INSTITUTIONS AND ENTREPRENEURS: EXPLORING THE
EMERGENCE OF THE GRATEFUL DEAD COMMUNITY

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John A. Guiney

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The Undersigned Faculty Committee Approves the

Thesis of John A. Guiney:

Institutions and Entrepreneurs: Exploring the Emergence
of the Grateful Dead Community

[Signature]
Congeong Zheng, Chair
Graduate School of Business

[Signature]
John Francis
Graduate School of Business

[Signature]
Yawen Li
School of Social Work

August 16, 2010
Approval Date
DEDICATION

This thesis dedicated to my family for taking an active role in my education from the beginning and for their support in all areas of my development as a man. Without their support I would not have had the drive to continually improve and seek higher education. This thesis is also dedicated to the memory of the Grateful Dead, who taught me through their pursuit of happiness that, as long as your intentions are pure, it’s okay to play by your own rules.
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Institutions and Entrepreneurs: Exploring the Emergence of the Grateful Dead Community
by
John A. Guiney
Masters of Business Administration
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Current research surrounding institutional theory and the theory of communities focuses on each as independent fields of study with limited connection to one another. However, institutions and communities are not mutually exclusive. It is possible, in fact, for communities to surface and successfully operate within a mature institution without losing their communal identity or structure, or fundamentally changing the institutional structure in which they are embedded. Using the grounded theory approach, I examine the case of the Grateful Dead, which was able to successfully operate within the institution of the music recording industry by building a unique community to support the band’s alternative business structure. This thesis proposes a model for community emergence based on three structural pillars: cognitive, normative, and regulative.
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I would like to thank Dr. Zheng, for providing guidance and encouragement throughout this thesis process, and for her willingness to work under tight time constraints. I would also like to thank Dr. Francis and Dr. Li for giving up their time to review this thesis. I also could not have done this without the support of the Grateful Dead family members and community, so I thank you all. Finally, I would like to thank my friends, colleagues, and classmates at San Diego State University for displaying understanding and for providing encouragement and help throughout my MBA program.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Called “one of the most remarkable business stories in rock ‘n’ roll history”, the Grateful Dead dramatically changed the American musical landscape beginning in the late 1960s. By leveraging their community of followers, more commonly known as Deadheads, the band was able to create a unique business model that was unlike anything else the recording industry had ever seen. The band based this business model on the emergence of a strong community that relied on close interpersonal bonds. This community would become synonymous with the band. My research goal is to examine current research that focuses on institutional theory and the theory on communities and explain how the Grateful Dead community emerged.

The current research surrounding institutional theory that is based on mature organizational fields, such as the recording industry, suggests that central players create an institutional structure that is followed by most participants within the field. This research suggests that once the institutional structure is created and accepted by participants, changes to this structure appear gradually and usually from the periphery. In some cases, however, highly embedded actors will recognize a necessity to change, and the industry will undergo a change beginning in the center and spreading outward (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Institutional change and structure are parts of a larger business discussion, but fall outside of the scope of this thesis.
Similarly, sociologists have studied the theory on communities extensively since the early nineteenth century. Since this time, the idea of community has been accepted as a symbol of safety and familiarity (Brint, 2001). In order to better understand communities sociologist have studied the factors that lead to their emergence and help formalize the community structure. Until now both institutional structure and community have been studied independently. Researchers have not considered the similarities and relationships between the two. The current theories do no take into account how communities can emerge and successfully coexist within an industry that is operating under an old institutional model.

Using qualitative procedures, I explored the current theories surrounding community emergence and the formation of social bonds between participants within the community structure. I then studied the current theories around institutional structure. Contrary to current theories which view institutional structure and communal structure as completely separate entities, I found that the two fields are not mutually exclusive. Communities in fact, can grow organically and create sub-institutions within a larger institutional structure.

This study contributes to both institutional theory as well as community theory by outlining how a community can modify its structure to succeed within an established institution. This thesis presents a process model for community emergence that illustrates how the Grateful Dead were able to construct and foster a community in a fashion similar to how institutional fields are constructed and regulated. I will present common theory on both institutions and communities and outline how each partially explains the situation encountered by the Grateful Dead.

Secondly, the focus of this thesis is to examine the structure of the fan community that developed around the Grateful Dead. As a result of researching the Deadhead
Community as well as fans of their contemporaries, this thesis will examine the Grateful Dead business structure and how it affected the structure of Deadhead Community, as well as, how the band used a varied range of grass roots campaigns with the goal to grow the community over time. To study the Grateful Dead fan community, I looked at multiple forms of communal business structures in other fields. Through this thesis, I will illustrate the structure of the Deadhead Community as it evolved, and apply a model based on the formation of cognitive, normative, and regulative pillars that support the community structure.

Ultimately, my research examines how community structures are formed and impacted by the actions and decisions of central participants. Individual decisions about the production, management, and distribution of the social capital help to create and solidify social norms used by all community members in order to maintain order and grow a sub-cultural society. This thesis specifically examines the growth of the Grateful Dead and their fan community, also known as the Deadheads, from the band’s roots in the Palo Alto music scene to one of the top grossing music acts of all time. By contrasting business decisions made, consciously or unconsciously, by the band, and the norms of a mature industry, the music recording industry, this case will illustrate how an actor can successfully navigate the business landscape by using direct to consumer means that were not practiced by incumbents in the field.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Though current research discusses both institutional structure and community structure, there is a shortage of current research linking the two topics. An influential work by Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) on institutional structure focuses on entrepreneurial moves within an institutional structure. The authors unfortunately focus only on change. This article ignores the possibility of actors working within the institution without changing or conforming to the current institutional structure.

In contrast, Brint (2001), in his groundbreaking work on community structure focuses on the past work of Toennies ([1887] 1957) and Durkeim ([1897] 1951) and their definition of community. Brint (2001) revisits the previous theories and offers an expansion to the theories based on cultural variables. Through Brint’s explanation focuses on community context, and primary motivation, it underestimates the community’s ability to create chances for interaction and work as a subculture within a mature institution. Considering the previous works, and stepping back to consider a broader view, my report explores the possibility of developing a self-regulated community within an existing institutional structure.

WHAT IS COMMUNITY OR CBE?

First an understanding of community and Community Based Enterprises (CBEs) is needed to identify a base line for this argument. Situations where the community represents both the enterprise and the entrepreneur simultaneously are known as CBEs (Peredo, 2006). Embedded in the current social structure of the early 1960’s music scene, the Deadhead
Community worked to create and operate a new enterprise that ran parallel with the institution of the recording industry (Peredo, 2006). Unlike the CBE, however, where the people own and govern every aspect of the venture rather than allow for representational government, the Grateful Dead created a business structure for the band and crew where the inner circle was directly involved in decisions, but the larger whole, the Deadhead Community, was represented by a single spokesperson. This structure is referred to as a horizontal hierarchy and discussed later in the Business Structure section.

**EXISTING THEORY ON INSTITUTIONS**

Current research maintains that institutions and communities are two mutually exclusive constructs. Though some work draw parallels between them (Toennies, [1897] 1988), distinctions still remain. In my conceptualization, the primary distinctions between the two are stages of development, scope, and extent of formality. Institutional structures are commonly thought of as older, more developed and more mature than communities. Community structures are commonly viewed as newer as compared to institutions (Marquis, Glynn, & Davis, 2007). In the case of Grateful Dead, the community of Grateful Dead started in the 1965 within the larger institutional context: the recording industry. The recording industry was started in the late 19th century and the early 20th century when phonograph made sound recording feasible, essentially separating the music listening from music performing. By 1965, the recording industry was mature, established and is experiencing a period of consolidation (Peterson & Berger, 1975). The next distinction is on scope: institutions tend to exert a broader range of influence in a variety of settings than communities. Communities are usually thought of as smaller and more geographically dependent. In my case, the record industry is a national industry with a set of rules and regulations that are influential.
nationally. In contrast, communities are often thought as local and geographically dependent. The Grateful Dead community first started around the San Francisco bay area and only moved to other parts of the country later on. Most other communities stay local for most of their life span. The third area of distinction is formality. Institutions are more formal, usually with rules, regulations, and other legal supports; and communities are usually less formal, most of their support is based on reciprocity, interpersonal trust, and norms within the communities. Even though institutions and communities can be distinct, they are interconnected. Well developed communities occasionally resemble institutions. In the later stage of development, Grateful Dead community became so large and mature that some observers claim that it has become an institution itself.

When analyzing the extent to which the community works as an institution we accept Scott’s (2006, p. 133) definition that “Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior”. Previous research has used the institutional framework to analyze community structures (Marquis et al., 2007; Marquis & Battilana, 2009). Only when all factors are present and interact to promote and sustain orderly behavior is an institutional system fully developed. Therefore in order to understand a fully developed institution we must first understand each of the three factors.

The regulative components of institutions view institutions as systems of rules or as a governance system. This feature compares institutions and the rules that they enact on their members to “rules of a game” (Scott, 2006, p. 133) within a competitive or athletic challenge. This belief infers that there are not only a written set of rules that participants must follow, but also a set of informal regulatory structures that exist at the sector and community
level. Members of the society are expected to adhere to these regulatory structures out of expediency. Usually enforced by coercion, the tendency of individuals to follow these regulations often results in the avoidance of sanctions or the garnering of rewards. Behaviors that conform to the existing rules and laws are seen as legitimate to the institution.

Normative components, or social norms, primarily provide a moral framework for social life. Unlike regulatory structures, which are a set of rules by which individuals must play, that are created and enforced by institutions, norms are not externally enforced laws or rules. Norms reflect common values. Participants structure norms based on what is appropriate within the institution. Participants feel socially obligated to others, who share common values, and are committed to following and perpetuating the spread of such norms in order to solidify the structure and strengthen the bonds between actors.

The cognitive-cultural components in social life make up the last element of institutions. The cognitive-cultural element, unlike the previous two elements, relates less on an individual level and more on a collective level. Depending heavely on the interactions between members of society, Berger and Luckmann (1966), as well as Scott (2006), argue the belief that “social life is only possible because and to the extent that individuals in interaction create common frameworks and understanding that support collective action”. Basically the view here is that without a cognitive base on which to conduct these interactions, participants would be working individually for personal goals and interests, not effectively moving toward the completion of a common goal, or communal goal. The cognitive structure that arises within the institution helps to create a common language and common processes that individuals follow and maintain.
The idea of cognitive, regulative, and normative components will be revisited to examine how the Grateful Dead community balanced each during the institutional formation. The Grateful Dead were able to allow their community to successfully exist as a community alongside the prevailing institution, the recording industry, the whole time maintaining a lower level of embeddedness than their contemporaries.

**EXISTING THEORY ON COMMUNITY**

In order to properly discuss and evaluate the emergence of the Grateful Dead community, a baseline must be set, and the concept of community itself must be defined. The topic of community as groups, brought together by common social thread, representing either communal relations or interest-based associations dates back to the time of Confucius (Brint, 2001). Though a classical argument, the theory of community remained an obscure topic to sociologists until it was reexamined and popularized by Ferdinand Toennies ([1887] 1957) in his theoretical essay *Gemeinshaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society). Toennies reinvigorated the study of community initially by treating *gemeinshaft* and *gessellschaft* as evolutionary processes. Toennies ([1887] 1957) argued that *gemeinshaft* evolved into *gessellschaft* as humanity evolves from childhood to maturity. Toennies ([1887] 1957) formulated his concept by contrasting the two terms, *gemeinshaft* and *gessellschaft*, based on comparisons of a large number of communal and associative relationships such as belief, ties, and power. As a foundation this research was significant but some of the comparison were inexact or flawed. Toennies ([1887] 1957) comparative qualities did not always directly correlate with one another, as in cases such as “*gemeinshaft* with familiarity, *gessellschaft* with rules to overcome”. Toennies’s ([1887] 1957) original assumptions and comparative design resulted in less than accurate findings, over simplifying and attributing too much to
the relationship between *gemeinschaft* and the results of “natural will”. Toennies’s approach was highly connotative and thus invited misunderstanding about the definition of community and led to conceptual confusion for later scholars.

One such scholar was Durkheim ([1897] 1951). Similar to Toennies, he was interested in communities as an instrument for equipping human beings with moral sentiments and a social support structure. The main difference between Toennies ([1887] 1957) and Durkheim ([1897] 1951) was rooted in Durkheim’s concept of community. Unlike Toennies, Durkheim ([1897] 1951) did not view community as a physical entity or social structure but instead Durkheim viewed community as a set of variable properties of human interaction that could be found in any societal structure. Durkheim’s approach has been followed and revised by other sociologists resulting in six properties of “*gemeinshaft*-like” relations. The six variables are broken down into two classifications, cultural variables and structural variables. The two cultural variables are a common moral order, i.e., set of beliefs in an idea system, an institution or a group; and similarity, i.e., “perceptions of similarity with the physical characteristics, expressive style, way of life, of historical experience of others” (Brint, 2001, p. 3). The four structural variables are: ritual occasions; involvement in and social attachment to certain institutions; demanding and dense social ties; and small group size. It was these six variables that Brint used as a basis for his generic concept of community.

By defining communities as “aggregates of people who share common activities and/or beliefs and who are bound together principally by relations of affect, loyalty, common values, and/or personal concern” (Brint, 2001, p. 8), Brint builds on Toennies’s research on the motivation of the actors in the community but ultimately models his research similarly to
Durkheim and his variable approach. Ultimately Brint’s model breaks communities down into two categories based on existential basis of relationship ties (either geographically-based or choice-based). Each category of community is then farther subdivided by primary reason for interaction. The geographically- based community is finally divided into three differing community structures based on frequency of interaction, they are; (1) Small-Scale Communities of Place, Neighborhood Groups, (2) Local Friendship Networks, and (3) Communes/Collectives. Choice-based communities are filtered through two more variables, location of other members and amount of Face-to-Face interaction, resulting in four separate community structures, they are; (1) Elective Communities, (2) Disperse Friendship Networks, (3) Virtual Communities, and (4) “Imagined Communities”. The study of the Deadhead community focuses on a choice-based, elective community. Though Brint (2001, p. 11) mentions “fans of a particular singing group” as members of the virtual or imagined community, the hyper-connectedness of the Grateful Dead fans, and practice of traveling with the band resulting in increased face-to-face interactions, would better fit his description of Elective Communities.
CHAPTER 3

METHODS

RATIONALE

This study began as an exploration into the relationship between institutions, entrepreneurs, and communities. To better understand this relationship I studied the case of the Grateful Dead, and their fan community, the Deadheads, as they define the micro-environment in which the band interacted with, and operate within the current institution, in the form of the entertainment industry, more specifically the recording industry. The musical recording industry was controlled by large central players, the recording companies, that owned studios and would lease studio time to artists, in order to record records, keeping slightly over 80% of the record’s profits, and in most cases owning the publishing rights. Bands made more revenue from touring and merchandise than from studio record releases, retaining roughly 70% of the profit. At the time of their emergence, the recording industry was a highly mature and institutionalized field. The Grateful Dead were not heavily embedded in the current institution and worked as agents of change, rethinking and reinventing each step along the value chain (recordings, live shows, distribution).

The research design was based on using inductive logic to obtain and gain insights, this type of design is known as “naturalistic inquiry” (Greenwood, 2006, p. 30). During this research, qualitative procedures were used for four reasons. First, the changes observed over time in the business structure were not immediately apparent and obviously measurable, instead they were resultants of complex social interactions and were the result of subconscious and conscious decisions made by the initiators (the Grateful Dead) and the
societal members of the community (the Deadheads). Second, by using inductive techniques to clarify the sequence of events within, and surrounding the community, I could detangle and clarify the root causes of these events and give a foundation for a timeline in which to analyze historical events and reactions. Third, quantitative research fails to examine in proper depth the societal structure formed by the organic emergence of norms and implied regulatory standards. Finally, the primary motivation for this case was to contrast preexisting understandings and practice within an industry to the methods and techniques used by new entrants in the field. Thus, my thesis is an instrumental case study that draws upon two sources of data: archival material and interviews.

**SOURCES OF DATA**

I collected most of the data on a topical basis, beginning with the basic institutional elements and elements that define a community. I then narrowed the collection of my data to only those agents of change within mature fields. General research involving the band and its members followed. Finally I took an in depth look at the band’s business structure and the community membership. Interviews were conducted over the first three weeks of July 2010 and were used to complete the data collection process

*Informants.* Three categories of actors were interviewed. One group consisted of former members of the Grateful Dead’s inner business structure (former members of the bands touring staff). I interviewed ex-sound engineer Dan Healy, who worked exclusively with the band until the death of Jerry Garcia in 1995, and the band’s publicist, Dennis McNally. All interviews were conducted using the questions contained in the standard interview protocol [See Appendix A]. Due to individual experiences and differing tenure lengths with the band, the interviewees’ answer to similar questions returned differing
results. Both respondents spent time attending business meetings and voted on issues that directly impacted the creation of community norms and location of community congregations.

The second group of interviews was conducted with actors who were members of the Deadhead Community. These actors have no direct ties to the band members and therefore must follow the guidelines set down by the band. Each member of this group had a different level of community involvement and interacted with the community during overlapping periods of time. Two of the community members interviewed were tapers, or members of the Grateful Dead fan community that would use a variety of recording setups in the audience to record and archive live shows, a specific subset of the community. They are Dan Hupert, currently a lawyer in New York State, and Barry Barnes, who was also considered an academic interviewee. Both respondents were responsible for recording and distributing archival remnants responsible to maintain and foster the expansion of the community. Other actors in this group did not feel responsible for archiving the experience, but similarly saw themselves as responsible for helping expand and maintain the message of the community. All of the respondents of this group were knowledgeable about community norms and the consequences that result when these norms are ignored, or broken. Interviews were semistructured and conducted remotely based on the questions contained in the standard interview protocol. Based on the situation surrounding interviews, these questions were amended slightly to create differentiation between the previous groups and to focus on community members.

The third group: the interviewees included in this group are academics. In some cases former community members, these actors are differentiated from the first two groups because
of a deeper commitment to the study of the band and tangential aspects of the community. These actors have dedicated research time to a deeper understanding of at least part of the community. In this group, I interviewed Barry Barnes, a professor of Leadership at H Wayne Huizenga School of Business and Entrepreneurship at Nova Southeastern University. As with the previous two groups of actors, members of this group use visceral feelings to examine and explain the experience, but unlike the previous groups academic actors have no direct impact on the community and interact primarily as researchers and reporters of the happenings surrounding and within the community.

All interviews were conducted remotely, lasted between thirty minutes and an hour and fifteen minutes in length, were recorded (when permitted), and transcribed. To minimize interviewer bias, a sample of the interviews was conducted by two researchers. I also consulted numerous text and video interviews involving the band members dating from 1965 to the present for specific insight regarding the internal growth and regulation of the fan community and contextual information that showed the change in attitude and approach over time. These interviews were representative of the direct thoughts of the band, and provided a representative perspective that relates to the bands vision of the community. These interviews include videos such as Jerry Garcia and Bob Weir on Tomorrow with Tom Snyder, and the Late Show with David Letterman.

Archival Data. Three categories of archival data were collected. The first category of archival data that I reviewed was books, texts and interviews that gave insight into the band members themselves. Biographies, autobiographies, obituaries and personal interviews were studied to gain a better understanding of the band members as the nucleus of the community. Top among these are Garcia: A Signpost to New Space by Jerry Garcia, Charles Reich, and
Jann Wenner, and A Long Strange Trip by Dennis McNally. By better understanding the driving forces behind the band, the band members’ ethics and moral construct I was able to overlay the observations of the community with observations made about the band and its members, in order to extract similarities between the two and better understand the origins of community values. This category also included direct letters to band members and press releases from the band. These articles confirmed the most accurate timeline surrounding the band and community and allowed me to validate and extract facts from the lore that has surfaced around the band.

Similarly I referenced articles focusing on the popular culture aspects of the band and the community. I searched every article published on Grateful Dead on the Lexus-Nexus database. These articles were a rich source of information and included Jon Pareles’s New York Times article titled: *Garcia of the Grateful Dead, Icon of 60’s Spirit, Dies at 53*, and Dennis McNally’s interview with Barbara Bogaev on Fresh Air, discussing the history of the Grateful Dead. These articles referenced experiences of community members and reporters who followed the band and gave direct insight into the community and interactions that occurred within the community. This group of articles spanned over thirty years, beginning in the late 1960s and continuing through the time of Jerry Garcia’s death in 1995 and ultimately the present day. These articles also included references to other Jam Bands that have arrived on the scene since the Grateful Dead, and the various offshoot projects that can trace their roots back to members of the Grateful Dead. Jam Bands are members of a musical subculture that relates to groups that perform a variety of genres, whose shows depend almost entirely on improvisation. This second group of references was vital in understanding the roles within the Deadhead Community, and societal views of the community, as well as
how society viewed community members. These articles explained the dialect and
colloquialisms that arose within the community. There were some discrepancies among the
articles and the linguistics changed with the band over time, but these articles provided
general picture of the scene and examined how non-band members viewed their roles within
the society. These articles included timelines, books, newspaper and magazine articles
focusing on and involving actors that were not in the band, or directly responsible for making
decisions that would dictate the behavior of the band.

Finally I consulted academic articles. These articles included business journal and
sociological journal entries that were referenced and rated for accuracy. There was slight
variety in the topics of these articles but ultimately they all spoke to one of two ideas. The
first idea is that of community and society. They outlined the basics and standards that apply
to all communities and create a foundation for comparison between communities. The second
group of academic articles contained business cases that in one way or another paralleled the
situation of the Grateful Dead as they worked to navigate an alternative business structure
within a mature industry. These articles contributed to the creation of the model that I will
use to examine the Grateful Dead community as a society within an institution and also
provided a foundation from which the basic elements of a self regulating community were
taken and measurements can be made.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

Data collection and analysis occurred in five steps. As stated earlier, I used
naturalistic inquiry to logically obtain insights into the community and institution. To
increase reliability and validity of information derived from a large number of secondary
sources; a document coding protocol was created. The data was organized in chronological
order, and each data segment was coded according to the validity of its sources. This coding method provided researchers with an optimized summary of events. The initial Data collection was conducted from May to July 2010.

After gathering the initial data, an independent analysis of the data set was conducted. I based my assessment on two sets of research questions formulated at the beginning of the process; (1) What type of institutions in the music industry did the Dead face at their startup? How did the Dead create new institutions (including their business models, their music, and their relationship to fans)? (2) What are the roles of the fans in creating the community? What are the key components and distinguishing characteristics of the Dead community? 

After independent analysis was completed, thematic trends were extracted from the data. For example, one key component of the regulative pillar of the Grateful Dead Community, non-confrontational attitude, emerged. In addition, critical instances of similarities and differences between the Grateful Dead Community and the common practices of the recording industry at the time were addressed.

Once the original set of themes was defined, the ideas were carefully cross-referenced with the original sources. Similar to Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) data was then analyzed using latent analysis, data interpretation based on the researcher’s expertise in the subject and contextual knowledge of the data’s origins. The final step in the analysis involved the researcher conducting interviews with various members of the Grateful Dead Community, in order to test the validity of the themes discovered. The last step, combined with the additional collection of data concentrating on specific periods during the community’s lifespan, allowed for an additional verification of the themes that emerged in the earlier stages of data analysis. The verification of themes, as a result of the data gathered during
interviews, shifted the research method from inductive to deductive and solidified the interpretation of the data. The emergent themes were then used to build a process model that was contrasted with previously identified existent research theories.
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

BUSINESS STRUCTURE

The horizontal hierarchy of the Grateful Dead is structured like an atom, with the band and its members as the nucleus, closely attached to the other members of the board (McNally, 2003). However unlike the atom structure described above, all members of the board have an opportunity to hold the position of CEO. The CEO position is the only rotating position in the structure, while members of the board are otherwise regarded as equals. The band members did carry more clout when considering decisions but did not gain any extra weight when voting on issues or decisions. The board structure was based on seniority and as such the band resided in the middle of the structure, flanked on either side by crew members, Ram Rod (Crew chief, President), Janet Soto-Knusen (Bookkeeper), Hal Kant (Attorney), Paul Roehlk (Truck Driver), Dennis “Scrib” McNally (Publicity), Harry Popick (Engineer), Dan Healy (Director of Sound), Dan Rifkin (Booker, Road Manager), Candace Brightman (Director of Lights), John Cutler (Studio Engineer), Willy Legate (Studio Superintendent), Patricia Harris (Merchandising), Steve Marcus (Ticket Office), Mary Jo Meinolf (Accountant), Sue Stephens (Administrative Assistant), Steve Parish (Crew), Bill “Kidd” Candelario (Crew & Merchandising Manager), Jon McIntire (Booker, Road Manager), Maruska Nelson (Assistant to Booker), Robbie Taylor (Production Manager), and Eileen Law (Dead Heads community representative). The inclusion of Eileen’s position on this board was an example of the importance of the Deadhead Community in every band decision.
This business structure was used to oversee the development of all Grateful Dead business entities. Besides the band, the Grateful Dead have spawned offshoot businesses such as the Grateful Dead Ticket Office, Ice Nine Publishing which licenses the compositions of the Grateful Dead, and a full scale Grateful Dead book publishing industry and the now defunct Grateful Dead Records. Philanthropically the Grateful Dead have reached out to the community through the charity that they created in 1983, the Rex Foundation, responsible for over eight million dollars in charitable giving to over 1,000 different programs.

**Cognitive Foundations of the Community**

Previous research on communities has recognized that the process of isomorphism (Marquis et. al, 2007) also applies in communities. Communities, like institutions, are subject to the isomorphic forces of cognitive, normative, and regulative processes. While I believe that these forces are less formal and probably weaker at the community level as compared to at the institutional level, these three forces nevertheless provide the foundation of community emergence. I examine the three processes below in the order of cognitive, normative, and regulative processes.

The first pillar to emerge within the Grateful Dead Community was the cognitive pillar. As stated above the cognitive pillar gave the Grateful Dead Community a base on which the framework of the community was constructed and helped facilitate the evolution of the group from disperse individuals to a community headed toward a common goal. There are three main concepts when looking at the cognitive pillar of the Grateful Dead Community that must be present in order to move the dispersed individuals into the direction of becoming a community. The three main concepts of the cognitive pillar are, (1) Reciprocity, (2) Trust, and interpersonal relationships formed on the basis of this trust, and (3) the bands view of
artistic rights and distribution principles. Reciprocity, the first portion of the cognitive pillar is the easiest to explain. In simple terms, what goes around comes around, and it was this belief that laid the base for the general pleasant demeanor of the Grateful Dead Community. Reciprocity meant slightly more to the Grateful Dead Community than just being neighborly though, reciprocity was a belief that the band held true also, and the community recognized this and rewarded the band. The community saw the band as the providers of the music, their ultimate reason for coming to the show, and in the name of reciprocity, avoided purchasing scalped tickets and helping perpetrate the growth of a black market, sometimes these fans were rewarded with a “Miracle Ticket” the ultimate reward in the Dead community, a free ticket to a show, sometimes they were not.

In the Deadhead Community there was an overarching feeling that would you get what you need when necessary and leave the rest behind. The concept of reciprocity didn’t stop at ticket purchase. The ex-head of merchandising for the band, Kid Candelario remarked in an interview (Interview with Candelario) that “the people were always happy to buy from us, that was the thing about, about the family, and the Grateful Dead and the people in the audience that bought from Grateful Dead Merchandising. Is that they knew they were buying it from us they weren't getting it from some commercial entity someplace else it was made by us”, and by continuing to help the band they were continuing to foster the growth of the music and the community.

Trust was the second part of the cognitive foundation. Trust in, not only the band, but also other members of the community caused the formation of bonds that were tighter than that of your typical concert goer. According to Mickey Hart, longtime drummer, “The idea behind the Grateful Dead has always been that the sum is greater than the parts.” (Pareles,
1995) and this trust which began with the band found its way out into the community creating the second foundational element for the cognitive pillar. It has been said that the trust was so tight within the band that the band was “an organic whole” (Appendix B: Interview Transcript with Dennis McNally). This idea of one living, breathing organism extended to include the community at shows also. Trust was exhibited throughout the parking lot, on stage, and even in the taping section where there was said to be “an ethic of tolerance there, it was a safe place where people watched out for each other I would have people leave me thousands and thousands of dollars of taping equipment just because I happen to be sitting in the row next to them” (Appendix D: Interview Transcript with Dan Hupert). Without this trust throughout the community and demonstrated between the band and their audience, the third concept that made up the cognitive pillar would not have been able to exist.

The third factor, the band’s view of artistic rights and distribution principles, was a direct result of the trust that I just mentioned. Unlike traditional bands the Grateful Dead utilized audience tapings of their shows to help spread the message of the Grateful Dead. Though taping shows may not be a strictly Grateful Dead phenomenon, the scale at which it occurred within the Deadhead Community was. In a time when many people taped and then sold bootleg copies of the show, the Dead tapers would trade or give away the tapes resulting in community growth. The Dead made only minimal unsuccessful efforts to curb the taping process, but “the Dead encouraged their fans to tape their concerts, even providing a place near the sound engineer's booth for fans to set up microphones and tape recorders” (Pareles, 1995). The Dead and their fans respected the publishing rights that the band had secured with their first contract with Warner Brothers and as long as the tapes were traded, freely
spreading the music, the band had no problems with the tapers. Though the record company espoused that allowing taping would hinder record sales (Interview with Heally), the band continued their practice of minimal intervention and believed, rightfully so that, “taping would widen their audience,... and anyone inclined to tape the show would probably spend more money elsewhere, such as on merchandise or tickets” (Green, 2010).

The three cognitive factors (1) Reciprocity, (2) Trust, and interpersonal relationships formed on the basis of this trust, and (3) the band’s view of artistic rights and distribution principles made up the cognitive pillar of the Grateful Dead community. Each of these factors stemmed directly from the band and played an instrumental part in the creation of a “kind of intellectual equity in the band” (Ratliff, 2009) that flowed through the Grateful Dead Community. The creation of this cognitive pillar was the first step in creating “strong relationships, which over time, allow trust, cooperation, and a sense of collective action to develop among members” (Peredo, 2006, p. 14) of the Grateful Dead Community.

**Normative Foundations of the Community**

Following the cognitive pillar in my model of the Grateful Dead Community is the normative pillar, which is based on the inclusion and acceptance of communal norms. These social norms are responsible for outlining a moral framework by which the community members guided their conduct. Just as the features that created the cognitive pillar began with the band and spread outward through the community, so too did the norms. The first norm, freedom, can be seen as a root cause for other societal norms and represents an idea that was held dear throughout the community. The band was not shy in the fact that they were a “live act” and wanted to maintain an atmosphere that was “Spontaneous, open or fun” (Garcia, Reich, & Wenner, 2003, p. 66). This spirit of freedom led to the second component
of the normative pillar, experimentation. Experimentation was not just prevalent in the band’s music, though it can be said that no song was ever the same twice, experimentation was present in the band’s business decisions, too. Kidd Candelario remembers (Interview with Candelario) “One thing about them is that you could take on a project you wanted anything that you wanted to do, they were totally willing to go ahead and put you in charge of it. But you better do a good job”.

From that experimentation stemmed the third element of the normative pillar, something that would become synonymous with the Grateful Dead and Grateful Dead shows; improvisation. The band worked in the style of Jazz greats continually improvising during shows, never playing a song the same way twice. The audience noticed this and latched on to the band’s fluid and unpredictable style. Shows were played with no set lists, unlike their contemporaries, and unique elements helped foster the expanding tape trade (Appendix C: Interview Transcript with Barry Barnes). The community and the band, flowed improvising the entire time, it was said that “the music could shift in any direction as it sought what the band and its fans called the "X factor": spontaneous, revelatory stretches of music arrived at through practice and serendipity” (Pareles, 1995) Jerry Garcia was once noted as saying “The way it works is it doesn’t depend on a leader,. there isn’t any fuckin’ leader” (Garcia, et. al, 2003, p. 76).

As a result of the improvisational structure of the band and the community the final element of the normative pillar arose. The band’s view of records also differed greatly from that of their contemporaries. At the time when other bands were going into the studio to produce records that would be followed up by a promotional tour, the Grateful Dead realized that they were not a studio band and utilized their contract and publishing rights to create live
recordings that they would later release as records. Fans knew that the band was not a band that would ‘fix’ things in the studio, and that their real ability was to create interesting moments (Waddell, 2002) so the expectation of the Grateful Dead to become a traditional studio band was never there. By recording more than half of the bands albums on stage, and continually rereleasing live show sets, the band showed that they agreed.

The normative pillar of the Grateful Dead Community, like the band itself was beautifully simple. These guys that got together to “just play” (McNally, 2003, p. 16) found a community that would congregate to marvel in the differences from song to song, and show to show. A culture of experimentation was born, and combined with improvised shows and set lists, as well as a tradition of compiling live recordings for distribution as records, that culture spread throughout the Grateful Dead Community creating a fan base that would wait for these experiments and, with the band, share in every creation.

**Regulative Foundations of the Community**

The final pillar in the emergence of the Grateful Dead Community is the regulative pillar. Like the cognitive pillar the regulative pillar is defined by three elements, (1) self-regulation, (2) family and clan regulation, and (3) community appropriateness boundary. The most simplistic of this regulative pillar to discuss is the community appropriateness boundary. This element speaks to the general regulation within the community. The community and its members all agreed that above all the Grateful Dead concert experience was about the music (Interview with D. Hupert) and the band recognized and created regulations to keep the experience about the music. The creation of the taper section in the early 1980s by Dan Healy was a direct result of complaints that audience members were getting harassed and their listening experience was being impeded by those audience
members who were trying to tape the show (Interview with D. Heally). By designating a special area, behind the sound booth, the Dead were able to continue to allow taping, but also control the crowd slightly and help improve the experience of other concertgoers.

Beyond the minimal regulations implemented and enforced by the band themselves, the Grateful Dead Community members were expected to be self-regulating. Since “Freedom” was a societal norm, rules and regulations placed down by the band would generally not work, therefore the community held “this sense we were responsible to each other. We were responsible to the band, because the band had set an example. And it came down to something as simple as ‘If you make a mess, if you destroy the community, the band can’t come back, they won’t be welcome.’ So it was our obligation to, not be too trashy, not be too rowdy, and to genuinely treat each other with some respect” (Interview with D. McNally). Along with this sense of anarchy though was a problem with how to enforce regulations, McNally (Interview with D. McNally) also offers insight into that, “Because violence is discouraged, there were only sort of two ways to treat them. One is you know verbally reproaching people and saying “hey don’t do that, that’s just not right” and/or [the other is] shunning them ultimately. People who, you know, known idiots who just constantly behave badly, simply found themselves frozen out.” So the community was able to grow because community members took it upon themselves to police the crowd in a way that would be socially acceptable by other members of the community and align with the societal norms.

The final element of the regulative pillar has to do with family and clan regulations. Though there was some debate about the total number of subcultures within the Dead community there seemed to be consensus of least four, the spinners, who would dance by
twirling energetically for long periods during Grateful Dead Shows, tapers, audience members that used various recording methods to tape live shows, railrats, audience members who would view the show from as close to the band as possible, “on the rail”, and Wharf Rats, a group of sober Deadhead who met to enjoy the music in a substance free environment (Shenk & Silberman, 1994). Though many other subcultures were mentioned in the articles and by the interviewees, the former four were mentioned numerous times and are accepted in the official dead lexicon (Shenk & Silberman, 1994). Each subculture also contained norms, and regulations by which they governed themselves. The tapers for example, frequently snuck in taping equipment through the use of wheelchairs and crutches, all congregated together, and had no problem shushing other audience members if it meant getting a better master (Interview with D. Heally). Tapers would tend to verbally reproach or physically move other audience members who stood in their way of optimal sound. Warf Rats, the drug free portion of the dead society, set up an AA style support group that accepted any audience member who wanted to enjoy the Dead in a drug free atmosphere. These clans worked to maintain order that, when coupled with the self-regulative tendencies of the community as a whole, kept the community operating as one large anarchist group all drawn together by the music.

**HOW THE COMMUNITY EMERGED**

To better understand the emergence of community in traditional terms I have revisited the types of community-building mechanisms outlined by Brint (2001) – voluntary and sacrificing. When researching the Grateful Dead Community sacrificing, or the more coercive form of community building, did not apply. Participation within the Grateful Dead Community was voluntary and the power wielded by the band, specifically Jerry Garcia, was
that of reference where community members loved and respected their leader as opposed to fear and cower at the threat of force. The voluntaristic qualities that Brint (2001) outlines become apparent when overlaid atop the Grateful Dead Community. The first quality, ritual occasions, are the easiest to pinpoint throughout the community, since the band toured for almost thirty years, they created a little over 2,300 ritual occasions for the community to congregate and overtime build their collective identities. These tours, and tour stops also accounted for the second and third quality that made up a voluntaristic community, well-traveled paths and common meeting places that helped facilitate interactions, and formal or informal times for the community members to gather. The latter can be seen as the times during the show when the whole community would congregate and listen to the music, and again following the show in the parking lot when the community members would discuss what they had just seen. The fourth quality of a voluntaristic community was one that permeated the Grateful Dead Community. As mentioned in the normative pillar section of this paper, I make reference to the ideology of the band making its way out into the community. This is a successful example of the fourth quality, a socioemotional leader whose personality is mirrored by the community. In the case of the Grateful Dead this socioemotional leader was the bands reluctant front man, Jerry Garcia. As the reluctant leader, Jerry, built his community on one tenant which was to “appreciate the music for what it is: a celebration of life, freedom and a glimpse of a more idealistic era” (Briskin, 1995) and the community followed. Jerry Garcia and the touring history of the Grateful Dead fulfilled all of Blint’s voluntaristic qualities and made it possible for the community to emerge over the band’s 30-year existence.
In order to examine the emergence of the Grateful Dead Community I have created a process model based on the three pillars of institution mentioned earlier in the paper and presented originally by Scott (2006). My process model parallels entrepreneurs, in this case in the form of the Grateful Dead, with institutions, the recording industry. By allowing the Rolling Stones to represent the traditional institutional band, we can compare the different approaches taken by the bands during their rise to affluence. Instead of following the traditional, recording industry path, like the Rolling Stones, the Grateful Dead created a business structure that successfully addressed each of Scott’s three pillars of institution in a way that was unique to the band and propagated by the community. The comparisons drawn in Table 1, illustrate the different career arches of the Rolling Stones and the Grateful Dead, two bands that operated in the music industry during the same time but used opposing methods to garner and maintain success. While the Grateful Dead were extensibly a touring band, racking up around 2,314 shows between the years of 1965 and, until the death of front man Jerry Garcia in, 1995 the Rolling Stones preformed slightly over a third as many concerts, with just over 700. Instead the, four members of the, Rolling Stones relied on studio albums and radio success to procure fame and notoriety. By producing 22 studio records, 11 that went multi-platinum, selling more than 2,000,000 copies, and 8 number one singles, the Rolling Stones followed the institutional path to success. While the Rolling Stones garnered success through traditional record industry means, the Grateful Dead leveraged their army (community) of fans to lead their path to stardom. With only one number one hit, Touch of Gray coming in 1987, almost 22 years after the bands inception, and only 4 multiplatinum records the Dead could not rely on the traditional institutional path to the top.
### Table 1. Comparison of The Grateful Dead vs. The Rolling Stones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Grateful Dead</th>
<th>Rolling Stones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year Started</strong></td>
<td>1965 (The Warlocks)</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1966 (The Grateful Dead)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country of Origin</strong></td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Induction into Rock and Roll Hall of Fame</strong></td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place on Rolling Stone Magazine 100 Greatest Bands</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong># Studio Albums</strong></td>
<td>2314 (1965 - 1995)</td>
<td>700+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concerts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Members</strong></td>
<td>Jerry Garcia (1965 - 1995)</td>
<td>Mick Jagger (1962 - Present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1974 -1995)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brent Mydland, (1979 - 1990)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vince Welnick (1990 - 1995)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Hunter (Lyricist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Perry Barlow (Lyricist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Business Model</strong></td>
<td>Grassroots (none)</td>
<td>Traditional Record Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Record Labels</strong></td>
<td>Warner Bros (1967)</td>
<td>Decca (UK) (1965)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greatful Dead (1973)</td>
<td>London Records (US Distribution) (1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-Marketed, Produced, Manufactured, Promoted, and Distributed Arista (1977)</td>
<td>Rolling Stones Records (1971) Distributed through partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Polydor (UK Universal/Music Group) (2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>US Gold Records</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>US Platinum Records</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>US Multi Plat Records</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#1 singles</strong></td>
<td>1 (Touch of Grey)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammy Awards (nominations)</strong></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Awards</strong></td>
<td>2007 Grammys Lifetime Achievement Award</td>
<td>1987 Grammys Lifetime Achievement Award</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both bands were ultimately honored with the Grammy Lifetime Achievement Awards, the four members of the Rolling Stones received this honor in 1987, while the four perennial members of the Grateful Dead, along with their continually expanding and rotating supporting cast of musicians, were honored posthumously in 2007, almost twelve years after the death of front man Jerry Garcia, which marked the end of the Grateful Dead as a band. The Grammy’s weren’t the only organization to snub the Grateful Dead in favor of their more institutionalized counter parts. The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame made a similar decision, choosing the Rolling Stones for the fourth class of inductees in 1989, while the Grateful Dead waited for induction until 1994. Though Jerry was alive for this honor, he did not attend and was represented by a life sized cut out because he “eschewed awards” (George-Warren, 2008, p. 279). The grass roots method used by the Grateful Dead may have taken longer to garnish the same success that a band like the Rolling Stones gained through institutional means, but freedom and control that the Grateful Dead maintained would never have been possible if they followed the template set down by the institution.

A Process Model of Community Emergence

I have reported that the Grateful Dead community, known as the Deadheads, exhibited the (1) cognitive, (2) normative and (3) regulative pillars described in Scott’s (2006) research on institutional environments. Using these observations, I now propose a process model of the Grateful Dead community emergence from a fan group to a self-regulating community. Figure 1 illustrates my process model.

When examining the process model illustrated below, it is vital to understand that each pillar of industry does not necessarily form in a sequential order. Though the transformation from interpersonal relationship to community is an evolutionary process, and
Figure 1. A process model of community emergence.
the formation of all three pillars is ultimately required to explain the emergence of the self-regulated community, the pillars often form concurrent with one another. For example, the normative idea of freedom had always been associated with the band members in the Grateful Dead, and this idea was immediately accepted by the Deadhead fan base as part of their cognition. In addition the cognitive idea of interpersonal trust was also in the community from the beginning. It is these interpersonal bonds and trust that allowed members in the community to express their freedom. Therefore the cognitive and normative pillars of our model reinforce one another to form the community. Overall, the process of community emergence is interactive and iterative. However, it is my argument that community could not emerge without all three pillars.

Central to my process model, is the assumption that both entrepreneur and institutions formulate the same structural pillars while creating an environment in which to operate. I advance the theory that entrepreneurs can affect the industry, in which they act, by working in parallel to the industry and creating their own methods on which to interact with industry norms. In other words, an entrepreneur can continue to operate within and industry without becoming heavily embedded in traditional industry processes and structure. In this thesis, I focused the research on the emergence of a self-regulating, self-sustaining community that developed over the 30-year career of the Grateful Dead; therefore my initial proposition is:

*Proposition 1:* The Grateful Dead were able to create a community based on the three pillars of institutional environments that operated successfully within the traditional recording industry without fundamentally changing the industry.

The model developed, begins by examining the cognitive pillar of community emergence. The examples mentioned on this pillar all represent common community beliefs that work to create a foundation for cognitive thought that permeated the community and created a groupthink based on the bands ideals. The community’s devotion to the band and
the central tenants of “Freedom”, “Play”, and “Creation” were vital in ensuring a high level of embeddedness for members of the fan community. This high level of embeddedness created a family atmosphere and feeling of obligation to other members of the community, which were responsible for fostering and maintaining status quo.

Proposition 2: The demeanor in which the band conducted themselves and their business decisions, laid a foundation for the emergence of an organic community based on the idea of reciprocity, which worked toward the ultimate goal of survival and continuing the experience.

The model developed here examines the second step in the emergence of a community, the acceptance and spread of community norms. Norming is the stage in the group building process when members of the group set up group policies and procedures. It is also the time in which expectations for the group are solidified and implemented. Traditionally the more interactions that group members have the quicker the norming process will be resolved. In the case of the Grateful Dead Community, the large number of live shows per year afforded community members multiple instances for congregation and the spread of norms. More embedded members of the society, Deadheads who followed the band, created and drew norms from the band and accelerated this step in group building. Community members that were less embedded in the community followed the example of the Deadheads and accepted those norms for the entire community.

Subcultures within the Grateful Dead Community created modified versions of the Deadhead norms that were more appropriate for their individual group goals. Though some norms were changed, the basic principles of the normative pillar stayed true spanning the entire community. The norms derived from the band were the most important to the community structure. These norms were the most frequently displayed and the quickest to spread throughout, and be accepted by, the community at large.
Proposition 3: The high frequency of community interactions helped accelerate the spread and acceptance of norms within the community, therefore other actors that followed the traditional industry model would not be able to create and foster such community growth.

When discussing this process model I encounter a unique issue when dealing with the third and final pillar of the community. The regulative pillar is usually associated with coercive power, however within the Grateful Dead Community member participation is completely voluntary and as such coercive regulatory means will not work. Based on the previous two pillars and characteristics of the society, such as a tendency toward anarchy and nonconfrontational problem solving methods, it is obvious that other options must be explored when trying to regulate this community. Since one main goal of members of the Grateful Dead Community is increased social capital and feeling of acceptance and belonging, a type of self-regulation based on avoidance and shunning was formed. By following the boundaries of appropriate action demonstrated by the band members, the community’s subcultures were able to regulate themselves on a micro scale the entire community was regulated at a macro level.

Proposition 4: In voluntary communities, such as the Grateful Dead community, coercion does not provide sufficient regulative structure. Instead the community is regulated by a set of standards or appropriateness that are policed and regulated by community members themselves.

Through the creation of the three pillars the Grateful Dead were able to create a self-regulating, self-sustaining community. Once the basic community structure was in place maintaining and growing the community was left up to its members. The Grateful Dead allowed tapers, to record shows and trade show tapes in an attempt to expand the community. The band also allowed and encouraged fans to create and sell art outside of shows, as long as did not infringe on the bands trademarks. Art that the band deemed superior or interesting would be licensed and used as official merchandise at a later time (Interview with
Candelario). Both the band and the original artist would be compensated, and the community artist would gain social capital and incentive to continue creating. This connection between the band and community members created an overall sense of pride in participation and strengthened interpersonal bonds.

*Proposition 5:* Community members that are recognized and rewarded for their participation within the community structure tend to be more embedded within the society and take more responsibility for its success and continued growth.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Even though researchers have been interested in the issue of community emergence for some time, previous research has been focusing either on institutional structure (Scott, 2006) and or on differences among types of existing communities (Brint, 2001). There has been limited research exploring the process of community emergence. Greenwood & Suddaby (2006) and Scott (2006) have done much to advance theories around institutional structure and institutional change, and Brint (2001) has critiqued and reconstructed the concept of community, pushing the community research further, but there is limited research focusing on the initial start-up of communities. This thesis has examined the emergence process of a self-regulated community within a mature field.

The theory developed in this thesis fills the void in the current research. Drawing on qualitative analysis and using deductive reasoning, this research has identified the main building blocks of the three pillars facilitating the development of a community. Previous research has used institutional framework to examine community influence (Marquis et. al, 2007). I build on such research to examine the structure of the community. The research makes no claims of the generalizability of the process model, however. In this research, I studied the emergence of the Grateful Dead Community but did not examine later generations of Jam Bands (bands that specialize in improvisations and touring). Some features outlined in this process model may not apply to other actors within the recording industry. Though studying other actors (other jam bands) in the field fall out of the scope of
this thesis, future research might examine the generalizability of this model to other actors, either inside the popular music industry or outside. I examined the situations, the conscious and unconscious choices the Grateful Dead made to successfully start, develop, and maintain their fan community for nearly thirty years. Future research might further this line of inquiry by examining how the characteristics of the entrepreneurial actors (the band in this case) can influence the processes of regulatory, normative, and cognitive development.

My research has practical implications to the record industry. In the past 20 years, since the development and maturity of internet, the popular music industry, especially in the record industry, has been experiencing unprecedented changes as their business models have been encroached by internet file sharing sites, such as Napster. Consumers no longer are willing to pay for files that they could obtain at less cost from elsewhere. While a definite business solution remains elusive at this stage, our research provides alternative models for the current record industry. A product-centered model is no longer sufficient; rather the record industry would need to provide value-added “services” to provide the fans an “experience of music” in varied forms. Such experience could include record purchasing, concert going, or even participating in the creative process. Starting, growing, and maintaining the fan community and providing the audience a sense of connectedness is the key here. The caveat here, according to my model, is that community cannot grow without shared values. Record industry executives would need to take care to emphasize the values of bands and artists, which need to resonate with the wider population of fans to be successful.

Much work remains to be done. The Grateful Dead and the music recording industry are not representative of all institutional fields. In order to apply this process model
elsewhere, future research needs to investigate the process of emergence in other types of institutional fields, especially those industries that produce tangible products rather than the intangible cultural products. Only when different types of institutional environments have been taken into account, is it possible to create a general process model. This thesis’s contribution is in putting forward a process model that illustrates the three pillars of the Grateful Dead Community, a self-regulated community within a mature institutional field, not a general process model for all types of communities.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL
Protocols for in-depth interviews [instructions for researchers are italicized]

Before each session, make sure that

a) Every participant is present, either face-to-face or through the phone
b) Make sure that you have the interview protocol at hand
c) Make sure that you have recording devices (either recorder or paper)

Crucial: each interview must be transcribed within 24hrs of conducting. Transcripts must be sent to Zheng within 48hrs of interview.

Hi! Thank you for agreeing to talk to me about the Grateful Dead Community. My name is John Guiney and I am doing a thesis at San Diego State University. My topic is the Grateful Dead and its community.

[if other interviewers are present]

I also have xx here. She is here to help me conduct the interview. I will be asking most of the questions and she might jump in during our conversation.

I realize that there is a lot of excellent research done regarding the band, such as the Dark Star: the oral biography of Jerry Garcia by Robert Greenfield; Phil Lesh’s autobiography: Searching for the Sound; A Long, Strange Trip by Dennis McNally; and Conversation with the Dead by David Gans. I have covered extensive secondary research. [list can be shortened if needed]

My main area of interest, however, is on how the Grateful Dead community emerged and self-regulated through a series of conscious or unconscious decisions. To that
regard, I will focus on my questions not so much on the band per se, but some of its business decisions, its relationship with the fans/audience etc. I value your information on this area.

Before we begin, I would like to let you know that our interview results will only be used in my thesis and academic publications. Do you mind that I record our conversation? This makes it easier for me to transcribe the interview later.

[Interview Questions for Fans, Researchers and Other Parties]

1. Can you describe your memory of the Grateful Dead experience? Did you ever travel with the band?
   a. How many concerts did you go? Around when? Location?
   b. For you, what are the compelling elements of the concert?
   c. For the Grateful Dead, what’s the difference between a live show and listening to a record?
   d. How about live show and record listening experience for other artists?

2. Social networks, such as Facebook or MySpace are huge now in the Internet age, how are social networks of today similar to the Deadhead community? How do they differ?
   a. Try to probe differentiating points, such as emotional appeal, trust, how does the community regulate itself?

3. Were there any written or unspoken regulatory rules, or formal structure within the community?
   a. Try to dig deeper: What are those rules?

4. What are your expectations when you go to a Grateful Dead concert? What are the norms within the group?
   a. When necessary, explain that norms are cultures, or what are deemed appropriate behaviors by Deadheads.
   b. Is there a difference between Deadheads and fans who came in the scene after 1987 (the hit album)? If so, what are the key differences?

5. Narcs [narcotics], undercovers, and the venue security notwithstanding, how did the community, parking lot, and venue, keep order?
   a. Parking lot?
   b. Inside the concert venue?
   c. Outside of the concert, in the group that travels with the band?
6. 
How did the practice of Miracle Ticket come about?

[the following two questions are of lesser importance and could be left out if there is time pressure]

7. 
It has been said that the Grateful Dead has been “rebranded”. Can you discuss what the Grateful Dead “brand” and Deadhead community mean to you?

8. 
In your opinion was the Grateful Dead community different than today’s jam bands, such as Phish?

   a. How do they differ? Please explain your answer.

[Interview Questions for Band Members or Other Insiders]

1. 
Were there any written or unspoken regulatory rules, or formal structure within the Grateful Dead Fan community?
   a. Try to dig deeper: What are those rules?

2. 
What are the expectations of fans when you stage a Grateful Dead concert? What are the norms/cultures for that group regarding their behavior inside or outside of the concert?
   a. When necessary, explain that norms are cultures, or what are deemed appropriate behaviors by Deadheads.
   b. Appropriate behaviors inside concert
   c. Appropriate behaviors outside of concert

3. 
Narcs [narcotics], undercovers, and the venue security notwithstanding, how did the community, parking lot, and venue, keep order?
   a. Parking lot?
   b. Inside the concert venue?
   c. Outside of the concert, in the group that travels with the band?

4. 
How did the practice of Miracle Ticket come about?

5. 
The Grateful Dead never saw much commercial success through the Billboard charts and record sales, they continued to grow in popularity. In your opinion why was this?
a. How was the relationship of the band with Warner Brothers Recording company?
b. How did the band get permission from recording companies in terms of recording live album with other artists, such as Bob Dylan? How about recording live album with other artists?

6. Can you compare the Grateful Dead and their approach to live shows to their contemporaries? How did their pricing structure compare with other bands at the time? How did their view on publishing and merchandising compare / differ?

7. The large scale of the Deadhead community and its growth has been widely attributed to show taping and bootlegging. To what extent do you think the Deadhead community was actually affected [triggered] by the bands stance on taping and sharing tapes?
   a. How was the decision to allow tapers to tap made? (Cross-referencing McNally quote in Billboard May 11, 2002: we said yes because saying no was too difficult?)

8. Staying on the subject of taping, in 1994 John Perry Barlow wrote, “the best way to raise demand for your product is to give it away”, during your time with the band was this a cognitive decision [the questions 1-8 are of utmost importance. Try to get through every one before concluding an interview]

9. It has been said that the Grateful Dead has been “rebranded”. Can you discuss what the Grateful Dead “brand” and Deadhead community mean to you?

10. In your opinion was the Grateful Dead community different than today’s jam bands, such as Phish?
   a. How do they differ? Please explain your answer.

11. (Question for McNally only) How was the major strategic decisions make in the business?
   a. If the business structure had a rotating CEO, and the band had an “accountant”, how was the income divided among the every rotating band members?
You have talked about the “firing” of Bob Weir and Pigpen in 1968, and explained that
“[they] just refused to be fired. You know, in the Grateful Dead, that's not enough to be fired.
A lot of people in the Grateful Dead have been fired, and you say, 'No, I won't be fired!' And
sometimes that works and sometimes it doesn't.”

12. How were similar business decisions handled? Were there any official bylines or procedures later put into place to centralize power and make sure decisions were enacted? (You also mentioned the decision of making you the bands official publicist as a turning point in their structure.)

13. Was the bands’ anti-consumerist/anti-materialistic views a hindrance to their early success? How did it effect their resulting business structure?

14. Anything else that you think is relevant to the emergence and regulation of the Grateful Dead community?

15. Who do you think that I should talk to next? Can you give me their names and contact information?

Conclusion: I would like to thank you for your time and effort in talking with me. I appreciate your help very much. Thank you.

[end]
APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT WITH DENNIS MCNALLY, THE PUBLICIST FOR GRATEFUL DEAD
John Guiney (JG): This is John Guiney calling, How are you doing? How’s your afternoon going?

Dennis McNally (DM): I’m fine, how bout yourself?

JG: Good, Hi! Thank you for agreeing to talk to me about the Grateful Dead Community. My name is John Guiney and I am doing a thesis at San Diego State University. My topic is the Grateful Dead and its community.

I also have CongCong Zheng here. She is here to help me conduct the interview. I will be asking most of the questions and she might jump in during our conversation.

CongCong Zheng (CZ): Hello Dennis.

JG: I realize that there is a lot of excellent research done regarding the band, such as the Dark Star: the oral biography of Jerry Garcia by Robert Greenfield; Phil Lesh’s autobiography: Searching for the Sound; A Long, Strange Trip by Dennis McNally; and Conversation with the Dead by David Gans. I have covered extensive secondary research.

My main area of interest, however, is on how the Grateful Dead community emerged and self-regulated through a series of conscious or unconscious decisions. To that regard, I will focus on my questions not so much on the band per se, but some of its business decisions, its relationship with the fans/audience etc. I value your information on this area.

Before we begin, I would like to let you know that our interview results will only be used in my thesis and academic publications. Do you mind that I record our conversation? This makes it easier for me to transcribe the interview later.
DM: I can cope.

JG: I was wondering if you could describe your first memory of the Grateful Dead and your experience with the Grateful Dead?

DM: Well my first memory would be in the spring of 1967. When I was a senior in HS, in a small high school back in Maine. I remember seeing coverage in Time magazine of the Be-in. Which had pictures of Jerry Garcia in a Top Hat, an Uncle Sam Top Hat, and I remember that. And then I got to college that fall and I was a dj at the campus Radio station and I started playing their first album, in particular “Morning Dew” because that was the one with the most improvisation. So I was sort of fascinated.

And then my interest lapsed and when I got to graduate school, what became my best friend at the time, who was a total deadhead, and since we were both working 16 hours a day, working as hard as graduate students could work, which is pretty hard. (laughter), we started bon[ding]…what little relaxation we took we took in each others company, which basically involved getting high and listening to the Grateful Dead. And shortly thereafter he took me to my first concert. And at that point I became what you could call a Deadhead.

JG: Great, And what about that first concert, what compelling elements do you remember from that first concert that solidified you as a Deadhead or a member of the Dead community?

DM: Well as it happens it was my first psychedelic experience also. Which, you know, made it vivid and memorable. And what I,... I remember almost every detail of the concert. And what I remember was both being dazzled by the music and by the, this is Oct 1972 quite along time ago, and I was… The whole point is that, as I discovered in particular that night, although I’d known it in the abstract but when I encountered and experienced the fact that a Grateful Dead concert was not a, was not theater in any common sense. Was not preplanned, was completely improvised, both in terms of song choice and performance. It was music, it was music that was happening right in front of your eyes and in front of your ears. In a way that nothing else I’d ever seen resembled. And I’d seen lots of jazz that was improvised but
there was something about it, obviously the psychedelics helped, and the fact that the audience was completely linked with the band in a way that I had never seen before. And I’d seen some jazz audiences with people listening very carefully. And again this is in part because I and most of the other members of the audience were on psychedelics. And the combination made for this visceral experience that involved a lot more than your ears, it involved every cell in your body. And it made for a remarkable experience.

**JG:** Ok I’m going to step away from that section for a moment, to the audience itself and the way that you said it was attached. Social networks, such as Facebook or MySpace are huge now in the Internet age, how are social networks of today similar to the Deadhead community? How do they differ?

**DM:** The, well you can just assume that I am old and therefore reacting just the same way as my parents did, that’s to say “things were better in my day”, but the thing of it is 2 things that the face to face nature and the greater effort that it required to network as a Grateful Dead fan in the 70s is vastly superior to the easy, but I think shallow, and ultimately trivial relationships that you can have over a computer network. Or at least trivializing. I have said many times that the thing about the Grateful Dead, first except for the occasional playing of truckin’ you didn’t hear the Dead on the radio, you, the only way to become a Deadhead at that time was basically, obviously you could go into the store and buy music, but the way your sort of got exposed to it was through people, through human relationships. You knew somebody frequently and older sibling, and they taught u about the Dead. It was a cult, it was always a cult. In my case it was this guy named Chris, And with Chris came his network, which was mostly college guys, we were 1st year grad students and he had just come from Manhattan. He introduced me as, is always the case, you meet 1 and then you meet outer concentric circle. And I met these people in NY, and as a matter of fact I ended up sleeping on their couch while researching my doctoral dissertation, and one of them is still one of my very closest friends, they’re all very good friends, but 1 of them inparticular is now the director of communications for the Unitarian church. And is still one of my very good friends. So what I’ve always said was that the process of becoming a deadhead was an
organic experience. You,... it involved almost always a human relationship and it involved no only learning about the music, and learning the legend and the lore and the mythology which almost immediately sprang up around the band. But also learning a code of ethics and learning a code of behaviors. That,.. and again this was, we were a small group, already by the 70’s starting to be , sort of, scorned because we were so passionate about what we loved. And many Deadheads are the worst advertisers of the Dead themselves because they scorn all other music, which is of course silly and self denying of, but that’s the way they are, and were. Were and are? Well at any rate there was this recognitions of a group, of a sort of self defined group, of a group that was obligated to be honorable toward each other. Because the band had set that sort of standard. The band had a reputation for decency, You know for not caring about the money, for decency to each other, for decency- great caring for their audience. For setting prices for instance relatively low, they’re prices were always say $1 or 2 cheaper than say the Rolling Stones, The Rolling Stones always went for what the market could bear. They always charged the most they could.

Contrasting to the run of the mill band that had some success, or perhaps briefly had a success and would therefore charge what they could. The Dead consciously, even when they were selling all their tickets and could have raised the prices, consciously set the [financial] bar low. They also were legendary for spending far more money than they could afford on their sound system.

Two obsessions with the band 1 was the Sound, which was of course the ultimate connection between them and the audience and the other was making things as decent as possible, by belaboring the promoter to have security that didn’t beat up people and you know so forth and so on. And there were exceptions. But by the 80’s and 90’s unfortunately the audience, for very different reasons and you know I can get to that in a second, but as it grew too large for it’s environmental space. But in the 70’s it was, as I said they put a lot of energy not only into the sound system, which of course goes to their pleasure as players, but they also spent a lot of energy in teaching promoters how to treat their audience. They cared for us. And they demonstrated that and that was very obvious.
**JG:** To that point you spoke about getting the venues and the people and promoters to care about the audience; Nares [narcotics], undercovers, and the venue security notwithstanding, how did the community, parking lot, and venue, keep order?

**DM:** Well there was always this sense we were responsible to each other we were responsible to the band, because the band had set an example. And it came down to something as simple as “If you make a mess, if you destroy the community, The band can’t come back, they won’t be welcome.” So it was our obligation to, not be too trashy, not be too rowdy, and to genuinely treat each other with some respect. That the idea was to be as cheerful and happy as anarchy as you could but that involved a little respect for your fellow anarchists. And as long as the size stayed reasonable this worked.

**CZ:** 1 of the things that we have been talking about here is the code of honor, the code of behavior which I really like, kind of something that goes back to my belief of how a community and a group should behave. And you also mentioned some type of respect for your fellow concert goers and anarchists. So I’m just interested in do you recall any instances or any examples of someone violating that code of honor, if someone you know doesn’t have that respect to their fellow anarchists. How does the community treat them?

**DM:** Well, because violence is discouraged, there were only sort of 2 ways to treat them. 1 is you know verbally reproaching people and saying “hey don’t do that, that’s just not right” and/or shunning them ultimately. People who, you know known idiots who just constantly behave badly, simply found themselves frozen out.

One of the very few times in all of my many, many concerts there was 1 time, in which I sort of engaged, I had finally had enough because usually it was pretty rare, it was pretty uncommon. There was a women, God I manage to forget her name now, she was legendary amongst deadheads in the bay area early middle of the 1980’s, because she was somewhat bizarre and she “Nayed” as in a horse the sound a horse makes she made it very loudly there are tapers that will tell you that there are tapes of Jerry Garcia Band shows from a relatively small environment in which every tape, on a given night is destroyed because all
you can hear is this woman going [makes a Naying sound] and noises like that it was, she was more than a little bizarre and excessively loud. And I New Years Eve run anyway, it was the Grateful Dead, and she was standing right in front of me and for an entire set maybe even two I had to listen to this. And I couldn’t, obviously I was having a miserable time because I couldn’t hear the show. And part of the code is that you don’t, “You know dance a wild as you want, ok”, I will not, I may be miserable because your right in front of me and you’re blocking my sightline but we all know that seeing the band is not the sinequan and you know that hearing it is. So you can dance as crazy as you want as long as you’re not actually bumping me. BUT don’t make it so I can’t hear the show, that’s not acceptable. And finally after the 2nd, after a very long time, and as a Deadhead the first rule is non interference if you can help it because Freedom, Freedom is the watch word, Finally I lost it and I just said, “You’re gunna have to go, you can’t stay here anymore, this is .. You’re ridiculous” and she left. She just, she did make a couple parting remarks about how she thought she’d seen all along that I was going to be a butthead, but she left and we all go down to listening to the music. So you know, what can you do?

**JG:** You spoke about taping actually on that one, and that is sort of a big trend throughout the bands career and when you read about them you read about them allowing people to come and tape their shows. In 1994 John Perry Barlow wrote, “the best way to raise demand for your product is to give it away”, during your time with the band was this a cognitive decision?

**DM:** Let me interject there because that has been picked up lately, some business school students started from that remark. Let me just say this, when the band finally made a formal decision to permit taping, and I say permitting it because this wasn’t until 1984, it had all been done sort of improvisationally up until that point. But when they made the decision they made it for 1 simple reason and it had nothing to do with promotions, it had an incredibly… John’s quite, John as usual has insight but its flawed by myopia, or at least as skewed vision in this case, it did have a huge impact on promoting the band and growing the number of people that were into it, But that’s not why they made the decision, they made the decision for one simple reason, by 1984 recording equipment had grown so portable and so small that
to prevent it, its use you would basically have to strip search the entire audience as it was leaving the facility which was, does not do good things for the ambiance and the atmosphere of a show. And because they were terrible cops, they were anarchists, they were anarchists themselves. They wanted no rules they didn’t want to have to police their audience, and as a result They Didn’t.

[tape Break]

DM: So and again it’s a very subtle thing their decision and, by the way the final decision was actually triggered because so many people were taping in front of the sound stage that the guy who mixes the sound couldn’t see the stage. So that final decision in fact was, not only to permit it, but to segregate it behind the sound board so that the audience, so that the sightline of both the audience and the mixer’s sightlines could be preserved. It had this incredible impact for a number of reasons, 1 is that the cassette tape, the Grateful Dead’s sets tended to run around an hour, hour and a quarter apiece, you can’t get that onto and LP. This was before compact discs, or actually just the time when CDs were coming out. But to that point an LP is 20 minutes on a side, not the right size for Grateful Dead music if you want to hear it in some kind of context and flow. A 90 minute cassette gives you a much better chance, so it’s a better representation of the band. But beyond that of course, what it was, was by officially saying that its ok, that this taping is ok, as long as it didn’t involve money. The band demonstrated this incredible trust in the audience, and it was not violated, very, very rarely violated. Again this was part of the code, You didn’t charge for tapes you swapped them, and people respected that. People genuinely respected that and it worked.

JG: You talked about the band’s antimaterialistic views, and I was wondering in your opinion as their publicist for a time, later when you were officially made publicist, Did their anticonsumerism/antimateristic views in your opinion hinder their early success? And you also mentioned how they structured their business decisions on taping, How did that antimaterialistic/anticonsumerist view effect the other parts of their business structure?
DM: Well it effected everything, because it made them make decisions that weren’t based on money. They rarely, well you make some decisions based on money because if you don’t have money you can’t get to the next town so you know you better have a functioning credit card or you won’t be able to get to the next show. But they, in the long run I think it established their legend. You have to go back, you would need to read 10 books and to get all the details on this but if I can summarize and oversimplify, the ambiance and the decision making of the Grateful Dead was massively insolent, not as a matter of making decisions but as a matter of setting tone by Jerry Garcia. Jerry Garcia was, in fact, not what you would call a hippie but he was sort of, he always regarded himself as the last beatnik. pardon me the youngest beatnik.

In 1957-58 he was a high school kid, hanging around North Beach in San Francisco which is where the beat scene was, the beat scene of the 50’s. And it deeply influenced him, it’s why I became the bands biographer, because I had written a biography of Kerouac which he liked very much and he said “well why don’t you do us?” To cut down a story that I could tell you for and hour but will spare you. The point is that he was very consciously antimaterialistic, he owned little. He wasn’t anti-money by the way, as long as he spent it faster than he made it. It was the idea of being a miser that would have shocked him. To him that was the most peculiar of all possibilities. And he, it was very important to him that a tone was set, and that was anarchistic, that was egalitarian, and that was about doing something that was, to use his own language, “More far out than simply trying to be the worlds richest rock ‘n roll band”. Which they were never going to do anyway because, in that day, you did that by making pop records that sold widely. And they never were going to do that. They never did do that except for the one hit record, that almost destroyed them. They never did do that. They didn’t have hits, they were there to play. And to share that with an audience. So you asked if it hindered their early development, it might have slowed it in the short run, but in the long run it established who they were and that’s what the audience loved.

JG: You keep mentioning anarchists. In festival Express Bob Weir talks about the “anarchists” that were outside trying to make that a free concert …. 
DM: Right, anarchy can be, they were, the Grateful Dead were anarchists within themselves that is to say, Nobody was boss, and everyone could say what they wanted. The anarchists that he’s talking about, the M4M, which stands for the May 4th Movement, which is the date of Kent State in 1970, which had happened just a month before they got to Montreal, were objecting to the fact that tickets cost a lot of money…

JG: $15 I believe

DM: Now, which at the time was a large amount of money. If you look at what the festival delivered, it was quite reasonable. And the fact is, that while I may be, in the end, a philosophical anarchist with everybody else, the idea that somebody is obligated to open up their concert because a bunch of childish, rabble-rousers think that its their music is absurd. Patently.

Jerry Garcia, one of the things that the Grateful Dead did, and loved doing, in their earliest days in the Bay area, was to play for free, literally.

They would set up on a flat bed truck on the panhandle, or in Golden Gate Park, and just play. Just because it was fun. But the fact is, as Garcia, in later years when they stopped doing that, people would say “Well why don’t you play for free?” like in Montreal. Garcia would reply “It has to be free for us too.”

You cannot bring that collection of people to Montreal, or anywhere else and not … what are you going to ask the truck driver to work for free, I don’t think so. My point about being an anarchist is, if you watch that movie, There is a moment in which Garcia is struggling to tell the anarch… to tell the protesters … When he’s on stage, that they are full of it frankly. But he can’t bring himself to do it because he’s so conditioned against anything resembling being an authority figure. And it’s really quite funny to watch it because in fact they are, [the protesters] are being idiots. They’re ruining everybody’s time and making demands that are simply unreasonable.

Now Garcia, had some sympathy, enough sympathy to say ok “We’ll play for free,” which they did. But as I say the most interesting thing on the for me is watching him [Garcia] struggle with his own antiauthoritarian values when dealing with these guys who were, frankly, out of line.
**JG:** You speak about the antiauthoritarian values and I have a questions about that concerning the business structure and the way that they have, as you mentioned in your book in the first interlude, the way they have a rotating CEO, and they do seem to have other members of their inner circle that have positions like you were the publicist, there was an accountant, they did have the two gentlemen booking for them. 1 How were the decisions made? And 2 if there had been an accountant for the band how were the money issues handled? (I know that you mentioned in your book about splitting what was left after tours between the members but could you go a little further into that?)

**DM:** Well you know, the main antiauthoritarian figure was simply that there is no manager. You know most bands have a manager, in many bands that manager has the power to hire and fire. The band ran things collectively, they had a bookkeeper, because somebody had to count the money and cut the checks and whatnot, in fact by the end they had four or five bookkeepers going. You know office staff. There was a lot of numbers to check. But the fact is that in the end the band made those decisions, now there were, you couldn’t make every decision or you’d go crazy so you delegate the authority on some of it, like for instance the booking. One band member, there would be a booking committee which involves the manager, the crew, a member of the crew, because the crew had some say about, well, you know, if that travel is so far we are going to be completely exhausted by the time we make the jump, you don’t want to do that. So they had logistic input, and a band member would be on that committee just to make sure they agreed. No by the 1980’s they were so set, that tour after tour they went back to the same places. It was simply a matter of making the puzzle parts fit together, it wasn’t as though they had new, fewer new venues, but it wasn’t ..., they didn’t have to reinvent the wheel every tour. It was old, it was done from a wealth of experience.

**JG:** You also talked about the band and how they dealt with things, you mentioned the “firing” of Bob Weir and Pigpen in 68, and how they basically refused to be fired, and your quote is “we said yes because saying no was too difficult”, I recall another story about a crew member who did something similar and how that was handled. If you could elaborate on that
and sort of the mentality on both the actual Trust that your spoke of earlier, and the actual trust within the band and with people closest to the band, was either similar to things around that time or different, or how it structured the band.

**DM:** See the band had plenty of conflict over the years. And that firing was engineered by Phil Lesh, who is a very, basically an authoritarian personality, an authorian personality that he had to suppress for his 30 years in the band. I almost feel sorry for him. Unfortunately its and authoritarian personality that is in full display now, because he runs everything that he is part in this new band Furthur, which has lead them to make many decisions which I find very bad, very inappropriate, very counter to the history of the band. In the ways that they have treated promoters and just decisions they have made.

Most telling example, on the most recent Dead tour, which he ran, minimum ticket is, I think they have some $60 tickets, but most of the tickets are like $100 and there are $300 tickets, which is not the way the Grateful Dead treated people. I don’t approve of it, I didn’t like, you know. He’s got a different point of view and he’s in charge. Very different.

That firing, he was simply tired of, Bob Weir was not the player that he became and Pigpen was always sort of more of a personality, and a presence and a vocalist, than a player. So always dubious about rehearsals, so Phil sort of briefly engineers this notion that they are fired. And as you say, Bobby in particular, I was never able to discuss it with Pigpen, but Bobby sort of ignored it and practiced a lot. Bobby, at that time in particular, was not great at verbal communication and he, I don’t know how to describe it, he basically avoided Phil and showed up at gigs and kept plugging in. And after a while, and what is interesting about that is this took place in August of 1968, and if you listen to Bobby’s playing just 6 months later on “Live Dead” it’s superb.

So either Phil was wrong, or Bobby made tremendous progress in 6 months, which is, possibly it’s true. Or it had a great deal less with playing as with attitudes. And after a while you kind of have to accept people’s attitudes.

My favorite comment about all that was Owsley’s who remarked, this is a paraphrase, but to the effect that “It’s like 1 finger firing another finger.” He saw the band as an organic whole and you couldn’t just say “he’s not part of us anymore” it’s a 6 fingered whole. And it didn’t work, 1 finger could not fire another finger.
CZ: Who said that?

JG: Owsley Stanley I believe.

CZ: That’s really telling, that is a really telling statement.

DM: I know, I say that’s why I quoted it in my book. I think Bear was exactly right. That they were bonded in ways that simply, you know, couldn’t be..

CZ: Rationalized

DM: .. rationalized, nor could firing be an effective solution to the problems. There was no effective solution to the communications problems because Bobby couldn’t really communicate verbally the way most people can. It’s just, to this day he has just, a different sort of personality.

JG: You just mentioned sort of the 6 of them were intertwined, where was the fans or the Deadhead community in that organic structure? Because it seems that from everything that I have read they grew as much with the band as they did after the band had sort of found their paths.

DM: The thing about the growth of Deadheads, and unlike any other band there ever was, is for 30, the audience grew for 30 years. It was like the rings of a tree, concentric circles. You have, that innermost circle, was the people that were in San Francisco that heard them at the very, very beginning, and a lot of that, some, obviously in every group of people there are going to be people that come to the show, and some,. because this is not for everyone this is a certain kind of developed taste. Some love it, and stay. Some don’t, and bit by bit it grows. I was with the second group, which is the people on the east coast between, in the very late, when the band started touring the East Coast, from say 1968 and 1969 through 1972. And I was a Deadhead for the second wave. And then there was a third wave, where, um
considerable growth, in particular late in the 70’s after they had their hiatus, took a bit of
time off in the mid 70’s. And then there is a, starting from Englishtown 1977 and on, there is
a bunch of, a larger group, and then by the 80’s you’re getting a whole other wave of
Deadheads, and then, of course, there is an enormous spike in popularity caused by their one
hit, Touch of Gray. And it just, it kept on growing. And, of course, the problem as I have said
many times, with Touch of Gray, was that suddenly you have people coming within inches of
the Grateful Dead that didn’t get it organically, that didn’t get it from another person, they
got it from the radio. They heard a song on the radio and they thought, “well that sounds
interesting, I’ll go check out the show”. And most of the shows are sold out, so they can’t
get in so they are hanging around in the parking lot.

Well it’s a fascinating scene for a young person. It’s got beer, members of the
opposite sex, or the same sex, or whatever sexy you’ve got in mind, potential for
lifestenciousness or at least fun. There’s drugs of various, there’s pot, there’s acid, Nitrous
oxide, there’s whatever. It’s a party, and I’ve never known a 19 year old that didn’t want to
go to a party.

So suddenly you’ve got, instead of a few hundred people outside when the show
starts, you’ve got thousands. And it’s just like any other physical environment, you know,
we, it overloaded it.

Literally they stole parking, you know people would come without tickets and take parking
places so that the people with tickets couldn’t even get in the parking lot. And this causes
eventually, sort of, and environmental breakdown. So that’s what happened with that.

CZ: I thing I want to jump into a little bit here is, you were talking about, this organic growth
vs. later on this nonorganic growth, I have 1 thing that I want to see if you have thoughts on,
you know, later on. It was very interesting reading through the newspapers because in the
beginning they were saying that the band is playing to small venues and everyone could see
them, and they had this, you know, enormous linkage with the audience like you were
talking about and then later on after their hit, all of a sudden they are playing to stadiums, and
somehow, you know they were saying that, some of the reports were saying somehow the
band kind of lost touch. You know, they can’t see the audience, right, So I’m wondering
whether that has some relation with the development of the community after that.
DM: Well, the band didn’t like playing stadiums. We were forced into it, we felt we were forced into it. We felt it wasn’t, “aww hey, now we can sell a stadium let’s sell a stadium, let’s make more money”. It genuinely wasn’t like that. I was in the meeting that planned the first major stadium tour, which was in 1986, They had been in stadiums before that but this was the first time that we were going, “You know in the summer with kids free from school, we’re going to get, you know, if we try and do a regular tour we’ll get killed. We have to do stadiums.” And it just built and built and built.

They didn’t like it, Jerry in particular, objected to it on an aesthetic grounds, namely that in order to play music that conveys something to the guy in the last row, you have to simplify it, you have to make it almost cartoonish. Subtlety is lost in a stadium. And, you know, that’s true and as far as loosing touch there was a greater physical distance between the band and the audience and it’s not as enjoyable. As far as reaching out to the audience what happened was they had to use other means to communicate with the audience. For instance, the telephone hotline and eventually this is preinternet, so you know, it would have been fascinating to see what Jerry would have done with a functioning website. But the fact is that they had to use other means. And that became the ticket office, it became Eileen Law, who’s voice was on those phone messages, and there had to be substitutes.

JG: You talked about the parking lot scene very quickly and one of the most famous things from the parking lot scene from the Grateful Dead was the concept of the miracle ticket… I what stemmed the miracle ticket? Or how that practice gained so much momentum and another thing that is sort of lost about the miracle ticket is that it all seems to come back to Karma but no one can explain it any better than saying, “Well it Karma” can you try to do a better job of explaining that?

DM: Well the miracle ticket was very simple, the band, before every show the production manager would get a wad of tickets, at least a hundred. Which would be available in particular of the band and the crew, but there would be extras, there were always extras. I mean we’re not talking about a theater show that’s just radically sold out, because then there’s just no comps, but certainly in a stadium show, there would be some leftovers, at
which point he would summon me and other people. And hand us a wad of tickets and say “Give em away” because he buys into the same code that Jerry did and that the kids did. Which is “We’re not just in this for the money, there has got to be a little room in the corners for generosity, sweetness”. “Give em away” and I would give them away.

Now what were my standards? I tended to, First standard was I looked for people who were wistful, who were caring, who were obviously bumming at the idea that they weren’t going to be at the show. So you had to project some sort of vulnerability. I also confess to a heterosexual males inclination, pretty girls had an advantage. Particularly funky smelly guys were at a disadvantage, But you know smelly guys got tickets from me it was just a matter of, as I say, a certain quality of wistfulness. And then finally I had, well my technique, I called it the Lone-Ranger technique. Which was I didn’t want to be, you know most people when they got that as soon as they realized that it was in their hand and it was legitimate would want to thank you for 20 minutes. I didn’t have time, and I wanted to be kind of magical about it so what I would try to do was hand them a ticket and then vanish. So by the time it would soak through their brain, “Oh My God, I’m gunna go,” and they’d look up to say “Hey Thanks!” it would be “Who was that masked man?” “Who was that Lone Ranger that gave me the ticket?” And they would be jumping up and down all happy and I would be maybe watching them from a distance or on my way to make somebody else happy. So that was the preferred technique

Let me just say that it is quarter to 1 and I need to be done at 1.

**JG:** Billboard calls the band one of the top grossers but they never saw any Billboard success with record sales and they continued to grow in popularity. One of the other things that they did was start the Grateful Dead Records for a brief period after their relationship with Warner Brothers. From an insiders point of view can you sort of describe that relationship?

**DM:** You’ve got to be more precise, it wasn’t WB, it was Joe Smith. Joe was exasperated with them and quite rightly, Jerry would say in later years, that WB treated them far better than they deserved. And they did in many ways. In current days if they had sold as many records as the first Grateful Dead records sold they would have been on the street, they would have been fired because they weren’t commercially successful band, in particular in the
beginning. Workingman’s Dead saved them, Workingman’s and American Beauty saved them commercially. But business wise they were antiauthoritarian children and they were terribly difficult and they were sure that they knew what they were doing, and in ways they did as artists but technologically maybe not so much and they resisted all attempts at influence from daddy, to the record company, so they were terribly difficult, that’s the truth. God knows Jerry agreed with that. At that time if you wanted to be a successful act, I mean it was not an examined thought, you were assumed, if you were starting to make it, make some kind of waves in the record business that you got a record deal. And that you expose your music to many people via the record deal, far more, it was the first thought. And now you put it up for free on the internet and make your money selling tickets. And its always been that you make more money selling tickets than selling records because the record companies are thieves.

**JG:** Even though the record companies seemed to be very against it the band would always have their friends or other San Francisco contemporaries up on stage with them and playing with them. When they recorded live albums, how did they get around these other artists being on stage with them on the live albums, because it seems like most of their “studio albums” ended up being live albums anyway?

**DM:** Well I don’t know about most, you would have to count it up. Remember there is about a billion albums since they stopped touring, they are all obviously live. Dick’s picks and such, but during their own time I suppose it breaks down to about 50/50 live and studio. They didn’t like the studio, they didn’t get the same response that they did from the audience. It didn’t have to be a big audience, there just had to be some people out there. The fact is, yes they frequently invited friends to jam with them but it wasn’t so frequent that it mattered as getting an album out. And the classic example of that is Branford Marsalis sitting in with them in 1991, so he appeared on the next album. On the live album that came out of that, which was, I forgot but it’s not a Dick’s Picks it was a former release.
**JG:** It has been said that the band has been rebranded, especially since the death of Jerry Garcia, can you discuss the rebrand as opposed to the initial brand and if there have been any norms, or parts of the community that have fallen by the wayside due to the new brand?

**DM:** See I don’t think that there is a new brand, it’s the same old Grateful Dead that it ever was. It’s my opinion that the current, Furthur, and the various iterations of the last 10-15 years, have all been riding on the same energy that they rode on from 1965-1995, and it is a lesser thing without Jerry. Jerry Garcia was one of the great musicians in the last hundred years. In terms of breaths of styles.. of what he could bring to a guitar and as a vocalist, and not with a great voice but with an incredibly expressive voice. I think that there are very few people that..he rates comparison to the greats lets just leave it at that. And while I have great respect for some of the people who have played lead guitar with, lets say, Phil and Friends or whatever the bands have been they ain’t Jerry, simple. So for me it’s a, I like and for instance work with Rat Dog, because they have tried much less to be the Grateful Dead, they have tried to come up with something using Grateful Dead music but doing it quite differently and I thought that was the most successful. Which is why I am dubious having somebody, and I like John Kadlecik as a person, and I know him as a person but .. going to the extent of literally getting yourself a clone of Jerry Garcia to put out Furthur, that is one of the reasons that I raise my eyebrows at that.

**CZ:** They were saying that Jerry Garcia was a “Soul”?

**DM:** That’s the way I see it, both in terms of musical essence and in terms of heart. He supplied the heart in that band and without it, it’s just not the same thing.

**JG:** Is there anything else that you may think that I have missed when talking about the relevance and the emergence of the Grateful Dead Community over this last hour?

**DM:** No I mean I think I touched on… As I say it just grew, and it grew, and it grew because people talked to other people, and handed em cassettes and said “You have to listen to this.”
One of my fonder memories was, a friend of mine, 1975, calling me up “Hey I got the new Blues for Allah come on over.” Hell Yes, so I run, again it was the new album and I didn’t have the $5 to buy it so I ran over to his house. I was lit with a number of other people and we were sitting there. So Blues for Allah side 1 has songs, relatively conventional songs, it’s one of my favorite studio albums that they ever put out. Side 1 has real songs and it’s accessible, Side 2 is a 20 minute atonal arrhythmic, well it has some rhythm, very strange single song called Blues for Allah. Very strange, well my friend and I are sitting there listening, we’ve listened to side 1, “hmm, good, good,” put on side 2 it’s getting weirder and weirder and weirder and we’re looking at each other going “Wow this is really cool, this is strange” and in the Grateful Dead world strange was a good thing. Most people, most rock audiences, they do not want strange. They want predictability, they want to hear at the show the same thing that they hear on the radio that’s what that’s all about. And the fellow who is with us, who is a housemate of my friend, he’s listening with us and finally he looks up and says “You guys like this?” and we said “Yeah we do” and that’s what it’s about being a Deadhead.

**JG:** Thank you…

**DM:** The crew in their day had a reputation for being difficult. Let me know if you get the interview.

**JG:** Recommendations?

**DM:** You might talk to Blair Jackson, or David Gans
You might talk to a taper:

Dan Hupert
dedhedesq@aol.com
Friend of Dennis, met on a bus to a Grateful Dead Concert
Was and still is a rabid taper,
**DM:** Within all the Deadheads, of course, there was differentiation, and one of the differentiations was the tapers, which felt more dead. There is also certain because guys are guys, you didn’t see this with women, but because guys were guys there was a certain competition, I’m more Grateful Dead than Thou. Which is most of the time within bound of decency it wasn’t that obnoxious, and one of the ways that it came out was between of tapers. Tapers were... you know I’m more committed I’m lugging this equipment and I’m sacrificing just laying back and enjoying the show so that you can have a tape, etc. etc. so there was stuff like that.
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT WITH BARRY BARNES, DEADHEAD, TAPER, AND PROFESSOR OF LEADERSHIP AT H. WAYNE HUIZenga SCHOOL OF BUSINESS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP AT NOVA SOUTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY
John Guiney [JG]: As I said hi my name is John Guiney, thank you for taking the time to do a interview with me. Like I told you in my emails, I am currently doing a thesis at San Diego State University to complete my MBA. My topic is the Grateful Dead and it's community.

Barry Barnes [BB]: Why?

JG: For a couple different reasons, but first, the first reason is the way the Grateful Dead treated their fans, and to see, as a case study, to see what they did right, and what series of conscious and unconscious decision led to the Deadhead fan base. I realize that there is a lot of excellent research done in regards to the band. Books like Dark Star the biography of Jerry Garcia, Phil Lesh's autobiography, Searching for the Sound, A long Strange Trip by Dennis McNally, and Conversations with the Dead by David Gans, which led me to this phone conversation. My main area of interest however as I said is how Grateful Dead community emerged and self-regulated through a series of conscious and unconscious decisions. To that regard I will focus my questions in the area, and not so much on the band, per say.

BB: It seems that when we had our first e-mail exchange, John, that I suggested that you talk to Rebecca Adams.

JG: I've started to contact her, and I'm trying to align that too.

BB: Okay good because she has a book too, On Deadheads Sociology is the title of that book, if you are not familiar with it already.
JG: I have a came across it, and basically I value your information in this area before we begin, as you said this conversation will be recorded so I transcribe it.

BB: Right

JG: So to begin, I guess I'll start with and easy question. Can you describe your first memory of a Grateful Dead experience?

BB: First memory was their first album. I was working for IBM at the time, probably sixty-eight or sixty-nine, I don't remember which. I bought a, it was a four track tape, this the predecessor to eight track tapes, so I bought their first album on a four track tape and listened to it in my car

JG: Did you ever travel with the band?

BB: Oh yes.

JG: And how many concerts did u go to?

BB: One hundred ninety four.

JG: And what were the compelling elements of the concert that continually brought you back, if you were not a fan of the studio recording?

BB: That’s a great question. It's the question that all of us, that continue to pursue them one way or another are still asking ourselves, ‘what the hell was this all about?’ . So it was the music, you know. It's the improvisation. It's the creative aspect there in the moment. Something fresh and new unexpected adventure just, just of a guy who doesn't care for repetition particularly. And that's one thing you could certainly count on with the Grateful Dead, it was not going to be routine. It wasn't going to be the same thing you'd ever seen before, no matter what. So I guess that's the simplest way to put it. It was a lot more than that
of course, but, and it changed overtime. But that’s one of the most compelling aspects of whole thing.

**JG:** Okay, how about the live show? How did the live show and record listening experience differ from that of the Grateful Dead to other contemporary artists at the time?

**BB:** Well I think I just said basically it. You know, I'm a big fan of Neil Young, and I really like Neil Young, but if I go see Neil Young in concert I can't go see him the next night in concert and expect something entirely different. I'm going to see the same show pretty much. That's true for just about every artist unless, you know, this is what made the Dead so unique early on. Was this jam band, if you will, that's, you know, the label we've apply later down the road for this particular genre that they kind of created. They didn't you know, they were falling, or I mean they were following Miles Davis and John Coltrane, you know there were highly jazz influenced, so you would expect the kind of improvisation from them, but that's, so the listening exp.,

You know, the Eagles, they work hard to make their performance sound exactly like the record. Well hell, the Dead never ever could do to that. They didn't want to do that. They wanted something that would keep them interested every night, and so that’s what they did. They did something unique every night, and my experience with other live music, as much as I love it all, is that's very unusual. Okay, there are some bands out there out there that I follow today, that their live experience is much more close to the Grateful Dead experience. Where it's something unique, and special, and if I see them two or three nights in a row then its going to be something different every night. But that’s typically not the case, typically not the case.

**JG:** Okay so, the community social networks such as Facebook, MySpace are huge today in the internet age especially with businesses. How are social network today similar to the Deadhead community, and how do they differ beside the internet age part of it?

**BB:** You know the Dead were really unique again, in that they had this remarkable interest in this, they built this relationship. They reached out to their fans and they had respect and
empathy for their fans. I was just up in Santa Cruz two weeks ago and talking with David Gans, as a matter of fact two weeks ago today, and I, I saw some of the envelopes that they had saved, you know, and as I was going through files out there I would see thank you letters to the band. And thank you letters to Eileen Law. And thank you letters to the people in Grateful Dead ticket sales, and save these things. And these envelopes, I mean clearly they had this remarkable relationship with their fans. That they respected them, and they loved them, and they knew that they didn't survive without them. So this makes them completely unlike any other, Corporate America example that I can think of. I don't know any, there is a few, there is a wonderful book that you might want to take a look at called, let’s see what it is,.. it's slipping my mind right now. It's by Sam Hill and Glenn Rifkin and it's the title will come back to me before we're finished, if not I'll email it to you John. How important it is to create a lifestyle for your fans and that is really what the Grateful Dead did.

I'm losing track of what your question was now, but

**JG:** It had to do with social

**BB:** Social networking and the fact that, yeah you know, when I first saw my first Grateful Dead concert was Des Moines, Iowa, nineteen seventy-four, and this was a wall of sound show. And again, I wasn't a complete huge fan of them at the time. It was my first live experience with them, and it was completely different than any other thing that I had ever seen. They had a table were you could sign up, and I guess I did, because I started getting mailings from them after that. And you know, they would send out these little newsletters here's a forty five of their new single, of US Blues, and then, and then they go on their hiatus, and then they send us some more newsletters. This little thirty three, and a third sampler from stuff that they're working on. I mean it was just remarkable. I call that a social network, and reaching out your fans of completely unusually, and unique way. So then later, as you know, they created hotlines, and they had their that message, and their skull and roses album, the two record one that said you know Dead Freaks unite, and that’s what started the mailing list. And then Stewart Brand started The Well. which I'm sure David Gans talked to you about that, and began this first online virtual community, and a bunch of it dedicated, you know, and run by Dead fans. So you know, this, this whole thing, so they, they facilitated this in a
remarkable way, and it just was unheard of. And, you know, it's because of Internet today, because the capabilities we have for communication is so easily, and everybody else has picked up on this and realized how important this can be, so.

**JG:** Can you talk about the interactions between members the Deadhead community, sort of touching on different things, like maybe trust, or how the community regulated itself. If there were rules.

**BB:** Yeah, yeah there was very, very clear a culture, culture and culture means that your behavior is based on certain expected standards of behavior, and norms, and so forth. And I know that you've had some organizational behavior classes, so you're familiar with these things, and so if there were absolutely behavioral standards. And you would demonstrate your ability to fit in by the whether you could speak the language, whether of the number of shows that you've been to, and how far you travel, and the clothes that you wore. And the key, I think mostly, was the fact that it was all about the music. And so there was this respect for the music. And so would be like a little baseball game, where you get there early so that you could, not necessarily in this case see the team warm-up, because the band usually wouldn't come out and you know warm up for us. But we'd sit around and have these conversations. Either at your seats, or later in the parking lot and in the scene, as you described it. And go around and check out who's where, and what and who's selling what, and all that sort of thing, and you would. But then when the music began, then it was time to be quiet. Time to dance. Time to watch. Time to listen. Time to dream. Time to get into the flow of the music, and that was the thing. And that's what happened in nineteen eighty seven when Touch of Gray came out, and this, we had this huge influx of people who were not aware of the behavioral standards that we expected. The Dead really needed because there, as you know from listening to their music when they play Stella Blue there are very quiet moments in there, and that's what your supposed to be, You're not hollerin' and hooping and carrying on there. You're going with the ballad, and you're quiet, and you respect that, and you're in touch with what Jerry's trying to tell you, and those kinds of things. So this was the huge challenge of this culture, and this huge influx. And Corporate America sees this happening too. They don't understand it the way that the Dead did, but in my opinion, most
of the time they don't understand it. So when we grow an organization very quickly, and you add a whole lot of new people, then you change the culture, when you bring in all these people and that’s what happened to the Dead. And it caused huge problems for them, as you well know from research they you've done, they were banned from certain cities and certain venues, and weren't appreciated until they could make a business case and say ‘Look here is how much money you're losing in your community if you don't let us come to town’. So that kind of changed things around in the nineties again, but anyway.

**JG:** To get back to some of the norms of that culture, you talked about things such as parking lot merchandising, what were some of the rules? If you could go a little deeper into it, what were the expected behaviors, besides sitting and enjoying the music? How did you deal with someone that wasn't following the norms?

**BB:** Well that’s it was always a touchy, tricky question because we would find ourselves, sat ourselves next to people who were hooping and hollerin’, and you'd try to quietly asked them to settle down or whatever, and or move. You know, dancing space, all these kind of issues. You tried to, we were a nonconfrontational kind of group, and didn't want to ... It was just like the band, you know. They didn't want to be cops, and they didn't want to dictate rules, and so forth, and that's the way we were in the Deadhead community. As we didn’t want to argue or, or yell or be confrontative. We just wanted people to understand, ‘Hey look, we're here for the music’.

And in the parking lot I don't know that there were necessarily, there were certainly, rules is too strong a word, it's these, norms is a much more appropriate. You know, unspoken standards of behavior is what we're talking about here, and there. Other than respect for each other, and try not to get in each other's face, which happened of course regardless because human beings are human beings. It was this not adversarial, nonconfrontational, sort of standards I believe for all situations. Don't tell me what to do and I won't tell you what to do, respect me and I'll respect you and I think that applied in the parking lot and then inside the venues and everything else.
JG: One thing is with most cultures, even though it might not be defined, a structured finds it's way to rear its head, and within the culture a hierarchy, if you will could you explain the hierarchy within the Deadhead community, or what sort of social capital?

BB: Well, social capital, I think yes. Hierarchy, I can't I am unaware of a hierarchy, other than people with more shows under their belts. Perhaps that’s the social capital. I suspect a tapers, you know there was a whole, that’s a whole other subculture, I mean there were many, many subcultures within us. And they all had their own norms, and their own standards. I was a taper, and but, there were spinners, you know, I'm sure that you are familiar with all the subcultures.

JG: I am, but just for the sake of the interview, can you go into what you would divide the subcultures into, because it seems these differing opinions depending who you speak to?

BB: Well let’s see, okay, tapers comes to mind, because I was one. Then there's the spinners and then there's the Wharf Rats. Then there's the Deafhead and there is the Rastafarian subculture, and you know who else, those are the one that come to my mind. John, I know that there were more than that, but those, off the top of my head, those are the ones that I can think of.

JG: Great, my next question is what were your expectations when go to Grateful Dead concert? As a fan, what do you go sort of looking forward, or is there anything that you can count on besides improvisation?

BB: I want to be moved and my, you know, everybody's ultimate desire was for that the “X-factor” to immerge. You know, those magical transcendent moments, which the Dead certainly talked about many times in their interviews, and where the music played the band, if you will, and like all great artists, when the spirit comes through the artist, that’s what we were looking for, and we'd find it sometimes and sometimes we wouldn't so.
JG: Was there a difference? You have touched on it a brief minute ago about the difference between Deadheads, and fans, and the fans who came after the hit album in nineteen eighty seven. Can you talk a little more about the influx of fans, and the way that they were both met by the current community, and sort of their impact on the community

BB: Okay, well the way you used the word community, is to me, sounds like you're implying some sort of, you know, something concrete and tangible and I, it wasn't that I may, it’s much more amorphous and intangible. And, you know, I had my own small relatively small circle of friends, and associates, and colleagues. And we would see different folks in different places around the country, and that circle of friends grew over time. So yes, I mean we would make plans to hook up and you know share motel rooms and all and those kinds of things, and travel with, and meet, and so forth. But community seems relatively concrete in structure, if you understand what I'm saying? I'm sure that you do, okay, so I just want to make that clear, and then in terms of the influx of new fans remind me again what you're question is in that regard

JG: Sort of the difference, the different way that they interacted, or what their effects were on the community? You mentioned it really quickly, and a lot of people have talked about it as almost a degradation of …

BB: Well it was. It was the degradation. It's like any, any situation where you bring people in and they don't, they don't socialize or assimilate into the culture by observing how other people behave. They come in with their own pre-, you know their own behavioral patterns and demonstrate those behavioral patterns, and that’s the thing. In a more managed approach you would bring in a few people, you know. I don't know what a few would be, but if you've got fifteen thousand people in a venue, you know, if you can bring in five percent that maybe, maybe that would be a not too many to assimilate, but that would be probably, and get them to come around, and travel around. But the problem was adding these new people is, is that each venue would have all new set of people that would come and they would, and they were, in my opinion, they were encouraged to come by that Day of the Dead broadcast
on MTV in nineteen eighty seven. And, and what they did, is they, I'm sure you know all this John, is that they broadcast from the parking lot, I guess it was Foxboro, if I'm not mistaken. And all day long, and it looked like a big party, and it was summertime, and, everybody said “Aww man this looks fantastic, let's go hang out, let's go party”, and that was the message. That was transmitted to nonDeadheads, and so 'let's go have a party’, which certainly is part of the scene, no question about it. We all were there to have a good time. But it was a spiritual, in my opinion, spiritual transcendental moving experience of very deep emotions for, I think, the serious Deadheads. I think that's what kept all of us going back. I'm speaking for myself obviously, and that was not why these new folks came. They saw Touch of Gray the video, and said “oh that's cute, let's go see some dancing skeletons”, and “let's go drink some beer, and get drunk, get wild and crazy, and hoop and holler, and”, so that's the difference that I saw. Then is, they were there to hear the hit. They were here to be wild and crazy, “Rock 'n Roll Man”, rock 'n roll, and not to hear those quiet moments, not to, you know, they just didn't, hadn't, didn't have the background, and the history, and the appreciation for the music other than the hit single.

And so that's a totally different thing than when you were an earlier Deadhead on the scene, you were there because somebody told you about. That they had given you a tape or maybe you'd listened to a few albums, but you know otherwise you would go because they came to town and you said 'oh I don't know these guys’ and you'd realize this isn't my cup of tea, and so you would leave, and you wouldn't come back. Otherwise you get sucked into the community, and you would develop a friendship, and you'd learn these unspoken rules of here. We're here for the music, and we don't talk, and we don't carry on. We don't hoop and holler during the quiet moments and so forth and so on so. Those are the differences that I would describe

JG: You talked about the transference of, sort of, the Dead the way that people were exposed to the music through the hand out of tapes and whatnot. You mentioned that you were a taper, can you speak a little more about that part of the community?

BB: Yeah well there was more of a, there is more of a concrete and tangible structure to the taping community I would have to say. Because certainly you know, I did not tape my first
show in seventy-four. I don't why because I was taping at the time, but I didn't. I did not tape that particular show. But I did tape the second one that I saw in seventy seven, and I taped almost every show after that, but what I was not aware of when I first started was that there was a network that existed of other, other like minds like mine, and that was tapers. People who wanted to preserve the music and enjoy the music after they saw the show. And it took me several years before I realized that, that was such a thing and the again there was more structure there. And then when the Grateful Dead fanzines came along, and I first, you know, I started buying Relic and the likes and seeing the ads in the back and I'm going "holy macral". So that immediately connected me to people and I begin tape trading in earnest. And that became a consuming passion all of its own. And there was this network and this much more concrete thing, and people who had bigger lists, and had more shows, and things that you didn't know existed, and sound boards. Oh my God, you know the quality of tapes everything it was it was quite, a quite, a huge part of my non-concert going life.

I didn't see the Dead that often in the early years. It was not until eighty five when I really started traveling around. You know, I'd seen them a dozen times before then but that's when I started getting on the road. But in the meantime then the taping, a buying bootleg LPs cause I didn't have the, I didn't have the connections to the taping network, and like I said I didn't know that there were people out there doing this, and how to get hold of them. I wasn't reading the right thing and talking to the right people. So I was unaware of that until, until I picked up my first Relics, and then Golden Road, and Dupree's and everything else so.

**JG:** I Spoke with Dan Healy two days ago and he spoke about the tapers, sort of the tapers bill of rights, or the taper's rights, can you get into the tape's rights a little more, because that seems to be one of the only structured decisions or written down almost decision of rules that come along with this community?

**BB:** The only written thing I know of is this, which is what they put on the tickets when they finally authorized and condone taping and I guess that was in eighty four when they created the tapers section was you know "for noncommercial home use only". Which is a wonderful thing you know. Everybody had respected that, and understood that long before they
authorize it, it was you don't sell these although there, you know it was this trading, bartering system, and it was. So that's the only written rule that I'm aware of.

When I first, the first taper section that I was in was in front of the soundboard. This is a slight digression from your question John, but the first, first time I taped in Oakland was in front of the soundboard, and then in the middle of that they decided that was inappropriate and they were, it was interfering with too many people, the mic stands. So they made us go behind every, after that, every show after that. Then this was in eighty-five and then all the taper sections were behind sound board. Which means that there was still this group, this subversive group that broke the rules and would sneak up front and do front of the board tapings. So I did that on occasion, we all did. So if you could be stealth taper then you could go up in front.

The Bill of Rights was you didn't try, I guess was, that you didn't interfere with anybody because people were there to dance, and have a good time, and listen to music, and that's one of the reasons that they created the tapers section. I've spoken to Healy myself in the past and it was that you, that's why they created the tapers section, because the tapers were annoying people, and demanding they be quiet or they take their seats or whatever, and so they need to have some sort of structure or some sort of rules if you will to prevent that from interfering with those fans who were there for the music.

JG: Narcs undercover and the venue security not withstanding how did the community the parking lot scene and the venue try to keep order?

BB: Ha, they didn't need to keep order. That was one of the things. I'm sure you've read enough accounts at the scene that describe that there was nothing like a Grateful Dead concert. There was nothing like it, and that was true. The security at most venues, there were thugs at a lot of venues on the East Coast, and some in the Midwest, and some on the West Coast, but typically the West Coast didn't, they didn't have any problems with security because they understood that this was an easy to control crowd. You didn't have to control. All you had to do is ask them nicely, and people would follow what you told them to do.

Red Rocks [Colorado] was a nightmarish scenario they were always thugs out there, East Coast, was number of there, were thuggish places there, but typically you know it's just
such a mellow crowd. You didn't have to wrestle them around. Just tell them what you
wanted them to do and they would do it. I've, I've read so many different accounts from some
different places that, you know from security people, people saying exactly that John, I'm
sure that you’ve seen some of that too.

JG: The next one has to do with commercial success. Sure the Grateful Dead never saw much
commercial success through the Billboard charts, through record sales, yet they continued to
grow in popularity, can you give me your take on this? I believe I saw you on FOXMoney
about this same topic the other day.

BB: Probably, so the question is “how did they do this?” because of that taping decision to
allow taping and not to prevent it. They couldn't prevent it anyway. They knew that. Jerry
had been a taper, he went around and taped Bill Monroe. Weir had been a taper, he went a
round and taped Bjorn Coonan and in the early in the sixties himself. So this was in their
blood. And themselves, they understood the desire for people that tape, and they knew and by
the eighties, when it became more obvious and equipment was more affordable, and smaller,
and higher quality, they realized that there was no way to stop this. And they also realized
that Barlow was on the record of commenting, you know. This, why, what we want, you
know, this, became the currency than for getting the Gospel of the Grateful Dead out there,
and as I mentioned that there was a much more tangible network of tapers than [general
Deadhead community]. And as more folks got into it more seriously like I did, you know,
when I went out and bought my Sony D. five in 1985 so I could go to 20th anniversary shows
in Berkeley, you know, when there were so many of us on board at that time with high
quality equipment, you know and we were.

This taping scene just really exploded when they opened up the taper section. Than
God everybody could hear their music. And it spread far and wide and so people who had
never been inclined to hear the Dead could hear good quality recordings, and go “hmmm
well that is kind of interesting”, and this was preTouch of Gray so, and then Touch of Gray
comes along and it's even more spectacular because you've got a whole lot more people, and.
So that's, that's how the Dead managed to grow.
They were struggling the whole time I have an internal business document that talks about the struggles in 1981 and how you know it was hang-to-mouth because they reinvested everything in the organization, and they had they paid their employees well. They paid them the same amount as they paid the band members, so they were, it was a cooperative model will and the fact that they, it was their lives. And they would struggle and do whatever they could to make the business survive, and, and taping allowed that then. I think that was the catalyst to their continued growth overtime. And Touch of Gray certainly put them on the map and gave them more mainstream legitimacy, which was not a good thing this time necessarily. But at least they had some years, or ten years almost, when they could, could have some nice incomes and I certainly don't begrudge them that

**JG:** Staying on the subject of taping because you actually mentioned John Perry Barlow he's actually quoted as saying that the best way to raise demand for you product is to ...

**BB:** Give it away, absolutely.

**JG:** When you look at this as a the business man, specifically to the Grateful Dead, however do you think that this was a conscious decision, or is that just, really just revisionist history?

**BB:** I think that repeat his quote there, there is another quote that he made too which is, and I think it was Barlow that said it, is that “taping was the best decision the best business decision we never made”, okay. Because they as I mentioned a few minutes ago John, they, they didn't ever want to be cops. They didn't ever want to tell people what they could and couldn't do, and they knew taping was going on. You can hear early recordings were Weir is hollering out at people and saying “We know you're out there, we can see you Taping.” all these kinds of things. So they, they knew this was going on.

Healy was certainly aware because people would share tapes with him. So it was a very clear thing, that this was happening, and so, so they knew they couldn't stamp it out. They didn't really carry anyway, because Jerry is on the record saying “hey look when we're finished playing in it they can have it” so that's fine too, it didn't, Jerry, Jerry wanted the music to be free anyway
**JG:** You talk about the business structure as a cooperative model and I don’t know how much more insight you have I'm sure that you have more research insight than I do, but uhh first-hand experience with the band. Can you get into their cooperative model a little more besides they continually reinvested their money in things like the Wall of Sound

**BB:** Right

**JG:** and other experiences for the audience?

**BB:** You know you that they invested in the experience for the audience but unlike other bands they, they didn't put on a show. All they did was come out there and play music, and have some lighting, which was pretty sophisticated in the last decade but, and it was always nice and complimentary. But it wasn't you know they didn't wear costumes and invest in that kind of stuff. What they wanted to do what they wanted to make their sound as close to perfection as they could. And they wanted everybody to have a wonderful listening experience, and they did. So how that relates to the cooperative model, umm I'm getting lost in my own words I get wrapped up in my responses and then forget what your question was. So remind me again put me back on track

**JG:** I just wanted to know more about the cooperative model and compared to the way that other bands were run at the time

**BB:** Cooperative model, I introduced that simply because when I was out there in Santa Cruz two weeks ago I talked to Alan Trist he used that. That he introduced that term to me. And I had never seen it applied to the Dead before and I haven't sat down and looked at Coops to remind myself exactly what corporate means but it means everybody is invests in it and everybody gets a fair share in. So everything that I've looked at from the Grateful Dead indicates that those were those. And that's the description I gave you about the egalitarian approach. But that the thing that made them so unique, I believe is the fact that they were so adamantly independent and so determined to to control everything themselves. And that's
what differentiated them from, from their contemporaries, if you will. I'm somewhat familiar with Jefferson Airplane you know they had their own personnel issues and personality conflicts, but it was exacerbated I'm convinced when they signed their RCA contract and brought in professional if you will professional management. Somebody who was a professional manager to run their business and count their money and then people become more concerned about money.

Well the Dead were never concerned with money. I mean they were concerned with money only to survive. So they can afford to play the next show and can, they avoided adamantly avoided professional management. They hated the suits they despised Corporate America even though they they had a contract with Warner Brothers Records. They didn't really want to do that in particularly but they did it they were discontented the whole time despite the remarkable support that they got from Warner Bros. records put up they Warner Bros. [WB] tollerated a whole lot of crap from those guys, you gotta, I gotta tell you. And so the Dead bought themselves an education and thats why then after that learned how you make records and how you run a studio and how you how this whole business working and they started their own record company. Well [Grateful Dead Records] didn't work very well but that they did it themselves. They wanted to control everything. They just did not want to have other people come in there and shift the focus away from the art that they were creating, that’s my opinion any way.

**JG:** You mentioned the record company and you've also mentioned their ticket sales can you speak little more about how their independently run ticket sales office [Grateful Dead Ticket Sales] affected the band and affected the fans because it's different from

**BB:** Absolutely

**JG:** How other bands were doing it?

**BB:** It was remarkable; again this was about 1984, when they introduced Grateful Dead Ticket Sales. It changed everything for me. I don't know what it did for the band other than the fact that, you know, the it certainly didn't hurt them. Because they had enough power to
they drew enough of a crowd no matter where they went to that they could dictate this to, to promoters. That they “look we're going to take up to 50% of the tickets here”, and although in the research that I just did when I was out at the archive it didn't look like it was ever fifty percent except in a very few situations thirty percent seemed like the more normal number that I was, I saw. Anyway about thirty percent of the tickets were reserved in for Grateful Dead Ticket Sales, and what it did for the fans, and it was certainly it made it possible for me to see them I never would have been able to go around if I'd had to go stand in line someplace outside of Kansas City, where I was living. So I could mail order and I'd have a, I knew in advance that I had a ticket, a good ticket because I had it in my hands. So I could book my travel reservations, and I could go see them. Fantastic, best thing to ever happen, I wouldn't have been able to see one hundred ninety four concerts if it hadn't been for Grateful Dead Ticket Sales. So it hugely changed the scene, and I so glad it was there. And the other good thing about it, was that when the influx of non- traditional Deadheads and of the new fans came in after Touch of Gray in 1987, I don't think that they were aware of Grateful Dead Ticket Sales, so that also help me out. Because they would try to go to Ticketmaster, or wherever for their ticket, but I already had mine. Because I'd mail ordered them a few weeks before, so that always assured me, that despite this growing crowds, that I was more likely to get a ticket

**JG:** Ok great.

**BB:** Is that what you needed that what you wanted?

**JG:** That’s actually perfect.

**BB:** Some other part of that, you’re running out of time, so.

**JG:** I understand that I’m running out of time.

**BB:** No not as far as I'm concerned, but it seemed like there were two parts of that question and I just wanted to make sure
**JG:** You covered the first part which had a lot to do with the ticket sales could you speak little about the pricing structure in comparison, the amount that the Grateful Dead made you pay versus the amount that you would be paying to go see someone like the Rolling Stones?

**BB:** I am not in a position right here where I can pull up those ticket stubs. I kept everything whether it was Rolling Stones or Grateful Dead, and needless to say I have got a lot more Dead Tickets than I do Rolling Stones Tickets. But the Dead intentionally kept ticket prices low. It's hard to keep it in perspective now because it has been 15 years since there has been a Grateful Dead concert. Ticket prices are so outrageous right now, but all you do is look at the prices for Furthur Tickets right now to. That they’re $55 or something, and you look at the Eagles and you know they, you are lucky if you could park in the parking lot for $55 of. So the Dead again it goes back to this, this 60’s San Francisco ethos these values of, you know we're a community, and we love each other, and peace, love and harmony, and it's over simplifying you know. I don't know, I wasn't there inside the organization, but they made an effort to keep prices low because they knew that there were a lot of fans that didn't have a lot of money, and they wanted to make it available to those people. So they always kept their prices lower than everybody else at the time.

**JG:** The next question has to do with the Grateful Dead’s brand, or sort of as you see the Grateful Dead’s brand. Initially and then I have read in recent, I believe the article comes from 1997, I’m going to look it up right now, that the Grateful Dead have been “rebranded”, oh its actually later than that, hold on it’s from the Irish Times by a lady named Lucy Kellaway and it speaks of the Grateful Dead being “rebranded” in revisionary history as, as more business people and people with sort of a business case now…

**BB:** She's right. I mean I have superimposed the idea of a business model over the Grateful Dead and I’ve seen interviews with band, as late as 2004, surviving members when Charlie Rose interviewed then on 60 minutes 2, and asked them about the Grateful Dead business model and they laughed out loud, you know. And then, if you see Bob Weir just earlier this year on the Fox business channel, and ask about the business model and he doesn't laugh
anymore. Because this is, they finally accepted that term too. But yes, they were not businesspeople that's that was antithetical to them. They were musicians. They were artists and, and what they were trying to do was create, my term here, "hybrid-business model" that allowed them to navigate through this difficult turbulent challenging competitive music industry that typically would crush artists and stars. And make them conform to the model of selling plastic discs records, you know. And that's not what the Grateful Dead were all about. They were about playing live music and so they created this again my term hybrid business model that allowed them to tour as their livelihood. This is much more in the old jazz vein rather than the rock 'n roll business. So it was completely different for the music industry at that time, and even today, you know, look at the concert difficulties everybody is having this year tours being canceled. Anyway so they created this hybrid business model, but that's certainly not what they would say. They never would've said that, so. I used certainly, I’m not the only one but Glenn Rifkin talked about it too. We talk about business models, or impose these, this terminology of business and adopted them as a business case because it was refreshing and it was different. But they certainly never saw themselves in those terms, you know. Peter McQuaid after with Grateful Dead Merchandising, yeah in 95 when I talk to him, yes, he was a business person with Bill Graham and Wonderland and so forth. And brought him in as president of the Grateful Dead Productions. And he worked out some business arrangements with Best Buy so they had Grateful Dead kiosks in there, and they were selling Grateful Dead Merchandising, and all kind of stuff. But that’s this was in the very last couple years of their existence, right before Jerry died. So this was a whole different thing for them anyway. They were never business. They never intended to be. They were artists.

**JG:** You talk about publishing rights issue actually because that helps out with the Grateful Dead merchandise and trying to explain the other venues and venture that the Grateful Dead were able to get into as compared to other bands?

**BB:** Publishing, Ice Nine is their publishing company, I think it was formed in 1970. Just had this conversation with Alan Trist two weeks ago he's the, he's still on the payroll and he runs Ice Nine. And he's the guy that's responsible and always has been for their publishing and
their rights and so on so forth. So if you need if you’re going to use their lyrics or their songs, then he’s the guy that you have got to contact, contact and he's the one who is going to say “yay” or “nay”. So it was an independent organization that managed their intellectual property. Atleast to it's all their intellectual property now, but certainly it was just their songs and their music early on. So I'm not sure how to address other than you know they recognized the need to do this, and I think Robert Hunter had a lot to do with it, to make sure that it was independent. And it's the only entity that I'm aware of right now that's still exists as the Grateful Dead, and everything else been outsourced but it's still, still there Ice Nine published. So again I'm not sure how to respond to your question there John other than that.

**JG:** That’s great mentioned the Jam Band communities earlier in our conversation, and I have I'm trying to clarify a couple more questions about community before I bring them up In my own head. But, In your opinion how was the Grateful Dead community different from those other Jam Bands? You said that you actually have gone to a couple of their shows and how is it different from that community? And how did it affect that community besides setting down almost a, a template? Or did it set down a template?

**BB:** Umm lets talk about string cheese for a minute, because they and Phish, we can talk about Phish. Phish pretty much recognized the value of what the Grateful Dead was doing in terms of a community, and they modeled of what they've done and continue to do on. This is my understanding from people that are Phisheads that I talk with. And part of this scholars group, I'm sure Gans told you about that meets annually for the last 13 years in Albuquerque, Rebecca Adams is part of it as well

**JG:** No

**BB:** Sorry

**JG:** I didn't hear much about this scholars
BB: I'm sorry. You're much about the scholars group blog elders of there is this well, that's another story, we'll talk about that if you're interested. But anyway so this is an ongoing conversation, and if you look at it I think there may be something in Deadhead sociology about Phishheads, the whole Jam Band scene and how, how they differ or are similar from the Grateful Dead scene and the community there. But in any case you know I think that the Dead, the Deadhead community, provided a template if you will, I think that is the term that you used, and I think it's appropriate for other bands to adopt if they so chose.

And certainly String Cheese has done same sort the thing. They recognize that and then Barlow was highly involved in that too, because of Michael Kang. And I was of the impression that Barlow's daughter, I don't know if she married Michael Kang, but there was some serious relationship between the two of them. And he wrote some songs for them. So that is a direct line to the Grateful Dead culture with Barlow and String Cheese, and their business model was very similar to the Grateful Dead's and the community that they tried to create and have created and so forth. So yes I think that there is a template there, to what degree bands consciously recognize this and reach out to their fans I think that there's much more awareness about it throughout the music industry today, because of the Internet, because of Facebook, and because of the ease of reaching out and making connections with your fans. That I think that this almost expected and demand today, no matter who we are and what you do and what kind of artist you might be. Whether you're, doesn't even have to be an artist you mentioned Corporate America and how everybody's Facebooking and Twittering and everything else. So I thinks it's you know again that's why the Dead get some credit for viral marketing and social networking and so forth because they were doing it when it wasn't easy. They just did it because it made sense to them. That’s what they wanted to do, if they wanted to play music they needed to have people there to listen to it so they reached out and in the various ways that they did, and I think that this is the model that has been picked up.

JG: In your opinion, this actually sort of a tangent to my thesis that I've been wondering myself, but in your opinions do you find that this business model "business model" mostly could be replicable in other areas besides music?
BB: Well, no I mean the idea of a what the lesson is in their creating this “hybrid model” is that you can do that, and that you need to do that, and that you need to be different, and you need to know what you can do and what will work for you in a particular industry, rather than letting the industry dictate what you should be. And that’s what I see in a Corporate America, were everybody just copies everybody else to the extreme and there isn't any real choice. When there is a choice then that's where people will go now. And that's why we have these little glimmers of, of entrepreneurial excitement every now and then. So, so you can't follow the Grateful Dead business model. Jam Bands can and they have and that's the conversation we just had. But the lesson to me is that you need to be unique. You need to know what's important to you, how well you, what your strengths and weaknesses, and then you build your business model around that and, and hang on for dear life, And see if you can succeed. This is what entrepreneurs do and the Dead if nothing else were artistic entrepreneurs, I'd have to, I'd have to say.

JG: Great can you speak more about the meeting that you mentioned in Albuquerque?

BB: Sure for the last 13 years there's been this group of scholars that has grown largely. It started out with maybe a dozen of us, I don't know, I guess. I was it's part of the Southwest Texas Pop Culture Association, that’s the that is the name of the conference. And I guess somehow or other I was contacted by Rob Weiner, who is librarian in Lubbock Texas. And he has, he has been playing a role in this popular culture association meeting I don't know forever. And he started this little group because he was so passionate about the Grateful Dead among many, many other things. He hardly attends the Grateful Dead sessions anymore because he has got so many other amazing interests. But he gathered a few Grateful Dead scholars together to come [to] the Popular Culture Association meeting and make presentations, and it the vibe was so positive that we stuck with it and grown ourselves over the last 13 years. We're coming up on 14 now, and we continue to encourage each other and others as well, and I we should probably make you aware, John, of our list serve. If you will our little the "Deadwood Society" is what we call ourselves, there are others like you who are studying the Grateful Dead in dissertations or, or already Professors or already independent scholars or whatever that, that we, we stay in touch. And so it's our Grateful Dead Deadhead
community of scholars so anyway we've done this for the last 13 years. It grows every year we bring in new folks, again we're getting them, we don't intentionally recruit them necessarily. But certainly we would make you aware of it, that’s why I bring it up so I will I will mention you today to the Deadwood Society, and suggest that we invite you and we'll see about getting you invited into the lists serve. So again there are sociologists and musical ethnographers, and statisticians, and psychologists, and independent scholars, and this wide variety, and I'm, as far as I know, I'm the only, certainly in Albuquerque I'm the only, business guy, business researcher and now there is you. So that's it, in a very nutshell, that's what we're all about, so. So anyway we've had, you know so we go out there and we have meetings all day long of presentations or you know three or four people making a presentation too. I don't know we had thirty some presentations last year and, and then we hang out. It's a great, David Gans when I twisted his arm long and hard to try to get him to come, it took him several years before he finally agreed to come and then the way he described was “well you know what is a lot like a Grateful Dead concert without all the pesky music”, okay and so we stay together the crowd the group hangs together solidly from morning till we go to bed night. And so it's much like going to, to a run of shows because you're there all day with each other listening to various presentations about this aspect of your research and your interest or the story that you can tell. And then we go to dinner. We go to lunch. We go to parties. We have house parties. Gan’s place it's quite a remarkable, we had in, let's see 3 years ago it was the 10th anniversary of the, we call [it] the Grateful Dead caucus there, and certainly the conference folks were aware of this. So they allowed us to pick the keynote speaker, and it was Barlow. So Barlow came and then did the conference keynote speech that week, and then came to our sessions and hung out with us for a while at night so forth, so anyway.

JG: Ok great, well I think a lot of great information from this interview so far and I don't want to take up the rest of your day obviously. So thank you for your time and hopefully can contact you if anything comes up.

BB: Sure thing John.
**JG:** Alright great thank you very much.

**BB:** Okay and like I said that I'll let the Deadwood society know about you.

**JG:** Yes please, thank you. Do have a great one Barry.

**BB:** Good luck with it, bye.
APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT WITH DAN HUPERT,
DEADHEAD AND TAPER
John Guiney (JG): Perfect it's working now. Well like I told you in the e-mails, I'll give you a little run down. My project is on of the Grateful Dead and it's community and I'm working on this thesis at San Diego State University with a professor known as CongCong Zheng, she's my chairman for my committee and will be helping me throughout this. I have done a lot of research and, and reads on books such as Dark Star, Phil Lesh's autobiography, A Long Strange Trip by Dennis McNally, which is actually how I got your name through Dennis. My main area of interest however is the Grateful Dead Community and how it emerged and self regulated itself through a series of either conscious or unconscious decision made by the band to that regard that is where I'll focus the questions.

Dan Hupert (DH): We were pretty good on until the end and then it wasn't so self-regulated anymore.

JG: That's what I keep hearing from everyone and so I'm going to focus mostly on the early part of that, but can you describe you're first memory of a Grateful Dead experience?

DH: My time is a little off, but my first two times were, there used to be a club in New York called the Bottom Line, which is a tiny little club in the West Village and I saw Garcia Saunders there, in my mind that was the first time I ever saw Jerry live. As I've looked it up though that show had to be about two years after I first saw the Grateful Dead. I first saw the Grateful Dead in March 1973 at the Nassau Coliseum the first time they toured without, after Pigpen died. Lucky me.

JG: Umm, and what was the most vivid part or, sort of, your memories of that experience?

DH: That first one?
**JG:** Yeah the first one.

**DH:** It was the first time I ever understood what the expression larger-than-life meant. Sitting there seeing those guys on stage I had that feeling that this was, you know, more than normal it was really obviously. It kept me going for the next 40 years so obviously it worked.

**JG:** Right and over the next 4 years how many concerts do you think you went to?

**DH:** Of the Grateful Dead or counting offshoots and stuff?

**JG:** Mostly the Grateful Dead, but also counting offshoots if you can.

**DH:** Grateful Dead somewhere in the 400’s, I'm not sure exactly 4-something counting the offshoots and all the stuff they've been doing since Jerry died I would guess the number has to be over 700.

**JG:** Wow.

**DH:** Still paying the credit card bills for.

**JG:** Seems like it.

**DH:** Yup or,

**JG:** For the later ones anyway, for the Grateful Dead, what is the difference between going to the live show and listening to the records? Why did you go to almost seven hundred shows?

**DH:** In part certainly after the first few years, when I started recording them, getting the master tape is clearly a motivation. I have no doubt that I went to a lot more shows than I
would have otherwise because I wanted the tape. Beyond to this day there is, I've traveled a lot you know and other than maybe like playing with my kid there is nothing that I've enjoyed in my life more than that.

**JG:** Alright, great what were the most compelling elements of the concerts?

**DH:** That changed as the time changed, and as you know I changed. You know, in the beginning it was like this wild party where everybody was dancing and getting high and the music was taking you to; could you hold on a second my other phone is ringing?

**JG:** Sure no problem. [Break] I'm interrupting your day so I'll go to a different question actually because one of the things that I'm talking about is the community and right now everyone talks about social networks Facebook, Myspace and how huge they are in the Internet age, but the Deadheads had a community all of their own and a really seemed to be supportive social network. Can you sort of explain that network of people and how that compares to today's quote unquote social networks?

**DH:** I can't speak with too much authority on Facebook or the rest of that cause I absolutely refuse to participate so it's hard to do a comparison there, umm. But I can tell you that in terms of my life the Grateful Dead social network became, and is to this day all encompassing I have very few friends who weren't friends from the shows or with the shows. I met my law partner because I was wearing the Grateful Dead shirt the first day orientation of the Law school. He came up to me we started talking and we been partners for thirty years now. The women I'm living with one, that I have one child with, we met because her boyfriend at the time said “you know I'm on trial with this Deadhead lawyer”, so we met because of the Grateful Dead. All my closest friends.

**JG:** Oh man that great, so as a community than how did the community interact were there any written or unspoken regulatory rules? What was the formal structure or was there a formal structure when you guys just went to the shows?
**DH:** I don't believe it was the formal structure. I don't think any body you know, said this is how you behave at a show, you know or anything like that. There were certainly, you know, informal behaviors and interactions and whatnot; mostly good some less good us being the people.

**JG:** Can you elaborate a little on those either the good or the less good?

**DH:** Well for example you know the band had then, for a long time the band didn't let us tape. But eventually they realized that was stupid and they allowed us to record the shows openly. There was always this ethic that you didn't sell the tapes. People who tried to sell the tapes were shunned or, you know, people got in the way of them making their tapes. People wouldn't buy them from them, so for example that one little area that was sort of carefully informally regulated. There was an ethic of tolerance that went on there. Which was you know people could do pretty much what they wanted around you as long as it didn't interfere with you. A little, us in the taper section, we were assholes. If people were noisy around us we would shush them and move them a long. Sometimes it got a little bit heated but basically there was an ethic of tolerance. There it was a safe place where people watched out for each other. I would have people leave me thousands and thousands of dollars of taping equipment just because I happen to be sitting in the row next to them. Come up to me and say “I gotta go do something will you watch my stuff” and that certainly went on you know throughout.

**JG:** Great can you talk you sort of since, I'm going to get you to talk more about security and then taping. But really quickly you talked about the trust between the groups and is there a difference between the Deadheads who followed the band originally with you late 1970s started touring and taping and the ones who came in after the 1987 hit album Touch of Gray.

**DH:** The Deadheads no. The audience yes.

**JG:** Can you elaborate, describe the difference with the audience?
DH: It was, we had gone through this over a long period of time, and for a very long time and I came late, 1973 was late people had seen them for ten years by the time I got on bus. [We] thought for a long time it was kind of our private party. It was like our little secret, and then it wasn't our secret anymore. It had become popular and there were people who started being there for the scene and not the music. And people who were there just because they thought it was a place where they could do every single drug under the sun, get really high and do what they wanted. Which was true, but also destructive in a way, and you also got I'm sure if you've talked to Dennis this was one of his big complaints, lots of people who started following it around having no interest in seeing the music just doing the parking lots scene; which had its own attractions but ended up, you know being very, very difficult for all of us and for the band by the end.

JG: And so with all these different people they needed security, and I talked to Dennis alittle about how the band regulated security, but Narcs undercovers and the venue security notwithstanding how did the community and sort of the parking lot structure and the venue actually keep order was there in order? I guess is the second question I should ask…

DH: I'm not sure that I understand the question. I'm not sure I know what your asking me.

JG: Well how did the community, the deadhead community, when you are following the band sort of keep order amongst each other without yet having to deal with you know undercover cops or actual venue security, because no one wanted to go tell on anyone that’s not...

DH: And that didn't happen.

JG: The way to deal things so were there anything besides shunning that…

DH: I don't think so, other than “hey man don't do that around here, that’s not how we do it” I don't think there was much more than that,
**JG:** Okay what kind of, sort of problem did you see trying to come in with thousands of dollars worth of taping equipment? Or how were you treated by the security both of the at the times that they finally allowed you to tape, and the times when they didn’t really say anything about taping, and the brief period where Dan Healy was taking everyone’s stuff at the door?

**DH:** Or going through with a strong electromagnets and erasing everybody’s tapes. Obviously once they started letting us tape getting in became much easier and less stressful. You know there were a lot fewer people walk around on crutches that we could bring in our mic poles the security, the official security, you know, depending on where you were if we were in Bill Grahams joint in California they were kind as could be, if you were in Hartford Connecticut it was like you were an invading army and they were trying to, it was evil depended on where you were and different years were different as well, location had a lot to do with it. There were venues that were known as you know security is going to be tough here be very careful and other venues that were known to be Deadhead friendly.

**JG:** Like you said, you were a taper and one of the thing is that in 1994 John Perry Barlow says “the best way to raise demand for a product is to give it away”, does that seem like revisionary history to you or was this basically the bands stance on taping?

**DH:** Their stance on tapings certainly want through change, you know, I mean early on Jerry famously quoted as saying “when I'm done with it they can have it” but for a long time ago that wasn't made clear. I think very early on they didn't care but they been given any kind of a initial imprimatur if that’s how you pronounce that word to it and it was low key. There were a couple people who were doing it then there was a while where it was very intense intensely restricted.

**JG:** And how would they restrict that?

**DH:** They would search the hell out of you at the door obviously. If they saw you with equipment in the hall they would take it down take it away, take you out, make you shut
down your equipment take away the tapes. And then we got to the point were the ban I guess they worked it out with the venues to allow it, and it was wide spread and 42 mic poles in front of them. At which point they put us into the taping section behind the sound board which is where we were for I don't know the last 5 or 6 years 10 years of the whole thing.

**JG:** How much of an impact do you think the tapers, and the taping section played in the emergence and spread of the Grateful Dead community, because it's been said that bootlegging was a main way your or main venue to get the Grateful Dead’s word out?

**DH:** I agree. The way you turned somebody onto the Dead is certainly, certainly by the end of the 70s, was not “hey listen to this great album”, it was “listen to this show they played last week”, absolutely.

**JG:** Do you have a favorite show?

**DH:** I have a couple off the top of my head February 13, 1970 the Fillmore East was probably the best Dark Star that they ever played and I'm sure people would disagree, you know, vehemently on that. Of the shows I saw I don't know, you know different things had different attractions different shows have different memories, having gone on the Europe tour in 1990, which is only time I ever saw them out of the country, while the shows were not the greatest they ever played, it was just when Vinnie was getting into the band. And they were sort of restricted in their set lists, seeing them there was just tremendous. Coming out of the show in Paris and they had a industrial park there, and it was playground with sort of glass floors and these colored lights shooting up underneath it into this playground with swings. It was like they built it for us, what better thing for 15,000 stoned people to do, do after the show then play around in the lights

**JG:** So how long did you follow the band for, tour with the band?

**DH:** Like I said I first saw them in 73, saw them a couple times in 74, a couple of times in 76 and 77, and each year more and more. Started going out to California at that point and stuff, I
guess the serious 30 to 40 times a year started this is the end of the 70s for me, and that had as much to do with just age and ability getting into and then out of college, having a little more money a little more time.

**JG:** When you are doing that sort of how was, besides taping but you can't make an income taping how did you follow the band? Was that something that you knew you were going to do and finance, or how was how did you get from show to show?

**DH:** On the East Coast we went up and down Highway 95 many, many time you know from Boston to Washington D.C., and Philly, and New York with Baltimore in between. In California, obviously, we flew out. Mostly driving or flying … I need to put you on hold for one second more please.

**JG:** No problem sorry about that… [Break] Like I said I'm interrupting your day so put me on hold as much as you would like one of the things is that a couple articles I've come across someone talked about the Grateful Dead and the way it was impacted, and the way it was “rebranded”, sort of in the later part of the Deadhead community and after Jerry's death. With all the other Grateful Dead merchandise and what not, versus the parking lot merchandise can you talk about the different, or anything you might have seen while in the parking lot, or sort of the culture they had there and the way it was dealt with?

**DH:** I'm not entirely sure what you're asking. As a general rule the parking lot stuff was cooler than the official stuff. Not always and less so now. Umm like with the taping that was something that the band kind of went back and forth on, I remember shows were people just go out and take everybody’s stuff that they were selling or whatever. And in fact, I remember having to represent a lady get back her stuff.

**JG:** Really, have you represented a lot of Deadheads

**DH:** Yes, on and off but yes.
**JG:** That’s interesting but like you said its sort of like a, I’ve heard it called like a family almost what’s your feeling on that?

**DH:** Yes and like any large extended family there's people you love the adore and would do anything for, there's people you can't stand. And I think that's exactly right it was definitely an us or them kind of thing. And you always took presidency for your family, but like any family, or families are dysfunctional, that one was too.

**JG:** What do you think was audience and Deadheads, I guess, part in the whole overall family, because I guess you include the Dead as the center the family or the head because everyone went to visit the Grateful Dead?

**DH:** The band might have been the excuse for it all I think certainly … something is going on outside my window is unbelievably noisy right now I'm having a hard time hearing you let me jut try and close this hold on one second some kind of construction here or something that’s alittle better on… I think certainly by the time they were more than like local you know California phenomenon the band had very little to do with the scene out in the audience. I remember at one point my ex-wife was very friendly with Candice who was there lighting director, and we were hanging out with her and we would like to go to museums and go out to eat you know whatever, when we were on tour. The battery on my phone is about to die let me get my other one let me get my partner’s headset.. and I remember walking around with her in the parking lot and she was just amazed she’s like “aw man we never get to see this, we're always in and out the back door. We don't know about it”. One of the problems with them, and I think that they I would acknowledge it is, that they became very isolated and insular and really there was, other than that the shows and then there wasn’t a whole lot of interaction by the end. Especially when the band members started settling down so they weren't coming out into the hotels saying “you, you, you, you, you come up to the room with me”.

**JG:** In your opinion or are there, there have been other Jam Bands to follow the Grateful Dead sort of footprint, Phish, a band called moe., and a few others. Can you compare the
Grateful Dead community to or even those type of bands to what is going on today in sort of Jam Bands trying to follow their path, have you seen any that are successful?

**DH:** The only, I never got into Phish from what I understand that community was very, very similar and had a very similar dynamic, in terms of you know the hard-core, or interim and kind of the tourists who come to the show but I never saw them I don't know. On a much smaller scale with a band out of San Francisco called Zero; is now defunct, with Steve Kimock, Martin Fierro, Bobby Vega great little band they were much, much smaller but they never played arenas. They’d come and played you know 300 person places, not 30,000 person places.

**JG:** Thank you for your time.