INTRODUCTION

‘A Stately Pleasure-Dome’?

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The popularity of the arena concert, especially since the turn of the millennium, evidences a radical reshaping of the landscape of popular music, and the meeting of a demand for the actual presence of the global superstar in the global suburbs. In both instances, the old models of music dissemination and ownership are seemingly no longer enough for the music industry: the consumer wants to possess the song in a variety of material and immaterial ways (from revived vinyl to cloud archives accessible across a variety of digital platforms and devices) and wants to encounter the singer (i.e. wants celebrity and access). The concert no longer seems to operate in relation to the promotion of music (costly tours as a way of shifting records for the touring group), but becomes the prime generator of revenue in itself. Thus the music, which is now effectively free, becomes little more than a flyer for the impending, and at times impossibly expensive to attend, arena concert. Global concert promoters have taken on the role once reserved for artist’s managers. And arena concerts seem to wield supernatural powers in the consumer landscape: the dead are raised to perform again (via holograms or video walls the size of houses), the deity-like superstar makes an actual appearance, long since disbanded groups are reformed to play again and time travel (at least back to the stars and music of yesteryear, now back on stage) becomes a possibility.

This development is one that prompts a reversal of a noted anecdote about the way in which music bends, and possibly breaks, in order to reach a wider audience (or, rather, expand its market share). If Bob Dylan's
infamous ‘electrification’ of folk music resulted in an irate gig-goer publicly denouncing his former idol with the cry of ‘judas!’ in Manchester’s Free Trade Hall in 1966 (see Kershaw 2005), then the arena concert raises the accusation of ‘Messiah!’ It is difficult not to sympathize with those who baulk at the, at times, undeserved grandeur and unchecked hubris of the arena performer, taking to the stage in front of the massed tens of thousands, and those who express bemusement or anger at the way a couple of good-to-middling arena tickets for a global act can now amount to the same price as a reasonable second-hand car. An additional edge of concern can be detected too, in the liberal commentariat, and critical writings: a distaste for the entire enterprise, which seems to blend a Messianic aspiration to the Sermon on the Mount with visions of totalitarian uniformity, in the name of a WASP-y whiteness and maleness of arena artists. There is too much branding, too much hubbub, too much waiting around, rubbish strewn everywhere and not enough spontaneity: that short step from ‘mass entertainment’ to ‘mass produced’, as emblematic of a trans-Atlantic monoculture (which is then routed through the Global South), is nowhere more apparent. A mass directive of ‘be entertained’ seems to be in operation (for Žižek: ‘today’s superego injunction to enjoy’ 2009, 188), obscuring the vulgar imposition of a dominant culture upon another; ‘thus’, for Negri, ‘Pink Floyd allights in Piazza San Marco [15 July 1989], and anyone against this idea is accused of being against modernity and against the masses having fun’ (2013, 182). And the event itself – for many (and for Mulder and O’Grady, in this volume) – can, in fact, be a misery. The sprawling and rustic experiences of music and mass entertainment, from festivals at Woodstock to Glastonbury, Burning Man to the Primavera Sound and beyond, seem to champion and accommodate individuality rather than impose a battery-hen style regimentation on the gig-goer. The danger of the former was limited to bad drug trips, of the latter to bad travel trips (panic attacks in crowded public transport, lost or stolen property, hours of waiting to exit a car park). If the former have been theorized as temporary autonomous zones, the latter seem more like state-sanctioned bread-and-circuses: the state’s own pleasure-dome, to paraphrase Coleridge. But the festival tradition now, following the lead of its Baby Boomer demographic, has gone through a process of, to use Zweig’s term, ‘bourgeoisement’. In the British experience, expect to find wine tasting and cheese-making, picnic areas and organic food boutiques, theatre and ballet companies, television celebrities, supermodels and politicians (as accommodated in upmarket yurts) and the ‘spoken word’ (stand-up comedians and poets, television chefs and cultural commentators and academics in conversation). And don’t expect to find, at least at the time of writing, much in the way of female performers (see Vincent 2014 and Pollard 2015).

The arena audience, like the stadium audience of its immediate prehistory, seems positively working class in comparison, and is slotted into place in the arena rather than being free to explore the grounds of the festival. The arena concert seems to be a largely consumer environment rather than a cultural environment. And a distaste for such mass entertainment in the arena context, on the basis of class, could be said to go some way to account for the lack of critical attention paid to the arena concert. It is a lack that has been detrimental to academic fields associated with Popular Music. One is tempted to note that even Lenin, in exile, visited theatres in the Parisian suburbs to experience the working class audience, and was rewarded for his excursions by encounters with the dynamism of that audience; see Krupskaya (1970, 177). The writing about arena concerts from our contributors has invariably drawn on fields that remain a minority concern in Popular Music, most notably Celebrity Studies, New Media, Theology and Film Studies, in order to assemble critical frameworks with which to analyse the arena concert, and renew and revise engagements with extant tropes of theorization around feminism, post-feminism, semiotics, cultural capital, performance, aura, ethnography, phenomenology and fandoms. In many cases, a confrontation with the arena concert has revealed methodological lacunae, prompting such interdisciplinary excursions on the part of our contributing authors as they seek to account for a new age of Gesamtkunstwerk, and the intersections of music, media and mass entertainment. And the co-editors, with Stewart’s invaluable work, have been prompted to ‘drill down’ even further, to hear from designers and musicians involved in arena concerts, and to hear from the audience too, reflecting on decades of gig-going, or experiencing the arena phenomenon for the first time. Empirical research into arena attendance currently remains outside the academy and in the realms of promotion and marketing, where it seems to inform Byzantine interconnections between certain credit cards and ‘privilege tickets’ presales, primary and secondary ticketing monopolies, legalized spamming and legal actions against touting, hotel package deals and cuts of car-parking fees, and a ‘soft’ surveillance via social media (allowing the ticket purchaser to find out which of his or her social media contacts are also booked to attend, and where they will be seated, in return for allowing data mining by unknown parties).

What has emerged from our research is arresting: the reconfiguring of the musical landscape, and concomitant with that new forms and genres of media (the arena concert film, and the centrality of the social media ‘capture’ of the star as validating individual fandom, for example), as orientated around the reappearance (i.e. the actual materialization) of the star. In this way, liveness is placed at the centre of this new musical landscape: we are to renew our acquaintance with the music by being actually present as it is performed. Indeed, this is seemingly the only way to be truly acquainted with the music: post-CD, it is no longer enough to find oneself listening to a certain singer (perhaps as selected and automatically played via an iTunes algorithm) and happening to like it. How does one
then spend money, buying that liking? Only, really, through the concert ticket. And if the singer is one of a global standing, only the arena will accommodate him or her and their troupe and entourage. And if the singer is one of an historical standing, the arena exerts a global centrifugal force, pulling the icons into your orbit, to perform for you (and your parents or grandparents, or children or grandchildren).

Authenticity and intimacy are concerns that occur time and again in the current volume. And with the preferential option for liveness comes a return of ideas of musical pilgrimage (to the nearest capital cities, or even abroad, to see unique performances, as a trip to New York to, say, Birdland in the 1950s, or CBGBs in the 1970s, once functioned) or mass ethnomusicology (as if everyone with a Facebook or Twitter account comes to age Alan Lomax's field recordings). Aura (to use Benjamin's term; 1936) is restored: the importance of 'being there', of being in the presence of a one-off happening, as tied-up with a sense of selfhood and self-worth ('I can't miss this!'), of family (cross-generational concert attendance, the big gig as birthday treat and centrepiece of a holiday), of personal history (seeing the loved bands of one's youth) and of a validation, public and private, of one's taste and fandom. The essential contexts for these developments are the copyright wars of the late 1990s, and the eventual subsuming of file-sharing sites such as Napster, and the reorganization of music consumption for a post-'Top 40' age, and one in which consumable items became marginalized, and the financial crisis of 2007–2008, with resultant danger to all forms of charging pastimes. The latter would seem to have impacted on key classes (and, indeed, ticket prices for arena concerts only seemed to rise again once the crisis had been declared over) and even, during times of austerity, nation states. As Svenonius notes, in relation to 'the diminishing meaning of the group', the digital era has robbed the artist of the opportunities of considered presentation: 'groups are stripped of their packaging, robbed of identity, and reduced to being a few squeals leaking from an iPod' (Svenonius 2012, 237). These things however return in the arena context: album cover design has been subsumed into video projection design, and a media archaeology suddenly comes into play: 'old' footage of stars is incorporated into (even duetting with) the star now, performing on stage. Kärki notes this of Roger Waters. And Kylie Minogue integrated footage from her 1980s pop videos into her stage show for the 2014 Kiss Me Once tour. We get the performer, then and now, and together, and inclusively, we look back at earlier incarnations of the performer. We have grown older together, and with this music as the central core of reminiscence, and the measure of the differences that time passing has caused for performer and audience member. (Or, for the younger audience member, who post-dates such footage: a wallow in retro, or the mythical '1980s'.)

At the same time, while the design of the arena concert seems to be about closing the space between performer and audience member on the grounds of intimacy there is still, paradoxically, a need to maintain a distance, on the grounds of celebrity. Ultimately, intimacy is denied by the social standing of the performer/s and thus closing the space is about providing the perception that we are getting closer to the artist. The confessional qualities that are used by some performers, as Halligan notes, create the illusion of a personal connection with a deified star while the space will always maintain that distance. For early tours of Pink Floyd's The Wall, as Kärki argues, the group declined to play along with the creation of such a perception, with audience reactions that ranged from puzzled to alienated.

The matter of intimacy and of being there is one that seems to have prompted a U-turn in relation to the development of arena technology across the 1990s. Cunningham's history of 'the rock concert industry' of that decade is one that tracks the progression of video screens (portability, size, higher density resolution images, tighter pixel formations and so on) to the point where they are able to offer an expanded view of the concert, and so cater for ever-bigger audiences in a satisfactory way. Cunningham notes, at the outset, that gig-goers were not that keen on the arena experience per se, unlike band promoters (1999, 16). A decade and a half later, such screens with live feeds are seen as detracting from the authenticity of experience, tempting the wandering eye to the mediated and so second hand rather than actual event, and so these screens are increasingly marginalized - pushed further away from the performance areas themselves. The nature of concert performance then comes to be remade: how to perform for such an enormous crowd, how to get close to them, even how to play and what it means for an individual to find him or herself at the centre of that night's entertainment for so very many people. (The latter is a concern in Stewart's interview chapter 'Hello Cleveland...!'; as balanced by Edgar's collaborative 'Rocking Around Warford': the view from the audience perspective.) The struggles across the 1990s for technological innovation have been, of course, forgotten, and their victories since long taken for granted. In terms of conceptualizing the arena concert now, the Prog Rock and Glam periods suddenly re-emerge as of more use: a taste for show, an attempt to be 'larger than life', the live concert as narrative and event and the performer (as with David Bowie/Ziggy Stardust) as so much more than 'just' a performer. Recent studies of both genres have incorporated concerns with spectacle as a major consideration: the 'theatralization of rock' for Auslander (2006b), in respect to Bowie, and 'performance and visuality' for Hegarty and Halliwell (2011). But, this time around, technology enables rather than (as with the challengingly ambitious Genesis tour of The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway of 1974–1975; see Holm-Hudson 2008) hinders and frustrates.

The pressures are such that the arena concert seems to function as a trauma for a group: it possesses the potential to throw their abilities into
such sharp relief as to engender self-doubt. The performance needs to be
good enough not only to meet and match expectations (the ‘Mach Scru’
directive that Roessner examines, and achieving that ‘eventness’ that
O’Grady notes), but to withstand the forensic scrutiny that is technologically
enabled in the arena environment, and its afterlife in digital film releases
and fan-made videos. Perhaps the trauma is the matter of a direct exposure
to one’s own iconographic status, in which the actual person, rather than
icon, will always be found wanting: an encountering of one’s own myth.
Perhaps it is a matter of self-blame: the expectations that The Beatles
seem to have heard in the screaming around Shea Stadium could only
ever have been frustrated by their performance. And the enormity of
the making of such mass entertainment, as understood and shouldered by the
worthy group, is such that it requires a technological circumnavigation
of the very laws of physics: light travels faster than sound (as many who
attended arena concerts in the early 2000s would have experienced, in
the disorientation of seeing before hearing), requiring a PA system capable
of transmitting to all places at the same time. To deliver a bad show can be
career-ending, especially when fan-made footage cannot be ‘deleted’
from the internet.

The arena concert presents itself as a new pole of aspiration for mass
entertainment, and at the epicentre of technological developments and
new trends in digital and social media. And, while long established
groups such as The Rolling Stones and Fleetwood Mac have shifted
effortlessly into the arena context, which has itself allowed for the idea
of a never-ending world tour, some stand-up comedians seem to have
expressed nervousness at the phenomenon. Perhaps the space is simply
too big? Perhaps it is only the arena that is now the true index of success,
trailing all other venues (from pub backrooms to opera houses) in its
wake? In 2014 this seemed to have emerged as a constant preoccupation:
Simon Amstell noted that the very premise of his material precluded arena
concerts (‘I was at a silent retreat in Thailand, and . . .’); Stewart Lee
noted that his coming superstarom would be predicated on growing the
intelligence element of his audience, not naturally given over to laughing
out loud, as inevitably then resulting in arenas full of silent audience
members; and David O’Doherty fantasized about his imminent global
superstarom for which arenas would be insufficient, so that he will
need to deploy a loudspeaker from a hot air balloon to broadcast his
observational comedy over each city in turn.3 The problem seems to be
that, as Edgar observes, the arena effectively auto-validates the performer:
their presence on the arena stage indicates an a priori fame, so that the
arena and performer are mutually indexical. Previously, stepping out into
the stadium or arena had to be earned, and even then (as Roessner and
Duffett find in the case of The Beatles in 1965) is not without danger.
This new, postmodern ontology is one that seems to ignore, if necessary,
Hirst's skull, akin to 'an alchemical object: a death's-head sublimed (as alchemists traditionally put it) out of base organic matter and into the stuff of wealth and grandeur' is understood in terms of hubris by Brian Dillon (2012, 29), in respect to misplaced hopes of transcending mortality, and living on forever. As Kylie and her team know, only their works will endure beyond death. But these are works that are now, in the arena context (and with its concomitant new genre of media, as Edgar argues: the arena concert film), imbued with a superabundance of life: everyone in the arena, in that moment, attuned to the astonishing stroboscopic EDM/Trance outro of 'Slow' (which closes with Kylie dancer-less and alone on the stage). And with the life and being there of this moment flooding out simultaneously across social media platforms (via images, texts, videos, Tweets): X as the central transmitter to the world outside the arena walls. Such 'being there' becomes, as Hertz argues, a way that the individual organizes, and curates, the experience and the memories of the arena concert.

The ambition of the arena event, which strikes home in moments such as 'Slow' (as experienced live), actually recalls another, and earlier, Hirst piece, A Thousand Years (1990), in which maggots take the role of carats. Here, in a large glass case with crackling insect-o-cutter, a severed cow's head in a pool of blood is set upon by flies and maggots. Life cycles play out before our eyes in this grim aquarium: flies are born, hatch, gorge, fuck and are fried. Hirst's work embodies, rather than represents, life. The liveness of the arena concert is of a magnitude that seems propelled to push beyond the straight liveness of a finite stretch of performance (in Auslander's term; 2008). Rather, arena liveness seems to need to be the arc of life itself. Halligan notes the tendency for singers to address life-issues from the stage (especially illnesses), to make declarations that teeter on full-blown existential crises and to make the concert not just a rendering of the album du jour but of the entirety of their oeuvre.

In terms of narrative and drama, meeting a myriad expectations, justifying the cost of attendance, filling the cathedral-sized space above the singer and the football pitch-sized space in front of the singer, what else will do? Such questions seem to have been in the air during the 1970s, and with the upscaling of popular music events in the wake of Woodstock in 1969 and similar festivals. Glam Rock and Prog Rock both sought to bring theatricality into play in response, as apparent in our chapters from Holm-Hudson and Kärki. This move was often dismissed at the time as hubristic and excessive, identified with the consolidation of a rock star aristocracy or Public School amateur dramatics (as with Genesis), and then understood as the central matter against which punk (and its performed authenticity) reacted. If this history is extended in the sense of the reaction against, to take in emergent rap and hip-hop cultures in the United States, and the appropriation and remaking/squattting of urban spaces (the warehouse, the disused factory, the basement), or British reggae and dub cultures in the 1970s and the use of sound systems in public spaces, then the arena concert seems to be on the horizon in terms of these new formations of mass music consumption. This is that process of transformation described by Kronenberg as 'from shed to venue'. The arena concert does not offer a picaresque experience, of walking around the site of a musical happening, but an enveloping, communal experience across a vast space, as arranged around a central performance, and so includes such elements of post-punk cultures in its prehistory too. And arenas are occasionally given over to electronic dance events, with a DJ area or platform, and the full use of the sound and lighting capabilities of the venue. A further series of parallels suggest themselves: between the opera house and conservatoire. However, the current volume does not aim to assemble a history of the arena concert but, rather, to engage with it as a contemporary phenomenon.

Such communalism is the very essence of the arena concert, despite an experience that (as O'Grady argues) needs to actively work against, and frustrate, or at least limit or curtail, communal potential. X, unlike For The Love of God, requires collective possession. The arena event is for and of all, not just a small consortium of anonymous buyers (as with Hirst's skull) and not (or, at least, rarely or only occasionally) a few select individuals (as with the oligarch or bloodied-hands dictator with funds to hire the global superstar for a private function). This sense of collective possession seems to now be driving the development of technologies associated with the arena concert experience, as with Coldplay's 'Xylobands', as discussed here by Stewart, which cast everyone in the light show, or as with the filming of a Beastie Boys concert, as discussed here by Fox, in which everyone comes to be a film-maker. And this possession comes a sense of being part of that event: of being there, and so being part of the grand narrative of a certain band, and finding one's place in a gigography, and reaching back to touch the hand of those who had seen this band decades ago. The mythology is available for the new intake. Led Zeppelin's 2007 concert at the London O2 Arena (the Ahmet Ertegun Tribute Concert), as discussed by Smith, enticingly began with a choice vintage news report, played on the above-stage video screen, about a coming 1973 gig in Florida's Tampa Stadium. Thus those there in 2007 were invited to feel a spiritual kinship to those who had once been there, in 1973. And such collective possession overcomes ontological problems associated with the 'show' rather than 'performance' aspect of arena concerts: mediation via live-feed and crash-edited video screens, and faked singing (i.e. lip-syncing), which would otherwise diminish a sense of liveness, are often no hindrance to buying into the event. In some respects, then, the role of the singer can at times be regarded as aligning more to that of the DJ: a curation of work, rabble-rousing, sequenced music, shouted commands, 'fronting' rather than performing – in short, channelling and reflecting the audience.
Defining the Arena Concert

In terms of formulating a definition, our first consideration was to differentiate between the arena concert and the stadium concert. The arena concert is a venue that resembles a stadium in its architecture and seating arrangement. However, the experience of watching a show in an arena is quite different from that in a stadium. In an arena, the audience is closer to the performers, creating a more intimate atmosphere.

1. Enclosure

Our definition of the arena concert is primary to architecture: an enclosed space (i.e., under a roof) that can hold a few tens of thousands of people, and, in most cases, is used for concerts. The arena concert is characterized by its intimate setting, which allows for a more direct connection between the performers and the audience.

2. Enhancement

The stadium concert is one that is usually given over to a performance of live music to a mass audience. An arena concert seems to meet an assumed need to deliver music more than anything else. The arena concert moves towards a "show".

3. Space

The arena concert therefore works to overcome distance, and by so doing, also by enhancing intimacy. The space of the arena concert is both more enclosed and more intimate than that of a stadium.
2 For Summer 2014: 'Let's Rock Leeds', in addition to VIP 'unrestricted views' of the stage, offered a 'covered and heated marquee beautifully decorated with flowers and candles' and 'posh toilets' that were 'regularly serviced with attendants!' Green Man offered 'yoga, massage & spa'. The Big Feastival occurs on the organic farm of Blur's Alex James, with sponsorship from Renault cars. Camp Bestival featured a lactation area ('Breast milk mother and baby chill-out'), 'air streams' and 'gypsy caravans' and Festival No 6's adverts even included the line 'You are cordially invited...'. A more satisfactory line of development has been traced between countercultural festival cultures/psychedelia and rave cultures (see Halligan on the 'Second Summer of Love' 2013b, 47-51), and squatting and the establishment and use of "temporary autonomous zones" (although the resultant urban renewal around squatting and culture has dampened the appetite for legal/police action to reclaim such areas (see Aguilera 2013, 222-225)). For a full and definitive engagement with the radical history and contemporary cultures of music festivals, see McKay (2013).

3 The current vinyl revival, in part fetishistic, in part curating/inheriting the analogue formats that once represented, almost entirely, 'popular music', can be understood as an element of backlash against this immateriality.

4 The co-editors have resisted the temptation to pay the sizeable additional fees for a pre-show 'meet and greet' ticket for an arena concert, but feel it is unlikely that such a meeting would extend to levels of actual intimacy, as associated with extended conversations, shared personal concerns, swapping telephone numbers and so on.

5 These routines were featured in the following tours: To Be Free (Amstel), A Room with a Stew (Lee) and David O'Doherty Has Checked Everything (O'Doherty). On the other hand, comedian Peter Kay, in the Manchester Arena for The Tour That Doesn't Tour Tour (2010-2011), offered an ironic embrace of arena concert aesthetics: LED screens, glitter cannons, rising stages and the like.

6 For this co-author of the Introduction, this then was queuing in the Turbine Hall of the London Tate Modern for the Damien Hirst retrospective of 2012, being ushered into a small, darkened room with seemingly black velvet wallpaper (as if now trapped in the case in which a diamond ring is kept rather than entering an inner sanctum), the respectful silence that seemed to descend on those in the room and the jarring feeling of being in the abstract non-presence of money. It was, as Martin Amis had understood in relation to neoliberalism and artlessness, deregulation and self-determination, an encounter with money's promise and crassness, its power and cruelty, its self-governance: 'It's money's fault' (Amis 1984, 45). The £50 million bought an item of 8,601 diamonds, weighing in at a total of 1,106.18 carats.

7 This list of shame includes at least one artist discussed in the current volume, Beyoncé; see McBain (2013).

8 The news report can be seen in the concert film Celebration Day (Dick Carruthers, 2012). The opening song, after this report, was 'Good Times, Bad Times', which now seemed to nostalgically address the decades of the lifespan of the group (and its best of times, and the worst of times) for all present: 'In the days of my youth / I was told what it means to be a man / Now I've reached that age / I've tried to do all those things the best I can.'