

2017

A Long Strange Trip through the Evolution of Fan Production, Fan-Branding, and Historical Representation in the Grateful Dead Online Archive

Anna Richardson

Eastern Illinois University

This research is a product of the graduate program in [Communication Studies](#) at Eastern Illinois University.

[Find out more](#) about the program.

Recommended Citation

Richardson, Anna, "A Long Strange Trip through the Evolution of Fan Production, Fan-Branding, and Historical Representation in the Grateful Dead Online Archive" (2017). *Masters Theses*. 2694.

<https://thekeep.eiu.edu/theses/2694>

This is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Theses & Publications at The Keep. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses by an authorized administrator of The Keep. For more information, please contact tabruns@eiu.edu.

The Graduate School

EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

Thesis Maintenance and Reproduction Certificate



FOR: Graduate Candidates Completing Theses in Partial Fulfillment of the Degree
Graduate Faculty Advisors Directing the Theses

RE: Preservation, Reproduction, and Distribution of Thesis Research

Preserving, reproducing, and distributing thesis research is an important part of Booth Library's responsibility to provide access to scholarship. In order to further this goal, Booth Library makes all graduate theses completed as part of a degree program at Eastern Illinois University available for personal study, research, and other not-for-profit educational purposes. Under 17 U.S.C. § 108, the library may reproduce and distribute a copy without infringing on copyright; however, professional courtesy dictates that permission be requested from the author before doing so.

Your signatures affirm the following:

- The graduate candidate is the author of this thesis.
- The graduate candidate retains the copyright and intellectual property rights associated with the original research, creative activity, and intellectual or artistic content of the thesis.
- The graduate candidate certifies her/his compliance with federal copyright law (Title 17 of the U. S. Code) and her/his right to authorize reproduction and distribution of all copyrighted materials included in this thesis.
- The graduate candidate in consultation with the faculty advisor grants Booth Library the non-exclusive, perpetual right to make copies of the thesis freely and publicly available without restriction, by means of any current or successive technology, including by not limited to photocopying, microfilm, digitization, or internet.
- The graduate candidate acknowledges that by depositing her/his thesis with Booth Library, her/his work is available for viewing by the public and may be borrowed through the library's circulation and interlibrary loan departments, or accessed electronically.
- The graduate candidate waives the confidentiality provisions of the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) (20 U. S. C. § 1232g; 34 CFR Part 99) with respect to the contents of the thesis and with respect to information concerning authorship of the thesis, including name and status as a student at Eastern Illinois University.

I have conferred with my graduate faculty advisor. My signature below indicates that I have read and agree with the above statements, and hereby give my permission to allow Booth Library to reproduce and distribute my thesis. My adviser's signature indicates ~~concurrence~~ concurrence to reproduce and distribute the thesis.

Graduate Candidate Signature

Anna Richardson

Printed Name

Master of Arts: Communication Studies

Graduate Degree Program

Faculty Adviser Signature

Scott M. Walos

Printed Name

May 3, 2017

Date

Please submit in duplicate.

A Long Strange Trip through the Evolution of Fan Production, Fan-Branding,

and Historical Representation in the Grateful Dead Online Archive

(TITLE)

BY

Anna Richardson

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts in Communication Studies

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

2017

YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING
THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE

THESIS COMMITTEE CHAIR

DATE

DEPARTMENT/SCHOOL CHAIR
OR CHAIR'S DESIGNEE

DATE

THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER

DATE

THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER

DATE

THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER

DATE

THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER

DATE

5/3/17

5/3/17

5/3/17

5/3/17

RUNNING HEAD: A LONG STRANGE TRIP

**A Long Strange Trip through the Evolution of Fan Production, Fan-Branding, and
Historical Representation in the Grateful Dead Online Archive**

Anna Richardson

Eastern Illinois University

Department of Communication Studies

2017

Copyright 2017 by Anna Richardson

Abstract

This study explores how a digital music archive tells the story and contributes to the public memory of cult bands. Utilizing the Grateful Dead Archive Online (GDAO) as the primary data source, the researcher obtained a population of 26,835 items and categorized them by the production method of fan or band, item type, era, and logo. Content analysis illustrated themes within the archive in relation to the fannish production and activity within the fandom of the Grateful Dead. The span of this specific fandom spreads across five decades and sheds light onto the ways in which the fandom surrounding cult bands has evolved due to emergent technologies in the digital era. Specifically, the findings of this study demonstrate that the era totals within the archive do not correspond with the band's popularity due to a significant increase of items representing the 1980s with a total of 10,653 items and the 1990s with a total of 12,775 items. These high numbers result from the band's mainstream impact and a eulogizing function for Jerry Garcia in 1995. The impact co-branding had on this iconic brand through the diversity in fan-branding and logo utilization further blurs the lines between producers and consumers in the Grateful Dead fan community. Findings also demonstrated the implications of what history chooses to remember through the archiving process that can be attributed to what Williams (1961) refers to as "retro culture" in the digital era. This study further illustrates the gaps within the archival history of the Grateful Dead due to the selection process involved in digital archiving. Finally, this study demonstrates the ways in which fandom is constantly in flux between the public and private spheres and how the implementation of an official online archive further blurs these distinctions. The archiving contained within the Grateful Dead Archive Online preserves history for future generations and

provides a definitive account of the band and its surrounding fandom. The archive will be all that is left once the original band members and Deadheads are no longer with us. The legacy of this cultural phenomenon is formed and preserved by the archive and will be taken as the official history, despite any gaps that are left in the collection. This study contributes to the field of communication by dissecting the radical public relations and branding strategies that were employed by the Grateful Dead and how the fan community personalized this brand and made it their own. Additionally, this study maps the evolution of fandom in eras of emergent technological advances and it interrogates the ways in which history is preserved and communicated to future scholars and fans.

Keywords: the Grateful Dead, Fandom, Deadheads, Collecting, Branding, Co-Branding, Digital Archives

Acknowledgments

Dr. Scott Walus: Thank you for your encouraging words, your patience, and your expertise. It has been a great experience being able to work side by side with an advisor who appreciates music culture as much as I do. This project would not have been possible without your constant motivation and feedback.

Dr. Matthew Gill and Dr. Stephen King: Thank you for your interest in this project and your constructive feedback in each phase of the process to help me get this thesis to where it needed to be.

Mom and Dad: Thank you for your unwavering support and encouragement - even when I let stress get the best of me. Your kind words and positivity have helped me more than you know.

Connor: Thank you for being a friend when I needed one most and never allowing me to doubt myself. You have been my rock the past two years and I couldn't have done it without you. This experience would not have been nearly as special without you by my side each step of the way.

Kendall and Katlyn: Thank you for always believing in me and constantly reminding me that I could do it. Your constant love and support was vital throughout this process.

A special thanks to the community of Grateful Dead scholars and fans. Scholarship of this nature would not be possible without your fervent dedication and enthusiasm for the greatest cult band of all time. Keep on truckin'!

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
Acknowledgments.....	4
Table of Figures.....	6
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	7
Rationale and Justification.....	15
Chapter 2: Review of Literature.....	19
Fandom.....	19
Fannish Activity and Production.....	21
Music Fandom.....	23
Fluidity between Fandom in the Private and the Public Sphere.....	29
Collecting.....	33
Branding.....	35
Fan-Branding and Co-Branding.....	38
Archives.....	42
Chapter 3: Methodology	49
Intended Goals.....	49
Population.....	49
Coding.....	52
Data Analysis.....	56
Chapter 4: Data Analysis	65
Era Totals in Correspondence with Band Popularity.....	65
Nostalgia and Eulogies in the Death of Garcia.....	75
What History Chooses to Remember in an Archive.....	82
Gaps in the Archival History of the Grateful Dead.....	84
Diversity in Fan Branding and Logos.....	91
Public vs. Private Fandom.....	104
Chapter 5: Takeaways and Practical Applications.....	111
Digitized Archives.....	111
Co-Branding and Personalizing Brands.....	112
Private/Public Fandom.....	115
Definitive History.....	118
Areas for Future Research and Final Notes.....	119
References.....	122

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Cumulative Item Totals by Era 58

Figure 2: Item Totals 1960-1969 59

Figure 3: Item Totals 1970-1979 59

Figure 4: Item Totals 1980-1989 60

Figure 5: Item Totals 1990-1999 60

Figure 6: Item Totals 2000-2017 61

Figure 7: Fan Tape and Fan Envelope Totals 61

Figure 8: Fan Envelopes by Logo 1980s 62

Figure 9: Fan Envelopes by Logo 1990s 62

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Grateful Dead Online Archive provides a rich area of research in regard to examining the ways in which archives definitively construct an official history to be passed down to future generations. Archives also demonstrate how iconic brands such as the Grateful Dead resonate with fans who personalized the brand and took ownership of it. The fan activity surrounding the Dead spans five decades and the digitization of the corresponding material culture illustrates the ways in which fandom has evolved through emergent technology as well as the implications that arise through the construction of a digital archive.

With a population of 26,835 items, the archive conveys that the cumulative total items per era do not correspond with the band's high point or work that is the most highly regarded. These inconsistencies are correlated with the advent of the Internet, the mainstream success of "Touch of Grey," and a eulogizing function in relation to the death of Jerry Garcia. By mapping GDAO, conclusions were drawn in regard to what history chooses to remember through the selection process involved in archiving and the implications of significant gaps in an official, definitive archive. The freedom the band gave their fans in regard to the Grateful Dead brand has become a prominent part of the culture's narrative and impacts the co-branding of the Grateful Dead, which further allows fans to personalize this brand and implement it as a lifestyle. In turn, the creation of a digital archive simultaneously blurs the distinction between how fans communicate their fandom in the public and private spheres.

The Grateful Dead have gone down in history as one of the biggest cult bands of all time. The Dead's atypical approach to their music, business, and audience engagement

resulted in creating one of the most well-known fan communities to date. The band's devoted followers, Deadheads, sprung up in the 1970s. These loyal fans participated in an active subcultural community surrounding the band, viewing their live shows as sacraments, and attending as many as they possibly could. Due to the band's improvisational style, no two shows were ever the same, and this motivated fans to attend as many shows as possible. The improvisational style that the band experimented with and that became their hallmark is the origin of the flourishing jam-band scene we see today with bands such as Phish, moe., Umphrey's McGee, and Widespread Panic.

The Dead toured constantly and valued the Deadhead community because they realized that they were equally as important to the music experience as the musicians. As this new fandom drew more followers into the fold, fans began producing their own merchandise to go along side the official Grateful Dead merchandise that was on the market at the time. These fan-produced artifacts were circulated within the scene through different channels, constantly evolving with the emergence of new technologies and mediums.

These artifacts help to tell the Grateful Dead's story from the perspective of the band's devoted and enduring fan community through the ways they have personalized the Grateful Dead brand. Bodnar (1992) defines public memory as "a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future" (p. 15). King (2011) builds on this definition by explaining, "In contrast to individual memories, which are often idiosyncratic in nature, public memory is, by definition, a shared experience" (p. 71). These artifacts further contribute to the

cultural and public memory that will be remembered for generations to come in relation to the Grateful Dead brand and corresponding fandom.

The Grateful Dead got their start in Palo Alto, California in the early 1960s. Previously known as Mother McCree's Uptown Jug Champions and The Warlocks in the San Francisco scene, the Grateful Dead officially formed as a band in 1965 (McNally, 2002). Band members moved to San Francisco and lived communally at 710 Haight-Ashbury Street, the focal point of one of the biggest countercultural movements in American history (Barnes, 2011). The band performed for free at Ken Kesey's Acid Tests in 1965 and 1966, which is where they started to gain a following. Kesey and his tribe of Merry Pranksters took on this psychedelic project throughout the mid-1960s and the Grateful Dead were a key part of it.

The psychedelic aesthetic of the Acid Tests was a key factor and followed the Grateful Dead their entire career as a defining characteristic. The Acid Tests were not solely about the music; they were about the community and the experience. The Tests gave the Dead the freedom to fail safely and the opportunity to help foster part of the hippie community. Richardson (2014) notes, "The [audience was] energized by their own forms of self-display, which became an integral part of the entertainment. The Dead encouraged that ethic, which blurred the line between performers and spectators, and it quickly became a hallmark" (p. 61). Through the Acid Tests, the band's improvisational style was formed and they were able to find their sound and followers (Richardson, 2014). This early focus on the aspect of creating a community was an essential factor in generating one of the most profound fandoms of all time.

The Grateful Dead created a genre of their own and pioneered what is now known as the “jam band” scene. Through this innovation, the band gained a huge following of Deadheads and produced a subculture of their own that was unique to their music and show experience. As Smith and Inglis (2013) explain, “Fans of the Grateful Dead, the Deadheads, are as well known as the band itself. No other band can claim that distinction ... Deadheads are the most ardent fans of any music group the twentieth century has ever seen” (p. 306). The Dead recognized that the audience was just as important as the band itself was. Scott and Halligan (2010) explain that the band was able to establish a common ground with their fans on the basis of eccentricity: “Through their own eccentricity, the Grateful Dead encouraged eccentricity in their fans, giving people a creative outlet to express themselves” (p. 61). The Dead made fans an equal partner in a mutual journey.

The band put their audience at the forefront of the decisions they made by opening up the communication lines and lessening the distance between themselves and their fans. They wanted to hear feedback from their audience in regard to venues, set lists, and other issues related to the concert experience. The Dead also never raised their ticket prices; they kept tickets at a ceiling of \$30 (Hill & Rifkin, 1999). Even today, fans can purchase a lawn ticket to see Dead and Company, comprised of Grateful Dead members Bob Weir, Mickey Hart, and Bill Kreutzmann, for just \$35. The Grateful Dead mailed a newsletter to Deadheads to keep them updated on “happenings going on” with the band and saved the best tickets for “dedicated” fans through the Grateful Dead Ticket Service that was established in the 1980s. These actions brought thousands of people together in a pre-Internet social network.

The Grateful Dead was also always on the cutting edge with technology in order to put on the best show that they could for their audience. For example, in 1974 they debuted the Wall of Sound, a 4,000 pound sound system with more than 600 speakers. The indoor version measured 40 feet high and almost 80 feet wide; the outdoor version was even bigger (Kreutzmann, 2015). In 2009 they released an iPhone application called *The Dead Tour 2009-ALL ACCESS* that included streaming audio from the shows of the tour, streaming video, live tweets of each song in the set list, blogs, photos, and photomosaic images (Scott & Halligan, 2010). The band was constantly pushing the boundaries of music and the ways by which they reached their fans within the Deadhead community in order to give their audiences the best performance and experience possible.

Dead shows provided a niche space for fans to gather, let loose, and participate in a community that seemed to be an alternate reality to the “real world.” Barry Barnes (2001), author of *Everything I Know about Business I Learned from the Grateful Dead* notes:

The Dead exerted almost no control over their tribe of fans, instead simply creating an open atmosphere: they worked with venues to allow space for Shakedown Street, an area where fans could sell, buy, and meet up before shows; they allowed fans to communicate with one another through ads in their newsletter; and they tolerated taping, which encouraged peer-to-peer relationships between fans (p. 93).

Members of the Grateful Dead did everything that they could to foster the community surrounding their music. Phil Lesh, Grateful Dead bass player, noted in a 1998 interview for the *New York Times* that “the relationship between the band and the Deadheads needs to be nurtured because they are us and we are them” (Hill & Rifkin, 1999, p. 39). The Dead recognized that the audience was important and allowed fans the freedom to trade

their music and make their own merchandise, which aided in circulating the spirit and the brand of the Dead even further.

The brand affinity for the Grateful Dead is unique because of Deadheads' rich history of making their own merchandise and personalizing the Grateful Dead brand. Through this kind of amateur branding, the identification fans felt to the band significantly increased and became instrumental in their individual identities. The parking lot of a Grateful Dead show became known as "Shakedown Street" and band members encouraged fans to be their own entrepreneurs. Shakedown Street became a space where fans traded tapes, sold food, glass, and participated in the communal spirit of the Dead. Sellers were making their own merchandise with the Grateful Dead logos and "rather than clamping down, the band brought the entrepreneur sellers into the fold, making them partners by simply requiring a licensing fee to use the logo[s]" (Scott & Halligan, 2010, p. 137). The freedom that the Dead gave their fans with their brand strengthened the brand affinity fans felt towards the band, increased the brand's reach, and allowed fans to take ownership of it.

Unlike many other bands, the Dead also encouraged fans to tape their performances. Grateful Dead guitarist, Jerry Garcia, once said, "Once we're done with it, the audience can have it." Eventually, they established a sanctioned "taper section" at their shows so those that were recording their performances would not interfere with the rest of the audience's experience. They allowed fans to record and trade their tapes as long as these tapes were not used for commercial purposes (Barnes, 2011). Upon the advent of the Internet, a vast virtual community of tapers emerged. The Internet allowed

Deadheads to reach out electronically through hundreds of homespun Websites to share show experiences over and over again (Hill & Rifkin, 1999).

Amateur participation and branding was drawn into the extended brand narrative of the Grateful Dead from the very beginning. These radical business strategies allowed them to foster a close relationship with their fans and circulate a resonant product.

Drummer Bill Kreutzmann said, “When it’s really happening, the audience is as much the band as the band is the audience. There is no difference. The audience should be paid - they contribute as much” (Barnes, 2011, p. 96). These activities aided in creating a substantial amount of material culture surrounding the band and the corresponding scene that helps to convey the community’s cultural significance while simultaneously telling a story for future fans that never got the opportunity to be there.

With the band’s mainstream recognition in 1987 with the popularity of “Touch of Grey” on the radio and on MTV, many more people were becoming interested in the Deadhead scene. A cult favorite had crossed over to mainstream success and the scene surrounding the band began to become a problem. A plethora of complaints began to surface from local officials about drug dealing, drunkenness, public urination, and illegal camping in parks and on residential streets (Barnes, 2011). The reputations of Deadheads and the band were in crisis so lyricist Robert Hunter reached out to fans for some help and Deadheads responded graciously. Barry Barnes (2011) cites some of their efforts:

In 1986 a group of Deadheads had started a Grateful Dead discussion board on an early online community known as ‘The Well,’ and it really took off - Deadheads tended to be well educated and affluent, the same demographic that tended to be early adopters of technology. After the problems at Dead shows, the organizers used the online community to recruit those willing to help out at shows, trying to keep the peace and preserve the Deadheads’ reputation in the communities where they played. In Oakland they started a group called Minglewood Town Council

(from the song 'Minglewood Blues'), who fanned out before and after shows, passing out leaflets and trash bags and asking Deadheads to be respectful of neighbors. (p. 100)

Fans were able to communicate via this new and emerging channel of the time in order to reach fellow fans to save the reputation of the Grateful Dead and their surrounding community. Deadheads took advantage of new technology just as the band did and never stopped evolving through the media they produced and the ways in which fans communicated with each other. The lineage of the band's fan activity spreads across five different eras and the corresponding material and digital cultures allow us to see how these technologies have impacted the ways in which fandom functions and evolves.

From the early days of the Acid Tests to the current bands of Dead members today, the spirit of the Dead is alive and well. From the very beginning, the Grateful Dead made their fans their number one priority and did everything they could to foster that relationship and give the audience both quality music and quality products. The fans, in turn, invested completely in the success and longevity of the band. The creation of the Grateful Dead Archive signifies the cultural importance and value of the Deadhead phenomenon and allows us to take a deeper look into how this history is preserved and how archives tell a story in contribution to public memory.

The Grateful Dead Archive opened in 2012 on the campus of the University of California at Santa Cruz. The physical archive is comprised of photographs, posters, memorabilia, tickets, backstage passes, business records, press clips, awards, stage backdrops, stained-glass pieces, fan art, and props from live performances, among other various items. UC-Santa Cruz Chancellor George Blumenthal remarks, "The Grateful Dead Archive represents one of the most significant popular cultural collections of the 20th century...The Grateful Dead and UC Santa Cruz are both highly innovative

institutions - born the same year - that continue to make a major, positive impact on the world” (Rappaport, 2008, para. 4). Due to the monumental size and scope of this physical archive, fundraising campaigns were implemented in order to facilitate donations to support the project.

The Grateful Dead’s donation to UC-Santa Cruz to build this archive was stipulated on creating a digital portion of the archive to broaden access. Robin Chandler, Associate University Librarian for Collections and Library Information Services and former project manager for GDAO explained that this stipulation “comes from the culture of [the Grateful Dead’s] tape sharing. They wanted to share back with their fans” (Maron, 2012, p. 2). Chandler further explains that the project offered the opportunity “to develop and maintain a traditional ‘digital library collection’ in a supportable system, reuse, mix, and blend digital collection with user-contributed digital materials...and to create a new model of sustainable, virtual collection building” (Maron, 2012, p. 2). The Grateful Dead Online Archive is the first of its kind to digitize a material collection that conveys the cultural and public memory of a cult band and its surrounding fan community.

Rationale and Justification

The purpose of this study is to examine the ways in which a digital archive functions to preserve an account of the public memory in regard to fandom and cult bands. Each era that the band was in existence brought along with it an evolving media landscape through new technology and communication channels which ultimately impacted how fandom was communicated and expressed. From the early days of the Acid Tests, to the products produced and consumed within Shakedown Street, to the astronomical success of Grateful Dead Merchandising, there is an abundance of material

culture surrounding the Grateful Dead. The ways in which these artifacts and other Grateful Dead-related products were circulated among fans also changed with each new era and the technologies that came along with them. Digitizing this material culture further complicates the process of selection in relation to what is deemed worthy enough to be added to the canon.

The fandom around the Grateful Dead is representative of many other cult bands such as The Doors, Bruce Springsteen, the Beatles, Jimmy Buffett, Led Zeppelin, Phish, the Dave Matthews Band, and others. Although there have been occasional accounts of other popular music fan communities (ex: Cavicchi, 1998; Doss, 1999; Johnson, 2006; Bennett, 2012; Duffett, 2003, Mihelich & Papineau 2005; Watson, 1997), none have attracted the levels of attention directed at Deadheads (Smith & Inglis, 2013). The difference between the bands previously noted and the Grateful Dead is not only longevity and the creation of a physical and digital archive, but also the Dead's focus on the audience on multiple levels. Ken Kesey once elaborated on the difference between the Grateful Dead and other bands, he said: "The Doors were playing at you. John Fogerty was singing at you. Garcia, on the other hand, was not playing at the audience, he was playing with them" (Barnes, 2011, p. 97). These bands function in similar ways and my research will be applicable to looking at how these communication phenomena are constructed for history. The construction of an archive in relation to these forms of fandom creates an official history for fans of younger generations to examine in order to learn about this phenomenon; it further provides a revised and edited version to supplement original fans' memories.

The Grateful Dead's fan base, musical style, and innovative business practices have an important place in music history and pop culture. Stanley Spector, member of the Grateful Dead Caucus, observes:

Although the Grateful Dead phenomenon has only recently been formalized as an object of study, scholars from many different disciplines have been studying the Grateful Dead for at least the last fifteen years as the Grateful Dead Caucus, a subgroup of the Southwest/Texas American Popular Culture Association. When the Caucus began in 1998, scholars representing disciplines as disparate as music, art, literature, religious studies, sociology, history, communication studies, philosophy, business management and psychology applied the methods of their particular disciplines to the aspect of the Grateful Dead phenomenon that lent itself to those methods. (p. 1)

Since the band donated their archival collection to UC-Santa Cruz, Dead studies have been an emerging interdisciplinary field. *Dead Studies* is an academic publication from the Grateful Dead Archive, building on more than four decades of scholarly work on the Grateful Dead and more than a decade of published work by scholars.

There is a plethora of research that scholars have published about the Grateful Dead and Deadheads. Barry Barnes (2011) as well as David Meerman Scott and Brian Halligan (2010) have published books on the radical marketing lessons and business tactics employed by the band. Nadya Zimmerman (2006) analyzed the band's anti-commercial countercultural image through song lyrics and style. Rebecca Adams (1998) studied the Deadhead community from a sociological perspective by engaging them in dialogue. Adams also taught a field research methods and applied social theory class at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro where she took her students to eight Grateful Dead shows all over the Northeastern quarter of the United States. Students did four observation hours at each of the concerts and four open-ended interviews during the tour. In 1997, Nancy Reist conducted an analysis of the mythic appeal of the band. In

2013, Peter Smith and Ian Inglis did an investigation of the Deadhead community in Europe to explore how European Deadheads define their status. Melissa McCray Pattacini (2000) performed an audience study of Deadhead's current disposition by examining their historical attachment to the Grateful Dead and Anthony Pearson (1987) offered a detailed ethnography of the subculture and demonstrated the ways in which Deadheads construct and maintain their personal realities. Nicholas Meriwether, the founding editor of *Dead Studies* and official archivist for the Grateful Dead archive at UC-Santa Cruz, has published a number of books concerning the Grateful Dead phenomenon and has published two compilations of essays (2012/2013) pertaining to scholarly work done on the Dead. This is a very brief overview of the rich field of scholarship that has been published on the Grateful Dead in academia. Although this is a thriving field of research, little attention has been paid to the digital archive that constructs this phenomenon for future generations.

My research fills this gap by looking at the digitized material culture of the scene and how this fandom evolved between eras. There has been a lot of work done on the subculture itself, but no scholar thus far has looked at how the changing media ecosystem impacted fan culture of the Grateful Dead and the implications of digitizing a "definitive" archive to freeze these cultural events in time. Deadheads have always actively participated in the Grateful Dead community by creating their own works and trading tapes but no significance has been placed on how these activities contribute to the personalization of the Grateful Dead brand and the impact this process has on co-branding the Grateful Dead narrative.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

The following literature demonstrates how the concepts of fandom, branding, and the digital archive work together in creating a cohesive portrayal of history that will be remembered for future generations. The varying fannish activities and production surrounding fandom differs in regard to popular music and the participatory nature of these acts enable fans to personalize a brand through an active co-branding process. The art of collecting cultural artifacts further allows these fans to construct an individual and collective identity while simultaneously bolstering a collective intelligence that can manifest itself through the creation of a socially-constructed digital archive. By specifically mapping the Grateful Dead Online Archive, we can see how the fannish activities in the surrounding fan community allowed Deadheads to personalize the Grateful Dead brand and how this process has aided in constructing a definitive history of both the band and its corresponding subcultural scene.

Fandom

Research on Deadheads ties into a greater area of scholarship known as fandom, which includes the practices and productions of fan communities. A fandom is the community surrounding a specific object of interest and is a common feature of popular culture in industrial society. It is the collective term that encapsulates fans and their behavior (Shuker, 2005). Fiske (1992) defines fandom as a selection “from the repertoire of mass-produced and mass-distributed entertainment [of] certain performers, narratives or genres and takes them into the culture of a self-selected fraction of the people” (p. 30). Individuals who participate in a fandom are connected through the specific object of desire, which could be a television series, book, movie, musical genre, or band, and they

express their devotion through various fannish practices. The Grateful Dead have been the focus of one of the largest fandoms in music history over the past five decades.

In his 2006 book on fandom and participatory culture, Henry Jenkins argues that the entry into fandom is greater than merely liking a particular film, television show, or band. It involves translating that liking into “some kind of cultural activity, by sharing feelings and thoughts about [it] with friends, by joining a ‘community’ of other fans who share common interests” (p. 41). While a fan is a singular entity, the concept of fandom cannot occur on an individual level - there must be masses of people devoted to the particular subject in order for the term to be applied: it is “a collective interpretation of popular culture that create[s] a powerful sense of group cohesion” (Sullivan, 2013, p. 194). The fan community surrounding the Grateful Dead was large enough to obtain its own name for reference to the corresponding subculture. While the community surrounding the band formed on its own, the band itself took certain steps to facilitate that growth.

The term for fans of the Grateful Dead, Deadheads, is said to originate from the band’s 1971 album *Skull and Roses*. A notice was placed on the inside of the album that read:

DEAD FREAKS UNITE:
Who are you? Where are you? How are you?
Send us your name and address and we’ll keep you informed.
Deadheads, P.O. Box 1065, San Rafael, California 94901 (Scott & Halligan, 2010).

Providing a term or label that corresponds to the fandom an individual is part of is a factor in the construction of a personal and collective identity. Groene and Hettinger (2016) explain that fan appropriate appearances and behaviors alter aspects of a fan’s

self-expression. Examples of this include choices of clothing, hairstyles, and accessories that aid in constructing “a social identity representative of their subscription to a particular media fandom” (p. 326). Being a Deadhead notoriously meant being clad in tie-dye, having long hair, and going to as many Grateful Dead shows as possible while being bonded to the collective fan community through their love for the music. Many attributes afforded to hippie culture aligned with the Deadhead scene. Aside from these attributes, a significant part of fandom includes fannish activity and production.

Fannish Activity and Production

Many fans take fandom a step further by becoming producers through the process of creating their own artifacts, media, and texts in relation to the focus of their fanaticism. A substantial amount of scholarship has been done on the fan communities and fannish activity surrounding television series or movies like *Star Trek*, *Star Wars*, *the X-Files*, *Dr. Who*, among others. Fans of this kind of media often write fanfiction, attend conventions, participate in cosplay, produce related videos and texts, make artifacts corresponding to their fandom of choice, and participate in online discussions and blogs with fellow fans.

The advent of the Internet impacted the ways in which fans could express their devotion and love to their fandom by allowing them to connect with fellow fans from all over the world through the digital environment. Sullivan (2013) expands on this shift in fandom: “The category of ‘fan’ has dramatically expanded as a result of the even smaller niche media products and platforms available today (such as cell phone games and media, cable and satellite television channels, YouTube channels, and other forms of micro-media)” (p. 194). Emergent technology has enabled fandom to grow significantly larger

and more diverse with the plethora of channels and mediums available to individuals in the modern day.

Due to this growth and diversity, the levels of engagement within fandom have also been expanded. Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) created a continuum of audience experiences in order to further categorize these levels of involvement: “Levels of engagement with popular media range from ‘consumer’ on one end to ‘petty producer’ (people who turn their fan activity into a profession and market their production back to fans) on the other, with ‘enthusiast’ and ‘fan’ as levels of fan involvement in the middle of the continuum” (Sullivan, 2013, p. 194). Emergent channels and platforms have allowed fans to create media content and then further expand the reach of that content through the media ecosystem, which was not possible in the pre-Internet days. This study traced the fandom of the Grateful Dead over five decades through the band’s official digital archive. Through mapping the archive, conclusions could be drawn about how these emergent technologies impacted the Deadhead community and the evolution of the fannish activities surrounding it.

Pearson (2010) builds on this process by further explaining that emergent digital technologies have also altered the various ways that fandom functions as a whole: “The digital revolution has had a profound impact upon fandom, empowering and disempowering, blurring the lines between producers and consumers, creating symbiotic relationships between powerful corporations and individual fans, and giving rise to new forms of cultural production” (p. 85). The Grateful Dead always held their fans in high regard and made them an equal partner in a mutual journey. By doing this, fans had the freedom to take the Grateful Dead brand and run with it, which simultaneously helped the

brand branch out even further and reach more people than its immediate audience. This kind of fan branding results in what Muniz and Schau (2007) call vigilante marketing. Deadheads were renowned for their loyalty to the Grateful Dead - this kind of unpaid advertising done by brand loyalists further blurs the lines between producers and consumers. A significant segment of fan culture, fandom, and fannish activity and production surround popular music and exhibit unique traits and characteristics unlike other fan communities.

Music Fandom

Music fandom differs from other types of fandom by the ways it is communicated, acted out, and experienced. It is the music that brings these individuals together, rather than a text, a film, or a game. Music is one of a large number of cultural practices which can bind together a fandom or a subcultural group. Frith (1985) argues, "Popular culture has always meant putting together 'a people' rather than simply reflecting or expressing them, and the popularity of popular singers depends on their emotional force [and] their ability to build a mass following out of intensely personal desires" (p. 424). Popular music fans have varying degrees of dedication and vigor to particular musicians, bands, and musical genres by following their music, personal lives, and careers. Shuker (2005) explains that some of the characteristics of music fandom include concert-going, record collecting, putting together scrapbooks, filling bedroom walls with posters, and discussing the band or musician with other fans.

Davisson and Booth's (2007) study of reconceptualizing communication and agency in fan activity describes a fan or a "fanatic" as those individuals who have developed a deep relationship with an artifact of popular culture and express fanatical

devotion to that relationship. In relation to pop music fandom, the authors note the example of the Band aids, rock groupies portrayed in the Cameron Crowe film *Almost Famous* (2000). In the film, one of the Band aids named Sapphire laments that many people “don’t even know what it is to be a fan ... To truly love some silly little piece of music, or some band, so much that it hurts” (Bryce & Crowe). Simon Frith’s *Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music* unpacks this process of love and devotion in terms of popular music fans.

Frith (1985) suggests that in relation to pop music fandom, we should not necessarily be asking what it is that popular music reveals about the ‘people,’ but rather how the music *constructs* the people. He points towards four directions to explore in order to further understand this process of how being a fan constructs the masses. The first reason suggests that music allows us to answer questions of identity through crafting a self-definition. We do this through the music itself, through the performers of that music, and through individuals who have a similar connection to it. Its second social function implies that music allows us to manage the relationships and tensions between our emotional lives in the public realm as well as the private realm. Frith’s third function of popular music suggests that it shapes popular memory and organizes our sense of time. It not only intensifies our ability to ‘be in the moment,’ but it simultaneously allows us to remember the past. The final function points toward the human need to possess. While the commodity form of music is representative of the tangible ability to possess the music itself, we take this a step further by feeling that it is not just the record that we own, it is more than that. It becomes a part of our own identity and self-definition by our feelings of ownership; we possess the songs themselves, the performances, and the performers.

While these functions can be applied to popular music as a whole, music fandom and activity often vary by era and genre due to the differentiation of musical qualities and age groups.

We can begin to see the differentiation of fans when comparing divergent genres such as psychedelia, heavy metal, and disco. Each genre has its own specific sound and in many cases might be in opposition to one another while simultaneously overlapping in another. Further, Frith (1985) suggests that different genres utilize different narrative forms. Rock, country, and reggae all tell somewhat different stories and “set up star personalities, situate the listener, and put in play patterns of identity and opposition” in different ways which results in a particular articulation of emotion (p. 146). Popular music and varying genres also serve a nationalist function that is often based on geographical location or history, which can further resonate with individual fans and fan communities.

Straw (1983) clearly unpacks the significance of geographical situation in impacting the fan base of varying genres in *Characterizing Rock Music Culture*:

Habitation patterns are crucial for the relationship between music, the institutions disseminating it, and life-styles in a more general sense. The hostility of heavy metal audiences to disco in the late 1970s is indicative in this respect; the demographics of disco showed it to be dominated by blacks, Hispanics, gays, and young professionals, who shared little beyond living in inner urban areas. The high degree of interaction between punk/new-wave currents and artistic subcultures in America may also be traced in large part to the basis of both inner urban areas...those living elsewhere would have little or no opportunity to experience or become involved in either of these subcultures. (p. 101)

Music fandom was originally primarily rooted in physical location because those who were present were the first to experience it and had the easiest access. The Grateful Dead for example, rose out of the San Francisco psychedelic scene, which is where they began to obtain a following and where their fandom originated. It was not until the band started

touring that they began to attract a following that reached beyond California. This following was further disseminated through mediated channels upon the advent of the Internet. Straw also points to the variation of dedication and loyalty in the surrounding fan communities of diverse genres.

While this study's focus is the archive and fandom of a psychedelic/folk rock/bluegrass band, many heavy metal fan practices differed to the extreme, which conveys the variety of ways in which a fan community functions among different genres. Heavy metal music lacked a substantial fan community and those who were serious fans were not interested in "hunting down rare tracks, reading music-oriented magazines, [or] the recognition of record labels or producers. To the extent that a heavy metal 'archive' exists, it consists of albums from the 1970s on major labels, kept in print constantly and easily available in chain record stores" (Straw, 1983, p. 104). Due to this, the hierarchy of fans within the genre of heavy metal is relatively straight-forward and objective compared to the diverse fandom surrounding the Grateful Dead. Therefore, although popular music fandom has similarities across style and subcategory, there are distinct variations per genre and even era.

Music fans and fandom can differentiate significantly by generational unit and decade. Hogerty's (2017) study on popular music and retro culture in the digital era found that older fans viewed music as a communal activity to be experienced with their peers. As a result, listening to music for these older generations manifested a sort of tribal quality. Hogerty's research showed that younger fans viewed popular music as more of an individual activity, which was not a central factor in forming bonds or friendships with their peers whereas it was an integral facet in past eras. Much of this can be attributed to

evolving media platforms and the ways in which many of today's young fans obtain and enjoy their music.

Each era brings along with it new technologies and ways of enjoying a favorite band or artist, which implicitly impacts the ways in which fans express their devotion to that object of desire. While the fan communities surrounding popular music groups today like One Direction, Lady GaGa, and Justin Bieber are accustomed to downloading individual songs or albums via an online streaming source, past generations experienced their music on other formats. From CDs, to cassettes, to 8-tracks, to vinyl records, to reel-to-reel tapes; each generation had a primary format that their music fandom was experienced through, which ultimately changes how fandom is experienced and the ways in which it functions by era. The revitalization of "outdated" formats like vinyl records and cassette tapes serve a nostalgic function by means of hauntology to younger generations. Hogarty (2017) refers to this concept as "the contemporary obsession with popular culture of the recent past" (p. 85). He further explains that while popular music used to be a point of tension between older and younger generations, it is now oftentimes the source of "intergenerational harmony." Keeping in mind the variations of fandom between genre, era, and demographic traits, we can more closely examine the Deadhead community as an exemplar of pop music fandom.

Pertaining to this study, the Grateful Dead fan community had distinct characteristics that correlated to the genre, era, and the fannish production and activities surrounding the scene. For thirty years, Grateful Dead shows provided a gathering place for the band's cultish fan community. Hills (2002) explains "cult fandom" as a form of cultural identity that is intertwined with the duration of the fandom concerned. The term

“cult” often brings about religious imagery, which is suitable here in regard to the common belief of Deadheads that shows were similar to religious sacraments and Jerry Garcia’s mythic-like persona. In *Back to the Miracle Factory* (2002), Williams suggests:

There is a mystery that surrounds the accomplishments of supremely popular - which is to say, beloved musicians. For enduring and far-reaching popularity in the rock pantheon, I find it easy and appropriate to speak in the same breath of the Beatles, the Grateful Dead, and Elvis Presley. The mystery is and continues to be the way people in large numbers respond to this music, and the symbology or mythic weight the providers (creators) of the music assume. (p. 262)

The fan community surrounding the Grateful Dead has fervently shown enthusiasm for the band and its music since the mid-1960s. Deadheads have become one of the most well-documented fandoms of all time. Arguably, the band’s fan community of Deadheads is just as well known as the band itself is.

Deadheads come from all walks of life and as Pattacini (2000) observes, they “exemplified the hippie-culture ideologies of peace, generosity, and sharing” (p. 1). It was generally assumed that those attending Dead shows consistently shared similar values and beliefs. Those whose opinions may have been considered deviant in the mainstream expected that they would be accepted within the Deadhead community (Reist, 1997). Duffett (2013) suggests that “one of the magical qualities of popular music fandom is that it gives individuals an opportunity to define their identities themselves, around the pleasures that speak to them, and then to find communities based on the sharing of such personal convictions” (p. 303). The subjective experience of the band’s music and the spirit surrounding their live shows expressed and reinforced the focal concerns that constituted the values and lifestyles of Deadheads.

Deadheads had intimate knowledge of the band and its music and many long-time Deadheads are known to be able to hear a live recording and name the year as well as the

venue that it was played at. As technology continuously evolved through the 1960s to 1990s, these fans communicated through fanzines and mediated outlets to share their experiences at the band's shows, plan for upcoming shows, share set lists, trade tapes and merchandise, and connect with fellow fans outside of the show environment. While these fannish practices unify a group, they are simultaneously divisive between both the private and the public sphere and can often times differ between male and female participants.

Fluidity between Fandom in the Private and the Public Sphere

The varying ways that fandom is expressed can differ between genders as a result of the differing socialization patterns of what it means to be male or female. This socialization aids in forming expected gender roles, which further illustrates what it means to be masculine or feminine in society. Trier-Bieniek (2013) observes that this is no different in popular music: "A result of this is a trickle effect into day-to-day life and the music that we listen to, causing us to be constantly reminded of how men and women are expected to behave" (p. 18). Hill (2014) observes that female fans have often been left out of the literature of rock and roll music fandom. Aspects of this include "women's private engagements with the music, the representation of women fans as groupies, and fannish activities such as reading magazines and participating in online fora" (p. 174). Fanfiction, for example, is an area of fandom that has been known to be primarily female-driven. In rock and roll music, female fans in the public sphere are often painted as overly emotional maniacs as was the case with Beatlemania. Ehrenreich, Hess, and Jacobs (1992) explain the female-driven Beatles craze through behaviors such as sobbing and screaming uncontrollably, girls peeing their pants, fainting, or simply collapsing from the concurrent emotional strain from being in the same vicinity as the Fab Four. These

shallow representations make it difficult to accurately depict the importance and significance of fandom in the lives of female fans.

Although many women took part in the Grateful Dead community, it was/is primarily a male-dominated scene. McRobbie and Garber (1991) suggest that although women may not be completely absent from certain subcultural scenes, a majority of the research and literature surrounding the area of study focus on “male membership, male focal concerns, and masculine values.” Cohen (1997) argues that there are numerous factors for women’s lack of participation in rock music scenes: “Men have greater access to money and time to devote in participating in a scene, women face obstacles to participation in scenes due to lack of disposable incomes, sexism and sexual harassment from male scene members, childcare commitments and the perceived safety implications of late nights in empty towns centres” (p. 20). Due to these constraints and societal expectations, men and women often conceptualize their fanaticism in different ways between public and private spheres.

For women, scholars have claimed that participation in fandom can build friendship and community, that it is a pleasurable process, and that it has the ability to relieve pressures (Herrman, 2008). The ways in which fans participate in and communicate their fandom not only differs between genders, but also flows back and forth between the public and the private sphere. Males are often more free to express their fandom in the public sphere while female fandom is often within the home and more private (McRobbie & Garber, 1991). Bedrooms are often the primary place that young women actively participate in fandom. ‘Bedroom culture’ often involves displayed

posters of the objects of desire, record collecting, as well as listening to the corresponding music in intimate spaces.

Duffett (2013) suggests that fandom “facilitates conceptions that combine the private and public in ways that ultimately serve the individual” (p. 140). More specifically, Frith (1985) argues that love songs are an aspect of popular music that allow us to wrestle with our most inner emotions that we cannot publicly express: “People need [love songs] to give shape and voice to emotions that otherwise cannot be expressed without embarrassment or incoherence. Love songs are a way of giving emotional intensity to the sorts of intimate things we say to each other (and ourselves) in words that are, in themselves, quite flat” (p. 141). In this way, popular music provides fans with a channel that connects their most private selves with their public selves by providing the music and lyrics that help them more intimately know and define themselves. This kind of self-actualization in relation to our private and public personas fuse together in order to form a more cohesive identity to ourselves and others through our favorite music. While this fusion is a more intangible element of fandom, there are a plethora of fannish activities that have similar, more tangible functions that cross back and forth between the public and private realm.

As previously mentioned, fanfiction is a primarily female-driven activity where fans create original stories that feature their favorite characters or the context that their object of desire takes place in. Writers often write themselves into these stories or crossover between various texts that their fandom or fandoms are situated in (Sullivan, 2013). In these scenarios, writers express their own personal desires and then often circulate them within the fandom itself or the fanfiction realm with other writers and fans.

This process results in a private form of fandom crossing over into the public sphere. Another prominent example of this process is the creation of fanzines. Fanzines are a type of small-scale magazine that directly relates to the fandom of interest, which are produced by fans and then circulated within the fan community. David Sanjek (1990) for example, discusses the functions of horror film fanzines whereby these texts are public expressions of private pleasures. The Grateful Dead Online Archive has over 160 fanzines from the 1970s to the 1990s that exemplify this process of publicly expressing private devotion and love for the band.

In terms of popular music, a prominent example that blurs the line between private and public fanatical expression are live music recordings. Duffett (2013) explains that many music fans will watch recordings of live music events wherein a public performance becomes a private event. On the other end of that spectrum, live shows are experienced within the public arena but fans can simultaneously experience a more private connection to the musicians on stage. Tape trading is an aspect within the history of the Grateful Dead that is arguably one of the most remembered due to the band being the first to allow fans to record their performances. Recording these tapes and then trading them is a prominent example of fandom which also functions in both private and public.

While fans taped these performances at live shows in the public sphere, the process of converting the digital audio to a tangible format and creating inserts that included the date, venue, set list, and a variety of artwork was done on a private and individual level. Trading these tapes within the community and connecting with fellow fans to fill in the gaps in their own personal archives once again crossed the threshold

between public and private and became a more public and communal activity. Although there were some female tapers, this was primarily a male-dominated activity that resulted in a sub-sub culture within the Grateful Dead community.

A significant fraction of fandom involves the personal collections of fans in regard to the focus of their devotion. In popular music, collecting records and live shows are common practice and fans attempt to consistently add to their own collections and fill in the gaps. Aside from the actual music, fans often gather a number of other cultural items like articles of clothing that reference the music, as well as jewelry, posters, books, magazines, newspaper clippings, among other artifacts that further exemplify their love and devotion for the particular artist or band.

Collecting

Fandom and collecting are interwoven phenomena. Collecting cultural items that reference the icons of interest is one way that fandom is exhibited (Hoebink, Reijnders, & Waysdorf, 2014). These collections are often comprised of physical objects such as cassettes, records, posters, tickets, t-shirts, and other various memorabilia in relation to the band of focus. Einsberg (2005) expands on five reasons fans choose to collect cultural objects in relation to popular music in his book *The Recording Angel*:

The need to make beauty and pleasure permanent - to be able to hear your favorite music or see your favorite drama whenever you want it. The need to comprehend beauty - to be able to study the performing arts through repetition. The need to distinguish oneself as a consumer - to express individuality through taste. The need to belong - including music and video as part of nostalgia for past experiences. The need to impress others, or oneself - either through outright cultural snobbery or some more subtle variation. (p. 14)

Being part of a particular fandom serves as an instrument in constructing identity of self and collecting is a large part of this process. When taking the collections of albums, live

shows, and video recordings into consideration, Bjarkman (2004) makes a salient point in stating: “Beyond entertainment value, these recordings serve as exterior memory, cultural relic, and resource in the home” (p. 530). Owning these forms of media allows fans to perform their role in the larger fandom by listening or watching their favorite band whenever they choose to. Further, Theberge (2005) suggests that the items collected by fans serve an autobiographical function in that there are personal memories attached to the ways that the items are acquired that may reveal “individual histories of affective investment that can be recounted and actualized in the present” (p. 491). He goes on to explain that in popular music fandom, collecting can be seen simultaneously as part obsession and part memory work and identity formation.

The identity formation that occurs through the collecting of these cultural items takes place not only on a personal level, but on a larger scale as well in terms of group and collective identity within the fan community as a whole. Hoebink, Reijnders, and Waysdorf (2014) suggest: “Objects link us not only to other times but also to other people, other places, and other lifestyles or taste cultures. They can be direct and immanent to mediums, to the extent that we perceive objects as the ‘real thing,’ especially when juxtaposed against descriptions, images, and recordings” (p. 2). Products acquired within Shakedown Street and the live recordings of shows traded within the taping community tell the story not only of the Grateful Dead, but of Deadheads in general and the individual stories of fan experiences and journeys within the fandom itself. The personal collections of fans help to construct a history and legacy which can be of paramount importance when it comes to constructing a “definitive” history through an archive like the Grateful Dead Archive does. The divide between commercially-produced

Grateful Dead items and memorabilia in comparison to fan-produced items are a unique characteristic of the band's lineage and help to convey unique qualities in the way that the Grateful Dead brand functions.

Branding

The Grateful Dead have become a culturally iconic brand which is conveyed through their enduring fandom, popularity, and recognition. Holt (2004) explains that cultural icons are regarded as a representative symbol that is deemed as a compelling figure of a set of ideas or values that society considers important. At the most basic level, a brand is a product and commodity that differentiates itself from the other products available designed to satisfy the same need. The difference could be rational and tangible and relate to the product performance or could be more intangible, emotional, and symbolic in terms of what it is that the brand represents (Keller, 1998). The purpose of a brand is to create a unique meaning and value in the eyes of the consumer in order to create long-term relations (Trendafilov, 2015).

Successful branding is an ongoing process that does not happen overnight. In order for a brand to actually exist, it must have a history that creates meaning. Holt (2004) suggests that the material markers that make up a brand such as a name, a trademarked logo, and unique features or packaging are devoid of meaning and remain empty until there are consumer experiences that bolster these aspects and tell a story. The Grateful Dead's brand legacy is indicative of this ongoing process.

The Dead's differentiation began at their genesis. The name "Grateful Dead" came to be by Jerry Garcia opening a copy of *Funk and Wagnall's New Practical Standard Dictionary* (1956 edition) and randomly pointing to a page. The text staring

back at him was “grateful dead,” which is defined in the dictionary as a type of ballad involving a hero who helps a corpse who is being refused a proper burial, a theme found in many cultures (Scott & Halligan, 2010). The band not only chose a unique and memorable name to represent themselves, but they also developed their own genre of music, as well as a number of memorable logos and iconography over the years to make themselves stand out from bands of the time such as Quicksilver Messenger Service, Jefferson Airplane, Big Brother and the Holding Company, Country Joe and the Fish, and others. The Grateful Dead brand is exemplary of the power that a brand can hold in the lives of those affiliated with it. Many Deadheads based a large part of their lives around and within this enduring fan community. They vicariously lived *through* this brand and tangibly extended it in their own ways through the fannish activities and productions that they partook in.

Hull’s (2016) study on cultural branding argues, “Consumers consume brands not for the products they designate, but for the affiliation with the brands themselves. People live partly in and through their possessions, and in this sense an elective brand affinity can serve to mark or express aspects of a consumer’s identity by associating her with desired cultural meanings” (p. 127). Consuming brands allows individuals to be different from some people while remaining similar to others. In terms of popular music, the brand of an artist or band is the feature that fandom and fanaticism are built under.

Elizabeth Barfoot Christian (2011) notes in her book *Rock Brands* that when one thinks of KISS, Bon Jovi, Elvis, or Ozzy Osbourne, a specific sound or image is produced. The mental construct summoned by Black Sabbath is probably drastically different from that of Peter, Paul, and Mary. Christian argues, “Fans come to feel a

personal connection to bands that personify ideals similar to their own or that allow them to fully express who they are. Therefore, it is imperative to the success of a band to know who they are and who their audiences are” (p. xi). Even despite the death of Jerry Garcia, the Grateful Dead brand has continued to grow stronger and stronger over the past two decades. Although the original band name was retired, the value proposition for the customers never faltered and the remaining members and organization were able to reinvent themselves in a number of ways to keep the brand strong (Hill & Rifkin, 1999).

The ability to further strengthen the Grateful Dead brand after the group was no longer together was not only possible due to their loyal fan base, but was also influenced by the various marketing strategies employed by Grateful Dead Productions. For many years, the organization sent out catalogues featuring Grateful Dead-related products and employees were sending out 1,000 plus products a day. In 1998 alone, merchandise sales reached more than 8 million dollars. Today, these merchandise sales take place in the digital environment through sites like dead.net. While the principle component of the Grateful Dead’s collection is recorded music, the band has also generated an extensive amount of other collectable items, which was a primary focus of this study. Smith and Inglis (2013) have elaborated on the collection and consumption of the Grateful Dead and explain:

T-shirts, posters, and books were the most common purchases, although familiar elements of iconography, often derived from album covers - the skull and roses motif (Grateful Dead), the dancing bears (Bear’s Choice) and the lightning bolt (Steal Your Face) - adorn a range of additional products that includes jewelry, kitchenware, and computer paraphernalia. In contrast to the majority of fans, purchasers of these items exemplify the behavior of a relatively affluent minority who set out to construct collections that are exclusive rather than inclusive. (p. 318)

Aside from the abundance of Grateful Dead-related products that are still available today, the band also furthered their brand through constant touring and their corresponding record label.

On average, the band played more than 80 shows a year and eventually Grateful Dead Productions created another segment that dealt with concessions, tour operations, and concert promotion to the various Dead spin-off bands as well as other artists. Even after Garcia's death, Grateful Dead Records continued to release Grateful Dead-related albums as well as work done by other artists. Terrapin Crossroads, a restaurant and music venue primarily run by bassist Phil Lesh, opened in 2012 as a way to stay connected with the fan community (Hill & Rifkin, 1999). While the band never used substantial promotion or advertising, they successfully kept the Grateful Dead brand consistent and went deep into a niche market that they created themselves by respecting and valuing their fans.

Fan-Branding and Co-Branding

Another primary reason this brand was able to survive and continuously strengthen was due to the ability of the consumers to take ownership of the brand and create their own works. The freedom that the band gave to Deadheads in regard to their music and logos aided in the mass amount of fan production that circulated within the scene. Brands with strong communal aspects often attract consumers that further that specific brand by creating their own content. This process, coined as vigilante marking by Muniz and Schau (2007), sees consumers as "self-appointed promoters of the brand [who] often have firm convictions regarding what is right and wrong for it" (p. 35). The authors further explain that these works are essential and beneficial to the brand because

they give insight into consumer perceptions of the brand, convey marketing messages from a brand loyalist perspective, and increase the frequency and reach of the brand.

The close-knit, loyal fandom surrounding the Grateful Dead brings along with it many emotional aspects in this vigilante, fan-branding process. This emotional connection further strengthens community, tells a story about the brand itself, and fosters affective bonds between the brand and its consumers (Thompson, Rindfleisch, & Arsel, 2006). Brands should make a connection to the lifestyles, dreams, and goals of the consumers in order to demonstrate how the brand plays an active role in their lifestyles (Roberts, 2004). Co-creating a brand in this fashion allows consumers to interact with the brand in order to create “mutually beneficial, identity-enhancing, community building, and loyalty sustaining meanings” while simultaneously prompting consumers to “act as brand missionaries, promoting the brand through their own invocative, personalized brand stories” (Thompson, Rindsfleish, & Arsel, 2006, p. 52). The co-branding effort between the Grateful Dead and Deadheads resulted in the Dead being one of popular music’s most recognizable brands.

Amateur participation and branding has always been a prominent aspect in the band’s legacy. The Dead allowed their fans to make products with their logos and iconography on them as long as they were not being produced to make a large-scale profit. Fans further promoted the band and their allegiance to the subculture through their own works. In relation to Deadheads, fans distributed the band’s music and created their own products bearing the Grateful Dead name and logos throughout the scene. Many of these entrepreneurial individuals were eventually drawn into the fold as partners by Grateful Dead Merchandising and paid a small licensing fee in order to utilize the logos

(Scott & Halligan, 2010). The Dead were among some of the first rock bands to inspire vast sales of merchandise and the only band allowing entrepreneurial fans to reap rewards within the Deadhead community (Rifkin, 1997). Peter McQuaid, long-time head of Grateful Dead Merchandising Inc., lamented on this aspect of the scene by saying, “[The Deadheads] had a real respect for the band and the music. It was far more satisfying to have a relationship with someone with high regard for the group than to create a stable of artists inside our company” (Rifkin, 1997). Another way that the Grateful Dead’s brand was furthered by fans was through the ‘taping compendium’ and what came to be known as Shakedown Street.

Tape trading was a huge part of Deadhead culture and much of this activity actually took place in Shakedown Street. *Shakedown Street* was a song and an album released in 1978 and the name was co-opted by Deadheads to refer to the busiest part of the thriving entrepreneurial parking lot scene before and after the Dead’s shows where fan-production became most prominent (Kreutzmann, 2015). Fiske (1992) refers to fan production as textual productivity, in which “fans produce and circulate among themselves texts which are often crafted with production values as high as any in the official culture” (p. 39). He argues that fans typically do not produce these texts for monetary purposes although their productivity often costs them money. Because they are not produced for profit, they are often only circulated within the fan community and are not mass-marketed (Fiske, 1992). These artifacts are highly valued because they are products created *for* the community that come from *within* the community.

The Shakedown Street scene started in the early 1970s and quickly grew into a much broader tradition. Barnes (2011) notes that serious vendors would arrive as soon as

the lots opened and set up tents, booths, and tarps around their vehicles. Within Shakedown Street, a vast array of products were available such as: food (grilled cheese and veggie burritos were standard), jewelry, clothes (especially T-shirts and primitive-print skirts), and alcohol/drugs (primarily beer, marijuana, psychedelics and nitrous oxide). The Grateful Dead knew who their audience was and they allowed fans the freedom to do what they pleased with their brand. The line between producers and consumers in this fan community was often indistinguishable.

Shakedown Street vendors sold hundreds of variations of the Dead's most familiar iconography such as the dancing bears, skull and roses, terrapin turtles, lightning bolts, steal your face, etc. Much of it was adapted from the band's album covers but many were completely new inventions or different variations on the iconography. Barnes (2011) explains that the best customers were local fans that wanted a memento of the band on the only night of the year that they would see them:

The vendors, for the most part, were 'tourheads,' and they weren't looking to get rich. As one vendor explained, he sold at shows 'so we could have food and go to more shows.' They wanted to experience the warm community of the Grateful Dead, what one writer has called the 'communitarian, craftsperson-inspired vision of life on tour.' (p. 70)

Drummer Bill Kreutzmann further commented on this communal scene by mentioning that he went out to Shakedown Street a couple of times to interact with the Deadheads and see the creative products they were selling. He even admitted that he enjoyed looking at all of the glass pipes and took one home with him on a few occasions. Kreutzmann (2015) explained, "It was just a really colorful place. You always want your marketplaces to be like that, whether it's in Deadheadland or a foreign country" (p. 247). Shakedown Street is an example of where trademark infringement promoted creativity. Jerry Garcia's biographer Blair Jackson claimed, "No group had ever inspired so much creative

involvement from its fans.” Lyricist John Perry Barlow agreed: “The Deadheads had an open-source creative community for imagery and stuff-making that was a great deal more interesting than what we could do in-house” (Barnes, 2011, p. 71). The freedom the band gave their fans with their brand aided in making the brand itself even more of a success, which intensified the personal meanings the brand had to individuals within this fandom.

Although the rules for Shakedown Street have become increasingly strict in recent years, it is still common to see such items as previously mentioned sold at shows of spin-off bands. There is still a significant amount of homemade Grateful Dead-related items old and new circulating present-day websites like Etsy. The co-branding effort undertaken by fans of the Grateful Dead aids in communicating the legacy of the band and its surrounding fan community. The physical and digital artifacts that correspond with fan communities of this significance are often utilized to tell an ‘official history’ that can be manifested through the creation and use of an archive.

Archives

The primary function of an archive is to preserve history and provide a cultural representation through artifacts that provides information about a particular topic or piece of history. Lubar (1999) contends that we utilize archives in order to remember things after they happen and Miller (1990) explains that the archive as a whole is greater than the sum of its parts. This means that each item within an archive transcends information about the other items and that the relationships between these items are just as important in conveying a cohesive story. Archiving contributes to public memory and the story that is told in relation to the object of focus. Representing the past wavers between the aspects

of actual history and memory. Mutibwa (2016) illustrates the current debate of history and memory through two primary points:

First, there may not be a singular and obvious past out there, but perhaps multiple versions of it, the successive reconstruction, reinterpretation and representation of which are key to facilitating (diverse modes) of remembrance which, in turn, shape cultural identity in innumerable ways over time. Second, history and memory have always overlapped, something that renders a clear-cut distinction unhelpful in making sense of the past and its representation. (p. 9).

Erlil (2008) further postulates that “identities have to be constructed and reconstructed by acts of memory” meaning that memory and identity are two interlocking functions that work together to create who an individual is (p. 6). These two elements are prominent within Grateful Dead fandom and subsequently have a profound impact on the social construction of the Grateful Dead Online Archive.

Mutibwa (2016) explains in *Memory, Storytelling and the Digital Archive* that there may not be one singular, cohesive story; rather there are always multiple versions that are reconstructed, reinterpreted, and represented. Dittmar and Entin (2016) argue that this definition has expanded and departed from the focus of ‘conventional’ archives in asking what constitutes an archive in the first place: scholars among varying fields have initiated an ‘archival turn’ - “a growing interest in the concept of the archive and a rethinking of traditional notions of what archives are, what they hold, and how they are constructed, maintained, and used” (p. 3). This expansion covers more ground and includes a greater number of virtual and tangible materials that go beyond traditional documents which is consistent with the eventual method of digital archiving as a supplementary aspect of physical, tangible archives.

As the definition of what constitutes an archive has evolved, with it has the relevance and motivation to preserve the history of popular culture. In regard to the focus

of this study, popular music has been added into the canon as an important facet of historical culture. Baker, Doyle, and Homan's (2016) work on contemporary popular music archives observes:

This popular cultural turn has renewed focus upon not just how archives deal with popular music's material history, but how they engage multiple publics with this material. The process of assigning significance through selection is not only contestable and socially constructed; these concerns have become more pressing as popular music researchers themselves become primary curators of city histories. (p. 9)

Specific artists and genres have become nationally significant due to their immense impact on the masses and popular culture as a whole. In terms of location and genre, Regev (2006) suggests that "Anglo-American pop-rock music [has become] the major ingredient in the canon of popular music" (p. 2). Locality is a prominent aspect in the significance of popular music regarding "localized instances and contact with canonic performers reinforc[ing] the gate-keeping modes involved in their maintenance" (Baker et al., 2016, p. 9). The limits of locality have slowly begun to disappear with the advent of the Internet as a platform that can be utilized to preserve history and reach individuals from all over the world.

The ways in which archives and fandom function as a whole have changed drastically with the introduction of the Internet as a channel that can connect individuals far and wide. Pearson (2010) suggests, "The digital revolution has had a profound impact upon fandom, empowering and disempowering, blurring the lines between producers and consumers, creating symbiotic relationships between powerful corporations and individual fans, and giving rise to new forms of cultural production" (p. 84). Emergent technology and mediated channels have allowed the creation of digital archives in order to preserve and tell the story of particular phenomena. These digital archives can be

accessed from anywhere, whereas a physical archive can only be experienced in one specific location.

These virtual archives are defined as “any shared device or environment, real or virtual, that enables a digitally structured organization of audio-visual data to be locally and/or remotely engaged by a large public” (Shaw, 1991). Andrews and Schweibenz (1998) build on this:

[Digital archives are] a logically related collection of digital objects composed in a variety of media which, because of its capacity to provide connectedness and various points of access, lends itself to transcending traditional methods of communicating and interacting with visitors; it has no real place or space, its objects and the related information can be disseminated all over the world. (p. 24)

The Grateful Dead’s online archive is consistent with this definition. It is supplemental to the physical archive located in McHenry Library at UC-Santa Cruz. It consists of over 45,000 digitized items submitted by GDAO archivist Nicholas Meriwether as well as submissions from the fan community. The archive includes live recordings, fan envelopes, letters, articles, t-shirts, photographs, posters, among other items that help to tell the story of the Grateful Dead and the surrounding fan base of Deadheads.

Tomuic (2015) explains that digital archives such as this encapsulate a new way of conveying historical experience and a new way of recording and remembering. She suggests that “digital archives provide the resources to select, structure, offer access to, interpret, distribute, and ensure the preservation over time of collections of digital works that can be readily used by the viewer” (p. 14). Because they are online and easily accessible, they are in a constant state of flux because users have the ability to submit materials at any time in order to improve the archive (Chapman, 2012). This is particularly true in the case of the Grateful Dead Online Archive, which is primarily socially-constructed.

An interesting element of the GDAO is that it is not primarily constructed by one specific individual or organization. While its initial contents were donated by the band and various other related entities, it is primarily run and curated by Nicholas Meriwether. The archive also prides itself on being socially-constructed; meaning that fans and members of this community have the ability to submit items at any time. Jenkins (2016) alludes to the fluid elements of digital culture and fan-based archives:

Because digital culture makes constant reperformance possible to produce and share very widely, [the] digital archive has had to develop to account for that highly active performance culture. And digital archiving itself is not static, it evolves, makes its own repertoires, and has had to alter and refine its own performance technique and its own technical levels of performance as it has tried to preserve the explosion of creative output from Internet users. (para. 9)

While GDAO.org is not strictly run by fans, there are a plethora of fan archives that are exclusively run by fan communities that are sometimes in stark opposition to more official digital archives.

Due to an overall increase of use and access to the Internet there have been questions about alternative archival practices in regard to popular music as well as the nature of cultural authority in an increasingly digital era (Karaganis, 2007). Baker et.al (2016) expand on questions that archivists and curators have to consider in the creation and maintenance of a digital archive: “The music archive must confront internal questions about sourcing and retaining digital artifacts and external questions about the role of digital popular culture sites performing alternative roles as archivists” (p. 10). The authors further explain that digital search engines become a competitor as it challenges archives as authority which, in turn, “raises questions about what digitalization does in mediating the past” (p. 10). The authors note that the process of archiving, digital or otherwise, will never be a perfect representation of history or memory: “The processes of

archival selection, preservation, and inclusion, no matter how skilled or of good faith the agents involved, inevitably create new shadows, new zones of otherness and forgetting” (p. 17). The digitization of official archives brings along with it several concerns and shortcomings that are of considerable importance in relation to this study.

The selection process of what gets included in an archive and becomes part of the canon is threefold: preparation, discovery, and filtering. Many digital archivists and curators utilize a selection policy in order to reduce personal bias of selection decisions, identify gaps in the collection development, determine priorities, clarify the scope and purpose, and to provide a basis for resource sharing and cooperation. The selection phase is a key phase in the web archiving process and is instrumental in conveying an accurate and cohesive history (Masanes, 1998). The overall quality is most often determined by the completeness of a collection. Web archives are sometimes at a disadvantage due to the complicated nature of gathering content through the HTTP interface, capturing the content itself, and organizing it coherently (Masanes, 1998).

In sum, these concepts are all interrelated in fully understanding how fandom functions and is remembered by way of the emergent technologies we have witnessed over the past few decades. Utilizing the Grateful Dead Online Archive as a data source provides insight into the varying ways in which the surrounding fan community personalizes this master brand and communicates their individual and collective identities through the fandom itself. Fans further this phenomenon by working together in constructing a digital archive that preserves the legacy that the band and its fans created. By tracing the digitized items within GDAO.org by logo, era, and item type we can begin to see convergent as well as divergent trends throughout the band’s five decade legacy

and comparatively analyze these findings with the contextual history of the Grateful Dead for further insight.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Intended Goals

The overarching goal of this research was to understand how a digital music archive functions and preserves history as it relates to cult bands. Utilizing an archive with significant breadth and depth can further illustrate the story that it tells in relation to the selection process. This selection process chooses what is deemed as instrumental in telling a cohesive account of the historical area the archive is related to. By mapping the Grateful Dead Online Archive, the hope was to further understand how the band's fandom contributes to history, to illustrate aspects that resonated within the fan community, and to see how these facets allowed fans to further personalize the Grateful Dead brand through a co-branding process. Utilizing a content analysis approach, the data from GDAO.org was sorted into categories in order to compare the frequency with which different categories of content occurred. Applying descriptive claims to this population allowed further description of these "communication messages [and] their characteristics in particular cultural contexts" (Merrigan & Huston, p. 149, 2009). The method employed in this research can further be extrapolated to fan studies as a whole in order to convey a possible methodological process in grasping a greater understanding of music fandom.

Population

The population for this study is representative of the material and digital culture surrounding the fan communities of cult bands that have been archived through digital formats. More specifically, this population traces the evolution of fan activity throughout different media eras in order to examine the implications emergent technology has on the ways in which fandom functions. The primary population that this population was retrieved from is the digital version of the Grateful Dead Archive, GDAO.org, which is

based out of Santa Cruz, California. The Grateful Dead Archive “represents one of the most significant popular culture collections of the twentieth century [and] documents the band’s activity and influence in contemporary music” (Maron, 2013). The digital portion of the archive has over 45,000 digitized items obtained from the physical archive at UC-Santa Cruz and launched in July of 2012. Ithaka S+R’s case study on the sustainability of the Grateful Dead Online Archive explains:

Few archives come with a built-in fanbase. The Grateful Dead Archive Online (GDAO) is distinguished from many other academic special collections by the variety of media it holds, from concert tickets to audio files and art created by fans of the band, and by its potential audience, the many thousands of fans of the Grateful Dead. Support for the Archive has come from grant funding, private donors, and from this fan base, which poses one of the project’s fascinating opportunities and challenges. (para. 1)

GDAO is comprised of items submitted by the Grateful Dead community as well as items from the band’s donations to the physical archive. This online archive is one of the first to embark on digitizing the material culture of a cult band at such a large scale and provides unique opportunities to the fan community to create and capture a historical representation of one of the biggest music fandoms in popular culture to date. Out of the 45,000 digitized items within the archive, 26,649 of these items were included in the population for this study.

The social construction of this site is consistent with the band’s rich history of audience interaction and inclusion and was a primary stipulation in the creation of GDAO (Maron 2013). The site’s ‘about’ section explains a variety of tools that have been implemented for support such as “EZID (persistent identifiers), WAS (Web Archiving Service) and the Merritt repository (digital preservation)” (para. 6). EZID has organized the digitized material into 19 different categories that include album covers, articles,

backstage passes, envelopes, fan art, fan tapes, fanzines, images, laminates, newsletters, notebooks, posters, programs, stories, t-shirts, tickets, sound, videos, and websites. Some individual items within the archive were represented in more than one category and those that do not correspond directly to any of the previously mentioned categories are placed in the most logical section based off of the EZID software.

The item categories that were included from this population in the population for this study included articles, backstage passes, envelopes, fan art, fan tapes, fanzines, laminates, newsletters, posters, t-shirts, and tickets. These categories were selected because they are all forms of media that have aided in furthering the Grateful Dead brand over the past five decades throughout the corresponding fan community. Articles, fanzines, newsletters, posters, and t-shirts fall under this umbrella due to their nature of production, which aims at reaching a large audience. While items like envelopes, fan art, fan tapes, images, laminates, backstage passes, and tickets were primarily produced for peer-to-peer exchange, the creation of an online archive forces these items to be digitized in order to be viewed through a public mediated source like the Internet. Due to this process of digitization and the submission to an online public domain, all of the previously mentioned items are considered forms of media because they are meant to reach a mass audience. These item categories are representative of the band's evolution of logos, the ways in which fans personalized these logos in their own fannish works, and the overall growth of fandom between eras.

Due to the incomplete nature of the archive's collection of album covers, a supplemental source was utilized in order to get a clear illustration of all Grateful Dead-related albums and corresponding iconography that have been released since the 1960s.

There was a total of 186 album covers that were obtained from discogs.com and compiled with the rest of the population from gdao.org, making $n=26,835$. Discogs is an online marketplace and comprehensive database organized around artists, labels, and genres and provided a complete discography of Grateful Dead-related releases. This population is representative of the digital and material culture that surrounds the Grateful Dead fandom. This representation is adequate in terms of how fandom functions and evolves throughout different media eras because of the wide-ranging categories implemented in this research and the extensive amount of items that were retrieved and coded for analysis.

Coding

The items in this population were coded in order to clearly depict how the Grateful Dead fandom has evolved through the past five decades and how history has remembered and preserved that process in time. Specifically, the coding portion of this data collection traced the previously mentioned items by production method, type, logo, and era. The intention of coding the data in this way was to further visualize the trends that emerged throughout the band's 40 year legacy and to illustrate how the fandom changed after the Grateful Dead officially disbanded in 1995.

A pilot study was done initially in an attempt to finalize the categories that the data would be assigned. A codebook was developed in order to lay out each of the categories, which was then broken down into subcategories including era, logo, item type, and whether the item was fan-produced or produced by the band. Items were coded by era in order to discover which eras were documented the most and least. Distinguishing by era also allowed the coding process to track when individual item types

became common practice within the fan community. Assigning a singular logo to these items further allowed the data to convey when each logo was introduced and to what extent they resonated with fans. These items were specifically coded by what kind of object they were (i.e., fanzine, album cover, ticket, etc.) in order to see which items had the highest numbers and how those numbers varied throughout the five decades observed. Finally, items were specified as fan-produced or band-produced in order to demonstrate when and in what areas fannish production was the most prevalent, how the logos differed between grassroots and commercial items, and to generally convey the significance of co-branding and audience inclusion in the Grateful Dead community.

Fan and band were the two overarching categories into which everything was placed. Pages were created in each of these two categories to identify which era the items were created in that included 1960-1969, 1970-1979, 1980-1989, 1990-1999, and 2000-2016. The 1960s were chosen as the earliest era for documentation because the Grateful Dead formed as a band in the mid-1960s and continued to tour up until 1995. The 2000s were included in this population in order to demonstrate how the fandom continued to function after the band was no longer together. These pages were further broken down into subcategories corresponding to official Grateful Dead logos which included the dancing bears, Bertha, Stealie, skeletons, roses, and an additional 'other' section. 'Other' was utilized so that items that did not display any of these logos could still be accounted for. These specific logos were chosen due to their popularity and recognizable nature.

Each item mapped within the archive during the data collection process was assigned to one individual category that was contingent upon the era, prominent logo, item type, and production method. As previously mentioned, production method was the

overarching differentiation that categorization was contingent upon. The data in this study was not weighted to represent the population from which the population was drawn due to the significantly high number of items in the population itself as well as the definitive nature of the Grateful Dead Archive. The final numbers that were totaled in regard to each distinct category were established through simple frequency.

The designation of each item as fan-produced or band-produced was often the most difficult delineation to make due to the blurry line between producers and consumers within the Grateful Dead fan community. On occasion, the details entered on an item's page would specify if the text was created by an individual not directly affiliated with the band or if it was a copyrighted work. However, this specification was not consistent, which forced me, as the researcher, to make an educated decision based on the type, quality, and details provided for the work. While it was always clear that albums, tickets, and backstage passes were produced by the band and its corresponding organization(s) and items such as fan envelopes, fan tapes, and fanzines were primarily crafted by fans; t-shirts and posters were often difficult to differentiate. Inter-coder reliability was unable to be established in the data collection process due to the nature of the items within the archive. This type of study required informed interpretation in order to accomplish the coding procedure because of the subjectivity of distinguishing the logo of focus and the production method utilized in the creation of these items. Contextual evidence in regard to the Grateful Dead's history was implemented in order to code the data into the previously mentioned categories.

Among the two overarching categories of fan-produced and band-produced items, each individual era had its own page for coding. The majority of items within the archive

clearly indicated what year they were from in the 'date' section of the entry. Items that had no clear indication of the date were excluded from this population. Fan tapes were strictly categorized at this level, based on the year they were recorded in, due to no visual elements being present on these files.

Designating the items into the various logo categories was based on either the prominence or frequency of its visual display. Prominence was determined by either what the focus of the artifact was; which normally pertained to what was in the very middle of the work or what appeared the largest. Frequency was determined by which logo showed up the greatest number of times on a single item. These criteria often differed by what type of item was being coded.

For example, the categorization of album covers, posters, and t-shirts was often based on the prominence of a logo due to the item's limited space and need for a general focus of design. The logo(s) that appeared on album covers and t-shirts were also based on a hierarchy in which the front of these items was favored over the backside of them. If a different logo appeared on both the front and the back, the item was categorized depending on what the focus on the front was. Fanzines, for example, were often based on frequency. If a logo was not displayed on the front cover, the logos present within the pages of the text were scanned in order to see which logo appeared the most frequently. Items such as backstage passes and tickets were relatively straight forward due to their simplistic nature which, more often than not, displayed only one individual logo. The variety present in fan envelopes as a whole determined the need to consider both prominence and frequency of the logos in these works. Items that could not be designated

to any of the five logo categories were placed in 'other,' which meant that none of these official logos were present on any part of the design.

For each item that was coded, a tally mark was added into the corresponding section of the codebook. Utilizing a unary numeral system was beneficial in keeping track of the ongoing results. The use of tally marks was the most logical strategy in keeping track of the coding process due to the significantly large population that was collected in this study. Additional pages were added to the codebook when a section ran out of space. After the coding process was complete, categories were added up by production method, era, item type, and logo which allowed descriptive statistics to be assigned to each group. Data collection ended in February of 2017 and any materials that were added to the Grateful Dead Online Archive after this point were not considered or included in this study.

Data Analysis

The goal of the overall data analysis process was to obtain a clearer picture of the five decade span of fan activity surrounding the Grateful Dead. The significant amount of data that was coded into the previously mentioned categories was intended to shed light on any emergent themes seen in the fannish activity, branding process, and digitization of the Grateful Dead fandom. The takeaways from this data analysis were anticipated to provide further insight into how fandom functions, how an iconic brand can be a dual process between a band and its fans, and to further illustrate the implications that arise when constructing an official history of a significant facet of popular culture.

After the tally marks for each category were added up, descriptive statistics were applied to these categories and then numerous visual representations were created in

order to emphasize trends that were present in the data. Putting these numbers into a variety of graph formats and groupings allowed the data to be looked at in a variety of ways. For example, a bar graph was created in order to compare the overall item totals against each other; a line graph was created in order to compare number totals per item category against each different era; a bar graph was created to compare all of the cumulative totals by era; separate bar graphs were created for each era that compared fan-produced posters and band-produced posters by logo design; a bar graph was utilized in order to compare the sum total of fan tapes by era; and separate pie charts were created for both the 1980s and 1990s to compare the usage of each logo on fan envelopes. Other item categories such as tickets, fanzines, fan-produced shirts, band shirts, and albums were put into a variety of chart forms in order to further compare numbers by era and logo to look for emergent themes. By putting these numbers into visual formats, meanings could then be attributed to these numbers and themes to obtain a broader picture of how this specific archive functions and conveys history.

With a population of 26,835 for this study, the cumulative totals for each were as follows: albums, (186); fan tapes, (10,013); envelopes, (14,532); band shirts, (117); fan shirts, (59); band posters, (437); fan posters, (61); tickets, (943); backstage passes, (86); articles, (214); fanzines, (159); stickers, (15); and cards, (18). For item category totals by era the 1960s had 4 albums, 441 fan tapes, 0 envelopes, 0 band shirts, 0 fan shirts, 151 band posters, 0 fan posters, 7 tickets, 0 backstage passes, 0 articles, 0 stickers, and 0 cards. The 1970s had 16 albums, 2,768 fan tapes, 1 envelope, 0 band shirts, 0 fan shirts, 100 band posters, 7 fan posters, 20 tickets, 11 backstage passes, 0 articles, 4 fanzines, 0 stickers, and 0 cards. The 1980s had 10 albums, 4,844 fan tapes, 20 band shirts, 7 fan

shirts, 60 band posters, 20 fan posters, 292 tickets, 51 backstage passes, 97 articles, 79 fanzines, 3 stickers, and 0 cards. The 1990s had 34 albums, 1,960 fan tapes, 9,659 envelopes, 97 band shirts, 48 fan shirts, 89 band posters, 26 fan posters, 623 tickets, 20 backstage passes, 118 articles, 76 fanzines, 13 stickers, and 12 cards. Finally, the 2000s had 120 albums, 0 fan tapes, 0 envelopes, 0 band shirts, 5 fan shirts, 34 band posters, 8 fan posters, 0 tickets, 4 backstage passes, 0 articles, 0 fanzines, 0 stickers, and 2 cards. The cumulative totals by era when we collapse these subcategories were 1960s, 603; 1970s, 2,927; 1980s, 10,653; 1990s, 12,775; and 2000s, 175.

Figure 1: Cumulative Item Totals by Era

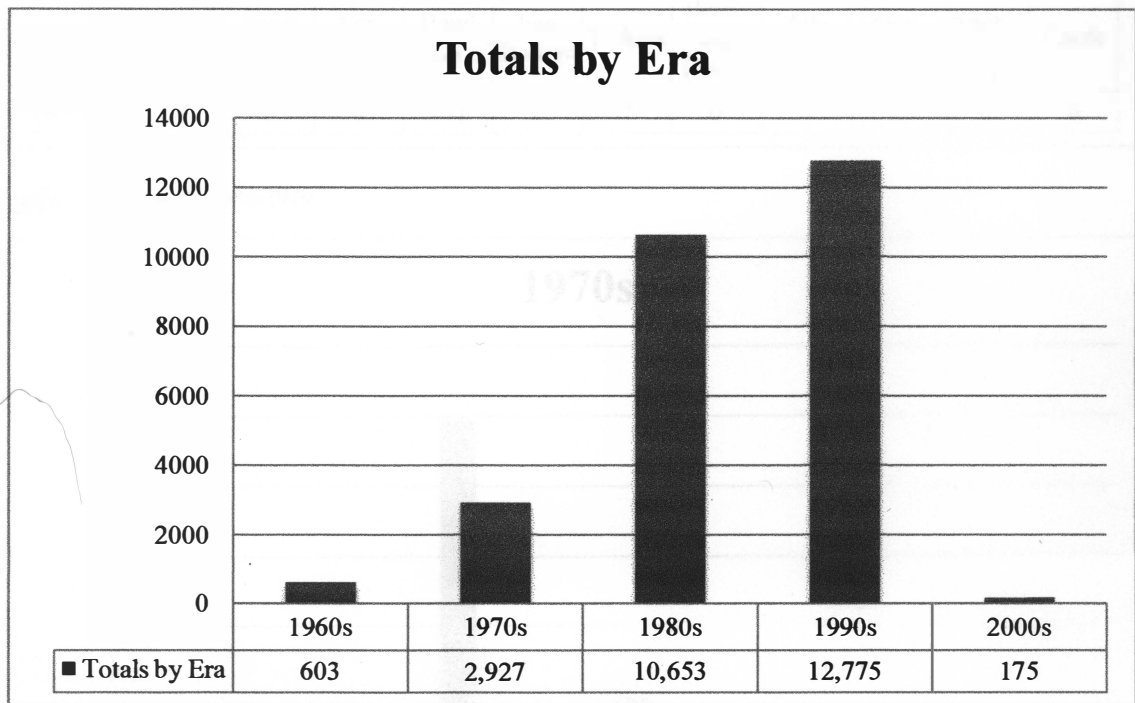


Figure 4: Item Totals 1980-1989

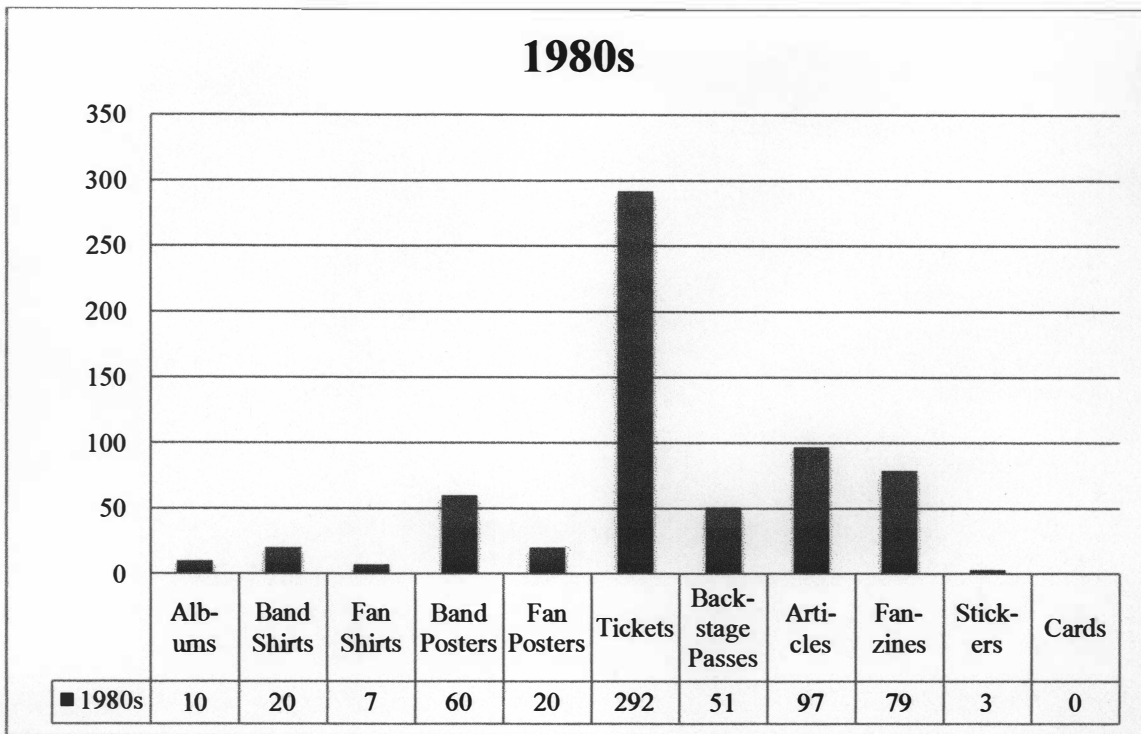


Figure 5: Item Totals 1990-1999

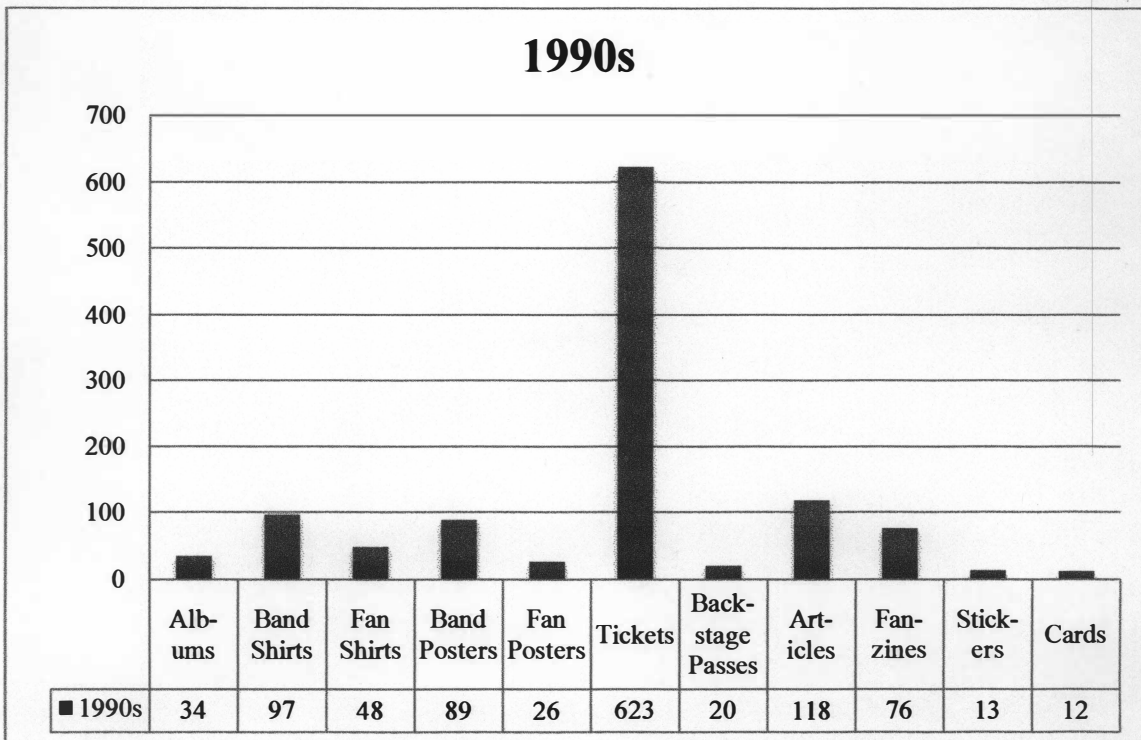


Figure 6: Item Totals 2000-2017

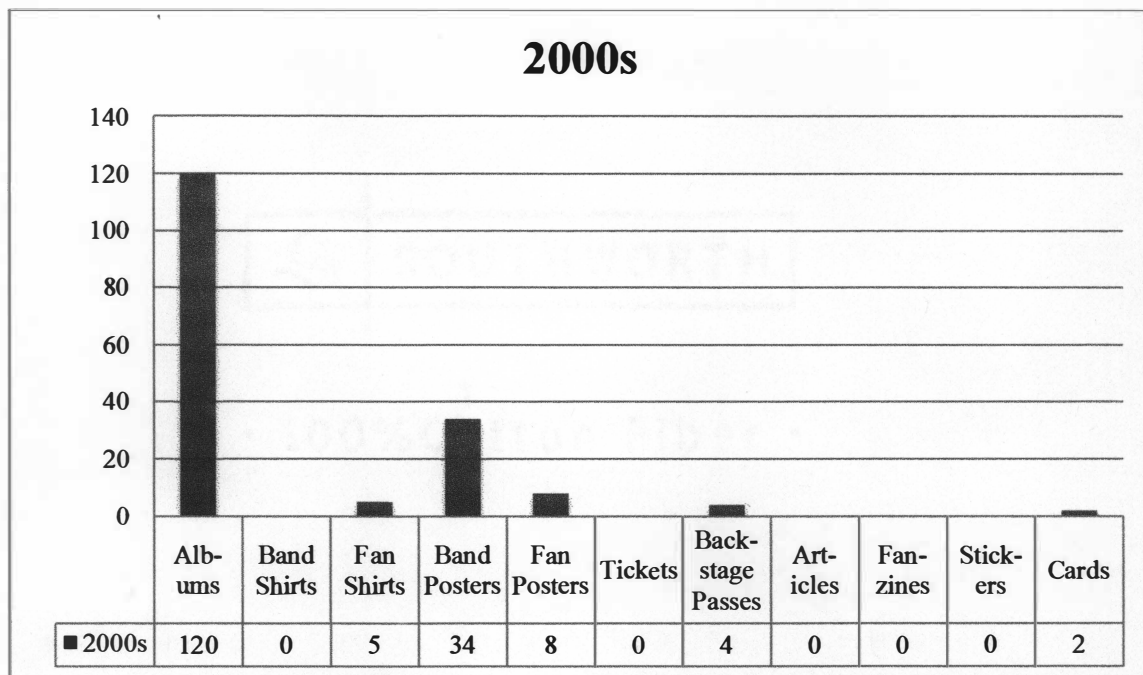
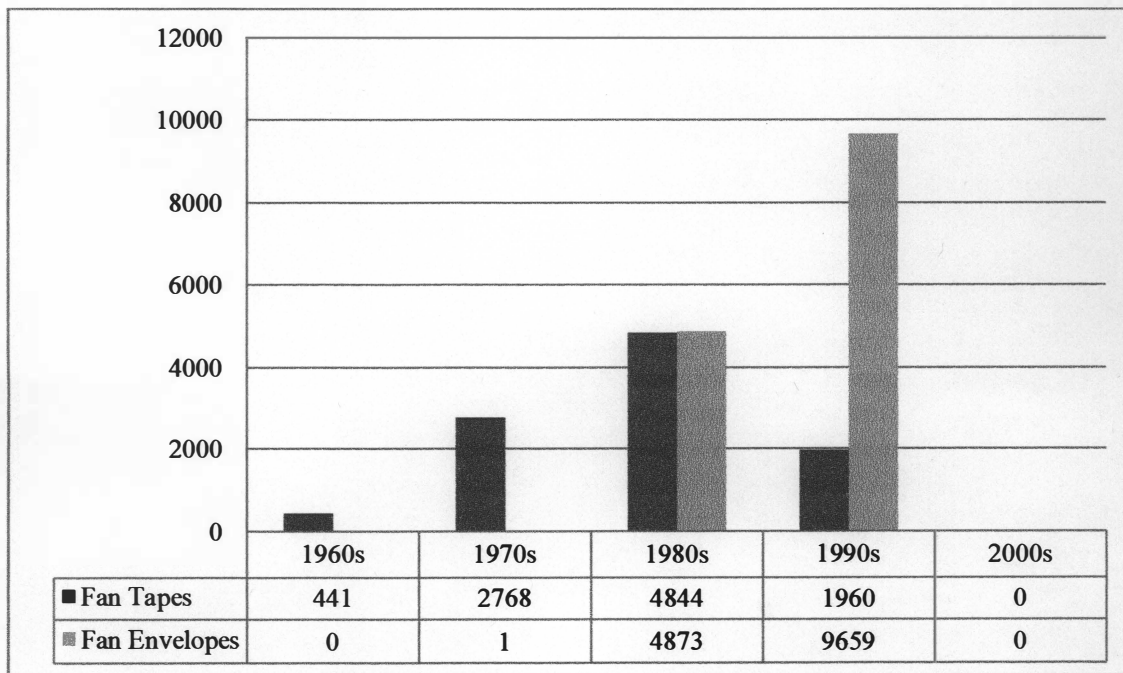


Figure 7: Fan Tape and Fan Envelope Totals



While these visual representations were primarily broken apart based on production method, era, and item type; the majority of them were further broken down by the five logos previously mentioned. Fan envelopes in the 1980s consisted of 5.79%

bears, 1.87% Bertha, 12.07% Stealie, 10.26% skeletons, 13.96% roses, and 56.33% other. Similarly, fan envelopes in the 1990s consisted of 10.23% bears, 1.46% Bertha, 10.89% Stealie, 9.1% skeletons, 10.2% roses, and 58.12% other. Although the logo utilization did not play as vital of a role in the final data analysis as initially assumed, the logo differentiation is still worthy of note here.

Figure 8: Fan Envelopes by Logo 1980s

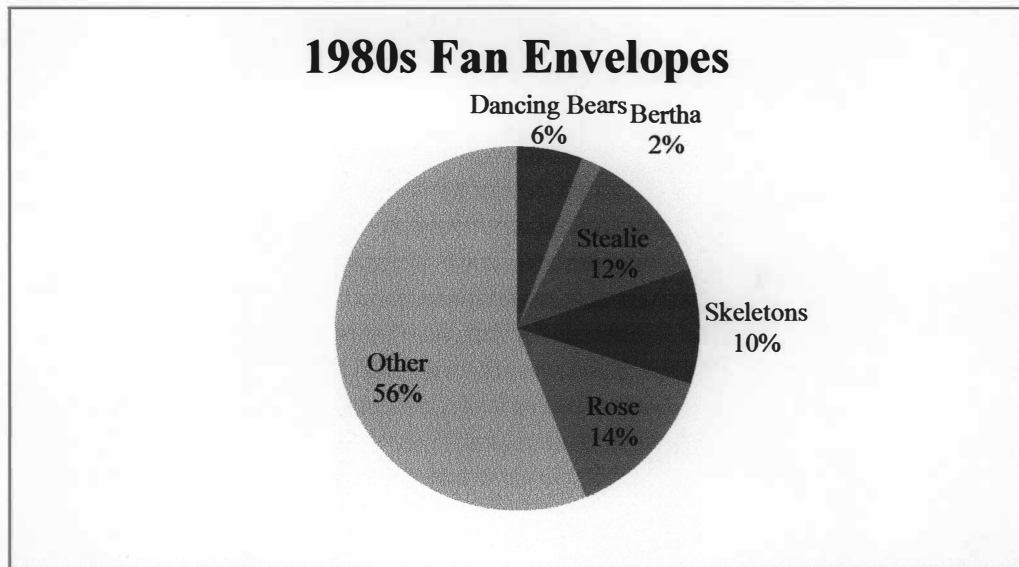
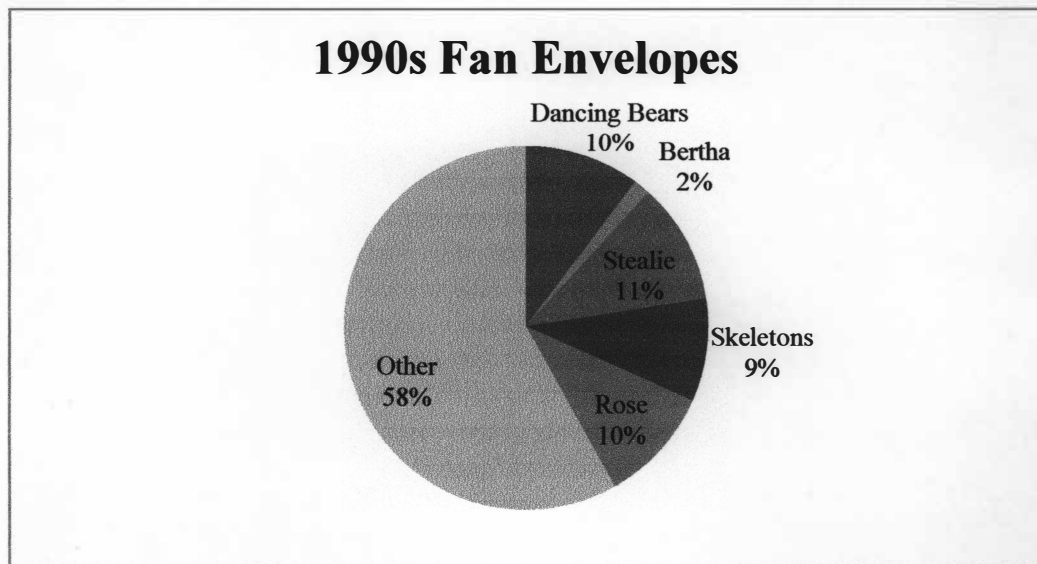


Figure 9: Fan Envelopes by Logo 1990s



For example, 1960s albums contained 75% other and 25% skeletons; 1970s albums contained 43.6% other, 25% skeletons, 12.5% Bertha, 6.25% bears, and 6.25% roses; 1980s albums contained 50% skeletons, 30% other, 10% Bertha, and 10% rose; 1990s albums contained 44.1% other, 38.2% Stealie, 11.8% skeletons, and 8.1% rose, and the 2000s albums contained 27.5% skeletons, 25.8% other, 22.5% Bertha, 16.7% Stealie, and 8.3% rose. The logos displayed on fan shirts, band shirts, fan posters, and band posters were also broken down by era. The cumulative totals by item and logo category were as follows: fan shirts were 10.2% bears, 10.2% Bertha, 20.3% Stealie, 39% skeletons, 10.2% rose, and 10.2% other; band shirts were 17.1% bears, 7.7% Bertha, 28.2% Stealie, 23.9% skeletons, 9.4% rose, and 13.7% other; fan posters were 6.6% bears, 13.1% Bertha, 19.7% Stealie, 26.2% skeletons, 9.8% rose, and 24.6% other; and finally band posters were .7% bears, 3.9% Bertha, 5.5% Stealie, 9.2% skeletons, 6.9% rose, and 73.9% other.

Breaking down these numbers by production method, item type, era, and logo and then inserting them into a visually representative format further allowed me to perform a content analysis in order to pull out emergent themes that appeared in the numerical data. Content analysis is a common method for studying web content in order to place items into relevant categories and themes (Masanes, 1998). Frey, Botan, Friedman, and Kreps (1992) explain that content analysis allows researchers to “identify, enumerate, and analyze occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in communication texts...The primary goal of content analysis is to describe characteristics of the content of the messages in mass-mediated and public texts” (p. 194-195). This method is consistent with the overall goal of this study in further understanding the

representative nature of digital archives and the specific characteristics of the artifacts and digital material that tell the story of the fan community surrounding the Grateful Dead. The primary themes worthy of further study in this research regarded the era totals in correspondence with the band's popularity, what history chooses to remember in an archive, gaps left in the corresponding archival history, the differentiation and diversity in fan branding in regard to the blurred distinction between producers and consumers, and the many elements of fandom that are in flux between the public and private spheres.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

The overarching goal of this study was to learn how an online digital music archive functions, tells a story, and contributes to public memory. Utilizing the Grateful Dead Online Archive helped to answer these questions in regard to the fan community surrounding the band's four decade lineage. With a population size of 26,835, six major takeaways were drawn from the data analysis process. First, the cumulative total of items per era does not correspond with the Grateful Dead's overall popularity or the high points in terms of their creative work. Second, the high numbers of material and digital artifacts in relation to the 1980s and 1990s are correlated to nostalgia and a eulogy function as a result of Jerry Garcia's death in 1995. Third, there are distinct factors in what history chooses to remember through an archive's documentation which can be attributed to "retro culture" in the digital era. Fourth, there are significant gaps in the archival history of the Grateful Dead. Fifth, the freedom that the band gave their fans with their logos and music contributed to the diversity in the substantial amount of fan-branding that has become part of the Grateful Dead's story. Lastly, this fandom is in constant flux between the public and the private sphere and the creation of a digital archive further blurs these distinctions.

Era Totals in Correspondence with Band Popularity

A surprising finding concluded from mapping the archive is that the cumulative sum of merchandise and materials by era does not coincide with the band's popularity in regard to what is deemed as most memorable. Although the lineage of the band spreads across four decades, the 1970s was arguably the band's peak in terms of what audiences remember today. However, judging the band's high point by their archive would point

towards a different conclusion. When taking the entire population of this study into consideration, the total breakdown of items by era was as follows: 1960s (603); 1970s (2,927); 1980s (10,653); 1990s (12,775); 2000s (175). The sheer amount of items pertaining to the 1980s and 1990s more than tripled in comparison to any other era. Although the Dead toured for much of the 1980s and 1990s and put out a number of albums during that time, their formative years and the span of the 1970s witnessed much of what really made them the Grateful Dead.

While the primary function of an archive is to preserve history and to tell a story, this finding is indicative of the reality that archives are limited and are never a perfect representation of history or memory. Digital archives bring along with them more limitations in terms of gathering and capturing content and then converting these artifacts into a digital format. These limitations are seen in the cumulative totals within the Grateful Dead archive through the gaps that occur in the 1960s and 1970s; as a result, the archive does not clearly demonstrate the band's peak years.

The mid to late 1960s experienced a number of events that have gone down in pop culture history as prominent cultural events and the Grateful Dead were right in the middle of it. The Acid Tests, the Monterey Pop Festival, Woodstock, the San Francisco psychedelic scene, the Human Be-in, among others were key in the Dead's formative years. The mere 603 items in the archive that correspond with the 1960s is more than likely due to less advanced technology forms and the lack of knowledge of what the Grateful Dead phenomenon would eventually morph into. The technology required by fans to record shows, take photos, and communicate over long distances was not widespread at this point of the band's career, which impacts the amount of artifacts still

intact today from that era. The band put out a total of four albums during the 1960s and many of their shows were played for free, which accounts for the scant seven tickets that are archived from that period. Fan tapes total 441 for the 1960s - which can be attributed to the lack of technology accessible by the average person at that time, as well as the band's time together being only about five years at that point. Although these years were vital in the formation of one of the biggest cult bands of all-time, they did not necessarily hit their peak until the 1970s. By this point, the Grateful Dead had made a name for themselves that reached beyond the hippie locales of the country.

The 1970s witnessed some of their most iconic albums: *Workingman's Dead*, *American Beauty*, *Skull and Roses*, *Europe 72'*, *Bear's Choice*, *Wake of the Flood*, *Live From the Mars Hotel*, *Blues for Allah*, *Steal Your Face*, *Terrapin Station*, and *Shakedown Street*. The decade also came to know many of their classic and most highly regarded songs such as "Truckin'," "Box of Rain," "Ripple," "Sugar Magnolia," "Uncle John's Band," "Casey Jones," among others. The 1970s introduced the Dead's easily recognizable iconography and the band began branding themselves and attaching their various logos to their albums and merchandise, though this is not clearly demonstrated through the items in the archive.

Out of the 11 studio albums the band released during this decade, five of them displayed the band's prominent logos for the first time. This era was a turning point for the band as they provided the master symbols of their brand that would continuously take on a life of their own throughout their career. *American Beauty* (1970) introduced the rose as the focal point of the album cover, *Skull and Roses* (1971) introduced Bertha, *Bear's Choice* (1973) introduced the dancing bears on the back cover in honor of Owsley

“Bear” Stanley, *Blues for Allah* (1975) introduced a single skeleton as its focal point, *Steal your Face* (1976) introduced Stealie, and *Terrapin Station* (1977) introduced the Terrapin turtles. With the exception of the Terrapin turtles, these were the five logos that were traced throughout each era within the focus of this study. The band’s largest show also occurred in 1973 with the Allman Brothers and the Band at Watkins Glenn - 600,000 people were in attendance. Considering the success the band experienced with these albums and the high numbers they drew to their shows, it is peculiar that the archive only has a total of 2,927 items for this era. While there were 16 Grateful Dead-related albums put out in the 1970s, the archive only has 2,768 fan tapes, 107 posters, 20 tickets, 11 backstage passes, and four fanzines. There were no documented shirts or articles for the 1970s. The low numbers in all of these categories, excluding fan tapes, might be attributed to a few different factors.

First, three decades have passed since this epoch in time. It is likely that the tangible materials acquired within the Grateful Dead scene from this era have not held up over the years. Shirts become worn out and posters tear, making it difficult to preserve items such as these. Those who bought memorabilia from within Shakedown Street and at Grateful Dead shows never would have considered that the items would be regarded as collectibles three decades later. Therefore, the treatment or use of these items might not have been in line with the motivation to still have them in tact in the present day.

Second, while there were 2,768 fan tapes from this era, the process of saving these recordings is vastly different from that of shirts, posters, articles, or fanzines. This is a key factor in why fan tapes are the only category from the 1970s that have a substantial amount of items. Recordings can be duplicated and remastered throughout

time. After tapers would record a show, they would normally make copies of these tapes and then trade them within the scene in order to make their own collections as complete as possible. Even if a recording was destroyed beyond repair, tapers could reach out to the community in order to retrieve another copy. As technology has evolved, these tapes have been able to switch formats between vinyl, cassette, CD, and MP3 files. While the music itself may stay the same, the format and the mode of listening is ever-changing and constantly evolving due to the ability to replicate these formats and the agency present in this fandom in regard to the distribution process. The band's allowance of taping at their shows resulted in a process of fan-archiving. Due to this, the music will live on forever regardless of how many years pass.

A significant portion of the archive consists of fan envelopes that were usually ornately decorated and mailed in to Grateful Dead Ticket Sales. GDTS began in 1983 and became more popular and utilized with every show, which contributes to the substantial numbers for both the 1980s and 1990s. These high numbers and the beginning of this service being in the 80s is a major factor in the era totals not corresponding with the band's peak years. The archive has a total of 14,532 envelopes - 4,873 for the 1980s and 9,659 for the 1990s accounting for 54.2% of the total 26,835 items that were coded in this study. These significantly large numbers contribute to the numerical differences comparing the 60s and 70s to the 80s and 90s. By the time the 1990s came about, most fans were obtaining their tickets through this service, which accounts for the 4,786 increase between the two decades. The band's mail-in ticket service was one of the most unique aspects of the Grateful Dead phenomenon which explains why such a substantial portion of the archive is dedicated to that lineage.

As previously noted, another aspect unique to the band that is clearly conveyed through the archive numbers was the freedom the band gave their fans to tape their performances. Fan tapes account for a total of 10,013 across all five decades looked at in this study. While $n=26,835$ for the data gathered, 37.3% accounts for fan tapes archived within gdao.org; the only category that ranked higher than fan tapes within the archive were fan envelopes. The significantly high numbers for both envelopes and tapes convey that there was an extremely high amount of fan activity surrounding this band. For these fans, it was about more than just listening to the music. It was about making that music their own through their own fannish productions and establishing a relationship with this scene and band on a much deeper level. These numbers represent not only the impact that the band had on its fans, but also the impact that the fans had on the band. From the beginning, the Grateful Dead incorporated their audiences into their lineage and made them feel as though they were the most important part of their journey. The archive clearly demonstrates this aspect of the band's mission through these high numbers.

While the overall numbers for each category of the archive were the highest for the 80s and 90s, the number of fan tapes per era was more consistent in converging accurately with the band's peak years. The 1980s had the most archived tapes with 4,844 but the 70s had the second most with 2,768. Aside from the substantial fan activity surrounding the band, the high amount of tapes in the archive is also indicative of the number one aspect that the Grateful Dead scene was always about - the music itself. The archive functions as a source to freeze this component in time in order to commemorate this memorable element for all of history.

While the community surrounding the Grateful Dead was a vital facet in the longevity and cult-like following of the band, none of it would have been possible without the foundation that the scene was built on; that being the music. David Gans, a high-profile and long-time Deadhead who hosts the Grateful Dead Radio Hour, has authored books on the phenomenon, and once worked as a music journalist in the Bay Area, lamented on what the Grateful Dead scene is and was really about in a recent interview:

First, the music. Second, the community. You know, the social unit that grew up around this thing is immense and global and for better and for worse, it sort of overtook the band and the music after a while. By that last tour in the summer of 95' the scene outside the show was huge and out of control and full of crime and bad stuff because people started coming for *that* rather than the music. [At that point] the music was winding down because Jerry was in ill-health, so the other thing began to overtake it. (D. Gans, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

Gans hits on two important elements here that had a profound impact on the findings of this study. First, he explicitly implies that the key factor in what made this whole “Grateful Dead thing” happen in the first place was the music. The music is what brought these people together and it was the guiding force in building such an enduring and close-knit community. Second, he implies the problematic issues that arose when it stopped being about the music and individuals began getting into the community for other things. This heightened mainstream attention resulted in large numbers of outsiders attempting to join the community and this is conveyed through the significant increase within the archive through the 1980s and 1990s, which will be further unpacked in a later section. Gans’ sentiment and the history of the impact the band’s music had on the community is consistent with the finding that 37.3% of the entire archive is made up of fan tapes. The

number of fan tapes per era is one of the only categories that logically coincides with the band's success and creative high points.

As mentioned previously, the amount of fan tapes within the archive for the 1980s is substantially higher than any other decade. One of the biggest factors at play in regard to this finding is that the 1980s were when the taping phenomenon really took off. The Grateful Dead established a sanctioned taper section at all of their shows beginning in 1984. More fans were acquiring the technology needed to be a part of this sub-subculture and trading tapes became common practice for Deadheads. Taking into consideration that the Dead played for the entire decade of both the 1970s and 1980s, in comparison to only half of the 1960s and 1990s would be a logical conclusion for the number differentials; that being a total of 441 in the 60s, 2,768 in the 70s, 4,844 in the 80s and 1,960 in the 90s. The substantial numbers assigned to both fan envelopes and fan tapes are consistent with the higher numbers of totals in regard to the 80s and 90s seen across the archive as a whole. The advent of Grateful Dead Ticket Sales and the take-off of the "taping compendium" which both occurred in the 1980s could account for the inconsistency of the archive in coinciding with the band's popularity.

The Grateful Dead's mainstream success in the 1980s is another contributing factor in the inconsistency of the archive to match up with the band's defining years. The band's 1987 hit "Touch of Grey" was the only song that ever made it into the top ten, coming in at number nine. It was also accompanied by a music video that was aired on MTV and received a substantial amount of airtime. The music video featured the band members playing on stage while their physical bodies switch back and forth between themselves in the flesh and them as skeletons. The projection appearing above the

musicians on the stage is a clear visual of Bertha, the skeleton that wears a crown of roses on her head. Not only did the circulation of this video publicize the musicians and the music itself, it further spread the band's iconography and integrated many shots of the Deadhead audience.

This was the first "mainstream" exposure the band had received and it succeeded in getting the public's attention. As previously mentioned, this breakthrough was followed by an increase of interest in the scene as a whole and the longstanding Grateful Dead community started to attract negative media attention. The Deadhead scene had previously been on the fringe of society and a subculture entirely its own. Their mainstream success witnessed many "non-Deadheads" trying to get involved in the scene without genuine intentions. From the outside, the community began to look like one whose primary concern was getting high and partying, which was not what the scene was solely about. These aspects came to be a factor in outsiders attending Dead shows. Rather than seeing the band and becoming part of the scene for the music, people started going to shows for the party and to get high. The attention the scene began to attract at this time contributes to the extremely high numbers in the archive related to the 80s and 90s.

This mainstream success also had a significant impact on the band's brand, making their classic logos easily recognizable. As bands become widely known, so does their iconography. We see this today through the vast amount of music merchandise and memorabilia available for bands and artists like Jimi Hendrix, Kiss, the Doors, Janis Joplin, Led Zeppelin, the Beatles, Bob Marley, and of course, the Grateful Dead. Though none of these artists are putting out new music in the current day, it is not uncommon to be able to walk into Walmart and pick-up a \$10 t-shirt displaying the band's classic

iconography. It is peculiar to consider the amount of easily available merchandise in relation to classic rock artists in comparison with what is available for current musicians.

Once a band crosses over to the mainstream, retailers cash in on this popularity by commodifying the music into a consumable visual product that consumers can purchase to further communicate their identities. Through this process, the personas of these musicians lose their authenticity and uniqueness by becoming yet another commodity. As this process unfolds, it is eventually no longer about the music - it becomes about the style one is trying to convey through these products. While the archive had zero shirts for the 60s and 70s, the 80s had 27 and the 90s had 145. These increases can be attributed to the band's mainstream success, retailers cashing in on that success, and new fans entering the scene in order to obtain a sense of subcultural identity. Fans no longer needed to attend a show to obtain memorabilia to communicate that they were a part of something; they could simply purchase this kind of identity from the store.

This rise in popularity was shortly followed by Jerry Garcia's demise and eventual death. The archive has a number of magazine and newspaper articles that document various happenings and news stories in relation to the band or its individual members. The 1960s, 1970s, and 2000s all have zero archived articles compared to 97 in the 1980s and 118 in the 1990s. These numbers are representative of the Dead's increase in media exposure to the general public and subsequently coincide with the success of "Touch of Grey" and Jerry's decline.

As previously noted, fan tapes, envelopes, and articles had significantly higher numbers in the 1980s and 1990s in comparison to any other era. The same can be said in regard to the merchandise and memorabilia that is present in the archive. The 1960s and

1970s had little to no documented merchandise within gdao.org. Neither of these eras had any t-shirts and most of the posters for these periods did not have Grateful Dead iconography as the focus.

Although the 1960s had more posters than any other area at 151 - these posters were primarily in relation to multiple act shows that the band performed in. They did not necessarily feature the band as the main focus like most of the posters in later decades did. They did not display the band's iconography or any of the individual band members. Primarily, the Grateful Dead name was displayed with all of the other acts they were sharing the bill with. A large part of this was that the Grateful Dead brand was still in its infancy. The 1970s witnessed the introduction of the official logos of the band on album covers and promotional materials. By the 1980s and 1990s these logos had gained more popularity and recognition.

The 1980s have a documented 27 shirts and 80 posters while the 1990s have 145 shirts and 115 posters in comparison to 0 shirts and 151 posters in the 1960s, 0 shirts and 107 posters in the 1970s, four shirts and 45 posters in the 2000s. As previously discussed, this rise in Grateful Dead-related merchandise correlates to the band's more mainstream popularity. It can also be attributed to the attention that the band received in relation to Garcia's poor health and death in 1995.

Nostalgia and Eulogies in the Death of Garcia

Jerry Garcia's poor health in the late 1980s and eventual death in 1995 are substantial factors that also contribute to the high documentation of the two periods. Fan's accumulation of memorabilia after Jerry's death and the band's retirement functions as a way of remembering what once had been. Garcia's addiction to cocaine

and heroin left him in and out of rehab and treatment centers for a good portion of the 1980s. He developed diabetes and slipped into a diabetic coma in the summer of 1986. Upon improving and stabilizing, he had to spend several months relearning how to play the guitar once he was healthy enough to play music again. Jerry's "back from the dead" story hit headlines and attracted more media attention, simultaneously increasing the 1987 success of "Touch of Grey." Increased media attention and exposure continuously drew more people's interest in the band and "Touch of Grey" helped to bolster that attention and interest.

Although the band temporarily disbanded after Garcia's death in 1995 and retired the Grateful Dead name, their popularity actually continued to increase which conveys a nostalgic longing for something that is no longer attainable. Once Jerry died, that was it; the Grateful Dead would never again be the Grateful Dead and many fans were not ready to accept that. The Grateful Dead Hour is a syndicated radio show that began in 1985 and is hosted by David Gans. The show still runs today, and, in an interview with Gans, he explains that the peak years for the show were actually several years after Garcia passed away. Jerry's death, without a doubt, was a major contributor to this; longtime, dedicated fans as well as new fans were distraught upon the news of his passing. Many individuals did not even become a "fan" until the Grateful Dead was no longer the Grateful Dead. The massive impact Jerry's death had within popular culture drew people in to see what the scene was all about and made fans out of individuals who previously were not. This process is clearly seen in the archive by looking at the amount of items submitted for both the 1980s and 1990s in comparison to every other decade.

Although the merchandise submitted in the archive is scant compared to fan tapes and envelopes, there is a significantly higher amount of nearly every category within the 1990s, excluding the previously discussed fan tapes. There were 34 Grateful Dead related albums put out in the 1990s, 1,960 fan tapes, 9,659 fan envelopes, 145 shirts, 115 posters, 623 tickets, 118 articles, 13 stickers, 12 cards, 20 backstage passes, and 76 fanzines. The slight uptick in the 1990s could be related to Garcia's death in the sense that fans were seeking tangible memorabilia to convey that they had "been there" and been a part of the scene once the phenomenon was over.

There is little to no merchandise to represent the 1960s and 1970s. Neither era has any shirts and the 1960s have 151 posters while the 1970s have 107. As previously noted, many of these do not solely feature the Grateful Dead. It is worthy of note that the concept of branding was still in its infancy in the 1960s and 1970s. Although fans had a strong affinity for the band, the music, and the surrounding community, the Grateful Dead *brand* had not been circulated far outside of the niche scene itself. Due to this, many Grateful Dead-related products could only be obtained from *within* the scene. If fans did not have the opportunity to attend a show, there was little they could do to acquire this kind of memorabilia. As a result, the music had a further reach than the related merchandise did. We can see this in the data by comparing the numbers of fan tapes to tangible merchandise in both the 60s and 70s. While neither decade had any t-shirts or similar products bearing the Grateful Dead iconography, 73.1% of the cumulative items for the 1960s and 94.6% of the items for the 1970s were fan tapes, which further signifies the primary aspect of what the scene was truly about - the music.

The advent of Shakedown Street in the 1970s increased the circulation of fan-produced merchandise that is relatively unaccounted for within the online portion of the archive. Although there is a substantial amount of photos documenting Shakedown Street itself, there are only a handful of items that specify their origin in Shakedown Street. The technology that became available in the 1980s and 1990s are a major contributor in these increases in comparison to previous eras. The Internet drastically changed the ways in which fandom functions. Fans no longer had to find a physical gathering space in order to communicate their fanaticism to fellow fans. By 1995, the Internet was a primary space that fans utilized to discuss the Grateful Dead, which impacted the ways in which they mourned Jerry Garcia's death and communicated their Deadhead identity.

Upon Garcia's death, fans flocked to mediated outlets to mourn and connect with fellow Deadheads in order to grieve and share stories about how Garcia and the boys impacted their lives. The use of the Internet was becoming more widespread and fans utilized mediated outlets to share music, videos, stories, and to connect with fellow Deadheads. The virtual world allows those with the same interests to gather in a specific place in order to discuss a given topic or pupil. Users can share their experiences, their memories, and their thoughts on what the deceased person meant to them and how that person impacted their lives. These virtual narratives serve as eulogies to help with the grieving process and further increase the reach of Grateful Dead discussion, simultaneously boosting their acclaim and status by (mediated) word of mouth.

The Internet also allows users to be acknowledged and take part in the phenomenon of death; people are drawn in and feel the need to publicly talk about it. Fans were able to use the Internet and various online fan communities for a eulogizing

function in regard to Jerry's passing in 1995 and THE WELL was one of the primary gathering places for Deadheads during the late 1980s and 1990s. It was a space that fans could talk about Jerry's death, find solace in knowing they were not alone in their grief, and plan memorials in the physical world. Users are still active on this site and all of the previous discussions related to the band as well as Jerry's death have been archived and are still accessible. The Internet allows events such as these to be frozen in time and users can go back and relive the conversations of a past decade. Online archives share a similar function in the sense that they are capable of preserving (and creating) the past, telling a story, and allowing users to contribute to that lineage.

The ability that fans had to 'virtually mourn' after Garcia's death was a new phenomenon that had not been available to fans in previous eras. Members of other rock and roll fandoms only had the ability to mourn by themselves and with other fans in the physical world. For example, Jim Morrison's death in 1971 attracted a very different kind of response from fans than the death of Garcia did 23 years later. Morrison was buried in the Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris and his is the cemetery's most visited grave. Over the years, fans have consistently covered the tombstone with graffiti, flowers, bottles, and pictures. The bust of Morrison that was placed above his headstone was stolen and nearby graves have often been defaced. *USA Today* cites that approximately three million people visit the cemetery every year and that 4,000 fans paid their respects at his gravesite on the 40th anniversary of his death in 2011. While Morrison's fans only had one physical center where they could mourn his death, Garcia's fans had numerous mediated outlets where they could express their grief.

Though there were many memorials for Garcia in the physical realm, those who could not reach those destinations were still able to connect with fellow fans through the opportunities brought to them through the Internet. There was a celebration of Garcia's life held at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco on August 13th, 1995 with over 20,000 people in attendance. Friends and fans left mementos to celebrate the joy Jerry brought to their lives and many of these items have a home in the physical Grateful Dead Archive in Santa Cruz. Archivist Nicholas Meriwether constructed a Jerry Garcia Memorial Collection that is composed of more than 3,100 items from that day. The ability that Grateful Dead fans had to eulogize and express their sorrow through mediated outlets allowed them to feel like they were taking part in the nationwide mourning, even though they could not take part in the actual memorial in the physical world. The Internet further allowed them to continue this mourning after the memorial was over and to continuously communicate about Jerry until they felt some kind of closure and acceptance whereas the fans of Jim Morrison never had this opportunity.

After Jerry died, many believed that the "Grateful Dead thing" had run its course and that it would end and forever be a part of history. Jerry's death may have actually made this "Grateful Dead thing" even more powerful. Garcia died relatively young, at age 53, and the band was still in full swing at that point. When a rock star dies in the limelight, that is how he is remembered. Although Garcia had suffered some health issues and had played some bad shows, he was still Jerry Garcia of the Grateful Dead. People had not lost interest by 1995 and the scene was still flourishing. As Jerry passed on, so too did the official Grateful Dead - making both a legendary part of history that would never be the same again.

Although the scene is not quite what it was when the Grateful Dead were together, it is still alive and well today. Many Deadheads follow the remaining band members and still flock to see any shows where members play together. Aside from Dead and Company, fans also attend tribute bands that have had significant success such as Dark Star Orchestra, Dead Again, Terrapin Flyer, and others. There is a substantial amount of merchandise surrounding these spinoff bands and tribute bands that have no presence in the archive. However, on the opposite end of that spectrum, there are a number of original Grateful Dead fans that refuse to follow any of the Dead's spinoff bands because they do not believe that anything can compare to Jerry Garcia. This is shown in the archive by the very limited amount of material accounting for the 2000s up until today.

The emphasis that is placed on Garcia is also seen through the album covers that are included in the archive. While the Grateful Dead album collection is incomplete on gdao.org, two of Jerry's solo albums are included: *Garcia* (1974) and *Reflections* (1976). Though other individuals that were affiliated with the band in some way like Bob Weir, Mickey Hart, Robert Hunter, Tom Costanten, Rob Wasserman, and Phil Lesh have released their own albums, there is no indication of it in the archive. There is also no merchandise, tapes, or posters that correlate with any of the spinoff bands that have been active in the late 1990s up through today. The merchandise present in the archive for the current era is only associated with new Grateful Dead-related products rather than Dead and Company, Furthur, Rat Dog, Phil and Friends, or any other corresponding band that has formed since 1995. There are a few fan envelopes for tickets to the Furthur Festival in 1996 and 1997 but that is as far as the archive traces that part of the band's history.

This is indicative of the ways in which the selection process of archiving strategically chooses to remember history.

What History Chooses to Remember in an Archive - Retro Culture in the Digital Era

Interestingly, the 2000s have more Grateful Dead-related albums released than any other decade with a current total of 120. Although none of the albums are original works by the band, there is a lineage of albums that have been put out as compilations of their best live shows. Dick's Picks began in the 1990s and was the predecessor of Dave's Picks, which were released in the 2000s. These albums were followed by similar releases in the 2000s known as Road Trips. Dick's Picks had 36 volumes, Dave's Picks had 21 volumes, and Road Trips currently has 17. Four box sets were released in the 2000s as well as 46 retrospective live albums. The archive documents four shirts, 45 posters, two cards, and 4 backstage passes for the 2000s. Although the Grateful Dead disbanded in 1995, their music has lived on and the corresponding merchandise and memorabilia have continued to be produced alongside the works of solo artists and the various spinoff bands of the Dead. This phenomena can be attributed to what Williams (1961) and Hogerty (2017) call "retro culture" in the digital era.

Williams (1961) defines retro culture as "the intangible and fleeting sense of a lived culture as it is experienced at a particular place and point in time by a particular group or groups of people" (p. 65). Hogerty (2017) explains that a part of this is applicable to popular music directly. He explains that the innovators have become excavators - continuously trying to resurrect their past success and the younger versions of themselves. He cites the examples of The Who Hits 50! anniversary tour and Eminem resurrecting Slim Shady. In many ways, the Grateful Dead can be seen as doing the same

thing - still living in their past fame and acknowledging the fact that their fans still want more. Hogerty (2017) builds upon Williams' original work by noting that "when a culture is no longer being physically lived, it actually continues to live in the recorded format and that by very careful analysis we may attempt to obtain a sense of the general overarching structure of feeling from this recorded culture" (p. 33). Further, he explains that technology is an intrinsic part in all of this and a process of reselection occurs once the cultural period has passed.

The process of selection and reselection can be used to explain some of the gaps that appear within the archive. Williams (1961) hits on the differences and tensions between older and younger fan generations in the appreciation of cultural works. Hogerty (2017) builds on this and suggests:

A structure of feeling implies, then, an implicit knowledge and sensibility shared by members of the same generation unit. Younger generations must rely largely on the selective tradition in order to attempt to tap into the mood of previous time periods, leading ineluctably to an incomplete memory of the past, a point taken up a later section by some of the fans in relation to the topic of "selective memory"...What is missing in the vicarious experience is the authentic structure of feeling of having been a member of the original generation unit that enjoyed this music the first time around. (p. 34)

Although there are some fans of younger generations that truly appreciate the band's history and do their best to research it so that they can understand it - it is true that they were never there and therefore have no embodied or lived experience in relation to when the Grateful Dead was actually the Grateful Dead. Many young fans may appreciate a song or two but never attempt to breach beyond that. This is where the original fans may experience tension among the younger fan generations because authentic fandom is essentially impossible but still trying to be achieved. Although newer fans can experience the shows that are performed by today's spinoff bands - it will never be the real thing

ever again. There are many levels within a fandom and the Dead's five decade activity makes these levels even more varying. The distinct line between the original Grateful Dead scene and the new fangled Dead and Company scene might be a factor in the negligible documentation of the 2000s.

An interesting facet in the archive, which was previously noted, is the partial documentation of original Grateful Dead albums. The data gathered in this study for Grateful Dead albums and related works were retrieved from outside the archive due to this incompleteness. There are 21 album covers included in gdao.org - they primarily consist of studio albums such as *Shakedown Street*, *American Beauty*, *Built to Last*, etc. and a few greatest hits records such as *Skeletons from the Closet*, *One from the Vault*, *What a Long Strange Trip It's Been* and live albums. It would be assumed that Grateful Dead records would be the easiest artifacts to recover for inclusion in the archive. Albums like *Blues for Allah*, *Go to Heaven*, *Reckoning*, and *Live from the Mars Hotel* are missing. The Dead had a hard time capturing their style on studio albums due to their improvisational style and the minimal amount of space available on records. Many of their live albums had more success than their studio albums did and this could be a contributing factor in why this part of the archive has been overlooked. The 10,013 live fan tapes in the archive convey the prominence of live shows in the band's history. Not only have fans spent more time submitting their own recordings, but curators have spent more time organizing and filling in the gaps of the fan tape section of the archive.

Gaps in the Archival History of the Grateful Dead

It is apparent that there are significant gaps within the online archive and that there are certain aspects of the Grateful Dead's story that are missing. A contributing

factor to this is that the online archive is supplemental to the physical archive that is located in McHenry Library on the campus of UC-Santa Cruz. The physical archive was donated by the band itself in 2008 and there was an additional donation in 2012. The online archive was created in 2012 and its home page explains, "The core of the website collection are items selected and digitized from the original 600 linear feet donated to the UCSC Library by Grateful Dead Productions, Inc. (GDP), and this will be enhanced and supplemented by user submitted created content." Drummer Mickey Hart is quoted as saying, "If you want to know how the Dead was built, this is where you go...the Archive tells the whole story." It is evident that a great amount of stock has been put into the contents of the archive - not only by the fan community, but also by the band members themselves. Hart's statement exemplifies the belief that the archive is an accurate depiction of the band's legacy.

Without mapping the physical archive it is difficult to decipher if it fills in the gaps that are left in gdao.org. As previously mentioned, the two categories within the online archive that have the highest number of items are fan tapes and fan envelopes. Fan tapes have a cumulative total of 10,013 and fan envelopes have 14,532. These are two aspects of the Grateful Dead's history that were primarily fan-driven and due to this, it is remembered by fans because they played an active part in it. When fans feel like they are playing an active role in their fandom of choice and making the scene richer through their own personal works, the personalization and attachment a fan has increases significantly. For many years, the freedom to tape shows and the band's mail-in ticket service separated them from other bands of the time. It is clear why the numbers of these categories are so high and why it is an element of history that is clearly remembered and

held with high regard. Considering that gdao.org is partly socially-constructed, it is evident that the items fans had put their own personal effort into are significant. The items in the archive like shirts, posters, tickets, and backstage passes were primarily produced by the band whereas the fan tapes and fan envelopes were crafted by the surrounding community. They are creative and unique in terms of the fans' own works and their attendance of particular shows, which further motivates fans to share them in the public archive.

The archive's website has a "wishlist" asking for specific items that they are looking for from fans or individuals with ties to the band. Currently archivists are focused on finding press clippings, tickets, and backstage passes particularly from the 1960s and 1970s. They mention that the Grateful Dead poster collection is of high priority and that there are many posters not represented in the archive. The website explains that the band "was not sentimental about their past and many posters are not represented within the archive." Curators are also concerned with obtaining materials pertaining to Magoo's Pizza Parlor in Palo Alto, CA, any materials in relation to Mother McCree's Uptown Jug Champions, and early Bill Graham and the Family Dog posters, handbills, and tickets specifically from 1966-1969.

It is relatively expected that the materials from the early days of the Dead are difficult to locate. No one expected the Grateful Dead phenomenon to grow into what it did and end up being such a significant aspect of popular culture, music history, and fandom. The early days of the Dead were ephemeral in the sense that it all happened so fast and no one expected a band like the Grateful Dead to become such a worldwide phenomenon. Scott and Halligan (2010) explain:

The Grateful Dead looked like us. They acted like us. They made mistakes. Sometimes they had bad nights. The audience loved it when the Grateful Dead made an obvious error on stage. When there was a missed lyric, the audience and musicians shared a chuckle. Just like each of us, the band was imperfect, so we felt a special brotherhood you just can't replicate when you see Mick Jagger strutting on stage. (p. 73)

The band members were average people that just happened to make it big, which was part of the attraction for many fans. By the time the scene expanded to what it became in the 1990s, many fans were nostalgic for the early days, before the mainstream grabbed hold and Garcia's decline took a toll on the community.

Although the 1960s as a whole were notably underrepresented in the archive, there were a substantial amount of posters dating back to early psychedelic shows when the Grateful Dead performed with other bands before they became the main attraction. As previously touched on, there were a total of 151 posters that accounted for the 1960s. Four of these displayed the rose iconography, six displayed skeletons, and one had an image that looked similar to Stealie. Although it was not the focus and the poster did not solely represent the Grateful Dead, it does appear to vaguely resemble one of the most well-known logos of the band prior to the release of *Steal Your Face* in 1976. This specific poster was for a 1967 show at the Fillmore and although this poster was in the band's early days and contained no clear iconography for the band itself, it may be an artifact that exemplifies the origin of one of the band's most easily recognizable logos. Tracing the origin of iconic logos such as Stealie contributes to cultural memory as a reminder of where the brand started. Such icons transmit a legacy and signify the identification and values that fans align themselves with. The origin of Stealie exemplifies the profound impact the Bay Area music scene had on the Grateful Dead and the psychedelic, hippie-like foundation the band was built on.

There were 140 posters that fell within the “other” category, meaning that none of the five logos appear anywhere on the poster itself. Many of these posters advertised shows that the band played at alongside other acts, so although their name might have appeared, it did not solely advertise the band itself. The significance of these posters in the archive conveys the roots of the Dead. Their connection to the Acid Tests, the San Francisco scene, hippie culture, and their association to Bill Graham are all seen through the content of these posters, signifying the importance of their formative years and how they attracted the fan base that they did. Although there are some gaps in the numbers pertaining to the 1960s, the archive does clearly demonstrate the era’s significance.

Fan envelopes are an area within the archive that displays a complete picture of the utilization and involvement with Grateful Dead Ticket Sales. The mass amount of envelopes that are in the archive were retrieved from Grateful Dead Productions and then scanned and uploaded to the site. Due to this, submission to the archive was not solely in the hands of fans. A conclusion worth considering in regard to the lack of certain items or low numbers in particular eras may be that many fans who still have original Grateful Dead items in their possession are not aware that the archive exists or do not know how to access it. Items like t-shirts and posters would be somewhat difficult to scan in order to have a digital file that could be submitted online. This could be attributed to the lack of resources in order to do so, resulting in what is known as the “digital divide.”

In short, the digital divide occurs as new digital technologies, such as the Internet, become commonplace in our everyday lives which can lead to information disparities among different demographics in regard to access and ability to navigate these channels (Nguyen, 2012). To build upon this, Morales et al. (2016) introduced the participatory

divide by which there are “inequalities that lead to an irregular distribution in digital participation in a given population” (p. 98). The creation of any kind of archive brings along with it implications regarding access. Physical archives lack mobility, meaning that only individuals within physical and geographical proximity have the opportunity to visit them. Although digital archives can be accessed online from anywhere in the world, the issue then becomes the accessibility of the web in general. Though a significant portion of the country has Internet access, there are still divides in regard to who has that access and who knows how to navigate this virtual space. Many of the Grateful Dead’s original fans would make up an older demographic today and could possibly have not kept up with all of the technological advancements we have witnessed through the past four or five decades. Shakedown Street was the primary place that fan-produced material culture was circulated within the scene and the documentation of this is lacking in the digital archive. The “digital” aspect of gdao.org might be a contributing factor to this.

As previously noted, the 2000s are the most underrepresented decade within the online archive with a total of 175 items. The late 1990s and the entirety of the 2000s witnessed a plethora of different Grateful Dead spinoff bands by the remaining members of the band as well as solo work by a few of the Grateful Dead musicians. As previously noted, this part of the Dead’s history has received mixed reviews from original fans. Many still follow the remaining members on tour today while others stopped following the band after Garcia’s death. While some fans lost interest during this time span, many new fans of younger generations were drawn into the fold by musicians that were part of the band’s tours. Most recently, John Mayer brought new fans into the scene by joining Dead and Company in 2015. Although some of these fans may participate in attending

Dead and Company shows, they are primarily dedicated to John Mayer's solo work in comparison to the lineage of the Grateful Dead. John Mayer's fan base prior to Dead and Company was comprised of a completely different population. Mayer's solo work was primarily acoustic blues music which often took the form of love songs. While many members of Grateful Dead spinoff bands came from within the jam band scene, Mayer infiltrated the scene with a different kind of music fan. These different fans have different practices and thus shape the archive differently.

Dead and Company provides an interesting intersection between cover songs and that of the original. Though Bob Weir, Mickey Hart, and Bill Kruetzmann are playing songs that were originally theirs - John Mayer, Oteil Burbridge, and Jeff Chimenti are covering the songs and adding their own flair to them. Though in this case these songs are part original, they are also part covers. Cusic (2005) explains that cover songs are often able to reach a new audience that has never heard the original version. These newcomers are often separated from the original either by generation or taste in music. This is most certainly the case with Grateful Dead fans that never got the chance to see the Grateful Dead perform as the Grateful Dead. Many young fans might prefer Dead and Company's version of the song over the original while older fans still favor the original and primarily see Dead and Company perform live because it is the closest they can get to what once was a scene that they were active members in.

Taking the previously mentioned digital divide into consideration, these younger fans are often considered to be "digital natives;" meaning that they use the internet and certain technologies on a daily basis. Although the Grateful Dead was no longer the Grateful Dead in the 2000s, it would be expected that this younger generation of fans

would fill in some gaps for this time period in the archive with merchandise, tickets, and live recordings. This lack of documentation could be attributed to the fact that younger fans are not as familiar with the band's rich history and do not see the value in continuing to document it. If younger fans attend Dead and Company shows primarily for John Mayer, it would be expected that they would not have done enough research on the Grateful Dead to even know or care that a corresponding archive exists. This ties back into Hogerty's notion of the tension between original fans and younger fans in the sense that younger generations have the ability to easily access new technologies in order to preserve the past but choose not to.

Diversity in Fan Branding and Logos

A clear and relevant part of the Dead's history found through mapping this archive is that there is a very indistinct line between consumers and producers as well as the band and its fans. The Grateful Dead always put a lot of focus and value on their surrounding fan community and recognized that their audience was an essential part of what really made them the Grateful Dead. While it is clear that items like tickets and backstage passes were produced by the band and corresponding venues and items like envelopes and fan tapes were strictly fan-driven, items like posters, shirts, fanzines, and stickers were often hard to categorize as fan or band.

It was often hard to tell where Grateful Dead Productions and Merchandising ended and fan-production began. Many of the commercial items in the archive clearly indicate copyright information in the "show details" section of each individual item. However, some items that are obviously commercially-produced lack the copyright information; therefore, best judgment had to be used. The copyright statement on every

item in the archive does state, “If the work itself or our research has indicated that one or more individuals or entities is a current copyright holder, that information may be included in the Copyright Information field. Other sources for copyright information include the Creator field or copyright statements on the work.” Those items lacking clear copyright statements were assigned to fan categories unless it was clear that the work was commercially produced.

Other items like fanzines clearly started as solely fan-produced endeavors and evolved over time into more commercial items. There were a total of 159 fanzines in the archive between *Unbroken Chain*, *Golden Road*, *Dupree’s Diamond News*, and *Relix*. *Relix* began as a primarily Deadhead-driven fanzine and eventually evolved into the commercially-produced music magazine that it is today. *Unbroken Chain* seemed to stay the least commercially driven over the years, which is clear by the black and white print and hand drawn artwork seen throughout its pages. *The Golden Road* included advertisements for Grateful Dead-related shops, products, and entrepreneurs in its back pages and *Dupree’s Diamond News* eventually included prices on the front cover of each issue. This evolution within the fanzines is consistent with the band furthering their reach through the mainstream with their music and increasing amount of merchandise. It was no longer such a niche market; these items were beginning to spread beyond the Deadhead community as commodity forms.

The blurry line between producers and consumers in the Grateful Dead scene impacted the branding practices of both the band and the fans and resulted in a substantial amount of fan branding. These amateur branding practices are seen within the archive by the high number of items falling within the ‘other’ category in terms of logo utilization.

This lack of clear distinction is attributed to the freedom that the band gave their fans in regard to the use of their logos and the Grateful Dead brand itself. From a public relations standpoint, it is typical that an organization has one consistent logo that is used on all of their materials and advertisements in order to have a clear signifier of the organization. In total opposition to that strategy, the Grateful Dead has, at minimum, ten different logos that are consistently seen on fan and band materials.

There have been a number of articles and books published about the radical marketing strategies that were employed by the Grateful Dead. As a band, they did things differently than any other band, company, or organization of the time and it worked out in their favor. Many of their business strategies that were so radical at the time have become relatively common in today's business world. The band's allowance of fans to tape and trade their performances in the mid-1980s was unheard of at that time but aided in creating a taping subculture within their already substantial cult following. Their allowance of Shakedown Street beginning in the 1970s aided in the increase of fan-produced materials using the Dead's logos and the circulation of those items within the scene.

The amount of fan works that were produced within the Grateful Dead scene made the branding strategies employed by the band a co-branding effort in the sense that fans were able to make up their own inventions with the Dead's official logos. The visual data retrieved from the archive was categorized by both logo and decade. This categorization included fan envelopes, shirts, posters, tickets, fanzines, and albums. For each category, a high percentage of items fell within the "other" category, meaning that there was no indication of any of the five most recognized logos that were traced

throughout this study. The percentage of items categorized as “other” were approximately as follows: fan envelopes at 57.5%, fan shirts at 10.2%, band shirts at 13.7%, fan posters at 17%, band posters at 54.2%, tickets at 74.3%, fanzines at 9.4%, and albums at 32%. These numbers are representative of the dual effort between both the band and its fans in branding the Grateful Dead.

It is interesting to note that two of the lowest percentages for “other” are fan shirts and band shirts. While there were only a cumulative total of 176 shirts in the archive, only 22 or 12.5% were categorized as “other.” For band shirts, 17.1% featured bears, 7.7% had Bertha, 28.2% utilized Stealie, 24% featured skeletons, 9.4% had the rose as its focal point, and 13.7% were categorized as other. The numbers by logo for shirts that were assumed to be created by fans were similar: 10.2% featured bears, 10.2% had Bertha, 20.3% utilized Stealie, 40% featured skeletons, 10.2% had the rose as its focal point, and 10.2% were categorized as other. By collapsing band shirts and fan shirts into one entity we can more clearly see which logo was utilized the most: 14.8% bears, 7.9% Bertha, 25.6% Stealie, 30% skeletons, 9.7% rose, and 12.5% other. While nearly every other item category in the archive had a significantly higher portion as “other,” shirts had almost the least in comparison to the logos traced.

This lack of “other” could be attributed to the greater need for consistency on items like t-shirts. While many fan-produced items used numerous logos, many of the shirts, commercial and fan made, provided only one as the focal point. The need for one consistent logo on shirts may be due to the fact that creators have less freedom in the design process because of the limited amount of space present on these materials. T-shirt designs are usually restricted to the very center of the clothing item while posters and fan

envelopes can be elaborately decorated from corner to corner and edge to edge. Posters and envelopes give fans and producers the liberty to utilize psychedelic designs that incorporate a variety of logos and details woven in and out of the intricate patterns which are able to cover every inch of the artifact. While tie-dye shirts are a common design on clothing within the Deadhead scene, tie-dye merely provides a backdrop to the focal point of the item as a whole. In general, the data gathered from the archive supports the conclusion that the two official logos that seemed to resonate the most with fans are Stealie and various forms of skeletons.

When fans produce their own merchandise for a band whom they have developed a parasocial relationship with, it often increases their loyalty to that particular band. Fan-produced works that were bought and sold within Shakedown Street also add to this phenomenon. Shakedown Street provided fans with an opportunity to buy one-of-a-kind, unique items that they would not have been able to find through commercial outlets. Fans that have a strong affinity for a band often want to leave their show with some sort of artifact like a shirt, a poster, a pin, etc. These physical artifacts signify their experience of being there and being a part of something that they believe is significant and important.

This study traced five of the most recognized logos in the band's history - the dancing bears, the skeleton(s), Stealie, Bertha, and the rose. These logos still show up on a significant portion of commercially and noncommercially produced Grateful Dead items today. Etsy.com hosts a large number of sellers that produce homemade items in relation to the Grateful Dead and many of these entrepreneurs sell their items at shows when they can. This is an example of how Shakedown Street has gone virtual. There are many more restrictions in regard to selling items at shows today than there were during

the Grateful Dead's heyday due to increasingly strict copyright and trademark infringement laws. Though Shakedown Street is still a common ritual at jam band shows and festivals, vendors are now required to have a permit and will be scolded and/or shut down for vending without one. These stipulations often force sellers to move their products to the web.

The five logos traced in this study have also been used in various fashions in regard to Grateful Dead-related organizations and spinoff bands. For example, The Rex Foundation is a nonprofit charitable organization founded by the band in 1983 which utilizes the Grateful Dead rose with lightning bolts protruding from each side as its logo. Dead and Company's logo consists of the lightning bolt originally seen in the center of Stealie's skull with the same red, white, and blue color scheme. All five of the previously mentioned logos adorn Dead and Company merchandise that can be purchased at shows or on the band's official website.

These logos were implemented as master symbols by the band early in their career and are still circulated on current memorabilia produced by Grateful Dead Productions. Each of these logos can be traced to particular songs or albums, most of which were primarily released in the 1970s. As noted before, the 1970s witnessed some of the Grateful Dead's most memorable work and many of these official logos are referenced within songs or are the focus of particular albums. Stealie is referenced in "He's Gone" (1972) with the lyric "Steal your face right off your head"; Bertha has a self-titled song (1971); and roses are mentioned in both "It Must Have Been the Roses" (1974) and "Ramble on Rose" (1971). Other logos that are not quite as common include the Terrapin turtles (Terrapin Station, which was a 1977 album and song), the U.S. Uncle

Sam skeleton (U.S. Blues, 1974), the stand alone lightning bolt (Lazy Lightning, 1976), the skull from the Tibetan Book of the Dead, Jerry Garcia's hand missing half of its middle finger, the ice cream cone kid from *Europe '72*, the *Aoxomoxoa* skull and crossbones, the invisible man from *Shakedown Street*, and pyramids overlaid with a face and wings that correspond with the band's performance in Giza, Egypt in 1978 and corresponding album *Rocking the Cradle*.

Considering that 57.5% of fan envelopes did not utilize one of the five previously mentioned iconic logos shows that some of these less recognizable logos resonated with many fans, possibly even more than the main five did. These less iconic logos showed up much more on fan art than any commercial items put out by the band. While this could show that the band was trying to stick more with the most popular iconography, it also shows that they simultaneously allowed their fans to get creative in furthering the reach of the band's brand. The high percentage of "other" on fan-produced works indicates that fans were personalizing the Grateful Dead brand in their own ways, further demonstrating their attachment and love for the band.

When a fan has the ability to create something in relation to a band that diverges from the common designs that are often seen on these materials, it is evident that their relationship with the band cuts deeper than their mainstream recognition. While the Grateful Dead had an unusually high number of official logos, the majority of fans still chose to utilize other designs and images to communicate aspects of the fandom that they closely identified with.

Many items that were put in the "other" category also included some more unofficial logos that were consistent in fan art, many of which appeared on fan envelopes

that can be traced back to songs that were released by the band. The variety of suns that appeared can be connected to a few songs: “China Cat Sunflower” (1968), “Sunshine Daydream” (1970), “Here Comes Sunshine” (1973), and “Sunrise” (1977). Decorations such as moons, stars, planets, and spaceships can be attributed to the band’s spacey improvisational musical style as well as “Dark Star” (1967), “Mountains of the Moon” (1969), “Little Star” (1983), “Standing on the Moon” (1989), and “Picasso Moon” (1989). Many nature-like themes appeared as well, such as flowers, trees, Greenpeace stickers, and statements about recycling. These instances go along with the band’s environmental awareness and public voice in related issues like “going green” and “saving the Earth.” Many of the band’s lyrics refer to nature and the beauty of the world around them which is also a correlate. Different variations of eyes and eyeballs also appeared on envelopes, which might be in reference to “Born Cross-Eyed” (1967) or “Eyes of the World” (1973).

The usage of these unofficial logos is likely to correlate with favorite songs or aspects of the band’s mission and values that resonated with fans. As these unofficial logos are consistently utilized on fan artwork and various fan-produced works, they become part of the canon and the somewhat “unofficial” history of the band. As these images and logos appear, they aid in crafting a mutual story of the Grateful Dead that is co-branded between the band itself and their fans.

Aside from unofficial logos, many envelopes utilized pictures or drawings of specific band members, primarily Jerry Garcia. Garcia came to be known as the leader of not only the band, but the surrounding fan community as well. He was an object of idolization and after his death he became somewhat of a mythic figure. Any time that the

band made decisions in regard to Grateful Dead Productions after Jerry's death that fans disagreed with, the backlash would almost always involve comments about how disappointed Jerry would be. Deadhead Jon Hoffman commented in David Gans' 1995 book about how the online world remembered Garcia after his death by saying that "Jerry was the binding glue and opening force that connected the hearts of thousands of people in ways that we never knew were possible ... Jerry was one of us ...He was very human, and cared more about the music and all of us than himself" (p. 54-55). The kind of adoration that was always attached to Jerry makes it clear why he was the center of focus on many fan-produced works. Bob Weir, Phil Lesh, Brent Mydland, and Pigpen were present on envelopes as well, though not nearly as consistently as Jerry was.

Focusing on a specific member of the band conveys the strong parasocial relationships that fans felt to these musicians. Horton and Wohl (1956) explain parasocial relationships as the intimacy famous icons achieve with crowds of strangers through observation and interpretation. Auter (1992) suggests that each encounter with a media persona will foster some sort of parasocial interaction, however, strong feelings about the individual will only develop after they have been exposed to a number of parasocial encounters. Deadheads were known for going to as many Grateful Dead shows as they could and traveling long distances to see the band perform. This attribute aids in explaining how parasocial relationships were formed between fans and Garcia as well as the other band members. Intricately drawing these icon's faces and personas on the fan envelopes that were sent to GDTS was a way to express the deep seeded love, connection, and compassion fans felt towards these individuals.

Many fans also correlated their artwork to the current context by using themes related to the show venue or holiday that it fell near. This act can be correlated with many Deadheads' ability to identify a live song with the year and venue it was played at. This personalization is taken to an extreme level, which some may say borders on obsession. Because of the Grateful Dead's improvisational style, no two shows were ever the same. The set list was always different and the "jamming" that accompanied each song always took audiences to a new place. The specific decorations that adorned envelopes for different shows correlates to the personalization of each experience and functions as a signifier that further helps fans remember these events.

An interesting theme that emerged was the use of cartoon characters on the envelopes, primarily the Jetsons, Cat and the Hat, Thing 1 and Thing 2, the Lorax, Fantasia Mickey Mouse, Alice in Wonderland, Pooh Bear, and Gumby. The connection between the Grateful Dead and Alice in Wonderland is relatively clear cut. The Dead was a psychedelic jam band that was known for their condoning of the use of psychedelics. Owsley Bear Stanley worked as the band's first soundman and was the leading venture behind the Wall of Sound. Owsley's involvement with the band is the origin of where the "dancing bears" stem from. Owsley was also the first private individual to produce large-scale amounts of LSD. The rumored connection of LSD and Alice in Wonderland is suitable as a correlate with the Grateful Dead.

Utilizing psychedelic cartoons like Alice in Wonderland was a subtle way for fans to express their appreciation of LSD in the Grateful Dead scene. Hallucinogens are a staple in the Grateful Dead legacy and the music that the band played catered to the tripping mind, simultaneously furthering the experience fans had while under the

influence of these drugs. Just as each show was a different experience, each time hallucinogens are consumed it is a different trip. These two aspects work together in further personalizing each individual show in the eyes of the fan and intensifies their love and devotion to the scene. These experiences also bonded them closer to fellow fans in the community - building friendships and relationships through this process also results in fans identifying with the band and its brand in deeper, more personal ways. David Gans hits on this aspect:

People took responsibility for themselves and for each other and decided that they wanted to have what Joseph Campbell called an “authentic life.” Not just have a job and phone it in, but [to] go out and have these kind of adventures by going away for a weekend with the Grateful Dead to trip and listen to music and camp with your friends. I think that’s the main thing, the power of community that sprang up around it. (D. Gans, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

This vision and attempt of achieving an authentic life are instrumental in the ways that fans personalize and internalize the Dead’s brand. This simplistic idea of tripping, listening to the Grateful Dead, and having adventures correlates with a childlike spontaneity and innocence that we can further see demonstrated through the use of these cartoon characters on fan envelopes.

The link between the Dead and these other cartoon characters conveys a carefree attitude that can also be seen in the band’s overall persona and way of life. Phish’s Mike Gordon commented on this aspect of the Dead in an online 2012 *Rolling Stone* article:

For me, what Jerry and the Grateful Dead brought is that childlike sense of wonder where you first learn to drive, where you appreciate every note and every chord going by with happiness and wonder...And then to take that and refine it with years of mixing traditions and innovations galore, for decades of refining, into a much more ‘adult’ sort of package. But always keeping that excitement...as you get older. I think that’s what they did. And I think that’s the most inspiring aspect of it all. (para. 11)

Much like the hippie scene of the 1960s, the Grateful Dead thrived on the whimsical near innocence of the idea of a simpler life and this resonated with fans. As the hippie scene in the Dead's home of Haight-Ashbury and other hippie locales across the country collapsed, the Grateful Dead was able to keep the spirit of peace, love, and understanding alive through their music and at their shows. Envelopes sent in to Grateful Dead Ticket Sales with cartoon drawings could be an encapsulation of these beliefs and philosophies.

Calvin and Hobbes were also consistently drawn on these envelopes. The comic strip ran from 1985 to 1995 which aligns perfectly with the height of Grateful Dead Ticket Sales. The creator of Calvin and Hobbes, Bill Watterson, was famously anti-establishment and anti-commercial which can be seen within many of the Calvin and Hobbes comic strips. Coleman (2000) highlighted these themes and messages in a textual analysis of the Calvin and Hobbes collection:

Watterson promoted an ethical theory deontological and virtue theory characteristics. He opposed moral relativism in favor of absolutes. He advocated specific virtues (e.g., friendship, kindness) and personal and communitarian responsibility and recognized the essential smallness of the human species. The dominant ethical themes found throughout his work include friendship, significance and insignificance, family, consumerism and greed, selfishness, cultural conformity, ecological responsibility and technological dependence. (p. 27)

Community, friendship, anti-commercialism, and ecological responsibility are a few of the values that were significant in the foundation of the band, which impacted and influenced the individuals that were drawn into the scene. These beliefs speak to the Grateful Dead's values and legacy and it could be assumed as a reason that many fans associated these entities in their fan artwork.

Another interesting phenomenon in the fan envelopes was the use of actual pictures. Some fans would attach photos of themselves at previous shows, but more commonly would attach photographs of their children. This could be attributed to a factor of humanization on the fan's part. They might believe that if they put a face with the name on their return address they would be more likely to have their ticket orders filled and/or receive good seats at the shows they were trying to attend. It was and is still relatively common for fans to bring their children to Grateful Dead shows, which is another factor in this logic.

By incorporating children into this part of the band's story, fans are passing the legacy on down to the next generation in hopes of keeping the spirit alive. Fans further the reach of the Grateful Dead brand through this act by bringing their children up in this scene, which simultaneously paves the way for Deadheads of a younger generation.

Another contributing factor in regard to the use of photos on fan envelopes, especially those of children, is that many Deadheads met their significant others at Dead shows.

Sophia June (2015), a writer for *Eugene Weekly*, attests to this:

The Grateful Dead are the reason I am alive, and millions more have been given spiritual life through their music. My parents eventually divorced, which for me, makes the Grateful Dead even more meaningful: They are the one thing besides my brother and me that will always connect my parents. My dad, following a Dead tour in 1987, is just a microcosm for what millions of fan's relationship with the Dead is — in his words, “the adventure of a lifetime.” (para. 45)

Many Deadheads have built their lives around significant experiences that they had at these shows. Fans who utilized photos of their children may have done so as an act of gratitude towards the band. Like June mentions, the Grateful Dead are the reason she is alive and many other fans may have similar experiences and feel as though the band is the foundation on which they have built their lives.

Many individuals who used the ticket service would also keep their designs consistent for all of the shows they would send orders in for. Some of these envelopes would be consistently identical while others would have the same design with differing color patterns and shading. Fans might have done this in hopes of maintaining a degree of familiarity. If GDTS were to make note of similar envelopes for numerous shows that were from the same person, it could increase the fan's chances of obtaining good seats due to their "dedication" for following the band.

Public vs. Private Fandom

The Grateful Dead's online archive serves as a source to continuously increase the collective intelligence of the fan community through the public sphere. Jenkins (2006) defines collective intelligence as the "knowledge available to all members of a community...Collective intelligence expands a community's productive capacity because it frees individual members from the limitations of their memory and enables the group to act upon a broader range of expertise" (p. 139). Digital archives function as a device of collective intelligence by telling the story of the band and its fans. The archive serves as a public domain of fandom that can be observed and enjoyed in the private sphere.

The items in the archive flow between the public and the private sphere and vary within each context. While many of these items, such as albums, tapes, and posters are enjoyed within the privacy of fan's homes, they become public forms of fandom once they are digitized and submitted to the archive. They are simultaneously public forms of media in the sense that items like albums, posters, and shirts are produced by one entity in order to reach a larger population in the form of a commodity. While they are still technically a commodity once they have transferred into a digital format, they are no

longer in the market of being sold. Rather than being advertised to the public for commercial gain, they are being advertised to the public in order to tell a story. This process markets the public memory itself then as a commodity, making these artifacts sacrosanct.

Fan practices like decorating envelopes and sending them into Grateful Dead Tickets Sales is a very private form of fandom in the sense that it is a solely individual activity and not distributed to the masses. Fans adorned these envelopes knowing that only those filling ticket orders at GDTs would see them, yet they still took pride in intricately decorating them in clever ways. Although decorating these envelopes was initially an act of private fandom, it is an exemplary aspect of the Grateful Dead lineage in the ways that fandom is constantly in flux between public and private spheres. Today, these envelopes have become historical artifacts that are displayed publicly not only in the digital archive but also in the physical archive at UC-Santa Cruz. Considering that there are a total of 14,532 envelopes archived, it is interesting that one of the most private aspects of Deadhead culture has become one of the most public today in remembering the history of the Grateful Dead. These envelopes aid in constructing the Grateful Dead's story for future generations to learn about and simultaneously allow original fans to look back on and remember.

Similarities can be concluded from the 10,013 fan tapes that are archived. Although the Grateful Dead always encouraged their fans to tape their performances, there were certain rules and guidelines that needed to be followed and understood by both parties. Taping was only allowed if it was done for non-commercial purposes - meaning that fans could tape shows for their own personal collection and trade tapes with fellow

fans but not sell the tapes in order to make a profit. The act of taping a concert is a very public form of fandom, done at a live show while experiencing the spirit and atmosphere with fellow fans. Once the show was over, tapers would retreat home and usually create ornately decorated casefold inserts for the cassette cases.

These inserts would usually include the date, venue, set list, and/or a variety of hand drawn decorations or logos. Eventually, these casefold inserts could be created via computer programs due to emergent technology. This private act of fandom would again emerge into the public sphere when traders would connect with fellow tapers to exchange tapes and fill in gaps in their own collections. In many ways, tapers were their own breed of archivists for the band. They preserved the history, the stories, and the moments of the Grateful Dead phenomenon throughout the eras. The previously mentioned Dick's Picks and Dave's Picks came from this taping compendium and the personal collections of Dick Latvala and David Hardy Lemieux.

The taping phenomenon continued to become more public with *Dead Relix* which began in the fall of 1974. The Grateful Dead's official site, dead.net, explains that it was

...something of a forum for Deadhead tapers and traders, featuring how-to articles on recording, trading etiquette, and classified ads for collectors and tape-trading clubs...Tapers saw their mission simply: to capture history. For a band whose performances were defined by improvisation, that alone imbued tapes with some of their allure.(para. 3)

Although there was always a very public element to the art of taping, as the sub-culture continued to grow larger it became significantly more public. For many years *Dead Relix*, now known as *Relix*, was a publication solely dedicated to this phenomenon. While taping the show was done in the public and preparing and mastering the tapes was done in private, the act of listening to these tapes was both a private and a public

experience. Fans could listen to these tapes by themselves or listen to them with fellow fans in a more public way.

Although the Grateful Dead has fans with many differing demographics, it has historically had a very high percentage of white, male fans. This follows the trend of the band to have primarily white, male members. The ways in which men express their fandom in comparison to women often differs. While males take a more public approach in expressing their love for a particular band or artist, females are usually more private. For example, David Gans, Barry Barnes, and David Dodd are three of many high-profile Deadheads today. They are well-known authors within the Grateful Dead scene and have been a part of much of the ensuing fandom of the continual Dead scene. These guys have been able to make a living off of their love for the band and have become well-known figures within the Deadhead community.

The archive has numerous fan envelopes from Barry Barnes and David Dodd while there are several articles that relate to the Grateful Dead-related work that David Gans has done. In a 2016 interview conducted with David Gans he commented on his public connection to the Deadhead scene: “If I was uncomfortable possibly of being too closely identified with the Grateful Dead, I’d finally surrender[ed] to the fact that it is what it is and I am who I am. This is my field of expertise and I would be a complete idiot to abandon it.” Gans gets at the fact that for he and many others, the Grateful Dead has become a concrete part of his public identity and who he is as an individual. Although high-profile Deadheads like David Gans surely have their own ways of enjoying Grateful Dead fandom in the private sphere, it has become a predominantly public endeavor.

The creation of an archive further blurs the line between public and private fandom. Many of the more private forms of fandom that Deadheads partook in, such as fan envelopes and fan art, officially become public forms once they are submitted to the archive. The physical archive located at UC-Santa Cruz is a public space for fans to view and sift through the history of the Grateful Dead. While the online portion of the archive that was the focus of this study is publicly accessible on the web, viewing it can also be considered a private act. Fans can click through the elements that make up this archive by themselves, in the privacy of their homes.

This distinction also speaks to the ways in which fandom itself has evolved over the past few decades. The rise in mass media has provided new and interesting ways by which fans can express their fandom and connect with fellow fanatics. The Grateful Dead's span across five decades has allowed us to track that evolution and see the ways in which it has transformed between eras, items, and the Internet. Looking back on the 1960s is demonstrative of how many fandoms of that time began in a small and localized manner. A physical location and gathering place was vital in expressing fandom publicly. While listening to records and reading magazines like the *Bay Area Music Magazine*, for example, could be primarily acted out in the private sphere, the act of concert going and having a close encounter with the musicians one had developed a sort of parasocial relationship with had to be done in the public sphere due to the limited technology of the time.

As the Dead embarked upon the 1970s, fans began to experiment with new ways to act out their fandom when the band was not in town to play a show. The emergence of fanzines was a form of media created by one or two people with the intention of reaching

a good portion of the fan community. Individual fans created these in the private sphere in hopes of reaching a significant segment of Deadheads whom would appreciate the artwork, the stories, and the testimonies included in each issue. Readers could enjoy the issues by themselves in private or flip through the pages with fellow fans in order to create a dialogue and discuss elements of their fandom, again making this a more public endeavor. The ability that fans had to take out ads in these zines further pushed the boundary between public and private fandom.

The changes the community witnessed in the 1980s further blurred these distinctions. Fans had begun to take the brand into their own hands through the items sold in Shakedown Street and the advent of Grateful Dead Ticket Sales, which was seen through the data retrieved for this study. The band's mainstream success further made this niche outlet more public through the success of "Touch of Grey" and the mass media attention the scene received due to Jerry Garcia's declining health and the increased number of "fans" getting involved in the scene. The Grateful Dead was no longer merely a topic of discussion between fans; it became a public point of conversation on mainstream news outlets and newspaper publications.

The 1980s further witnessed a boom in rock and roll memorabilia. Grateful Dead-related merchandise became more easily accessible which is conveyed through looking at the ads for bohemian-like shops in the back section of some of the fanzines. Fans were now easily able to express their fandom publicly by wearing t-shirts bearing the Grateful Dead iconography. Widespread use of the Internet was another significant factor in spreading the Grateful Dead fandom.

By the 1990s, the use of the Internet had become pretty mainstream and common. This allowed fans to gather in a cyber place rather than a physical location to discuss their fandom of choice. This kind of participatory media allowed fans to express their devotion in the public sphere through Internet forums, blogs, and chat rooms, which could then be further carried out in the physical realm. The utilization of these web forums became public only when one would publish a post; many fans could still remain in the private sphere by simply reading the ensuing conversations but not partaking in them. As the use of the Internet progressed, so too did the digitization of audio files and video recorded shows.

This digitization allowed fans to gain access to shows they could not physically attend in the public realm or allowed them to relive the experience over and over again in the privacy of their own homes. Today, live Dead and Company performances stream on nugs.tv as they are taking place. These webcasts allow fans to make a public event a private endeavor from the comfort of their own homes. Tracing these technological evolutions points toward the conclusion that the concept of fandom is a fluid one; it is always in flux between both spheres and the emergent technologies we have seen in recent years have continued in blurring these distinctions. The Grateful Dead Online Archive demonstrates the complicated nature of digitizing the tangible past in order to communicate the legacy to future generations.

Chapter 5: Takeaways and Practical Applications

Digitized Archives

This study's digitization of the Grateful Dead Archive is the first of its kind to undertake such an endeavor and this is the first study to explore digitized culture by mapping these artifacts. GDAO is the first archive of a cult band to digitize its material culture in a way that encourages the fan community to submit their own artifacts in order to dually tell a story of the cultural phenomenon in which they participated. The archive is representative of the digital and material culture surrounding cult bands, the ways that cult music fandom has evolved over the past five decades, and the implications and gaps that are unavoidable when constructing an official and definitive history of a cultural phenomenon like the Grateful Dead. The construction of the digital portion of the Grateful Dead Archive sheds light on the ways in which digitization impacts material culture, fan activity, public memory, and the evolution of fandom.

The digitized material culture found in the Grateful Dead Online Archive functions to tell a story for future generations and allows for the individuals who were there to preserve their memories. This study contributes to understanding the myriad of ways that public and cultural memory is formed. The implications that correspond with what history chooses to remember is applicable far beyond the Grateful Dead Archive. As Hogerty (2017) mentioned in reference to "retro culture" in the digital era, past culture continues to live in the original recorded format, which allows us to get a sense of the feeling and structure of these times. Much like the Deadhead scene will forever live in the band's musical recordings, the scene will also live within the Grateful Dead archive itself. The Grateful Dead are the only band to construct an archive of this nature whereas other cult bands have no point of reference for future fans.

The representation of these historical events have frozen in time through the documentation that an archive supplies. Much like a textbook, we take these accounts as the official truth. They provide the raw material for the stories that continuously get passed down through the generations of both fans and researchers alike. The Grateful Dead and the Deadhead community will eventually become a form of folklore; the only fully accurate account that will be available in the future will reside in the recorded format. The account constructed by the archive is fully subjective through the items deemed as relevant and worthy enough to be included in the official canon. Pieces of scholarship that address how these memories are formed and remembered are vital to further understand how culture functions and is sustained throughout history as memory. The co-branding process that took place during the days of the Dead, which is clearly seen in the archival material, is one of the most profound ways that this legacy is remembered and personalized.

Co-Branding and Personalizing Brands

The methods of fans personalizing the Grateful Dead's brand is one of the most significant takeaways from this study and was a prominent theme seen in the data retrieved from GDAO.org. While identification with a particular brand is an overall goal of any organization, the identification fans felt to the Grateful Dead was very different than the ways an individual might identify with other well-known brands like Apple, McDonalds, Coca-Cola, or Disney. Much of this can be attributed to the communal and experiential nature of the Grateful Dead fandom. Being a Deadhead was more than just liking the music; it was about expressing commitment and loyalty within a community of likeminded individuals that "got it" too by playing an active role in it. The Grateful Dead

provided numerous outlets for their fans to express their fandom, which aided in the substantial and enduring group of fans that spent decades “dedicated” to this brand.

The Grateful Dead Online Archive demonstrates the active role Deadheads played in building the Grateful Dead brand. The digitized material culture that has been archived conveys how brand and community are two interrelated factors in cult band fandom. The active fan community surrounding the band aided in the co-branding process of this iconic brand, which further connects these fans to one another. Identifying, personalizing, and ascribing to the brand itself simultaneously brought these individuals together as part of a close-knit brand community. These actions construct a brand narrative which, in turn, became a significant element in the fans’ ability to build an individual and group identity.

The Grateful Dead brand was never the band’s, it was always the community’s. Allowing fans to personalize a brand in their own ways leads to a sense of place in the scene, which results in feeling as though the fans are valued and important. When consumers take ownership of a brand with which they identify, it further encourages them to spread that brand, to nurture it, and to take care of it. The band allowed their fan community to take the brand into their own hands, freed their content by allowing taping, and allowed fans to make their own productions for circulation within the scene. Although these actions seemed radical at the time, retrospectively looking back we can see how it positively impacted the band’s status and kept fans active in contributing to the rich scene that followed them as well as the overall brand narrative that the archive conveys.

Current bands can utilize similar strategies in order to bolster their own network of fans which will mutually support and spread their own brand. Scholarship delving into the Grateful Dead and their surrounding community of Deadheads sheds light on the variety of ways that the band set themselves apart from other musicians of the time. The lineage of the Grateful Dead is representative of a very specific point in history; the Dead represent the ultimate cult band, the emergence of psychedelia and the hippie counterculture, and the communal spirit that tied all of these elements together.

The radical marketing strategies employed by the band and their corresponding organizations are indicative of the benefits in creating a unique business model and continuously experimenting. The band established their own category of music, encouraged eccentricity, put their fans at the forefront of all their endeavors, built a mass following, freed their content by allowing taping, supported causes that aligned with their values, and loosened up their brand, which allowed their fans to personalize it and further internalize what it meant to be a fan of the Grateful Dead (Scott & Halligan, 2010). Constructing a physical and digital archive further adds to the radical strategies implemented by the Dead. The archive allows these strategies to be remembered and simultaneously provides fans the opportunity to continue to be active even though the original Grateful Dead is no longer together.

The co-branding process seen within the Grateful Dead Online Archive is an example of open-source branding where this kind of content is non-proprietary in nature and is freely distributed within the fan community (Berthon et al., 2000). In terms of cult fan communities, this process encourages fans to improve and contribute to the original products, which as a result, fosters innovation. Though this was always a part of the

band's brand narrative, the online archive allows this innovation to continue to flourish, Chakrabarti, Berthon, Watson, and Pitt (2007) further explain open-source (OS) branding:

The OS brand can be perceived as a mediator of relationships that extend to a multitude of stakeholders travelling beyond buyers and sellers. The first major stakeholder is the OS brand's community and it consists of both producers and users. Their stake lies in producing the offering, along with improving, distributing and using it. From a relationship quality perspective, they are tied up as being 'prosumers' (producers and consumers who coalesce and produce many of their own goods and services) of the product or service. (p. 948)

These strategies are indicative of their fans' loyalty and dedication and their identification with the Deadhead community conveys a rich area of scholarship for public relations, business fields, and music promotion. Retrospectively looking at these conventions allows us to implement such strategies in future endeavors and further learn about the ways in which they impacted the band's consumers and how those consumers responded.

Private/Public Fandom

There are inevitable implications in regard to private and public fandom that arise when a niche brand, such as the Grateful Dead, breaks through into the mainstream. The Deadhead community had been notoriously subcultural and the attention that the scene attracted came with negative consequences for the reputation and communal spirit of the band's fan community. The mainstream success of "Touch of Grey" is remembered bittersweetly by fans and many individuals joined for the party rather than the music or the community. This span of time saw significant increases in regard to the documentation present within the archive. While the process of commodification is often seen as negative in relation to subcultural communities, the commodification of the Grateful Dead fandom can be seen as a positive process. Without a certain element of

commodification, we would not be able to track this portion of the band's career as clearly as the archive does.

Adams and Rosen-Granden's (2002) study on the dissonance often experienced in relationships between Deadheads and non-Deadheads sheds light on the tensions between private and public performance of fandom within the Grateful Dead fan community. The authors suggest that these constraints become more salient as individuals age, which is an interesting aspect in regard to some of the themes found within this study. The original fan base of the Grateful Dead is aging and some of these individuals may have felt as though they have had to lessen their identification within the scene because of their relationships or careers. This tension further impacts the dichotomy between public and private fandom, meaning that expression of this identity can be brought forth in some situations but is considered inappropriate in others. This factor plays a vital role in the lack of documentation of certain eras within the Grateful Dead Online Archive, which substantially impacts the story being told through the digital archive.

Feeling as though one has to closet an identity to which they subscribe demonstrates the impact of the Grateful Dead not only within the community, but outside of the community as well. There are differing accounts of historical events and phenomena that vary among those that were a part of them and those who viewed them as an outsider. These aspects further contribute to the stigmatization that often surrounds self-identifying as a fan of the Grateful Dead and the blurred distinction between private and public spheres. Though the construction of an online archive is very public in nature, fans can vicariously enjoy this fandom through private viewing of the archive within their own homes.

Another contribution gained from this study is the documentation of how fandom and fan activity has evolved over the past five decades, especially in terms of popular music and cult bands. The Grateful Dead is one of the biggest cult bands of all time and their lineage opens up opportunities to track how fannish activity has changed since 1965. The Dead have witnessed multiple emergent technologies throughout their career and they have always embraced and incorporated these new channels and platforms. The band's acceptance of these changes has pushed their fan base to have the same mentality. Bands that continuously innovate and try new things push their fan networks to do the same which sparks creativity from both sides.

The construction of a digital archive further creates new possibilities to observe how material culture is represented in digital form. While the digitization of material culture allows fans to view these artifacts from any location, it also lessens the impact that the artifacts have. There is a substantial difference between viewing a photo of a vintage Grateful Dead shirt and holding it in your hands. Digitization can lead to a loss of meaning because it keeps these artifacts distant and intangible. In today's culture, individuals can look up anything on the Internet. Grateful Dead items and artifacts that are not included in the online archive can easily be found by searching for them on Google. This is one significant shortcoming when comparing the online archive with the physical archive at UC-Santa Cruz in terms of material culture. However, the online archive allows fans to access the recordings from live shows that have been submitted by the fan community that one may not be able to listen to at the physical archive or find on YouTube.

Definitive History

The main function of archiving is to preserve history for future generations. The personalization of the Grateful Dead brand is part of a legacy that has continuously been passed on and contributes to public memory. As noted in the analysis, many individuals built their lives on the experiences they had by way of the Grateful Dead scene. The construction of a digital archive allows these fans to pass this legacy down to their children and a generation of Grateful Dead fans who never actually had the opportunity to see them perform. The Grateful Dead Online Archive is definitive in the framing of its status as “official.” The physical archive was donated by the band itself which automatically gives it the title of definitive. The online archive purports to reflect the corresponding physical archive by the fan base that experienced the scene. This element further legitimizes the Grateful Dead Archive as the official legacy of the band. Inviting fans to submit their own productions and artifacts into the archive aids in telling both sides of the Grateful Dead legacy. Personalization of the Grateful Dead brand has long been a hallmark in the cult fandom surrounding the band and allowing the official archive to be socially-constructed is consistent with that legacy.

Eventually, the remaining members of the Grateful Dead will no longer be with us, nor will the original Deadheads who experienced the actual material Grateful Dead scene. We will still have the material artifacts, the digital recordings, and the published texts to parlay what once was. However, the voices of band members and fans that have pushed to keep the spirit alive will no longer be the leading force in this venture. Once that happens, there will be no credible source to distinguish what *really* happened or what it was *really* like. The story that gets told will no longer be in the hands of the fan

community, it will be definitively in what was selected as important enough to be included in the story.

Once the makers of history are no longer with us, we will be unable to contest inaccurate depictions or incompleteness. Due to this, archives as a whole could be framed as perilous in the sense that there will always be elements excluded. Though the Grateful Dead archive is partly socially-constructed, the final decision in regard to content remains with the archivists at UC-Santa Cruz. The construction of a digital archive further complicates this process because of the digitization process. There are elements of the Grateful Dead history that cannot easily be transferred to a digital format and therefore get left out. There are files submitted by the fan community that are deemed unworthy because their quality is not necessarily “archival.” Due to this factor, the cohesive story told by the physical Grateful Dead Archive at UC-Santa Cruz may be a different account than what is conveyed through the online portion that was central to this study.

Areas for Future Research and Final Notes

Future scholarship focused on the way in which history is preserved and recalled should compare the artifacts between both a physical archive and a digital archive in order to see the ways in which that communication differs. Mapping the artifacts in both the physical Grateful Dead Archive and the online archive by production method, era, item type, and logo would allow us to compare the story that is told in both. We could then more clearly see the gaps that are present in both archives and see if they are filled between the two of them. Merging the history that is represented in the physical archive with the story told in the digital archive would open up possibilities for future scholars interested in fandom, the preservation of history, and the implications of archiving.

As a scholar and a fan, these historical representations are of utmost importance to me due to the nature of the areas that I am interested in researching. I was three when Jerry Garcia died and I never got to experience the Grateful Dead in their original form. While there is a significant amount of scholarship and material culture surrounding the Dead, their corresponding digital archive has never been studied this way. This study opens up new possibilities in regard to how digital archives can be mapped and holistically analyzed.

There is an abundance of literature documenting the Grateful Dead experience through biographies, autobiographies, oral histories, interviews, news coverage, and written texts. Cross-referencing these sources with the numbers retrieved through data collection in the online archive allows us to take a deeper look at the way in which an official history has been created through the process of digital archiving. This process demonstrates the story that will be told and passed down generation to generation once there are no individuals left to share their stories of actually being there.

The Grateful Dead Archive functions as a piece of history that will continuously be bestowed upon young fans that stumble across the Dead and want to learn more. The band, the fans, and the archivists have crafted this representation and will continuously pass it down. Much like a parent passes down their vinyl record collection to their child, this history is being passed down to young fans and scholars like myself in order to recognize its cultural importance and impact. The archive will continuously be expanded and gaps will be filled, just as new records are added to the collections those of my generation have acquired from their parents or grandparents. It will never be the same to

me as it is to those who lived it and took ownership of it, though it will always be highly valued and recognized.

As I bring this study to a close, my roles as both a fan and a scholar have evolved and expanded. I embarked on this project knowing that I wanted to further my research on the Grateful Dead, though I did not know for what exactly it was that I was looking. Through mapping the Grateful Dead Online Archive, I was able to internalize the importance of how history is conveyed and sustained and the elements that contribute to this kind of public memory. Primarily, this public memory is sustained through the elements of personalization seen in the Grateful Dead's brand narrative and how that is articulated for future scholars and fans. The remaining artifacts and the stories that are crafted over time are the only ways that fans such as myself can learn more about the cultures that lived before we did. I appreciate the work that the archivists, the fans, and the scholars before me have put into telling this story and keeping the spirit alive. As a fan who never got the opportunity to experience the Grateful Dead as the Grateful Dead, this research and my own experience mapping the archive demonstrates the power of the community and its enduring lineage. The online archive serves as an opportunity to preserve this legacy for future fans and scholars. The Grateful Dead phenomenon was a co-constructed, mutual journey undertaken by both the band members and their surrounding fan community and represents a place in time that will never be replicated.

References

- Abercrombie, N., & Longhurst, B. (1998). *Audiences: A sociological theory of performance and imagination*. London, England: Sage.
- Adams, R. G., & Rosen-Granden, J. (2002). Mixed marriages: Music community membership as a source of marital strain. In D. Cramer (Author) & R. Goodwin (Ed.), *Inappropriate relationships: The unconventional, the disapproved, and the forbidden* (pp. 79-102). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Andrews, J., & Shweibenz, W. (1998). The Kress study virtual museum project: A new medium for old masters. *Art Documentation*, 18, 19-27.
- Auter, P. (1992). TV that talks back: An experimental validation of a parasocial interaction scale. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 36, 173-181.
- Baker, S., Doyle, P., & Homan, S. (2016). Historical records, national constructions: The contemporary popular music archive. *Popular Music and Society*, 39(1), 8-27.
- Barnes, B. (2011). *Everything I know about business I learned from the Grateful Dead*. New York, NY: Business Plus.
- Berthon, P. R., (2000). Postmodernism and the web: meta themes and discourse. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 65(3), 265-279.
- Bjarkman, K. (2004). To have and to hold: The video collector's relationship with an ethereal medium. *Television & New Media*, 5(3), 197-216.
- Bodnar, J. (1992). *Remaking America: Public memory, commemoration, and patriotism in the twentieth century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chakrabarti, R., Berthon, P., Watson, R. T., & Pitt, L. F. (2007). *Quality Management in Business Relationships: The Role of Brands in an Open Source Environment*.

Total Quality Management & Business Excellence, 18(8), 947-955.

doi:10.1080/14783360701351043

Chapman, S. (2012). Guerrilla Television in the Digital Archive. *Journal of Film & Video*, 64(1/2), 42-50.

Cohen, S. (1997). Men making a scene: Rock music and the production of gender, in S. Whiteley (ed.), *Sexing the Groove: Popular Music and Gender*, London: Routledge, pp. 17-36.

Coleman, A. W. (2000). 'Calvin and Hobbes': A Critique of Society's Values. *Journal Of Mass Media Ethics*, 15(1), 17.

Cusic, D. (2005). In Defense of Cover Songs. *Popular Music & Society*, 28(2), 171-177.

Davisson, A., & Booth, P. (2007). Reconceptualizing communication and agency in fan activity: A proposal for a projected interactivity model for fan studies. *Texas Speech Communication Journal*, 32(1), 33-43.

Dittmar, L., & Entin, J. (2016). Introduction: Archives and Radical Education. *Radical Teacher*, (105), 1-6.

Duffett, M. (2013). Understanding fandom: An introduction to the study of media fan culture. New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Duffett, M. (2013). Introduction: Directions in music fan research: Undiscovered territories and hard problems. *Popular Music and Society*, 32(3), 299-304.

Ehrenreich, B., Hess, E., & Jacobs, G. (1992). Beatlemania: Girls just want to have fun (L. A. Lewis, Ed.). In *The adoring audience*. London: Routledge.

Einsberg, E. (2005). *The Recording Angel: Music, Records, and Culture from Aristotle to Zappa* (2nd ed.). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Eisen, B. (2012, August 3). Grateful Dead, Phish, Vampire Weekend members on Jerry Garcia tribute. *Rolling Stone*.

Erll, A. (2008). Cultural memory studies: An introduction (A. Erll, A. Nuenning, & S. B. Young, Eds.). In *Cultural memory studies: An international and interdisciplinary handbook* (p. 1-15). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Fiske, J. (1992). The cultural economy of fandom. In L. A. Lewis (Ed.), *The adoring audience: Fan culture and popular media* (pp. 30-49). New York, NY: Routledge.

Frith, S. (1987). Towards an aesthetic of popular music (R. Leppert & S. McClary, Eds.). In *Music and society: The politics of consumption, performance, and reception* (p. 139-149). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Frey, L. R., Botan, C. H., Friedman, P. G., & Kreps, G. L. (1992). *Interpreting communication research: A case study approach*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Frith, S., & Goodwin, A. (Eds.). (1990). *On record: Rock, pop and the written word*. New York, NY: Random House.

Gans, D. (2016, November 23). David Gans Interview [Telephone interview].

Gans, D. (Ed.). (1995). *Not Fade Away: The Online World Remembers Jerry Garcia*. New York, NY: Thunder's Mouth Press.

Groene, S. & Hettinger, V. (2016). Are you “fan” enough? The role of identity in media fandoms. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 5(4), 324-339.

Herrman, M. (2008). Not one of those screaming girls: Representing female fans in 1990s' Germany. *Women Studies in Communication*, 31(1), 79-103.

- Hill, R. L. (2014). Reconceptualizing hard rock and metal fans as a group: Imaginary community. *International Journal Of Community Music*, 7(2), 173-187.
- Hill, S., & Rifkin, G. (1999). *Radical marketing*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- Hills, M. (2002). *Fan Cultures*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Hoebink, D., Reijnders, S., & Waysdorf, A. (2014). Exhibiting fandom: A museological perspective. *Transformative Works & Cultures*, 16(1).
- Hogerty, J. (2017). *Popular music and retro culture in the digital era*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Holt, D. B. (2004). *How brands become icons: The principles of cultural branding*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Publishing Corporation.
- Horton, D., & Wohl, R. R. (1956). Mass communication and para-social interaction: Observations on intimacy at a distance. *Psychiatry*, 19, 215-229.
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Fans, bloggers, and gamers: Exploring participatory culture*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Jenkins, H. (2016, October 11). Why study fan-archives? An interview with Gail DeKosnik (part three). Retrieved from <http://henryjenkins.org/2016/10/why-study-fan-archives-an-interview-with-gail-dekosnik-part-three.html>
- June, S. (2015, July 2). Bring out your dead: Eugene reflects on its Grateful Dead legacy on the band's 50th anniversary. Retrieved from <http://www.eugeneweekly.com/20150702/lead-story/bring-out-your-dead>
- Karaganis, J. (2007). Presentation (J. Karaganis, Ed.). In *Structures of participation in digital culture*. New York, NY: Social Science Research Council.

- King, S. A. (2011). The blues, trauma, and public memory: Willie King and the Liberators. In I. Peddie (Ed.), *Popular Music and Human Rights* (Vol. 1, pp. 67-77). Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
- Kreutzmann, B. (2015). *Deal*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Lubar, S. (1999). Information culture and the archival record. *American Archivist*, 62(1), 10-22.
- Maron, N. L. (2013, November 20). *Grateful Dead Archive Online: University of California at Santa Cruz*. <https://doi.org/10.18665/sr.22669>
- Masanés, J. (1998). *Web archiving*. New York, NY: Springer.
- McNally, D. (2002). *A long strange trip*. New York, NY: Broadway Books.
- McRobbie, A. & Garber, J. (1991). Girls and subcultures, in A. McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture: From Jackie to Just Seventeen*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, p. 1-15.
- Merrigan, G., & Huston, C. L. (2009). *Communication research methods* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Meriwether, N. (n.d.). Documenting the Dead: Taping the Dead. Retrieved from <http://www.dead.net/features/blog/documenting-dead-taping-dead>
- Miller, F. (1990). *Arranging and describing archives and manuscripts*. Chicago, IL: Society of American Archivists.
- Muniz, A. M., Jr., & Schau, H. J. (2007). Vigilante marketing and consumer-created communications. *Journal of Advertising*, 36(3), 35-50.
- Mutibwa, D. (2016). Memory, storytelling and the digital archive: Revitalizing

- community and regional identities in the virtual age. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*.12(1),7-26).
- Nguyen, A. (2012). The digital divide versus the 'digital delay': Implications from a forecasting model of online news adoption and use. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*, 8(2/3), 251-268.
- Pattacini, M. M. (2000). Deadheads Yesterday and Today: An Audience Study. *Popular Music & Society*, 24(1), 1.
- Pearson, R. (2010). Fandom in the digital era. *Popular Communication*, 8, 84-95.
- Rappaport, S. (2008, April 24). Grateful Dead donates archives to UC Santa Cruz. Retrieved from <http://news.ucsc.edu/2008/04/2142.html>
- Regev, M. (2006). Introduction. *Popular Music*, 25, 1-2.
- Reist, N. (1997). Counting Stars by Candlelight: An Analysis of the Mythic Appeal of the Grateful Dead. *Journal Of Popular Culture*, 30(4), 183-209.
- Richardson, P. (2014). *A cultural history of the Grateful Dead: No simple highway*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Rifkin, G. (1997, January). How to "truck" the brand: Lessons from the Grateful Dead. *Strategy and Business*, (6).
- Roberts, K., (2004). *Lovemarks: The future beyond brands*. New York, NY: Powerhouse Books.
- Robles Morales, J. M., Antino, M., De Marco, S., & Lobera, J. A. (2016). The New Frontier of Digital Inequality. The Participatory Divide. *Revista Española De Investigaciones Sociológicas*, (156), 97-115.
- Sanjek, D. (1990). Fans' notes: The horror film fanzine. *Literature/Film Quarterly* 18(3),

150-159.

Scott, D., & Halligan, B. (2010). *Marketing lessons from the grateful dead*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Shuker, R. (2005). *Popular music: The key concepts* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Smith, P., & Inglis, I. (2013). A Long Strange Trip: The Continuing World of European Deadheads. *Popular Music & Society*, 36(3), 305-326.

Spector, S. (2012). *Studying the Grateful Dead phenomena: From interdisciplinary studies to transdisciplinary studies*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Hawaii University International Conferences on Arts and Humanities, Honolulu, HA.

Sullivan, J. L. (2013). *Media audiences: Effects, users, institutions, and power*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Straw, W. (1990). Characterizing rock music culture: The case of heavy metal. In S. Frith & Goodwin, A. (Ed.), *On record: Rock, pop, and the written word* (p. 97-110). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Theberge, P. (2005). Everyday fandom: Fan clubs, blogging, and the Quotidian rhythms of the Internet. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 30, 485-502.

Thompson, C. J., Rindfleisch, A., & Arsel, Z. (2006). Emotional branding and the strategic value of the doppelganger brand image. *Journal of Marketing*, 70, 50-64.

Tomuic, A. (2015). Mediated histories of advertising. Museum exhibitions and digital archives. *Journal of Media Research*. 8(21), 3-18.

Trier-Bieniek, A. (2013). *Sing us a song, piano woman: Female fans and the music of Tori Amos*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press Inc.

Vidon, M., & Dyer, J. (2016, January 27). Paris cemetery on moving Morrison grave: No way. Retrieved April 1, 2017, from <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/01/27/paris-cemetery-moving-morrison-grave-no-way/78798672/>

Williams, P. (2002). *Back to the miracle factory: Rock etc. 1990s*. New York, NY: Tom Doherty Associates, LLC.

Williams, R. (1961). *The long revolution*. London: Chatto & Windus.