriately be referred to as mashing it around with his hands. Fallon does essentially the same thing during the Annandale show, playing with his hat mostly throughout the first half of the show. It feeds into the impression that both singers have something within them that needs to escape, be it agony or passion. Again, this, coupled with the general sense of tension Fallon exhibits, communicates not only a sincere relationship to his music, but speaks to his masculinity and Whiteness, both performed through a demonstration of self-denial and emotional control (Connell, 1995; Dyer, 1997). Striking a comparison on this point seems somewhat obvious – intentionally or unintentionally, Fallon looks and acts a lot like Springsteen in his 1975 show.

Unlike Springsteen, Fallon performs far fewer illustrative gestures with his hands and is not in the habit of moving them from his guitar or his microphone except to occasionally accent words or phrases in his songs. These gestures often mimic the action rather than the emotion. These gestures are also coyer and less rousing than Springsteen's. Fallon's style is often playful and tongue in cheek, fanning himself when he sings, "Honey I am on fire"[63] or slapping his own hip when singing about "your Monroe hips."[64] Fallon does not have the same tendency as Springsteen to use his hands on particular repeated words and images, usually relying on the tone of his voice (an element not considered in this study) and the overall tone of his physical expressions. Generally, Fallon's overall tone is more subtle and consistent than Springsteen's – his levels of intensity rarely reach the same level of tension, and his mannerisms during more upbeat songs are not as exaggerated or as obviously enthusiastic. Fallon is most gesturally expressive when talking to the audience, his constantly moving hands suggesting enthusiasm and casualness in his manner. Fallon's persona, in general, is also more consistently lighthearted than Springsteen's – he is often seen smiling or reacting to the crowd immediately in front of him –

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[63] "The Patient Ferris Wheel"
[64] "Film Noir"

reinforcing the band's themes of leisure and rock and roll, keeping his performance grounded in working class values.

Fallon's gestures during "Here's Looking At You, Kid" also serve to create the impression of Fallon's identity as working class. In Washington, Fallon sings the line, "drunk off all these stars and all these crazy Hollywood nights" with one eyebrow raised, a sarcastic smirk on his face as if to say that line isn't exactly true, the lyrics of a man bragging rather than revealing the reality of his very un-Hollywood life. Similarly in the first verse, he laughs to himself when he says, "You can tell Gail if she calls/That I'm famous now for all of these rock and roll songs" again implying the ordinariness of his life. He also makes a few particular gestures when singing lines that speak to depictions of masculinity in his songs. Particularly when compared to Springsteen, whose manner of laughing at himself is generally reserved for expressions of sexuality and onstage dancing – a laughter that comes out of breaking his stoic, otherwise staunchly male physical persona – Fallon's self-awareness comes during moments where he sings about male identities. Fallon can be caught laughing to himself when he sings, "Call every girl we ever met Maria,"[65] or smiling to himself in what may be read as disbelief or embarrassment when he says, "We are the last of the jukebox Romeos."[66] Though it is impossible to tell what, precisely, Fallon is laughing at from the vantage point of an audience member, these moments suggest that Fallon may be rolling his eyes at the macho, 1950s rock and roll-styled identities he portrays and represents through his songs. While this does not alter the nature of Fallon's own performed masculine identity, it may mean that the hyper-masculinity communicated through his songs is exaggerated and entirely a matter of superficial image and persona.

What an analysis of mannerisms and gestures serves to point out is that both men communicate the authenticity of their music and presence in the same way – a major point of validation for comparisons between Springsteen and Fallon. Both performers match the nature of the subject matter and the sound to the way they perform. They employ similar gestures to suggest sincerity and emotional investment. This visually accessible performance style also serves to bond the performer with the subject matter of the song. Due to the believability and the connectedness of the performer and the song, it is feasible that the song may be either a story the singer personally relates to, suggesting that the characters and circumstances in the song say something about the singer, or their own story. Demonstrating an emotional investment in, here, songs about working men's issues, suggests that

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[65] "Blue Jeans & White T-Shirts"
[66] "We Came to Dance"

Fallon, like Springsteen, may be working class and is embedded in a rock and roll culture – an idea ultimately compounded by the other impressions made.

5.4. Instruments

Fallon, like Springsteen, only uses a few guitars during his performances. Generally, he plays Gibson Les Pauls. The Les Paul is a typical instrument in rock music, and his guitars have no particular markings or visible evidence of wear. At the Annandale Hotel, however, Fallon plays a Fender of a similar model and colour to the instrument Springsteen has been playing since the early 1970s. This guitar appears on the iconic cover of *Born to Run*, and is therefore a common, recognizable element of Springsteen's visual image. Playing a similar make and model of guitar may facilitate comparisons or reinforce comparisons already being made between the two artists. Again, when Fallon visually resembles the iconic image of Springsteen in performance, he is, to an audience, fashioning himself to communicate the social identity the figure of Springsteen represents.

Springsteen uses his instruments to communicate his musical authenticity and his working class status, and to present consistency in his persona (a sense of personal authenticity). Fallon's instruments only serve to connect him to a rock tradition – the Les Paul being an iconic "rock" music guitar in mainstream music culture. This possibly suggests to some audiences a connection to a lineage of prototypical rock musicians, known to be embodiments of musical authenticity and rock values: Pete Townshend of the Who and Jimmy Page of Led Zeppelin, among countless others. Fallon demonstrates Moore's third-person authenticity (cited in Pattie, 2007), here, using a symbol of archetypal rock music to authenticate his own performance.

5.5. Band Interactions

Fallon's stage show operates significantly differently than Springsteen's, and contains less directly connotative identity information. The Gaslight Anthem are a four-piece band, with Fallon standing at the middle of the stage, several feet in front of the drum kit, with lead guitarist Alex Rosamilia and bassist Alex Levine on his right and left, on the same parallel. Like the early version of the E Street Band, there are no women present onstage – the only compositional similarity between the two bands. The Gaslight Anthem's interactions with each other are relatively minimal. During a Gaslight Anthem show, Fallon faces his audience throughout the majority of the show, occasionally moving to

play his guitar facing either Levine or Rosamilia and less often turning to look at drummer Benny Horowitz, though never spending an extended amount of time facing his kit.

Gender and Band Interaction:

Addressing the crowd near the end of the Sydney show, Fallon encourages the men in the audience to approach any woman they've had an eye on as the show was almost over, and starts his speech by saying, "I don't know what you guys call ladies over here… the respectful term… we call 'em kittens sometimes." What may appear as macho rhetoric on paper is actually said in jest. Despite this, there is almost no ambiguity in Fallon's masculine identity, as it is created in his depiction of women when he talks to an audience onstage. Much like Springsteen's 1975 performance, The Gaslight Anthem does not have any female members, creating the image of a male community. Similarly, Fallon's onstage dialogue about women achieves a similar effect as Springsteen's interactions with Scialfa onstage. Women are spoken about in different terms than men, which serves to create difference between the men onstage and women, and to subtly affirm heterosexual desire and therefore present hegemonic masculinity. Again, this is a performance of the male homosocial environment, which affirms hegemonic masculinity in its symbolic and literal exclusion and differentiation of women.

Band Organization and Brotherhood

Springsteen acts as a bandleader, while Fallon remains more of a band member and spokesperson. Both, however, perform a leadership role. Both men are the sole lyricists in their bands, as well as lead vocalists and secondary guitar players. As particularly apparent in 1975, Springsteen controls his band, coordinates their moves and interacts with them constantly. Fallon's leadership is established almost entirely in his role of being the lead singer and only person who speaks to the audience onstage rather than in being a conductor, motivator or boss. The band do occasionally come together in front of Horowitz in order to conference, usually between songs near the end of a set, with Fallon telling the Washington audience, "Very democratic up here," after stepping back to the microphone, then joking, "I guess that's appropriate."The band often end together, with no obvious signals about when or how to stop coming from any one member. Fallon dedicates songs in Sydney and Washington to the band's friends, and once to an audience member. Springsteen does the same, dedicating his songs to specifically-named people and saying others are requests. The same camaraderie and affection of the E Street Band isn't seen in The Gaslight Anthem. Ultimately, Fallon does not appear as a domineering leader, not displaying any particularly connotative style of interaction except to display the band as a well-rehearsed unit. It seems a stretch to look at The Gaslight Anthem as a classed

workplace in the way Palmer (1997) identifies Springsteen's band organization as a union. Fallon's identity generally comes from his songs and personal front, rather than from his interactions with the band.

Though the band does not create the same vision of an idealized workplace and a brotherhood onstage as Springsteen does, it is important to note, here, that brotherhood is still an important part of the band's and therefore Fallon's identity. Fallon is, lyrically, concerned with the same values of brotherhood shown and sung about by Springsteen during his E Street Band performances. Instead of singing from a singular perspective, Fallon often uses "we" rather than "I" in first-person narratives, implying that he at once speaks for a group, or is possibly creating his own, suggesting to those who relate that they are part of something. Fallon sings about sharing his recreational life with friends, people with whom he shared late nights and drives. Fallon's friends are described as his brothers. In hard times, he seeks them out for help – "And I'm callin' out for my brothers/But it's so dark in this night, am I alone?"[67] – and declares devotion and loyalty, even when they may have disappeared – "Were you hard up or broken, man/I would've helped you out."[68] Fallon's lyrics in the context of this all-male, highly functional (and impliedly connected) environment communicate that brotherhood exists and is valued. Fallon's brotherhood is structured somewhat similarly to Springsteen's though is more present in his lyrics rather than in the band's onstage organization. The promotion of brotherhood again communicates values of masculinity and republicanism. However, Fallon's brotherhood is recognized as fallible. Though it is idealized in his lyrics, and Fallon's narrators may represent themselves as keepers, protectors or believers in a brotherhood,[69] it is also depicted as unstable. Fallon's lyrics suggest that brotherhood is unreliable, thereby reinforcing the value of independence and an impression of hegemonic masculinity. As such, Fallon connects himself to Springsteen's identity, and shapes his own in the image of American republican and rock and roll, and thereby, hegemonic masculinity and White, working class identity.

5.6. Language and Speech

Fallon reveals much of his social identity through his onstage speech. He creates impressions about his class identity, masculinity and the culture with which he identifies. This also creates an impression about the values he may uphold and provides audiences with an explicit context against

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[67] "We're Getting a Divorce, You Keep the Diner"
[68] "We're Getting a Divorce, You Keep the Diner"
[69] "Drive," "We're Getting a Divorce, You Keep the Diner."

which to read his identity. Most of Fallon's statements during a performance carry class indicators of one kind or another. In Washington, Fallon introduces their last song with, "We'll be back next year with a new record.[70] Still on SideOneDummy, so nah nah Punknews.[71] They always write we're gonna sign to major labels every week. It's funny." Fallon displays a loyalty to a small record label, suggesting an affiliation with conceptions of musical authenticity that rely on anti-commercialism. This also carries implications of (authenticating) creative control and not being privy to the financial perks of "getting signed."

Fallon also performs a class identity while he thanks audiences for attending the show, or talks about the opening acts. In Sydney, Fallon makes several comments about his band's ability. "They should show some of these American fools how to play," he says of Eye Alaska, one of the band's local openers. He continues later saying "Everywhere, they all sound the same. Half of 'em don't know how to play. You see what I'm talking about? Look at us fools." Several songs later, he repeats the sentiment while mentioning his audience's ability to keep rhythm, "Everybody's got good timing, here. You can all be in bands and do better than us." Before his last song at the Opera House, Fallon thanks the crowd by saying "We feel lucky to be there. There's a ton of good bands you're not seeing tonight and you're seeing us, and I thank you."

Fallon expresses a modesty and a gratitude that verify no one leaves with the impression that the band are "rock stars" who overestimate the service they provide, and manages the working class impressions he makes by structuring the audience's response. It also reinforces Fallon's image as an everyman – he may be a musician, a position of some status in American society, but he claims he is doing something everyone else can replicate, not declaring any exceptionality, authority or social standing that is higher than that of his audience. He suggests a communal, mutual relationship between band and fan, rather than a relationship based on admiration or adoration. Fallon also thanks the 9:30 Club and Washington security "for being cool," and in both Sydney and at the Opera House, thanks the bartenders, telling the crowd in Toronto that they have to look out for each other, because they're "working class." Fallon shows obvious respect for "working people," again suggesting his own social perspective on labour, and his own affiliation with a particular class position.

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[70] 2010's *American Slang*, set for release on SideOneDummy Records.
[71] "Punknews" refers to Punknews.org, a music news website and community.

Fallon also makes an impression of gender identity in his onstage monologues. When introducing "The '59 Sound" at the Opera House, a song about friends of the bands who have passed on, Fallon positions the car as the place where he, himself, does his thinking:

> "I was reading in the newspaper, which is the weirdest way to find out that a kid you grew up with passed away. And, uh, I was reading about that and I was driving around in the summertime, and I was driving home, and I was just thinking about how, like, defined things become when you're just driving by yourself and you're figuring out 'I'm not a kid anymore people are gonna start leaving.' And that's kinda weird, and I think that they would think that you would want them to go on without you, the same way and they would want you to have a good time, so this song's for them."

This, once again, is an expression of masculinity. Fallon envisions the car as a place of importance in his emotional life and his personal identity development. This is characteristic of masculine identity, which is thought to be tied to a natural interest in driving and an identification with the independence and power of the car (Jakle & Sculle, 2008). It also communicates a rock and roll identity, symbolized by an interest in cars and driving (Goodwin cited in Pfeil, 1995).

As well, Fallon's onstage speech is one aspect of his identity performance that sets him up in a context where his identity is to be judged by the values of a music genre. His entire body of work so far is, in a sense, a tribute to the music of others, an example of holding music in high regard, of wanting to align itself with a particular tradition and set of identities, and of demonstrating its impact on an individual. Music becomes legitimized as a path to finding or forging one's own identity and place in life regardless of other status obstacles. In his clothing, it is established that Fallon is positioned in the genres of rock and roll and modern everyman punk. Fallon introduces "Blue Jeans & White T-Shirts" in Sydney by saying:

> "Spent a lot of time listening to music growing up, and not really talking to anyone else. And you get to that age where you watch your parents kinda figure out there's something weird here, but something not weird here, too."

The statement implies several things. For one, it feeds into the mythology of contemporary music in general, that it is a calling or that there is a natural connection between some individuals and music. Fallon creates an impression of himself, that he was the sort of person who was affected by music from an early age, and related to it perhaps more than he related to his other surroundings. It gives context then, to his lyrical suggestions in the song that follows, that his social community is built around music and the values that music discourses embrace. Thereby, Fallon's social identity is to be evaluated against the values and norms of the musical genres he reflects. This then justifies his being a man on

display and a man who is emotionally expressive, grants him respect and dignity regardless of his working class identity and other areas of social disempowerment, and gives the impression that Fallon may value freedom, individualism, youth, leisure and the like.

Connection to Springsteen in Language and Speech

Non-musical comparisons between Springsteen and The Gaslight Anthem may come from the way the two frontmen speak. Both have a similar structure in their delivery and regionalize and politicize their identities in their onstage monologues. Both tend to engage in monologues that often have no clear direction. Generally, their delivery feels loose and unscripted, Fallon's more so than Springsteen's (whose monologue in the middle of "Growin' Up" 1985 was heavily scripted). Both Fallon and Springsteen seem to tell short (and sometimes, not-so-short) stories to introduce their songs, stories that sometimes ramble, giving the impression of what Fox calls the White Other, the American underclass, through using talk for talk's sake (2004).

Their lyrical improvisations are also built around similar images, at least in the footage analyzed here. Fallon's only lengthy improvisation comes during the bridge section of "Angry Johnny and the Radio," where the band usually plays a cover. Instead, Fallon sings what appears to be a series of improvised lines (while also including a line from Sam Cooke's "Good Times," omitted here):

> "Take it softer now, got something that's gotta come out/little bit softer now/wanna hear 'em in the back of the house … There's a train/train whistle blow/I hear it somewhere in the back of the house/train coming down/train in the house/ I hear this train in the back of my house… take me far/take my troubles down…"

This parallels Springsteen's sermon and his Barcelona improvisation on the redemptive power of rock and roll, carrying the same message and serving the same purpose in creating Fallon's onstage identity. Fallon also creates his own Springsteen comparison through an improvisation in the middle of "Say I Won't (Recognize)," where he sings about pleading with a girl's father, referred to as "papa." Fallon asks him if he can take out his daughter, and he responds with, "No, no, no, cause you got no money." Fallon continues pleading with, "And I said I treat her real nice/Papa, I treat her real nice/We'll get a nice high rise…" then breaking into the chorus of "Movin' On Up," the theme song from the Jeffersons.[72] He ends the song with more improvising: "Cause papa, now we's up in the big leagues/I ain't got a car or nothing, but so what?/Ain't nothing wrong with that." Fallon's improvisation suggests Springsteen's "Rosalita (Come Out Tonight)": "And your papa says he knows that I don't have any money." The improvisation, and more so its shambolic nature, suggests that Fallon may be singing spontaneously. He may be

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[72] Itself a song about attempts at upward mobility.

drawing inspiration from something that is familiar, comfortable and possibly natural to him, which may suggest that Springsteen's music is embedded in the way Fallon speaks and may confirm ideas that he may have a significant connection to Springsteen.

Springsteen and Fallon both use improper grammar in their onstage dialogue, reflecting a regionalized, working class manner of speech. This way of speaking accomplishes several things in terms of creating an impression of identity in Fallon's performance, just as it did in Springsteen's performance. First, it creates an impression of class. To some, it could correlate to the representation of the working classes as uneducated and unintelligent (Butsch, 2003; Ross cited in Ching, 1997), demonstrated by their use of incorrect grammar and colloquialisms. It also suggests their regional background, suggesting some of the stereotypical representations of the New Jersey state dialect and accent, again reinforcing their personas as aligned with the urban, American working class.

Geographic location is of significance in both Fallon's lyrics and his performance dialogue. This is another major source of legitimacy for comparisons with Springsteen. Both artists come from – and openly declare coming from – New Jersey, and associate themselves with Asbury Park. Fallon describes his band as being from "up the coast," in Sydney, and explicitly calls New Jersey his home while performing at the Opera House. He also describes driving through the state:

> "… I drive from the best parts of New Jersey. It's like the middle of New Jersey, and there's this one bridge that kinda separates the North side from the South side, and you drive over it, and it's called the Driscoll Bridge. I don't know why you need to know that, but I'm gonna tell you. And, uh, it's weird because you drive down, and you drive down the parkway, and you can just… Everybody knows where people live by what exit you live off of on the parkway. The funny thing for us is that we drive down to Asbury Park, and you could… it's the best drive in the world in the summertime cause there's nothing around, and you just see all these towns and steel mills and things passing."

 Fallon not only identifies his home and his personal affection for driving – a way of performing an American, working class, rock and roll and hegemonically masculine identity - but his reverence for an urban American landscape. Fallon's landscapes aren't marked by nature, wealth, or by universal familiarity, but by icons of working, industrial American life. This image also reinforces the image of New Jersey as an industrial, highly urbanized state, not depicting New Jersey's status as one of the wealthiest states, but of its working class reputation. This, then, reaffirms Fallon's communicated American and working class status. In sharing his impression of his home state, he is also confirming cultural stereotypes of New Jersey, helping to create an image of a background shaped by a place marked in the popular imagination as working class.

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Onstage, Fallon, like Springsteen, identifies himself as a messenger of these places, opening "Even Cowgirls Get the Blues" at the Annandale Hotel set with, "This is a song to you from the backstreets." The song begins with the verse, "I haven't seen Sandy, Angry Johnny or Mary/I heard they got married/Mighta had a couple babies/And traded their memories/For Fairview and Acres/And never play no pinball/Or get out past the breakers." This implies the characters in Fallon's past have grown up and moved up in a traditional sense. The narrator, on the other hand, "still loves Tom Petty songs and driving old men crazy," still living the youthful fantasy found on the boardwalk. Fallon introduces the song as the messenger, making it feasible that the song is about him and the people on the "backstreets" for whom he speaks. Not only does it give the impression that Fallon is part of the working class, but it suggests he shares the values of and embodies the character he sings about – a straight, rock and roll-loving, working class male who has stayed close to his roots and his youth, and has not engaged in upward mobility or been taken in by the American Dream, going so far as to call it undesirable. Further, in Washington, Fallon describes the band as having spent time in "the dirtiest squat in Europe, with punk rockers, and rats and everything." He speaks in a joking manner, but provides a verbal legitimization of his identification with the subcultures they sing about. Fallon also describes working class New Jersey as authentic, saying, "This song's about where you don't have to be suspicious – in a New Brunswick basement." Fallon is likely referring to a basement concert or party, granting a sense of authenticity to the independent punk music scene in New Jersey, the scene the band call home. Moreover, Fallon appears to draw on a kind of idealization sometimes associated with the working class, a tendency to reflect on the past as more honest, less complicated (Fox, 2004). In this town in New Jersey, suspicion was unnecessary as everyone's intentions are honest and people are straightforward.

Fallon's music possesses no explicit political ideology, outside of presenting a working class consciousness. However, Fallon makes two political statements, one in D.C. and one at the Toronto Opera House show, both of which reveal a distaste for conservative American politics and indicators of working class identity. Before introducing "Miles Davis & The Cool" at the Opera House, Fallon talks a bit about Canada, jokingly calling it "paradise" in comparison to the U.S., and then saying "It's funny because I'm only halfway kidding, because it is, kinda… You guys should send us an email or something, over to whoever runs the U.S. of A. Tell 'em I need a doctor! I'm goin' crazy!" Fallon's delivery is exaggerated, clearly joking with his audience. However, the comment serves the purpose of showing an

alertness to the healthcare system in the U.S. at the time, as well as explicitly stating his national identity and suggesting his class status suggested by his relationship to the healthcare system.

The more obvious comment comes early in the Washington show. In what is his first address to the crowd, Fallon starts by saying:

> "I think it smells a lot better in your city now that I've been here. 'Cause four years ago, it wasn't smelling so good. I kept thinking I smelled a rat. Not no more! Thank you very much for that, housing the hope. But, let's see. Let's just see. We'll just see. A little suspicious, still. Always suspicious, ladies and gentlemen."

His tone is more sarcastic than it is heavy-handed, but his point is made. It isn't quite the sentiment of Springsteen's "blind faith in anything will get you killed," statement from 1985, but contains the same echoes of a skepticism of power. Fallon also declares an anti-George W. Bush position, a sentiment that echoes Springsteen's political position during the time of "The Rising," though not explicitly expressed in any of the live shows analyzed here. Springsteen's politics, being more clearly and frequently expressed, are more easily assumed to be left-leaning. Due to their similar statements and a shared connection to working class issues, it may be suggested that the two do have an ideological connection.

5.7. Intertextuality

The Gaslight Anthem, like Springsteen, also use covers throughout their live shows. Again as with Springsteen, these covers are sometimes played in full, but more often are performed between or during particular songs in their set. Generally, the band inserts a cover into "Angry Johnny and the Radio" and "Say I Won't (Recognize)," and introduces "I'da Called You Woody, Joe" with the first verse and chorus of Ben E. King's "Stand By Me." These covers are particularly important in terms of establishing the band's lineage and impression of authenticity. Unlike many other bands, The Gaslight Anthem do not play many deliberately crowd-pleasing covers. As well, the content of the cover songs is not as important to identity communication as the song's genre and artist. The band's covers are acutely self-aware, serving the purpose of displaying the artistic traditions their music seeks to fit into.

In Washington, the band play the first verse of The Clash's "Straight to Hell" and a full cover of Hot Water Music's "Trusty Chords." The two songs have little in common in terms of their content. However, both are part of two traditions of "everyman" or working class punk music, both British and American respectively. Both bands have built careers on representing the social and emotional lives of average and marginalized people. As well, the performance of a Hot Water Music cover affirms the band's place in a particular contemporary music scene despite their otherwise dominant affiliations with

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music from the mid-20th Century. "Trusty Chords" shows the band's debt and respect to their immediate peers, a model of punk music built on the same values of ordinariness and sincerity as much of American rock. As well, Fallon's "I'da Called You Woody, Joe" is an original song built on lyrical references to The Clash's Joe Strummer, with Strummer's music being defined as a source of salvation thereby articulating Fallon's lyrical messages and association with punk and rock identities. Fallon also makes reference to New Jersey underground punks Lifetime,[73] establishing a sense of rootedness in punk with strong working class and emotive connotations.

Again in Washington, the band play a snippet of "House of the Rising Sun," an American folk song best recognized for a version by The Animals (the version seemingly echoed here), and use lyrical references to Jefferson Airplane, Bob Seger, Tom Petty, John Fogerty, Meatloaf and even the Counting Crows. Much like Fallon's use of the Les Paul, this cover and these references connect the band to early rock music (and another band that forges the same connections to early rock music in their songs), and to American music, thereby also affirming the Americanness of Fallon's persona. Again, this is a marker of musical authenticity and a communication of Fallon's belonging in rock and roll culture, and therefore a connection to its dominant personalities and identities. Many of these artists are also examples of what Kirkpatrick (2009) calls heartland rock – music that is popularly recognized as working class and American and thought to communicate an American and rock and roll identity based on values of independence, sincerity, honesty, ordinariness and its own vivid reverence for early American rock.

Fallon also makes frequent references to Tom Waits and Bob Dylan, as well as to Leonard Cohen and Paul Simon. All of these musicians are considered archetypal White male singer-songwriters, and are, to an extent, enigmatic personalities. Waits and Dylan, particularly, are models of a kind of classic American voice for the working class and models of emotional connection, independence, authenticity and integrity, with tendencies towards both gritty realism and romanticism. As well, these artists are often thought of as being embedded in the tradition of White American republican art, a tradition that in contemporary music is often most connected to the figure of Woody Guthrie. In Sydney, Fallon plays an original song called "Red At Night," a melodic take-off of Billy Bragg's "Way Over Yonder in the Minor Key," the lyrics to which were written by Woody Guthrie but never set to music. Though not a traditional cover, the song is based on the melody of Bragg's 1998 version. In simultaneously referencing Guthrie and Bragg, Fallon incorporates himself into a legacy of working class music. Bragg's primary identity association is as an English punk-folk protest singer, while Guthrie is currently remembered as the

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[73] "We Came to Dance"

ultimate musical torchbearer of American republican values in the 20th Century. The apolitical nature of Fallon's interpretation again suggests that the song is not an explicit political statement. However, it does align Fallon with a tradition of progressive politics and protest music. Perhaps more significantly, the demonstrated reverence for (either of) these two artists shows a connection to the music of the working class, and more specifically, the kind of social identity that upholds working class, American, republican values. Another Springsteen comparison is evident at this point, as Guthrie also appears in Springsteen's repertoire in 1985. Springsteen's purpose in covering Guthrie is to return to and promote a vision of America as conceived by early American republicans, and later carried on by Guthrie. Fallon's purpose is perhaps not so explicit, as the song is not acknowledged as a cover, not easily recognizable as a Guthrie composition, nor is it prefaced with a direct message of intention. Instead, the song seems to serve as a tribute to a particular ideology and social position, which in effect creates an impression of authenticity and working class identity or politics representing working class interests.

Most of The Gaslight Anthem's cover material may be classified as early American soul music and the band make frequent references to soul singers. In only four shows, the band plays six separate soul covers.[74] Their "Say I Won't (Recognize)" is, like Springsteen's "Mary's Place," built on a Sam Cooke song, using the imagery and lyrics of his "Having a Party." Fallon also names and uses lyrical references from Wilson Pickett, Marvin Gaye, Otis Redding, Sam Cooke, Sam & Dave and Gary U.S. Bonds (who is here labeled a soul performer[75]) bringing to Fallon's music all of the meanings of soul music specified in section 2.7.. The use of classic American rock and roll and soul music prompts another comparison of Fallon to Springsteen and his performances with the E Street Band. Both artists seek to establish the same dominant lineage, even using the same artists and going about this communication in the same manner. Both Fallon and Springsteen are, therefore, inviting their identities to be evaluated against existing representations of soul masculinity and authenticity.

Most significant to comparisons of the two artists, however, is Fallon's direct use of Springsteen in his lyrics. This intertextuality is, by and large, what inspires many of the comparisons between the two artists. Fallon uses the same images of beaches, carnivals and seeking redemption by the riverside. The most obvious references are to Springsteen's biggest albums – *Born to Run* and *Born in the U.S.A.*[76] – their general popularity likely making it easier for these references to be recognized and for

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[74]Ben E. King "Stand By Me," Sam Cooke "Bring it on Home" and "Good Times," James Brown "It's A Man's World," Jimmy Ruffin "What Becomes of the Brokenhearted?" and Ja'net Du Bois "Movin' On Up (Theme to The Jeffersons)."

[75] "Casanova, Baby!"

[76] "High Lonesome," "Meet Me By The River's Edge," "Señor and the Queen."

comparisons to be made. Fallon's most obvious Springsteen reference is found in "High Lonesome," where he sings "At night I wake up with the sheets soaking wet/It's a pretty good song, maybe you know the rest," citing Springsteen's "I'm on Fire." Fallon also makes constant allusions to "4th of July, Asbury Park (Sandy)." Springsteen's song begins with the lines, "Sandy, the fireworks are hailin' over Little Eden tonight/Forcin' a light into all those stoned out faces left stranded on this Fourth of July," and later, "Now the greasers they tramp the streets or get busted for trying to sleep on the beach all night." Fallon reuses the image of the carnival, fireworks, the beach (even repeating the line "sleep on the beach all night" in "Blue Jeans & White T-Shirts"), uses the name Sandy and uses Little Eden as a geographic marker.[77] Fallon also uses the lyric "jump back jack,"[78] which first appeared in James Brown's "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag," and is later used in Springsteen's live staple "Thundercrack," and directly borrows the image of "the hood of a Dodge on a Saturday night"[79] from Springsteen's "Jungleland."

Several things are accomplished through this intertextuality. First, it connects Fallon to the figure of Springsteen – White, working class, American and traditionally male, but built in the image of American republicanism and rock and roll, and seeking to communicate the values of transcendence, community, brotherhood, and dignity, voice and respect for the disempowered. Fallon also presents himself as obviously familiar with a variety of Springsteen's work, at least from 1973 to 1984. This suggests validity for some of the comparisons made – it makes sense, so to speak, that Fallon may be modeling himself after a popular music figure with whom he is familiar. More importantly, however, this intertextuality is the gateway for searching for comparisons between the two artists. In attempting to see the lineage of any of these much-references artists in Fallon's own music and performance, it is the figure of Springsteen that stands out in comparison, based on nearly every aspect of live performance. This, therefore, leads to a perceived connection (intentional or otherwise) and contributes to discussions, classifications and expectations placed on Fallon and therefore, on his band.

5.8. Lyrical Themes

Faith

Fallon makes no explicit comments on or references to religious faith in his lyrics. He does, however, occasionally use an image of water in a similar manner as Springsteen. Fallon uses the

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[77] "Blue Jeans & White T-Shirts," "Say I Won't (Recognize)," "The Patient Ferris Wheel," "Even Cowgirls Get the Blues," "Meet Me By The River's Edge," "The Backseat."
[78] "We Came to Dance"
[79] "Wherefore Art Thou, Elvis?"

religious image of "wash these sins away," and thereby uses water as a symbol of redemption and rebirth.[80] Again, this is a connotatively Christian image, suggesting a belonging to the Christian faith, and therefore an American identity. Otherwise, Fallon does not overtly perform any of the values defined as masculine or White in Christian imagery, with the exception of some performative displays of self-restraint.

Geography:

Fallon uses nearly identical geographic and regional locations as Springsteen in his lyrics to the same identity-creating effect. He uses images of beach towns, amusement parks, the road, the riverside, factories and specific American locations to situate his characters and create impressions of class and national identity. Fallon's characters, like Springsteen's, are working class men and women whose lives take place in regions popularly conceptualized as spaces of working class socialization and manual labour. Fallon also uses geographic references to articulate iconic markers of American dreaming and social differences, again creating an impression of a familiarity with American mythology and therefore American identity, as well as classed identity.[81] Fallon uses references to California in order to represent a dream fulfilled. It is, likely, the classic American representation of success, prosperity and glamour, here positioned as a place where working class characters go to escape their past. Fallon also makes reference to "Fairview and Acres" in "Even Cowgirls Get the Blues," describing these towns as where his old friends have gone to get married, start families and leave their old recreational lives behind. Fallon uses Fairview to the exact same effect as Springsteen does in "Darkness on the Edge of Town," describing the middle-class New Jersey suburb as the place where former acquaintances go to live up to capitalist expectations – to live in a new style that is less authentic than the life into which they were born. Significantly, this is an indicator of Fallon's vision of the American Dream. Mobility is equated with artifice, and authenticity and value in staying true to one's roots. Fallon is at once demonstrating an internalization of American mobility in his imagining of California and rejecting this notion of "moving up" as positive and fulfilling. He is, therefore, forging the impression not only of being influenced by American mythology (and therefore, of being an American), but of being suspicious of it, aligning his identity with one of contemporary working class reality.

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[80] "Meet Me By The River's Edge," "The Navesink Banks."
[81] "The Patient Ferris Wheel," "The Navesink Banks," "We Came to Dance."

Car and Road Imagery:

Fallon's music also relies heavily on car and driving imagery, which has exactly the same effect on his performed social identity as it does on Springsteen's. Fallon's cars are drafted in the same image as Springsteen's – classic American cars, archetypes of rock and roll and working class American social life and leisure. In Fallon, cars are a source of freedom and escape,[82] serving the same purpose as they do in terms of creating an impression of masculine identity in Springsteen's persona. Fallon's car language grounds his work in early rock and roll and gives the impression of masculinity, imbuing his performance with the values of freedom and independence. Fallon's narrators literally dream of cars – cars represent promise – "I was gonna get this great big engine"[83] – along with the ability to run away and a place to bond with other men. Similarly, classic American cars are romanticized in Fallon's lyrics,[84] connecting Fallon to American and rock and roll identity along with the other masculine values associated with driving.

Characterizations of Men

Fallon's own performed identity – visually and otherwise – corresponds with the images of the characters in his songs, much like Springsteen particularly in 1975 and 1985. While both performers are enacting their song narrators and characters through their own performances, their characters are at the same time contributing to the impressions an audience would have of their singers' identities. The White, American, working class males in their songs may be interpreted as extensions of their creators, an impression particularly substantiated by the authenticity and sincerity performed while singing. Therefore, what is revealed about their characters contributes to the identity impression being created onstage by the artist.

Fallon's men serve to build an image of hegemonic rock and roll masculinity and White American working class masculinity, as his characters are symbolic of existing cultural representations of these identities. Fallon's male characters are likely best exemplified in the opening line from "We Came to Dance": "We are the last of the jukebox Romeos." Fallon's male narrators are mostly macho male archetypes forged in the same images of 1950s rock and roll culture that Fallon's personal aesthetics reflect. They are described as dreamers, romantics and Casanovas, but also as corner boys, punks and dimestore saints, as hard and independent. Fallon also describes his main characters as working men and as salt of the earth.

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[82] "Boomboxes and Dictionaries," "The Backseat," "Old White Lincoln," "Wooderson."
[83] "Meet Me By The River's Edge"
[84] "Old White Lincoln," "Boomboxes and Dictionaries," "Wherefore Art Thou, Elvis?"

Fallon, too, sings of male independence in a slightly different way than Springsteen, creating a more traditional impression of his masculinity based on his promotion of the values of independence and autonomy. In Springsteen's vision of idealized brotherhood and republican community, "two hearts" are always better than one,[85] regardless of the situation, which is a key way in which Springsteen reflects White, American republican masculinity. Fallon's vision is often revealed to be the opposite. He articulates the traditional value of male independence and the need to rely on oneself – "But nobody ever gonna tell you the way/You gotta figure it out boys and suffer the rain"[86] – in order to survive, even though you may seek community or companionship. In "We're Getting A Divorce, You Keep the Diner," Fallon creates an image of men who have sometimes been abandoned by their former brotherhood and now have to hold their own. It appears to be the reality to Springsteen's republican brotherhood ideal – the articulation of maturing into a life of impossible expectations and having to leave behind or becoming isolated from the bonds that, in Springsteen's world, are the best coping mechanism.

Fallon's songs are sung from male perspectives, often to women, often similarly making them promises about escape or apologizing for those dreams not coming true and finding some value in love.[87] It may be argued, then, that love and female companionship, more so than brotherhood, is the source of the most satisfaction, redemption or reward in Fallon's lyrics, even though male independence is valued. Fallon positions his narrators, much like Springsteen in his earlier work, as heroes in their offering of escape. They reach out to women and offer them promises of a better life, seeking fulfillment and power in relationships, as will be discussed briefly. Though the American Dream is acknowledged as having failed in many instances, Fallon's songs are still largely escape narratives, or at least stories about the rarely-realized dream of escape. In one sense, this theme relates back to the myth of the "good poor" (Allison, 2003) by way of the image of the escape narrative. As well, it depicts a position where powerlessness is rectified through human connection, and in this creates an impression of empowered working class identity. This can be read as working class masculinity being reaffirmed through fulfilled heterosexual desire, or as male power being redefined in somewhat republican terms of successful interpersonal relationships rather than accumulation and work.

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[85] "Two Hearts"
[86] "Film Noir"
[87] "Boomboxes and Dictionaries," "I Coulda Been a Contender," "1930," "We Came to Dance," "Casanova, Baby!" "Say I Won't (Recognize)." "Old White Lincoln."

Characterizations of Women

Fallon depicts women similarly to Springsteen. He uses female characters to develop impressions of hegemonic masculinity by creating and depicting gender distinctions and employing idealized images of women. Unlike Springsteen, however, Fallon provides his female characters with significantly more power, portrays slightly more variance in their identities and includes them in his depictions of American working life – presenting a male vision of women that is at once inclusive and stereotypical.

Fallon refers to his female characters as doll, honey, darling, girls, mama (referring to both a love interest and a mother on separate occasions), baby, Señora, "my queen," Señorita and kitten. He compares or relates his women to classic film icons – Audrey Hepburn, Judy Garland and Marilyn Monroe (also referring to Greta Garbo in the only song not played in any of these shows), and defines beauty in hegemonic, iconic feminine terms, thereby affirming his own hegemonic, American masculinity. He also depicts the women his characters are involved with as wearing dresses, though an exception to this comes in "Old White Lincoln," where the female character is described to wear high-tops and be tattooed. Fallon presents an unconventional form of beauty, one that sparks an image of rock and roll and punk subcultures. This is, however, not disruptive of his impression of masculinity. The image of subcultural beauty is essentially meaningless, as Fallon's dominant lyrical depiction of women and men is strictly normative.

Fallon also uses women's names to associate himself with a musical or cultural tradition. "We call every girl we ever met Maria, but only love Virginia's heart" he sings in "Blue Jeans & White T-Shirts," a song that characterizes his own social group and shared identity. Maria appears in many of his songs, along with Virginia, Mary, Matilda, Sally and Sandy. These are generally classic names in rock music and are present in the work of the the icons Fallon sometimes borrows from – Springsteen, Dylan, Waits, The Rolling Stones – associating him with these artists and placing his identity as an artist in this line of White, often American, male singer-songwriters.

Beauty, here, is often defined in White terms, particularly in references to blue eyes and White film stars. However, Fallon also refers to some of his women as Señora or Señorita, or Maria. Like Springsteen, he implies their Hispanic ethnicity through names. It is the only time Fallon makes any kind of non-White racial or ethnic reference. The depiction of Hispanic women as love interests could be read in the same way as Springsteen's – symbolic of the Western connection in their imagery. Fallon's music,

indeed, relies on these conventions: images of "outlaw cowboy bands,"[88] of boots, of "riding like silver,"[89] and the "high lonesome"[90] sound of bluegrass. Western imagery, in terms of representation, symbolizes White imperialism and hegemonic, American cowboy masculinity. Fallon's use of Hispanic names could be part of this Western motif, therefore symbolizing White masculinity through conquest (Limón, 2000).

In his depictions of women, Fallon also uses the character of the good time girl Palmer (1997) identified in Springsteen's work. The opening lines of "The Navesink Banks" begin with the image of a warning sign above a woman's bed – "All hope abandon, ye who enter here"[91] – the verse closing with "And my first sin was a young American girl." Fallon envisions this woman as having ruined his narrator, leading him on a path of delinquency. This is ultimately, however, a rare, severe image and not typical of how Fallon portrays women. The good time girl definition, however, can still be interpreted in the roles women play in the narrator's lives. Fallon's women provide male characters with escape from their circumstances and the ability to assert the power and access to freedom associated with hegemonic masculinity. Narrators approach female characters with offers for better lives, and are drawn as potential saviours and working class heroes. With little access to other sources of hegemonic male identity, these characters essentially view women as an opportunity to stake their own claim to manhood.

Significantly, both artists put their male character's ability to save themselves and others from their circumstances in the hands of women. Their hero masculinity is affirmed in theory, in an articulated dream rather than in actually being able to escape. This is not to say that these men would not be searching for or attempting escape without a female companion to take with them, but it is rare for a man to be dreaming of escape without someone by his side in either Springsteen or Fallon's work. They depend on women to project and enact their fantasies. At the point from which these songs are sung, many of these male characters are asking for women to let them be saviours, let them find redemption for the failure of their lives through love and companionship. The answer, which is rarely implied here, is what will determine whether or not these men will be accepted as saviours or heroes, able to change their identities, or be forced to return to a state of searching. In "I Coulda Been a Contender," perhaps one of Fallon's clearest articulations of the dream failing, he opens the second

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[88] "High Lonesome"
[89] "Wooderson"
[90] "High Lonesome"
[91] The sign on the gates of hell in *Dante's Inferno.*

verse saying, "Once you said I was your hero." That identity is gone, replaced only with expectations for "heart attacks and broken dreams tonight." The women that chose to climb into Fallon's front seat, to borrow a phrase, are shown to turn their backs on these former heroes. Love does not necessarily overcome circumstance, and Fallon's women don't necessarily turn out to be genuine companions as the idealized visions of love and community would have. Again, this treatment of female characters affirms hegemonic masculinity, particularly by way of articulating gender differences and by demonstrating a value for heroism and independence, even when it is not fulfilled.

Ultimately, Fallon gives more voice to female characters in his lyrics than Springsteen does in any of the songs considered here.[92] Springsteen never uses his narrative voice to tell the story of a female character. However, Fallon does, creating the impression that women do not exclusively serve the purpose of enacting male fantasies or facilitating displays of their masculinity. Particularly in "High Lonesome," a woman is depicted as part of the same social world as men – she too is shown to experience unfulfilled dreams and the consequences of circumstance. Similarly, Fallon gives the role of saviour or dreamer, depending on how one reads the lyric, to the character of Sally in "Meet Me By The River's Edge." In this song, it is Sally's character, not the narrator, who declares that "We're going to wash these sins away/Or else we won't come back again," offering the redemption and escape of a life of regret, failed dreams and fruitless hard work. While this does not necessarily have any impact on Fallon's performed gender identity, the song once again establishes an impression of an awareness of American ideology and its mythological properties. This again establishes Fallon's American identity and his realistic rather than idealistic perspective on American class hierarchies.

Class

What appears most significant in a side-by-side comparison of both artists is their connection to a kind of working class awareness of circumstance. Springsteen's is ultimately more political, more concerned with revealing the roots as well as the consequences of failure, and more rooted in republican philosophy. Both artists are concerned with feelings of entrapment and frustration, expressed through describing the location of the present as a "prison" or "rat trap." They make note of changes in the state of the world of these characters – a changing, troubled America.

This is articulated by Springsteen through concrete details, in stories about economic changes, or stories of events that reflect injustices. These stories show the detrimental effect of the realities of contemporary (or, then-contemporary) American life on characters sometimes explicitly defined as

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[92] Note: this is still a male construction of female experience.

working class. Fallon approaches his articulation of the social, economic and political realities of the people he sings about more vaguely. Instead, Fallon relies on the implication of geographical references, leisure pursuits, allusions to manual labour, and feelings of despair and hopelessness to at once create an impression of working class identity and defy the stereotypical cultural mythologizing of the economically disadvantaged in America (Allison, 2003). Fallon isn't concerned with why these feelings are experienced, but rather with articulating their existence. Fallon identifies the place his characters inhabit as the "unstable arena of what's left or what's become of my America."[93] As exemplified by the song "We're Getting a Divorce, You Keep the Diner," Fallon declares, "We were the magnificent dreamers," and locates the narrator as "struggling out in the mighty jungle." By the fourth verse, Fallon questions, "Were the things that we wanted when we were still sixteen/Only passing and fleeting or just too far out of reach?"

Both writers articulate this sense of once having a dream, sometimes having their songs only be about the dream rather than its futility.[94] This dream is always the dream of a better life, be it accessed by literally relocating to a place with better circumstances, pursuing a dream, or finding satisfaction in connecting to another person. For both writers, the "dream" in question is, fundamentally, the American Dream, the national mythology that promises the ability to change one's circumstances of his or her own volition, shaping class expectations accordingly. Ultimately, the dream of freedom and worry-free living is realized as impossible, and the hard work it demands becomes a trap – "If I could put down this old hammer/I'd take you somewhere new."[95] Both Fallon and Springsteen cite the impossibility of capitalist-based mobility and the impossibility of escape. However, Fallon doesn't necessarily share in the idealized republican vision of Springsteen, directly discounting the role of hard work in progress and mobility, displaying it too as futile.[96]

These circumstances, therefore, call for coping mechanisms. As discussed in section 4.8., Springsteen's work thematically focuses on how those not living the American Dream use the night and leisure to experience freedom and autonomy. Fallon's music is similarly structured. At the core of Fallon's stories is the failure of the idealized dream and how his characters come to deal with this circumstance. Like Springsteen, he writes that freedom is found in surprising places: music and in bonds with other people. Fallon sometimes structures his image of freedom and salvation in an image of an

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[93] "We Came to Dance"
[94] "Wooderson," "The Patient Ferris Wheel," "Born to Run."
[95] "Casanova, Baby!"
[96] "Meet Me By The River's Edge," "I Coulda Been a Contender."

idyllic rock and roll past: "I need a Cadillac ride/I need a soft summer night/Say a prayer for my soul, Señorita."[97] He uses the same conventions as Springsteen, talking about leisure, summertime, and the possibility for salvation and transcendence through music.[98] Fallon's image of leisure comes from being the "heart of Saturday night:"[99] dancing, chasing girls, wasting time at the beach, or driving, all exemplary values of rock and roll. Fallon's characters engage in this leisure to escape – either to ignore or transcend. Set under the "central Jersey sky," "We Came to Dance" exemplifies the general purpose of leisure – to cherish and take advantage of a time when working class characters can access freedom and companionship, regardless of and possibly even in defiance of what's coming.[100] Leisure and the night are, as in Springsteen, are defined in opposition to the working day. They become figured as the part of life where one can be their true self, a place of self-definition and a place to reject the capitalist mentality of defining personal identity in terms of occupation. This portrayal of leisure accomplishes essentially the same purpose as Springsteen, defining Fallon's identity in terms of rock and roll and a respectful image of the American working class. It also facilitates easy comparisons with Springsteen, as Fallon's sites of leisure are almost identical to Springsteen's, particularly in his use of New Jersey boardwalk imagery.

Music, too, is defined as possessing the same redemptive, saving power in Fallon's lyrics in addition to his onstage speech. His images of driving include the radio, and music is discussed as not only part of the leisure world of escape, but as important to the emotional lives of some of his characters. This is probably most obvious in the song "I'da Called You Woody, Joe," Fallon's tribute to Joe Strummer. The song follows the experience of finding and listening to the kind of music that you could later claim changed your life. Here, Strummer's music is described as "a shot from my skull to my brain," performing the effect of waking someone up, calming them down and providing them with support and emotional release. This is again a form of leisure and an articulation of rock and roll identity, as well as a continued demonstration of Moore's third-person authenticity, and therefore, an affirmation of personal authenticity.

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[97] "Wherefore Art Thou, Elvis?"
[98] "I'da Called You Woody, Joe," "Boomboxes and Dictionaries," "We Came to Dance," "Even Cowgirls Get the Blues," "Wherefore Art Thou, Elvis?"
[99] "Blue Jeans & White T-Shirts"
[100] "And if the big bomb drops down over this quiet Edison sky/we'll blow one last kiss/to all the beautiful nights like this" – "We Came to Dance."

5.9. Section Conclusion:

After considering both performers' identities, comparisons of Fallon to Springsteen appear warranted due to the number of visual, performative and lyrical similarities between the two artists. It can also be inferred that Fallon accesses many of these representations by way of Springsteen – that is to say that while this analysis suggests that both artists fashion themselves as 1950s rebels, Fallon may simply be fashioning himself after Springsteen, displaying any other identity-shaping and authenticating representations through his similarities with Springsteen. However, this analysis confirms that even without the presence of Springsteen, Fallon would still essentially be creating the same impression of identity. Both musicians communicate their identities by employing many of the same representations of White, working class, American, male identity with similar perspectives toward American class hierarchies and circumstances. Though Fallon attributes worth to community and brotherhood, the performed impression of his ideology is significantly less suggestive of early American republicanism, or at least suggestive of a vision far less idealized than that of Springsteen. Though Fallon's associations with the republican artist musical tradition are prevalent, his overall ideology lacks the consistency and coherence of Springsteen's republican vision. Though both are working class musicians whose material is primarily concerned with articulating working class realities, Fallon's message does not obviously engage in republican rhetoric the way Springsteen's does. Of every distinction that can be made between the two artists, this is likely the most significant and suggests that while the figure of Springsteen is present in Fallon's live performance, his ideology does not entirely permeate Fallon's work.

Although both artists draw from the same images and sites of pre-knowledge, it is almost impossible to consider Fallon without Springsteen. Springsteen's presence in American popular culture remains massive, and his level of fame alone ensures that the values and identities he communicates are iconic. Springsteen's cultural presence helps clarify Fallon's identity and helps to place him in a musical context where his expressions are readable because of their familiarity (regardless of where this familiarity derives from) and the other musical identities they connote. Due to the performance similarities between the two artists, it is possible to glean a lot of Fallon's identity information from the figure of Springsteen that he reflects. Differences are – though not inconsequential – subtle and easy to overlook because of their shared qualities, therefore facilitating assumptions about Fallon's identity and making broad generalizations relatively appealing.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis was an attempt to understand the social identity of Bruce Springsteen based on his live performances, and how and why this image – this figure of Springsteen – has become significant to contemporary music. Previous work on Springsteen has already defined him as a model of American identity, Whiteness, hegemonic masculinity and blue collar working class identity. Alternately, he is also seen as representing the American musical and cultural history of republican philosophy and an anti-capitalist working class identity. This analysis of Springsteen's performances draws a number of conclusions about the overall identity he represents in popular culture, which are generally consistent with other interpretations which have also considered his songs, music videos, album covers, photographs, media portrayals and personal biography (E. Bird, 1994; Cullen, 1997; DeCurtis cited in M. Smith, 1992; Friskics-Warren, 2005; Frith, 1996; Frith cited in E. Bird, 1994; Frith, 2009; Garman, 2000; Hemphill & Smith, 1990; Kirkpatrick, 2009; Palmer, 1997; Pattie, 2007; Primeaux, 1996; Riley, 2004). In performance, Springsteen reflects values of freedom, brotherhood, sincerity, authenticity, community and hope, and presents himself as a performer with strong class politics. Based on the performative elements considered in this analysis, Springsteen's onstage performance presents a clear image of his social identity as a White, traditionally masculine, working class American rock and roll musician whose identity and ideology is based in early American republican philosophy.

Springsteen's performances, on the surface, recognizably change from era to era. However, his performances are grounded in a consistent style of direct emotional expression and consistent lyrical themes. Springsteen grounds his class and gender identities in his presentation of hard work and leadership, his consistent reflection of masculine and working class archetypes in his image, and his lyrics which are structured around exploring working class life and the capitalist and republican ideologies that shape it, and masculinity-affirming images of women and cars. These patterns in Springsteen's performances help to solidify a distinct impression of Springsteen's class identity and gender, regardless of how his body, mannerisms and band evolve.

Springsteen's performances identify him with archetypes of the White American labourer, the disempowered 1950s teen rebel, union leaders and prototypical American republican artists. All of these images solidify an impression of his identity as White and traditionally male, as well as working class and American as informed by republican culture. His interactions with his band and his affiliations with rock and roll serve not only to create a sense of authenticity about his identity and his music, but to build on

this identity impression. Some of his class and nationality impressions cast Springsteen as an All-American hard worker, something he himself affirms throughout his performance. However, his performance of these identities also serves to create the impression that Springsteen is not the kind of depoliticized, oblivious White working American who believes in the capitalist vision of the American Dream, but instead is connected with the social realities of the people he represents and intent on re-envisioning a corrupt order in an image heavily rooted in early, founding American republican principles of egalitarianism, brotherhood and community. Springsteen's performances relocate sources of identity and dignity for the American working class, presenting realistic if occasionally momentary ways of transcending circumstance through leisure and music and this redefined dream.

Springsteen's gender identity – a matter of much debate in popular literature – is only readable as alternative if one does not take into consideration the musical culture his performance embeds him in. Springsteen, like Fallon, affirms a place in rock and roll culture with the way he dresses, his relationships to music history and the content of his lyrics, all of which reference the prototypical images and values of rock and roll. Early rock and roll was established as a medium that articulated the disempowerment and vulnerability of young men at a time where icons of American masculinity were unapproachable and unattainable, and social life was pervaded with messages of needing to assert and affirm one's own masculinity in a time where its power was being threatened – something largely unavailable to the young people eventually targeted by rock and roll. This musical ideology altered what it meant to be a young man in American society, changing what were otherwise feminizing aspects of identity into markers of hegemonic masculinity. In contextualizing his performances in rock and roll, as well as soul music (where otherwise culturally disempowered male types were also redefined as dominant, normative archetypes), while also using many of the gestural and emotional conventions characteristic of mainstream hegemonic male identity, Springsteen's performance is always grounded in a feeling of unambiguous masculinity. Though it is not the typically wealthy, authoritarian, unemotional masculinity that is defined as normative in contemporary mainstream society, rock-based masculinity is still identifiable as entirely male, particularly in the context of a music audience, who would likely be familiar with rock and roll masculinity and understand it as a valid form of male self-representation.

Springsteen's identity is also largely defined as hegemonically masculine through the use of images of prototypical, idealized masculinities of the past and present. Even Springsteen's emotional output – considered uncharacteristic of masculine men – is contained within the emotional allowances of his gender standards and his musical culture, as evidenced by his onstage mannerisms. He has never

lost that sense of being an unambiguous man while still being a communicator of varying human emotion, and has in and of himself come to stand for sincere, emotionally authentic music.

Springsteen's persona is also largely built on this performance of authenticity. Most of Springsteen's gestures serve the purpose of communicating musical authenticity, including his clothing, physical mannerisms, lyrical content, use of intertextuality, band relations, instruments and onstage speech. Due to the closeness between the physical and visual elements of performance and performance content, these are all expressions that affirm the believability of his own identity performance while also shaping him as a figure representative of rock authenticity through the demonstration of the majority of its values.

This study concludes, then, that the figure of Springsteen – which may otherwise be defined as the overall identity he now represents in popular music – is unambiguously White and masculine in a way that is rooted in hegemonic ideals. He is also an icon of republican working class and American identity, valuing hard work, leisure, hope, freedom and community, maintaining an optimistic viewpoint on transcendence alongside a sense of realism about and distaste for capitalist American social order and its mythology, as well as its popular images of undignified working class identity.

Brian Fallon's performed identity draws from many of the same archetypes and ideological perspectives recognizable in Springsteen's performance, and is communicated with even clearer consistency. As noted in section 5.3., Fallon's performance is more subdued than Springsteen's. Though this section specifically considered his use of mannerisms and denotative gestures, the same can be said for Fallon's performance in general. Usually, Fallon's lyrics are not as overt or biting, his visual iconography less directly referential, and his messages not as obviously articulated. However, Fallon is also a rock and roll performer with rock and roll values and is authenticated, White, American, working class and traditionally male. Fallon's masculinity is arguably more traditional and less influenced by republicanism, as his performance speaks more highly of masculine independence, recognizes bonds with other men as fallible, and is less suggestive that macho masculinity is a façade. Fallon's American identity is, like Springsteen's also marked by an awareness and occasional partaking in the American Dream, though also tempered by the overall conclusion that these dreams are faulty and rarely realized. Additionally, though Fallon shares the same values of brotherhood and transcendence of circumstance through leisure and relationships, his class ideology is slightly different than Springsteen's. Fallon's view is less optimistic, less saturated with republican idealism, as evidenced in his comparatively more frequent articulation of both failed escape and failed brotherhood. He also does not embrace the White,

American, blue collar value of hard work in quite the same way, with this stage performance looking far more like leisure than hard labour, and his songs and clothing not reflective of Springsteen's idealization of a strong work ethic.

Despite these subtle differences, Fallon's onstage identity performance is, perhaps unsurprisingly, markedly similar to that of Springsteen. Both performers use many of the same tools to communicate their identities, and as such, their images strike a significant likeness. The figure of Springsteen is echoed in almost every aspect of Fallon's performance, from his appearance, to his mannerisms, instruments, speech, sociopolitical position, relationship to his roots and other music, lyrical imageries and perspectives on American class ideologies. Out of the series of musicians Fallon references in his performances, no one other artist proves to show as many points of notable similarity. This significant, clearly observable connection would easily prompt comparisons of the two artists, positioning Fallon as a leading persona in the reemergence of Springsteen as an important, revered influence in contemporary music.

The effect the figure of Springsteen has, here, appears to be to reinforce or clarify the content of Fallon's performance. It is possible that striking a comparison between Springsteen and Fallon helps in making a new artist "make sense" in a larger cultural context. An audience may recognize some visual or even sonic similarities, the use of Springsteen references in Fallon's lyrics, or some fundamental biographical similarities such as the shared home state of New Jersey, and proceed to attempt to understand the meaning of Fallon's music and identity through their pre-knowledge of Springsteen, therefore creating a comparison and a reputation of similarity. Though this thesis attempted to view each identity separately and then comparatively, it is almost impossible to say that this analysis of Fallon's identity wasn't fundamentally influenced by unconscious pre-knowledge of the larger cultural meanings of Springsteen apparent before conducting any academically-inclined research. Likely, much of the comparison – and more than that, the continued evaluation of Fallon's identity against Springsteen's, as is present in press about *American Slang* – draws from an inherent or taught need to make sense of new cultural products by assessing them through the representations of old ones.

Ultimately, this method of making sense of new music through iconic music is where a purpose for echoing the figure of Springsteen becomes apparent. Fallon's performance identity is also found to belong to a punk subgenre (or perhaps more accurately, punk subgenres) concerned with presenting the experiences of the average American man. Many of the bands implicated in the so-called Springsteen renaissance belong to the same or similar subgenres, where values of authenticity, ordinariness and

working class life are central to the meaning of their music and their performance styles. In American popular culture, no other icon is as consistently or as obviously representative of those values as Springsteen, nor do many other artists share the same critical esteem and reputation for integrity. Due to what Springsteen represents, new bands looking to communicate similar stories of American life can be instantly associated with a very clearly articulated ideology, making their new music interpretable and familiar to audiences. This process of association is enacted as much by bands themselves (in things like lyrical references) as it is by media, who are looking to contextualize, explain and sell a new product and can do so by way of comparisons with other iconic artists.

As demonstrated here, an association with figure of Springsteen is an ideal way of embedding an artist in a multi-faceted lineage that, generally, is built on the values they seek to project, or that outsiders would like to project onto them. The Gaslight Anthem are one band in a line of many that are making music with similar themes to those of Springsteen and presenting themselves as average, White working class American men. These bands are, then, embedded in North American subcultures that praise authenticity and ideologies that support their social identities. An association with Springsteen's identity, then, is – perhaps for lack of a better term – the most appropriate, popular and powerful identity available to a relatively new trend, and therefore his influence and more significantly, the recognition of his influence, has become increasingly prevalent in contemporary music.

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