

You had to be there? Reflections on the 'legendary' status of the Glasgow Apollo theatre (1973-85)

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Abstract

The ephemeral nature of live music can, from some perspectives, serve to place limitations on its lasting socio-cultural impact. This thesis addresses such claims by analysing the enduring appeal of a 'legendary' venue, the Glasgow Apollo (1973-85), where a series of momentous live music moments from several decades ago continue to be celebrated. In order to accomplish this, the study primarily uses semi-structured and focus group interviews to explore the reminiscences of the audience and artists who shared live music experiences at the venue. Through the application of Actor Network Theory, the work focuses on the influence that actors such as locality, technology, industry and music genre held over these encounters, as well as the manner in which the collective memories of the events in question have subsequently shaped their cultural value. The study first establishes the foundation for Glasgow's cultural traditions, which thereafter helped to shape the concert experiences at the Apollo. It then follows the actors through, and beyond, the period of the venue's tenure, to argue that the Apollo 'legend' lingers due to the manner in which these live experiences have been collectively framed within several of the platforms dedicated to the venue's legacy.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Kenneth Forbes

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Chapter One: Introduction

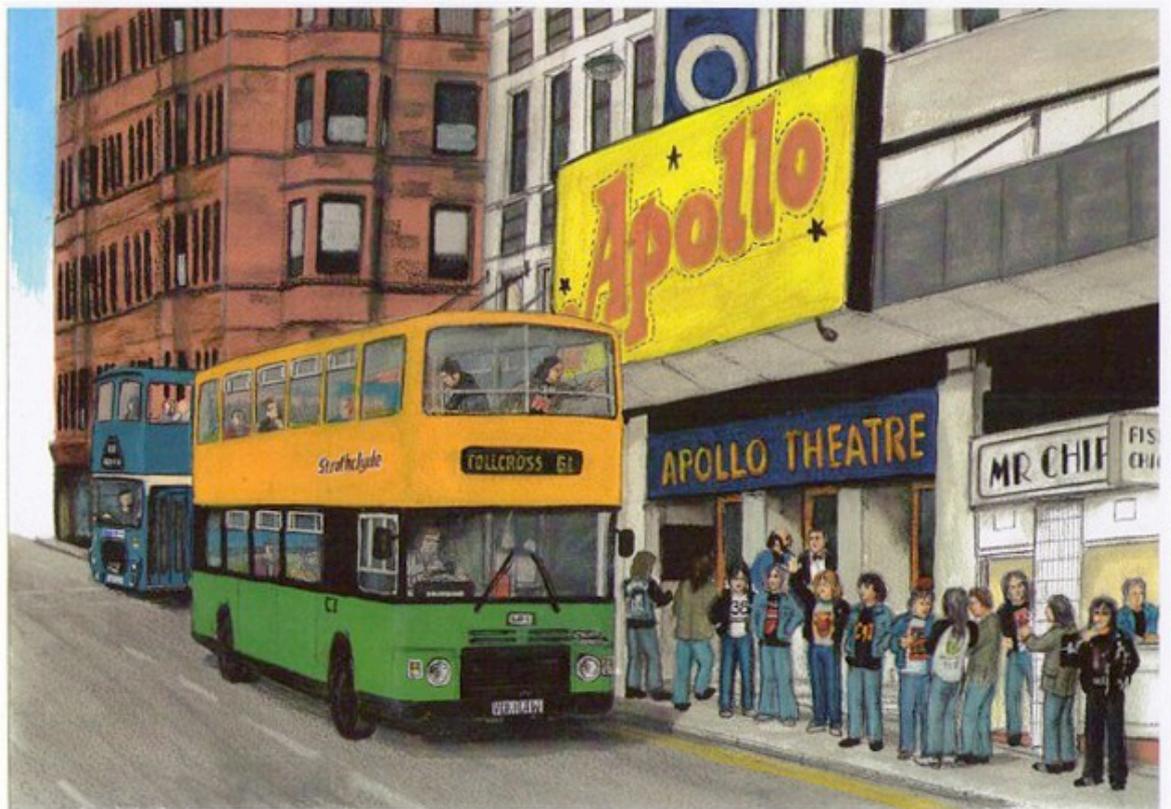


Figure 1-1. The Glasgow Apollo by Jim MacNee (2009)

The music venue, generally perceived as the focal point for the production and consumption of the live representation of music, could be regarded in its most basic form purely as a site where these activities happen to take place. It could also be said that, inevitably, live music venues can ‘come and go.’ Nonetheless, numerous ‘lost’ venues which are no longer operating, such as CBGB (New York, 1973-2006), the Winterland (San Francisco, 1971-78), and London’s Rainbow Theatre (1971-81) can be lamented by those who frequented them, and thereafter incline to form part of rock’s mythical template (Frith 2007, p.9). For some commentators, such as Tim Burrows, author of *From CBGB to the Roundhouse*, such grieving for venues of this type can be considered to be both transient and pointless (2009, p.202).

It is the contention of this thesis however that, depending on its location, timeframe, musical reference points and the levels of artist and audience interaction that manifest, a venue can, for at least some of its stakeholders, embody a great deal more than Burrows allows. It can exemplify the essence of a city, symbolise the spirit of musical age, and assume a mystical presence that

is still evident decades after the venue ceased to exist. The fact that such deep levels of emotion endure for any music environment where live music is experienced via a fleeting series of discrete and unique musical instants (Attali 1999, p.41) can serve to magnify the power and the potency that these live music moments emit.

This thesis focuses on a city (Glasgow), a venue (the Apollo Theatre), a time frame (1973-85) and an afterlife (1985-), all of which infuse these live music moments to some degree. To provide a very brief overview as a means of introduction, the Glasgow Apollo Theatre (Fig 1-1) operated during the period 1973-85, and hosted numerous live performances by a range of major artists. The venue subsequently gained a global reputation for its unique atmosphere and the high levels of vocal appreciation demonstrated by local audiences (Leadbetter 1995). In short, this venue was an era-defining live music location that deserves our attention as well as further scrutiny.

As an outcome of such a reputation the history of the venue continues to be feted within a range of locally produced media texts, where the term ‘legendary’ is frequently attributed to the Apollo, almost in the form of a compulsory prefix.¹ Unsurprisingly, this is a practice that serves to confer and confirm this status for the venue, and thus create a platform for the various forms of confirmation content to follow. In this respect, a certain amount of textual interplay is evident within the Apollo histories, with the unofficial fan website devoted to the venue (www.glasgowapollo.com) sharing related content with the series of *Apollo Memories* books (Kielty 2005; 2009; 2011). Furthermore, this process also leads to similar narratives being reiterated across many other accounts.

Such depictions of the venue’s ‘legendary’ components inevitably include its down-at-heel environment, elevated stage, ‘bouncing’ balcony, and the heavy-handed reputation of its security staff. Notions of locality also permeate these histories, with the venue being regarded as an exemplar of the city’s unique socio-cultural fabric, to the extent that the Apollo is said to symbolise Glasgow’s

¹ These includes television, radio and DVD documentaries (BBC Scotland 1985; 2009; Talisman Films 2005), a series of books (Leadbetter 1995; Kielty 2005; 2009; 2011), a stage musical (McGrory 2009; 2010) and a popular website (Glasgow Apollo 2014A) that had attracted over 6.6 million hits by the end of 2014.

vibrant persona (Leadbetter 1995, p.50). Indeed, aspects of this vibrancy are captured within the illustration above (Fig 1-1), which portrays the social activity that materialised around the venue's main entrance. In essence, these developments function to raise the attention of the researcher. Among the questions that emerge from this process are some of the following:

- What, if anything, made the Apollo 'legendary'?
- What factors or characteristics, be they spatial, temporal, or historical, tend to shape a phenomenon like the Apollo?
- Which entities initiate and substantiate reputations of this nature and why?
- Which modes of practice create, disseminate and maintain such reputations?

The remainder of this chapter provides, over the course of the next seven sections, further context for the study and grounding for the questions that emerge from the Apollo phenomenon. First, the aim and approach of the study is articulated in more detail, along with the factors that demonstrate the originality of the thesis. The subsequent four sections provide analysis of Glasgow's role as a city of music, an outline of Glasgow's history, its engagement with forms of popular leisure, as well as an overview of the Apollo's history. The structure of the thesis is discussed in the penultimate part, before a conclusion is provided.

1.1 Aim and Approach

It is the aim of the study to unravel some of the myths and perceived legendary factors that encompass the Apollo phenomenon. This involves locating and analysing the range of temporal-spatial factors that shaped the Apollo during its tenure, as well as examining the elements that have functioned to maintain the venue's profile for several decades after its closure. With the interdisciplinary nature of Popular Music Studies providing the general academic framing, the study engages specifically with the music-related research fields that embrace locality, genre (most notably rock), audiences, and liveness, as well as rock heritage and memory. Most significantly, it is the relationships that occur

between several of these components at key periods that provide the main focus for the study.

Whilst historic live music venues feature in a number of academic texts, there are no studies dedicated to the history of a 'legendary' venue that also align the performance site with the aforementioned components over an extended time frame. As a means of providing the basis for the originality of the study, a brief overview of the gaps within existing literature is now offered. In many respects, the Institute of Popular Music at the University of Liverpool can be regarded as key source of research projects that serve to underline the dynamic relationship between live music venues, place and cultural memory.² In particular, Sara Cohen (1991; 1994; 1995; 2007A; 2007B) has been a significant influence within this field of research. However, despite some focus on the importance of music venues within local rock scenes (ibid 2012A) and specific venues (ibid 2011), a large-scale study devoted to a 'legendary' venue with a similar trajectory to the Apollo that also engages with the same range of the research themes indicated has yet to be undertaken.

Other literature within this domain bears relevance. Kronenburg's (2012) study of renowned live music venues provides a basis for a deeper understanding of the role that a venue's architecture plays in creating forms of ambience. Similarly, Auslander's (2011, p.61) concept of historical liveness can help to locate the Apollo live performances within a relevant timeframe. Furthermore, Connell and Gibson's (2003, p.9) observation that live performance may be regarded as the most authentic form of musical expression, can be seen to both be substantiated and problematised by Frith's (1986, pp.266-67) suggestion that technology can be perceived, at least by some advocates, as symbolising an obstacle to forms of authenticity within the rock genre. Nonetheless, whilst all of these sources help to lay the foundations of the thesis, the absence of a defining academic work that incorporates the various academic strands that this study represents further serves to underline its originality in both focus and scope.

Further instances of recent trends also function to position the thesis as a valid academic study that adds knowledge to the field. As indicated above, the Apollo

² See Brocken (2010), Leonard (2010) and Leonard and Strachan (2010).

is the focus of what Frith (2007, p.9) refers to as the “paean of nostalgic praise” that can encompass ‘legendary’ venues. Certainly, the abundance of local music histories that have emerged in recent years (Frith *et al* 2013, p.35) is evidence of such practice. However, as Cohen (2007B, p.19) notes, such accounts tend to be both celebratory and simplistic. Within this environment an additional mythical dimension to local pop-rock music histories can also materialise due to the increasing use of technology (mostly in the form of DIY websites) to facilitate such projects (Bennett 2002). Therefore, a requirement is held for such limited local music histories (of which the Apollo is a prime example) to be analysed through an academic filter.

The study will follow, in part, the principle set by Simon Frith in a 1981 article that recognises the potency of the “rock experience” (1981A, p.164). Yet, despite acknowledging the existence of the accompanying myth, the author further claims that the task for researchers is not to reveal the rock myth or to “search for its ‘real’ foundations,” but to recognise its significance by reflecting on the degree to which individuals embrace such notions (*ibid*, p.168). Nevertheless, aspects of this stance appear unreliable when applied to ‘legendary’ live rock venues like the Apollo. Certainly, focusing on the extent of an individual’s engagement with a music-related myth can be regarded as a worthwhile avenue to pursue, with this being a process that would be undermined if the myth in question was rejected by the researcher in the first instance. However, neglecting to reveal the characteristics of the myth would represent a distinct disadvantage for a study of this type. As will be shown, the myth that encapsulates the venue assumes key significance within the venue’s afterlife, and, therefore, it is important to analyse its components and track its evolution.

To return to the academic requirement of the study, the thesis adds to the growing body of literature in live music research, which has started to address the imbalance caused by earlier preferences towards studies that focused on recorded music (Williamson and Cloonan 2007). Such endeavours have witnessed recent academic studies (Brennan and Webster 2011; Webster 2011), collaborative industry-academy initiatives (Frith 2013) and the publication of the first part of a three-volume history of live music in the UK (Frith *et al* 2013). Whilst academic pursuits of this nature have started to address gaps in

knowledge, much remains to be covered, not least a dedicated study to a historic and ‘legendary’ live music venue.

Overall, the academy can benefit from this research intervention in two ways. Future place-related academic studies that encapsulate other music cities, music scenes and ‘legendary’ venues, can all gain further knowledge from this work. Moreover, the academy can also acquire additional knowledge from a research project of this nature with regard to subsequent historical research on the UK live music sector of the 1970s-80s. Whilst remaining a ‘local’ live location, the Apollo can be considered to be an epoch-defining venue that acted as a barometer for the UK live music sector, which underwent considerable change between 1973-85.

In summary, this discussion has outlined the general academic framing for the thesis, and has also noted the scope of existing literature, along with the presence of non-academic texts. Moreover, it was shown that the basis for the originality of the thesis emanated from some of the gaps that existed within these sources. In effect, the study represents an opportunity to extend levels of knowledge of the lasting socio-cultural impact that can emerge from the local live music venue.

1.2 Glasgow as a City of Music

Glasgow’s current reputation as a dynamic live music city provides some further context for the study, as does the contribution that the Apollo made towards the status. By positioning the venue within the city’s music heritage context, the analysis provides further evidence that the Apollo symbolised something more than ‘just’ its existence as a live music venue. This argument can be seen to follow Shank’s (1994, p.xiv) reference to the “semiotic excess” that can continue to be generated within current live music environments as a result of the foundations established by previous generations of audiences, artists and venues. In this respect, further discussion threads refer to perceptions of a ‘Glasgow audience,’ where the local audience customs of the past inform the levels of interaction at contemporary live events.

Glasgow’s present role as a UNESCO City of Music may have served to confirm what is already ‘known’ by some local stakeholders (not least the local

authority, tourist body and media), but it also functions to raise a number of questions. If Glasgow is indeed a City of Music in 2015, what historical factors have contributed towards such a status? Also, from a local perspective, what constitutes a city of music? From the standpoint of Bob Winter, then the Lord Provost of Glasgow, it is the city's audiences and their affinity with music that frames such considerations, as his opening statement from the city's application dossier for the UNESCO award indicates (UNESCO 2008, p.4):

... I see every day and in every part of Glasgow, the enjoyment and fulfilment that music brings to our citizens. Glaswegians love their music - in all of its forms. This reflects a long history of musical excellence in the City, which continues up to this day. It is the combination of creativity and enthusiasm which makes all music memorable, and the same qualities give Glasgow its character: we are a City of Music *par excellence*.

The above statement not only depicts Glasgow as exemplifying a locality that facilitates high levels of engagement with the production and consumption of live music, but also draws attention to its extensive history of such activities.

As a means of articulating such levels of engagement, the application contains frequent references to the high-spirited demeanour of Glasgow audiences throughout the city's history. This is interlinked with details of the city's regular series of economic misfortunes that emanate from its relatively brief period of intense industrialisation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An underlying theme therefore develops within the UNESCO document that such vivid and erratic occurrences (work hard, play hard, endure deprivation) have not only shaped Glasgow's socio-cultural dynamics, but also impact on the high levels of commitment towards live music shown by the city's population. Such a synthesis between the underlying fabric of the city, local audiences and live music is one that serves to illustrate what this city of music may represent, and this is something that the remainder of the chapter will explore in greater detail.

Indeed, the UNESCO bid application acknowledges the Apollo as forming part of the 'rock legends' element for Glasgow's status as a city of music. In this instance, it is the Apollo's idiosyncrasies and physical components that serve to shape its mythical merits, as this passage from the document exemplifies (ibid, p.24):

Its special attractions were odd to say the least. People speak of its strange smell, the ferocious passion of the crowd - and their equally intense cheering and shouting. The stage was extremely high - for which many performers were thankful: it prevented all but the most determined punters from getting onstage. The bouncers were among the fiercest ever, and the whole building shook when a gig was in full swing.

In effect, the essence of Glasgow as a city of music is something that is underpinned by what the Apollo as a phenomenon may have represented. Despite the venue being inaccessible since 1985 and invisible since 1989, its key position within both Glasgow's music heritage and cultural identity is such that the reciprocal fusing of the city-venue is apparent. Such a relationship therefore forms a key part of this thesis.

Since the demise of the Apollo as an operational venue, the city's live music reputation has, from a global perspective, attracted an accumulation of advocates, or 'Glasgowphiles,' who deem the city to either have produced "some of the finest indie-rock bands of the last 30 years" (Phelan 2010) or be at "the forefront of a zeitgeist" (Seenan 2004). We therefore find Glasgow being positioned as a music city of global stature from a number of media sources that engage with aspects of the local perspective of the city-as-music.

In other instances it is not an uncommon practice for visiting contemporary artists who perform in the city to proclaim, albeit to local spectators and media, that Glasgow audiences are among the best in the world. It is also not unusual for live music promoters to repeat such accolades. In an interview with *The List* magazine, James Murphy of LCD Soundsystem (quoted in Pollock 2010) spoke of the Barrowland Ballroom in Glasgow as representing his favourite venue in his favourite city in the world:

Why is it my favourite venue? Because the crowd is really committed, one way or the other. I've seen that crowd not like people before and they aren't like, 'Ah I dunno, I think I might just go home.' They're like, 'Fuck off!' The level of willingness to go for it means you play for them and they're your friend or your enemy, there's no grey area. And Glasgow crowds have been really generous to us, really going for it and giving us as much energy as they can, and we play better then.

Similarly, Mark Mackie, director of Scottish live promotion company Regular Music, has highlighted that "International touring artists have often recognised the Glasgow audience as one of the best in the world" (Academy Music Group

2011),³ while potential tourists are informed on the official *Visit Scotland* website (2010) that Glasgow is “renowned as one of the best ‘Live’ music venues (sic) in the UK, if not the world.” Further tributes, such as the tweet by comedian Sarah Millican (2013), stating that “Glasgow makes awesome audiences. Fact.” are reflective of the general consensus about the city and its vibrant affinity with forms of live entertainment. Certainly, Mackie’s reference to the aforementioned (singular) “Glasgow *audience*” signifies that this reputation possesses a historical context, where common modes of local spectator interaction through the decades, has led to perceptions of a common ‘one city’ audience that spans generations. This is a notion that holds particular relevance as the thesis unfolds, and is an aspect that will be further addressed within the fieldwork section of the study.

To summarise, the discussion has positioned the Apollo as a venue that is central to Glasgow’s music heritage and its current status as a city of live music, where its cultural value has been reappraised within the post-industrial environment that Glasgow inhabits in 2015. In effect, the Apollo assumes the role of a ‘reputation initiator’ for the city-as-music. Again, the Apollo’s significance beyond its role as a live music venue becomes more apparent through such consideration.

1.3 An Overview of Glasgow

Adhering to the logical assumption that the Apollo audience did not emerge from a vacuum on its opening night in September 1973, it can be seen that gaining an impression of Glasgow’s socio-cultural identity enables a deeper understanding of the historical elements that shaped the venue legend. After an analysis of the city’s perceived identity, Glasgow’s history is explored within two temporal categories that mainly reflect the impact that key economic periods had on the city, most notably the industrial (Checkland 1981), and de-industrial (MacInnes 1995) phases. Overall, this approach provides the basis for an accurate reflection of the city’s variable dynamics, as well as serving to position the Apollo within these periods, where the original venue (Green’s Playhouse) was a product of

³ Several major artists substantiate Mackie’s claim, where it is stated that their best concert experience occurred in the city. These include The Stone Roses (Robb 2009, p.313) and The Smiths (Rogan 1994, p.122), as well as concerts held by Metallica and Oasis (Jack 2014).

the city's industrialised period, and the Apollo's initial period formed part of Glasgow's de-industrialised phase.

If, as Shane Homan suggests (2003, p.9), a venue can say something about the city in which it resides, then this observation certainly applies to the Apollo. A key question to be explored within the thesis is the extent to which 'Glasgow' was represented by the Apollo. Furthermore, as Urry (1995, p.24) illuminates, a city acts as a memory vehicle that symbolises the past, with its key buildings (like the Apollo), both storing and projecting the collective myths that encapsulate the divergent components that shape the city:

The city is the repository of people's memories and of the past: and it also functions as a receptacle of cultural symbols. These memories are embodied in buildings which can then take on a significance very different from that intended by their architect. However, this is not simply a matter of individual interpretation since buildings demonstrate collective myths. Understanding these myths entails a process of unlocking or undermining existing interpretations and traditions and of juxtaposing conflicting elements together. Even derelict buildings may leave traces and reveal memories, dreams and hopes of previous periods.

This illustration of the city-as-building and as a facilitator for collective myths that is underpinned by conflicting narratives, can ideally serve to symbolise both the Apollo as a venue, and Glasgow as a city. By extension, given their reciprocal values, a 'sense of place' can be said to attach itself to both the venue and the city, with the characteristics of both entities being required to be unpicked in order to fully comprehend their complexities.

In this regard, Glasgow is widely known for its somewhat turbulent history, and has tended to attract a combination of positive plaudits and decidedly negative viewpoints, both of which function to elevate the historical concept that it is a city of contradictions and divisions. Writing in 1958 a local commentator encapsulated perceptions of the city in the following manner: "Practically everyone knows of Glasgow's reputation for bad weather, slums, razor gangs, and the friendliness of its people" (Highet 1958, p.713). Such insights remain current. Substitute 'knife culture' for 'razor gangs,' and this, some may say, reflects the Glasgow of 2015.

It has, at various stages, been referred to as the Second City of the Empire (Oakley 1990), the shipbuilding capital of the world (Maver 2000, p.113), and, by extension, the world's most proletarian city (MacInnes 1995, p.76). As indicated

above, the city has also assumed a razor gang ‘No Mean City’ (McArthur and Kingsley-Long 1978) persona and been known as Britain’s most violent city (Institute for Economics and Peace 2013). Glasgow is also a location that is noted for the extremely high levels of alcohol consumption (Alcohol Focus Scotland 2011), and as being an acutely divided city on grounds of health (Davis 2011), religion (Wilson, R. 2012) and wealth (Brygo 2010). At the other extreme, it can even be regarded by some as the UK’s safest city (Braiden 2011) and be the focus of a 1997 marketing campaign as ‘the friendly city’ (Glasgow City Council 2014). As a result of such endeavours, Glasgow has been awarded the titles of the European Capital of Culture (1990), the UK City of Architecture (1999) and UNESCO City of Music (2008).

It is clear from such descriptors that another sense about the city emerges. If anything, Glasgow serves to embrace both the positive and negative manifestations of a varied existence with a gusto, drive and determination that belies the city’s status. This may also be reflected in the local adage that, ‘Glasgow doesn’t do things in half-measures,’ and the city’s history that encompasses the industrialisation process may provide some indication why some of these contributory factors emerged and helped shaped Glasgow’s socio-cultural dynamics.

1.3.1 From Industrialisation to De-industrialisation

By analysing Glasgow’s industrial phase the discussion to follow suggests that this intense process helped to define many of the city’s underlying characteristics, not least its sense of place and masculine persona. It also demonstrates that, due to the harsh conditions that prevailed, forms of social bonding progressed among elements of the local population. This appreciation of ‘oneness’ holds relevance as such traits can be seen to have impacted on the notion of the ‘Glasgow audience’ persona that was later in evidence at the Apollo.

The fact that Glasgow was both privileged and marginalised by its temporal-spatial position assumes significance within perceptions of its identity. Indeed, the intensity of the industrial process in the city during the mid-late nineteenth century mirrored the prevailing growth of the British Empire, which was underpinned by the extremely high levels of global commerce that focused on

tobacco, textiles, shipbuilding and heavy engineering (Maver 2000, p.192). In this instance Glasgow can be considered to be a prime example of Weber's industrial location theory (1909; 1929), where several spatial and cost-driven components, such as a readily available supply of raw materials and access to cheap labour, work in unison to provide the optimal location for an industrial powerbase (Loudon *et al* 1958, p.143).⁴

As the industrialisation process intensified during the late nineteenth century, the city experienced multiple layers of social, economic and environmental problems on an unprecedented scale. Overcrowding, poor housing and the resultant health issues emerged as key constituents due to the vast increases in Glasgow's population during the latter part of the century, with the number of inhabitants in the city quadrupling to one million between 1841 and 1914 (Slaven 1975, p.8; Gibb 1983, p.115; 2002, pp.57-58). Whilst these factors were regarded as a catalyst for ill health and other forms of social deprivation (Bolitho 1924), it has also been perceived as a basis for forms of social bonding and the enhanced levels of community spirit evident in the city, as Checkland (1981, p.22) suggests:

The sense of common identity among Glaswegians was strengthened by shared experience: there was a real sense in which Glasgow was one. The city lived together, worked together, socialised together, holidayed together, and took pride in the city together.

High levels of overcrowding and a sense of closeness continued to represent an intrinsic component of the city's identity for decades after the industrialisation period (Morton 1984, p.250), and this association through proximity, physicality and experience of deprivation can therefore be regarded as representing an intrinsic part of Glasgow's identity in some areas of the city.

Another facet of the industrialisation process that shaped the city's identity was the gender division that emanated from the distinct focus on shipbuilding (Checkland 1981, p.6) and other forms of heavy engineering (Gibb 1983, p.117). The extremely harsh conditions that prevailed within these environments (Damer

⁴ Furthermore, Massey (1995, p.124) regards areas like the Clyde as resembling spatial conglomerates that are underpinned by the "inheritance of Empire," where the focus of local employment supports the notion of Empire through its concentration on a small range of imperial-related industrial activities such as shipbuilding and iron/steel manufacturing.

1990, pp.63-65) meant that the male workforce ⁵ had to possess staunch determination to work within such environments (Morton 1984, p.246). The clear connections between displays of masculinity, the physical nature of the work and the harsh conditions experienced within this environment reflects Massey's notion of gendered geography (1994, p.181), where the location of the work environment mirrors the type of work that the land facilitates, as well as the forms of gender-framed social bonding that prevail (ibid, pp.188; 193).

After the First World War however, the city's over-reliance on traditional industry became a noticeable burden (Checkland 1981), with this process being more evident after the Second World War. Whereas the industrial successes of the past, along with the two World Wars (Gibb 1983, p.115), had tended to mask some of the city's underlying social and economic problems (Brogan 1952, p.69), the period after 1945 witnessed the city facing the consequences of the "most intense" form of de-industrialisation (MacInnes 1995, p.73). Matters were complicated further by the immense forms of overcrowding in the city centre, which was a development that initiated an urban planning conflict between local and regional governments.

In short, Glasgow aimed to address these issues within its boundaries, whereas the regional government favoured an overspill policy to new towns outside the city.⁶ To the detriment of the city, an unhappy compromise eventually emerged, with the overspill policy being reluctantly accepted by the local authority during 1951-52 (Keating 1988, pp.21-22). Nonetheless, delays in its implementation led the council, then known as Glasgow Corporation, to hastily introduce or reactivate many of their locally focused initiatives. As a result, Glasgow intensified earlier low-quality construction programmes in four peripheral estates, while 100,000 homes and their surroundings were demolished within the

⁵ An analysis of the 1901 census by Sarah and Orr (1958, p.215), estimated that 83% of the city's male workforce were employed in the engineering trade, shipbuilding or related industries.

⁶ This process developed following the publication of the Barlow Report (1940), which regarded highly populated conurbations as being economically, socially and strategically undesirable (Fyfe 1996, p.389; Ward 2007). In response, the Bruce Report (1947), also known by its full title as the 'First planning report to the Highways and Planning Committee of the Corporation of the City of Glasgow,' which was authored by Glasgow's Chief Engineer, recommended that the city's overcrowding could be addressed by the relocation of inner-city inhabitants to outlying areas within the city (Slaven 1975, p.249; Fyfe 1996, p.394). In contrast, the Clyde Valley Regional Report (1946), authored by Abercrombie and Matthew (1948), opted for the implementation of an overspill policy to new towns outside the city.

inner city (ibid, p.23). In all, over 200,000 of the city's population were dispersed in the post war period up to the early 1970s (Pacione 1979, p.410).

The new estates however lacked the most basic amenities (Gibb 1983, p.166), and led many to mourn the loss of vibrancy that had been an inherent part of the previous inner-city communities (MacLennan and Gibb 1988, pp.43-44). The absence of leisure facilities (Markus 1993, p.153), also led many to seek forms of popular entertainment in the city centre, thus re-engaging with the vestiges of the traditional city, albeit their time was constrained by public transport timetables (Paice 2008). In essence, the creation of the four peripheral estates, which held 200,000 inhabitants by the early 1970s, had created what Mooney and Danson (1997) refer to as a 'dual city,' where forms of social exclusion emerged due to this spatial segregation.⁷ Therefore, the city centre possessed an allure as a sanctuary for those who were displaced.

Despite the vast changes imposed on Glasgow's urban landscape, communities and inhabitants (Fyfe 1996, p.391), intense urbanisation of this nature can, paradoxically, enhance forms of locality. As Routledge (1997) and Long (2010, p.4) suggest, communities that face spatial conflicts, such as those impacted by the construction of Glasgow's inner ring road (Kearsley and Srivastava 1974, p.119; Fyfe 1996, p.395) can generally find their sense of attachment to place both mobilised and elevated by the degree of resentment towards the impending and drastic changes. Notions of locality are therefore heightened, but, given the inevitable disappearance of the protected place, such levels of attachment are ultimately destined to be focused towards the intangible place. This 'sense of place through loss' can therefore intensify notions of displaced locality, and similar parallels can be drawn between 'lost' areas of Glasgow and the deep levels of emotion that encapsulate the Apollo as a 'lost' venue.

Therefore, Glasgow's sense of identity and community, which had been shaped by the intensity of the city's industrialisation process, was, by the early 1970s, fragmented and distinctly partial due to its comprehensive engagement with urban renewal. However, as this process served to heighten notions of attachment to place, it effectively enabled any remaining forms of locality to be

⁷ In addition, the construction of outer and inner ring urban motorway links between 1962 and 1972 was accompanied by the imposition of a wide-ranging inner-city land clearance schedule that virtually wiped out several historic communities in the process (Gibb 1983, p.170).

invested in locations where aspects of the traditional city resonated. In this instance, the Apollo's opening in 1973 served a key purpose in meeting these requirements.

1.4 Leisure and Entertainment in Glasgow

The premise for the Apollo as a venue that hosted live concerts where high levels of audience engagement materialised relies greatly on the traditions of the city's working-class entertainment culture, which, in terms of commitment and participation, exceeded national trends. Whilst authors like Bradshaw (2010) claim that industrialisation generally steers urban populations towards high level of engagement with live entertainment, it can be comprehended that both the intense nature of Glasgow's industrial process and the extent of the socio-economic problems that emerged in its wake, served to further heighten local affiliation with traditional leisure activities. In effect, Glasgow's leisure patterns can only be fully understood within the context of studies that focus on local practice.

To this end, a historical overview of Glasgow's engagement with leisure activities is offered as a means of further framing the connectivity between the city, the customs of its audiences and the Apollo. It is argued that music hall and variety theatre, along with cinema, formed the main audience-based avenues through which this engagement materialised, and that their local trajectory over the decades favourably configured towards the Apollo's opening in 1973. A further leisure activity, dancing, is also relevant, but due to considerations of space and context, must remain outside the scope of this discussion.⁸

1.4.1 Glasgow, Music Hall and Variety Theatre

Central to any understanding of the local leisure landscape is the manner in which forms of social control between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ultimately shaped interaction with leisure activities in the city. Driven by an objective that seeks to restrict displays of primitive behaviour within society (Ross 1901), forms of social control mainly impacted on the operations of both music hall and variety theatres in Glasgow, with the local authority and

⁸ See Casciani (1994).

local-national entertainment entrepreneurs respectively being responsible for its parameters.

In the case of music hall, initial forms of Glasgow's engagement with this category of live entertainment emerged in the east end of the city during the early part of the nineteenth century. As Glasgow's population grew, the district witnessed the emergence of a proliferation of 'free and easy' venues, where informal modes of communal singing and verse took place in the back room of local taverns and subsequently led to the establishment of several music halls in the area by the 1850s (Maloney 2003, p.27). However, reports of disruptive audience behaviour within this environment saw forms of moral panic being expressed within local newspapers, and similar concerns also being raised by Glasgow magistrates (Kift 1995). As King (1987, p.182) notes, these developments resulted in the local council acting to curtail this form of live entertainment. By imposing various forms of legislation from 1866 onwards, the local authority effectively closed the 'free and easy' taverns in the east end, and moved music hall activities towards (what were now becoming professional variety) theatres in the more gentrified city centre (ibid, p.162; Maloney 2003, pp.51-52).

King (1987 pp.162-65) regards such measures as forming a key part of the local council's pursuit of a rational recreation policy, initiated to provide a temperance-framed 'clean' alternative to carnivalesque-style leisure pursuits. However, as signified by the steps taken by the council to limit access to the music hall environment, much more appears to be at stake than King indicates, not least the perceived threat that such 'cheap' forms of entertainment posed to the city's bourgeoisie element. It also relevant to note, as both Jones (1977, p.168) and Bailey (1978) highlight, that such practice provides strong indications of the local state's hegemonic perspective on forms of live entertainment in the city. As will be seen later in the discussion, such inclinations were still evident during the Apollo's timeframe.

The second factor that aimed to restrict displays of primitive behaviour by local audiences within the city's entertainment landscape was the entrepreneur-led commercialisation of music hall operations towards its more sophisticated successor, variety theatre. This development, which Jones (1977, p.165)

suggests was the most effective process in which to enhance forms of social control, is framed by Glasgow's emergence as a leading UK live entertainment centre by the turn of the twentieth century, mainly due to its high number of new deluxe theatres (Maloney 2003, p.9). The transformation, which witnessed the creation of large entertainment conglomerates, such as the Moss Empires entertainment group in 1901 (Bruce 2000, pp.21-25), was regarded by Fountain (2005, p.83) as a turning point that facilitated the "modern world's first commercially ruled, regulated and pasteurised mass medium." Similarly, Cameron and Scullion (1996, pp.56-57) are also of the opinion that the conversion from the traditional music hall to the professional theatre was accompanied by a "shift from an active and involved audience to a passive and sedate one."

However, such views fail to recognise that the dynamic traits of the local audience can still resonate within forms of live entertainment, no matter the surroundings. Indeed, as Smith (2011, pp. 66; 80; 89) notes, within this new environment, Glasgow's reputation for possessing large and enthusiastic audiences was such that national promoters and producers frequently used the city as a 'test bed' for new productions. Maloney (2003, p.215) also underlines the unique-local nature of Glasgow audiences, with this being a component that was acknowledged within the audience itself, thus becoming a self-perpetuating factor that further helped to shape its local identity (ibid, pp.208; 218).

Moreover, the author (ibid, p.207) also suggests that the demanding nature of Glasgow audiences was underpinned by their work-related endeavours, and subsequently materialised within live entertainment environments:

Those in the audience worked hard at their jobs, serving others. On their nights out they expected to be entertained, and if the artists disappointed, they relished exercising their right of veto, the main empowering aspect of music hall.

Such reasoning supports King's (1987, pp.171-72) observation that, despite these new opulent settings, Glasgow audiences continued to retain a sense of their distinctly local working class foundations within such settings. This trait is further evidenced by Brogan (1952, p.152), who identified the local audience's preference for entertainers, such as 'industrial comedians,' who reflected their everyday experiences and symbolised forms of social authenticity.

The reputation of Glasgow audiences also assumed further significance within national entertainment circles, where, through the decades, impending visits to the city caused sufficient trepidation among (mainly English) performers, with some (Castle 1994, pp.76-77) comparing these encounters to a 'death row' experience. Whilst Brown (2013, pp.83-85) disputes the validity of this reputation, there are sufficient examples in existence that serve to add further substance to the notion of the 'Glasgow-demanding audience' affiliation.⁹ Indeed, even if forms of hyperbole do exist with regard to the perceived reputation of the singular 'Glasgow audience,' then, as Frith (1981A, p.168) argues in the case of the rock-community myth, its overall significance lies within the fact that many observers (and indeed participants within the audience itself) are eager to affiliate with such reputations.

Although its peak levels of popularity may have been reached after the First World War when the city possessed eighteen theatres, variety theatre continued to resonate to some degree in the city until the 1960s (Maloney 2003, p.79). However, the vast majority of the city's traditional theatres had closed by the end of that decade (Bruce 2000, p.127), with the sense of public remorse surrounding the demise of two key venues, the Empire Theatre in 1963 (Small 1963, p.5) and Alhambra Theatre in 1969 (*Glasgow Herald* 1969, p.1), acting to symbolise that a significant live entertainment era in the city had ended just prior to the Apollo's opening.

1.4.2 Glasgow and Cinema

The discussion that follows concentrates on Glasgow's traditionally high level of engagement with cinema culture. It argues that this process was underpinned by the city's high poverty levels in general and a poor housing structure specifically, with the cinema acting as a refuge from the prevailing socio-economic conditions. As a means of extending this argument and drawing further connections with the Apollo and its audience, the analysis also includes some focus on Green's Playhouse, which was the city's initial flagship cinema.

⁹ Des O'Connor (2001, pp.56-62), Shirley Bassey (Williams 2010, pp.30-31) and Morecambe and Wise (Sellers and Hogg 2012, pp.91-93) are among those who say they experienced the high demands of this audience, to the extent that these incidents feature prominently within their autobiographies / biographies.

As emphasised earlier in the chapter, Glasgow experienced what Gibb (1983, p.121) refers to as unprecedented levels of deprivation that materialised in the city during its industrialisation phase. When aligned with the city's devastatingly fragile social housing infrastructure (Bolitho 1924, pp.14-18), this led many of its inhabitants towards forms of street entertainment (King 1987, pp.144-45). Certainly, this configuration helps to explain what Davies (1992, p.1) and Walvin (1978, p.137) refer to as the resultant 'paradoxical' relationship between poverty and leisure. In this instance, both authors; Walvin (ibid, pp.133-34) and Davies (1992, pp.4, 56), describe how the growth of cinema proved to be a welcome and cheap refuge for many in these circumstances. As a consequence, Griffith (2012, p.1) confirms that, at certain points, Glasgow possessed the highest cinema attendance rates per person in the UK.¹⁰

Glasgow's strong affinity with cinema was both symbolised and stimulated by the establishment of a large showpiece venue, Green's Playhouse, which opened in the city centre in 1927. As well as subsequently meeting the entertainment needs of Glasgow's working class population for over forty years, the cinema bears further significance as a distinctly local venue that later became the Glasgow Apollo theatre in 1973. This process originated when local cinema entrepreneurs Fred and Herbert Green recognised the local demand for a sizeable venue, as evidenced by the existence of 160 cinemas in the city during the early 1920s (Doak 1979, p.6).

Furthermore, large capacity cinemas not only dictated the distribution of the most popular films at that time (ibid, p.76), but were also the focus of the prime 'super cinemas' business model that had started to emerge during the early 1920s in the USA. As these cinemas embraced an added opulence in design and structure, which were mainly based on neo-classical theatre design, the Greens despatched John Fairweather, their in-house architect, to the USA in 1922 in order to study examples of this new movement (Harkins 1995, p.15).

¹⁰ Speaking in 1933 Glasgow's Lord Provost A.B. Swan referred to the city's intrinsic relationship with cinema: "We want to take the minds of the people off the tragedy of unemployment, we want to take their attention away from the difficulties, and in this context, the pictures are helpful both to the city and the citizens of Glasgow" (*Glasgow Herald* 1933, p.6). Furthermore, Griffith (2012, p.1) refers to Government statistics (NAS ED30/2) to show that in 1950-51 the UK average for cinema attendance was 28 times over the year, whereas the Scottish average was 36 times and Glasgow 51 times.

When the new venue, Green’s Playhouse, opened in September 1927 (Fig 1-2), it was evident that Fairweather had captured some aspects of the desired level of interior glamour, but failed to focus on any semblance of the required exterior opulence. Moreover, due to the existence of several privately-owned buildings within the entire city block that the cinema assumed, the architect also failed to engage with the overall sense of aesthetic engagement from the ‘sidewalk’ onwards, which was considered to be a key component of the super cinemas (Valentine 1994). Overall, the finished exterior can be said to be lacking in finesse and be regarded as assuming an abrasive, even ‘ugly,’ presence (Doak 1979, p.77).

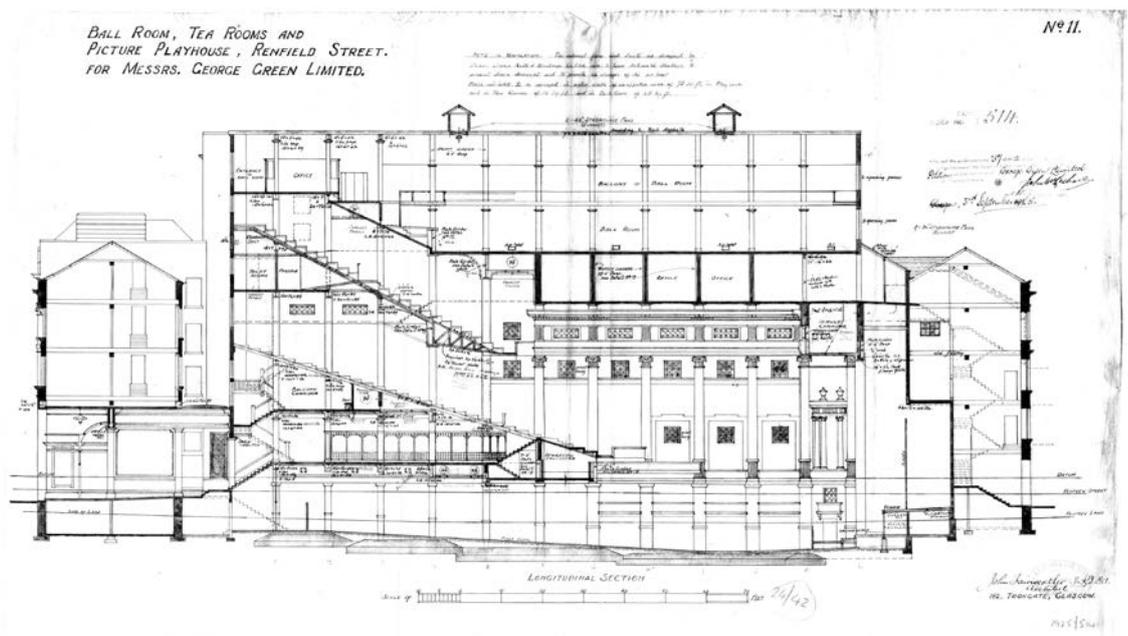


Fig 1-2. Plans for Green’s Playhouse (Fairweather, 1925A)

While the exact details of the overall construction process for the cinema are not known, it is evident that the Greens, who employed their own in-house workforce, were keen to promote the overall sturdiness of the huge building. Certainly, the company’s pre-opening advertising material emphasised that its “Immense pillar-supported over-size girders (are) able to carry railway engines” (Harkins 1995, p.24). Reinforced concrete also appears to have been used in abundance for the venue’s substantial foundations (ibid, p.25), and a general impression emerges of a robust building that may have been lacking in the desired finesse and refinement associated with the super cinema model. There are indications therefore that the sturdy design of the venue more reflected the aesthetics of Glasgow’s then-industrial powerhouse identity.

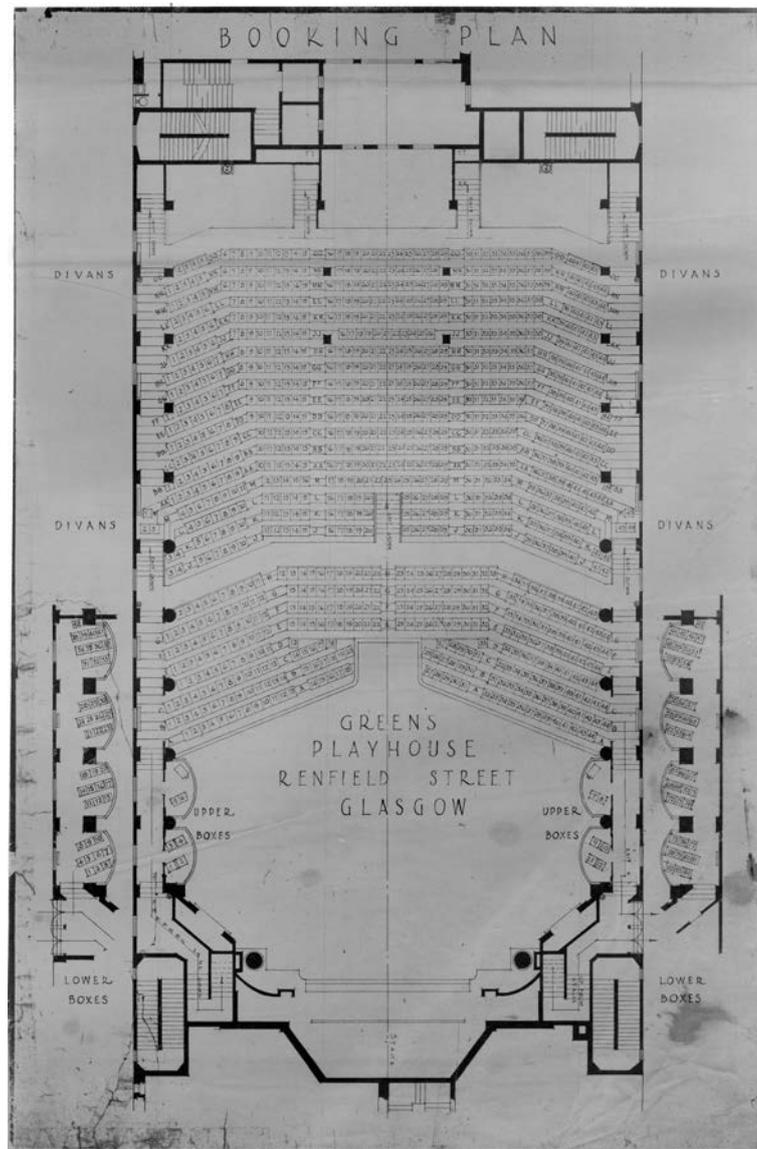


Fig 1-3. Booking plan for the main auditorium, Green's Playhouse (Fairweather, 1925B)

Internally, the theatre boasted a total of 4,368 seats within the (below street level) stalls (Fig 1-3), boxes, balcony and upper balcony, thus making it, at that point, the largest cinema in Europe (ibid, p.15).¹¹ With the Playhouse's capacity being designed to accommodate the peak Saturday evening audience in the city, its size, along with frequent changes of programme and relatively cheap entrance fees facilitated the showground notion of the continual show and 'walk-right-up' accessibility (Griffith 2012, pp. 125; 197). Notwithstanding its size, Doak considered its key attributes as representing the "masterful use of

¹¹ Despite being advertised and regarded as Europe's largest cinema (Harkins 1995, p.24), this claim requires some clarification. The Gaumont Palace in Paris, which opened in 1911 initially possessed 3,400 seats and was the largest cinema at that point. Whilst the venue lost this distinction when Green's Playhouse opened in 1927, it subsequently regained this status when, after renovation in 1931, it reopened with 6,000 seats (Robertson 1991, p.205). This venue was demolished in 1972, just prior to the Apollo's opening.

space” within the main auditorium, and as possessing “the cavernous warmth of a Calvinist cathedral” (1979, p.77). In particular, the author considered “the sight lines to the balconies ... (as demonstrating) the architect’s intimate knowledge of how the building would function” (ibid). According to Doak, the most innovative use of technology was the siting of the projection box. Normally the projector, which would possess a range of between seventy to one hundred feet, would be sited at the rear of the auditorium. However, the length of the venue made this practice impractical, and the projection apparatus was situated instead along the length of the underside of the balcony, thus creating a more intimate ambience (ibid).

A further sense emerges from the author’s overall description that, despite some limitations in the design, in the main, Fairweather accurately addressed the needs of the local audience by designing a venue that met their large appetite for cinema, offered some forms of opulence, and created an environment where aspects of ambience could materialise. Furthermore, the building was enclosed by an uncompromising exterior and relied upon a robust infrastructure. Therefore, in many ways, the venue reflected many of Glasgow’s abrasive and dichotomous traits referred to earlier. Indeed, Doak (ibid, p.7) refers to the tendency of local cinema architects of the early twentieth century, such as Fairweather, to ‘remain local’ in vision. This was mainly due to the lack of prestige attached to cinema projects, which were then still considered a ‘cheap’ form of entertainment (ibid).

Fairweather’s US study may therefore have held limited influence over the design of the venue that became the Apollo, and, in this respect, its local identity is something that infuses the remainder of its tenure. This emphasis on the local audience was something that was fully embraced by the Green family as the venue owners, with such practices originating from their fairground traditions (McBain 2007, p.55). In more practical terms, the Greens obviously required extremely large numbers of audience members to continue to fill this vast venue, and a range of other amenities, most notably the large ballroom located in the venue’s upper level, were also offered to entice the potential customer.¹²

¹² The other facilities included, within the main auditorium, an elevated, but slim stage/platform and an orchestra pit with hydraulic platform. Further amenities within the building included tearooms,

Such predicted leisure patterns failed to materialise however, with customers choosing to engage with either of the two main activities, cinema or dancing, not both (ibid, p.64). Further problems arose for the Playhouse when, due to the dominance of the Rank-ABC cinema duopoly, the venue lost its short-lived control over the 'first-run' distribution of new films, and was demoted to a 'third-run' cinema instead (Petley 1986, p.39). The reliance on continuing to attract a large local audience was compromised further after cinema audiences in the UK peaked in 1946 (Spraos 1962, p.14) and reduced attendances in Glasgow saw the number of cinemas in the city reduce from 79 in 1960 to 34 in 1970 (Doak 1979, p.145).

As a means of addressing the shortfalls in revenues, the Playhouse started to host live rock concerts on an *ad-hoc* basis from the late 1960s onwards, following a trend that been evident since the mid-1950s in other cinemas who were facing similar financial constraints (Eyles 1993, p.92). However, due to the Playhouse's main business model dictating that concerts would remain irregular events at the venue, such endeavours offered only limited financial potential for the cinema. As a result, whilst still in existence, Green's Playhouse assumed a rather precarious position within Glasgow's live entertainment environment of the early 1970s.

In summarising the last few sections, it is evident, by the late 1960s-early 1970s, that the city's traditional leisure patterns, most notably its previously high levels of engagement with variety theatre and cinema that had been established over several decades, had not only fragmented, but had also followed a similar downward temporal trajectory, thus, popular-leisure-wise, leaving the city on the brink of a new era during the early 1970s.

1.5 The Glasgow Apollo (1973-85)

This overview of the venue provides a central context for the study. It argues that the Apollo assumed a somewhat precarious position from the time of its launch, and that a range of contributory factors marginalised its second phase,

coffee shops, a restaurant, waiting rooms, a rooftop putting green, and a large ballroom above the auditorium with a 2,000 capacity. If all facilities were being used to their full extent and at the same time, then it was estimated that the overall capacity of the venue would be in the region of 10,000 (Harkins 1995, p.53).

with several of these components serving to illuminate the numerous shortfalls possessed by the venue.

Discernable from the outset of the Apollo's period of operation was the fact that the fabric of the building was in extremely poor condition as a result of decades of only limited maintenance. Furthermore, it also relevant to note that, as this new venture by local company Unicorn Leisure operated on an initial three-year lease agreement with the building's owners, its long-term future was not entirely secure.¹³ Following the initial appearance by Johnny Cash in September 1973, the venue went on to host performances by a wide range of key artists, such as The Rolling Stones, The Who, Status Quo, AC/DC, Neil Young, Rod Stewart, Abba, Queen and Elton John. As mentioned earlier, the Apollo established a reputation among many of its stakeholders due to the unique atmosphere that materialised, as well as the high levels of interaction between artists and audience (Leadbetter 1995).

Despite its apparent success the venue faced closure in 1978 due to the ending of Unicorn Leisure's lease. As a result, Mecca, the (initial) preferred bidder for the venue's lease, announced plans to turn the Apollo into a bingo hall (Shields 1978, p.8), which was a proposal that led to a large-scale local protest campaign. Notwithstanding the high level of media and public concern, the venue hosted its final live performance on 5 July 1978. However, after a short closure, Maximus Investments, a subsidiary of a national theatre management company, obtained the lease on the building, and the Apollo re-opened as a live concert venue in September 1978.

Nonetheless, after 1979, it was evident that a decreasing number of concerts were being held at the venue. Indeed, from the early 1980s onwards the venue's poor condition began to impact on the Apollo's operational status. Despite calls for refurbishment of the venue (McGurk 1983, pp.16-17), and various plans to address the increasingly overwhelming problems of the building's fabric (Kyle

¹³ Despite being advertised as 'Europe's largest luxury cinema' (*Evening Times* 1973, p.10), its then reduced capacity of 3,336 seats (Harkins 1995, p.15), which was due to the closure of its top balcony, meant that the venue was smaller than the Hammersmith Odeon, which held a capacity of 3,487 seats (Cinema Treasures 2014A) and marginally higher than the Rainbow Theatre, which held 3,040 seats (ibid 2014B). In this respect, the Apollo could be more accurately referred to as 'one of the UK's largest (traditional) venues.'

1980, p.10), the Apollo continued on a downward commercial-aesthetic trajectory.

Therefore, once regarded as a key venue within the UK live circuit, the Apollo's magnetism diminished greatly during the early-mid 1980s, with the venue's extremely limited facilities becoming increasingly transparent as touring stage productions became more extensive and professional in outlook (Martin 1984, pp.16-17). All of these factors served to further destabilise the venue and impose limitations on its future. The venue eventually closed in June 1985 following a concert by The Style Council and, on this occasion, there were no campaigns to halt its closure.

In summary, underpinned by its poor infrastructure, the Apollo's history can be seen to inhabit two distinct eras, where the accolades surrounding the venue's initial period (September 1973-July 1978) contrast sharply with its less distinguished second phase.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The study is comprised of ten chapters and an outline of each of the remaining nine chapters is provided at this stage, along with an overview of the main points that will be used to further reinforce the overall argument of the thesis. For several reasons the structure adopted for the fieldwork seeks to avoid providing a comprehensive history of the Glasgow Apollo. Rather, as Hobsbawm (1995) suggests, the objective of historical analysis should be to establish only the unique patterns that shaped previous eras in order to achieve a sense of the past. Therefore, the timeframes for these chapters, whilst chronological and serving to follow (and encapsulate) the venue's tenure, mainly focus on the key events in the Apollo narrative. As the analysis in each chapter makes evident, the allocated timeframes reflect certain trajectories within the Apollo's history. Accordingly, these chapters represent the following periods; 1973-74; 1975-76; 1977-79; 1980-84 and 1985. Chapter nine also covers the venue's post-1985 afterlife.

For the greater part, the events that occurred within these timeframes are reflected within the confines of their allocated chapters. As an example, the analysis of the concerts by the rock group Queen that took place at the venue in

December 1975 features in the chapter that covers the period 1975-76, while the venue's final closure forms a prime part of the chapter that focuses on 1985. Moreover, each period is also framed by the alignment of several specific, yet intertwined, actors that serve to shape these eras. This can be illustrated by 1973-74 being defined by the configuration between locality, industry and genre, whereas the combination of locality and genre typify 1977-79. Further details about the relevant actors and timeframes are provided in the third chapter.

As Keith Negus (1996, p.138) reminds us however, imposing thematic patterns on certain eras within music histories can be problematic, given that socio-cultural and musical trends rarely adhere to such levels of fixity. In a similar vein, it was also found that some of the audience recollections of specific venue-related topics could also bridge several eras within the course of one discussion thread. Therefore, whilst maintaining that the grouping of specific actors and relevant subjects function to influence the allocated timeframe adopted for these specific chapters, it is also acknowledged that some examples of these processes may not be confined to a certain era of the Apollo's history. Therefore, in instances of this type, attention is drawn towards such overlaps and the reasons why they may have materialised.

In other examples, it is underlined that, where certain aspects of the venue's key foundations assume relevance throughout its tenure, the main analysis of the appropriate component may form part of a specific period where it is best accommodated. This can be demonstrated by the main focus given towards the venue's renowned atmosphere being facilitated within the chapters that cover the mid-1970s, when the emphasis placed on the Apollo's spatial aesthetics at this time served to underpin its then-enhanced reputation.

The chapters devoted to the fieldwork (chapters four to nine) are preceded by the review of literature and methodology, and are followed by a conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter two provides a critique of relevant literature from the four main categories that contribute towards the theoretical and conceptual basis of the thesis. It argues that these components (music-related locality, liveness, genre and legend-myth) can be elevated by instances of temporal-spatial affiliation, thus creating and embedding unique live music experiences. As well as providing

the theoretical framework for the study, the contribution that it makes to the thesis is to show that live music phenomenon like the Apollo cannot be analysed in isolation, mainly due to the range of socio-cultural factors than can shape such entities.

Chapter three outlines the research approach adopted to obtain and analyse data for the study. Further analysis of the research question also provides substantiation for the overall methodology, as well as the specific research tools utilised. It argues that the focus on the venue's temporal location, as well as the emphasis placed on its local setting and social context, provides a substantial basis for the robust research strategy.

The fourth chapter, which covers the period 1973-74, marks the beginning of the fieldwork. It argues that the Apollo was a prime beneficiary of several temporal-spatial actors (locality, industry and genre) that coalesced during this timeframe, and adds to the study by positioning the Apollo as an era-defining live music venue during the initial stages of its operation.

Chapter five encapsulates the period 1975-76. It argues that aspects of liveness and genre helped the venue to achieve the peak of its live reputation, but that advancements within the live music sector provide initial indications that such peaks would be of a limited nature. In effect, it makes evident that the venue's most distinguished period, which, for many observers, may represent the key source of the venue 'legend,' is based on a relatively short period within its overall history.

Chapter six focuses on 1977-79, which captures the period when the venue temporarily closed and changed leaseholder. It argues that the Apollo's status was both enhanced and marginalised by opposing forms of locality that emanated during this timeframe. The contribution that it makes to the study is that it exposes the paradigm shift that occurred within local state mechanisms and acts to underline the impact that this revised policy had on distinctly local venues like the Apollo.

Chapter seven concentrates on 1980-84. Framed by an analysis of genre, industry and locality, it argues that this period marked a fundamental change in the Apollo's identity, industry status and role as a local venue. In essence, it

provides a series of indicators that explain why the venue assumed a downward trajectory during the majority of its latter phase.

Chapter eight looks at 1985, and argues that the Apollo's status only began to resonate in a post-closure capacity within the context of the new 'professionalised' live music environment represented by the venue's immediate replacement. Ultimately, it establishes the initial foundations for the Apollo's subsequent 'legendary' status.

The ninth chapter examines the venue's afterlife and argues that the strong beliefs that underpin the venue legend function to apply a mythical sheen to the Apollo memory narrative. Ultimately, it exposes some of the shortfalls within the arguments used by Apollo advocates that ultimately shape perceptions of the venue.

Finally, chapter ten draws together the key points and argues that, while the Apollo can be regarded as being a distinctive venue that hosted a series of defining and unique live music experiences, its enduring reputation has been maintained by the collective framing of the various platforms that are dedicated to upholding celebrated notions of the Apollo's legacy. In effect, it encapsulates the essence of the key issues that underpin the research question and applies appropriate focus towards the venue's timeframe and afterlife.

Overall, the structure adopted for the thesis aims to provide a cohesive and chronological framing for the analysis, with this approach allowing the relevant actors to be tracked, and for their fleeting relationships to be pinpointed and scrutinised at the relevant points.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that, given the evidence supplied, a solid basis has been established for the study in terms of adding knowledge to the field and for its originality. The main claim of the thesis is that music venues can resonate with individuals for decades after they cease operating, mainly due, at an initial level, to the potency of the momentary live music experience. At an additional level, music venues can exemplify the essence of place and also create a sanctuary for long-lasting memories. However, the tendency to blindly celebrate

'legendary' venues like the Apollo can serve to gloss over some of the inconsistencies that act to undermine this status. The aim of the work is therefore is to unravel some of the myths that encapsulate the venue. This involves analysing some of the temporal-spatial factors that shaped the Apollo during its existence, as well studying the entities and practices that function to maintain some form of presence almost thirty years after the venue closed.

The holistic approach adopted for a question of this nature underlined the gap in literature, as well as the basis for the study's originality. The reciprocal affiliation between the city of Glasgow and the Apollo as a venue was also made evident. Indeed, the city's socio-cultural traditions were made visible at the Apollo, and the venue was shown to act as a 'reputation initiator' for the Glasgow's current status as a city of music. The characteristics of the Apollo's original design also embraced aspects of locality, and its emphasis on the needs of the domestic audience further cemented its local identity. Furthermore, the Apollo's opening in 1973 occurred during a time when the city's inhabitants were seeking representations of the city's traditional values and therefore acted as a refuge for those who were displaced. Whilst a proportion of the analysis focused on the local context for the study, it was also suggested that other factors such as technology, genre and industry impacted on the Apollo phenomenon, and the analysis in the chapters to follow will therefore provide focus on these components.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This part of the thesis asks what is already known about the key elements that both underpin and shape ‘legendary’ local venues like the Apollo. As mentioned in the last chapter, the venue has yet to be the subject of academic scrutiny and, despite some recent activity that briefly engages with live music in Glasgow (Lowndes 2012; Anderson 2013; forthcoming), relatively little has been written on this subject. In the absence of any comparable studies, the review therefore embraces literature that is mainly located within the wider context of Popular Music Studies, and focuses on the four main factors that influence phenomena of this nature, with the main perception of the Apollo as a ‘legendary’ local live rock venue, framing such considerations.

First, the way in which forms of locality can influence engagement levels with live music is explored, and it is argued that the local music venue holds prime importance in facilitating the live music aesthetic. The second category of literature provides more focus on the live music environment and, framed by an analysis of the production and reception of live music, it suggests that modes of progress with the live sector can, in some cases, diminish the live music experience. Third, the characteristics and margins of music genre affiliation are assessed, and it is argued that, framed by a wide range of advocates and supportive platforms, the rock genre assumed cultural significance during the early-mid 1970s, but became maligned thereafter. Last, the review asks why entities like the Apollo can attract and maintain its ‘legendary’ status, and it suggests that platforms like DIY websites serve to sustain this reputation.

2.1 Locality, Audiences and Live Music

This strand of the review focuses on the significance that place holds over the consumption of live music. In effect, the analysis questions to what extent forms of locality can shape the dynamics of the local audience, and, by extension, if notions of place can impact on the reception of music (Street, cited Shuker 2003, p.178). To this end, it also reflects on the claim by Leyshon *et al* (1995, p.425) that:

To consider the place of music is not to reduce music to its location, to ground it down into some geographical baseline, but to allow a purchase on the rich aesthetic, cultural, economic and political geographies of musical language.

In this respect, the discussion argues that aspects of Glasgow's musical language developed as a result of the city's industrialisation process, most notably its heavy industry traditions, which greatly impacted on the type of leisure activities that its inhabitants were drawn towards. It also argues that, in general, the literature tends to privilege modes of production within music localities at the expense of its reception, thus serving, in many cases, to minimise the role played by local venues and audiences.

Whilst contemporary perspectives of music-related locality must recognise that this environment is increasingly "... bound up with new, increasingly global, technological, cultural and economic shifts" (Connell and Gibson 2003, p.1), any analysis of locality that encapsulates the Apollo timeframe assumes different characteristics. This is due to the fact that the venue mainly inhabits a period where, within a pre-internet era, forms of globalisation relied upon an analogue-hardware infrastructure (Friedman 2007). In the absence of such web-related components, which tend to reposition localities and music production, it can be seen that the main factors of locality during the Apollo's period of operation generally assumed a number of fixed elements. In this instance, Connell and Gibson's (2003, pp.9-11) fixity-fluidity model that encapsulates music-related locality, can serve a useful purpose to frame the analysis to follow.

Within the model, 'fluidity,' which is shaped by modes of technological diffusion, suggests currents of people, commerce, commodities, capital and cultural alliances across local space (ibid). At the other end of the scale, 'fixity,' as the term suggests, signifies static institutions, an engagement with the values of heritage and roots, as well as a parochial outlook (ibid). Whilst fluidity generally symbolises the local production of music, fixity aligns more so with its reception. Of obvious note, a vibrant local music scene requires interaction between fixity and fluidity.

Given that much of the literature that encompasses music-related locality inclines to focus on the production, as opposed to the reception, of music (Leyshon *et al* 1998; Finnegan 2007; DuNoyer 2012), it is discernible that fluidity

can be privileged over fixity, and, by extension, that artists and aspects of music-creativity can be elevated above audiences and venues. Indeed, within an overview of local music ecosystems, Connell and Gibson (2003, pp.101-02) refer to this environment as (emphasis added) “communities and sites for *production*.” Whilst their overview does include “receptive and enthusiastic audiences,” and acknowledges the vibrant combinations of “venues ... and methods of information flow and exchange” (ibid, p.102), limited space is devoted towards audiences and venues within their analysis.

Kloosterman (2005) provides a more in-depth analysis of a city’s music ecosystem, but, similarly, his study is also focused on production, whereby Nashville is represented as a “milieu of highly specialized production” (ibid, p.182). Indeed, in analysing the components that frame such ecosystems, the author (ibid, p.181) refers to the triad of key characteristics, which encompass “shared inputs” (recording and rehearsal studios), a large “pool of labour” and the local omnipresence of music itself (“music in the air”). Whilst the last component can be said to be evocative of cities like Nashville, Kloosterman fails to elaborate further and, most significantly, neglects to underline the role played by local audiences and venues within music city environments.

If anything, Connell and Gibson’s fixity-fluidity model helps to draw attention towards temporal periods when ‘fixity’ assumes significance and the focus on a locality’s links with its cultural roots becomes more discernible. In this respect, their ‘fixed’ strand of the model (ibid, pp.9-11) promotes, in Glasgow’s case, a sense of lineage with the city’s industrial heritage, where, given the impact that this facet possesses on local audiences, the dichotomy between work and leisure attains cultural and social relevance. In essence, ‘leisure’ typically acts as a foundation for its contrast with work. Cloke (2000, p.443) defines the term as:

Essentially a state of being, in which a range of activities are undertaken outside work time for the purposes of pleasure, entertainment, knowledge-improvement, and relaxation.

Although functioning to note the distinction between ‘work’ and ‘leisure,’ Cloke’s definition appears limited by failing to recognise what Clarke and Critcher (1992, p.17) regard as the “... salience of the experience of work for leisure.” When applied to a city like Glasgow, such an insight assumes meaning when the workplace practices that encapsulate heavy engineering, which was

the predominant form of employment undertaken during the city's key industrial phase (Gibb 1983, p.117), are taken into account.

In a relevant context Parker (1995, pp.29-31) offers a model of leisure patterns that are mainly determined by the type of work from which leisure either acts as a divergence or as an extension to everyday employment. In the 'extension' pattern any distinctions between work and leisure activities tend to become blurred, and signify a commitment to the individual's 'job as life' perspective. This pattern of leisure is in marked contrast to 'oppositional' leisure that acts, as the term suggests, as an enabler for a direct contrast to the type of work that is carried out (ibid).

Oppositional leisure is regarded as a type of leisure that emanates as a result of undertaking manual forms of employment and often involves what Harris (2005, p.263) refers to as "irresponsible pleasure seeking," with such activities including frequenting pubs and clubs. The implication that emerges from such a model is that an individual's depth of engagement with oppositional leisure activities is determined by the level of demands placed by the nature of the employment undertaken. While Clarke and Critcher (1992, p.20) claim that Parker's model lacks ethnographic foundation, it does nevertheless function to share common ground with Massey's (1994, p.181) aforementioned concept of 'gendered geography,' where the industrial location dictates gender-related leisure activities.

Parker's model can be further validated by Johnston and McIvor's (2007) oral history study that focuses on the harsh working conditions within Glasgow's heavy engineering environment, which led these workers to "seek refuge" through male-orientated leisure pursuits (drinking alcohol, watching football, and gambling). However, such claims, whilst valid, tend to impose a fixed perspective on the types of leisure activities involved, as well as the extent of the behaviour that emanates from participating in these activities. Instead, as highlighted in the previous chapter, underpinned by their industrial workplace encounters, variations of such traits were evident among 'demanding' local audiences within the realm of music hall and variety theatre (Maloney 2003, p.125).

In tracing the development of the relationship between industrialisation and leisure that extends beyond this environment and timeframe, Frith (1981B, pp.249-72) positions engagement with rock music as a leisure pursuit that is similarly distinct from employment, and which also articulates the means of individual escape (ibid, p.265). The author further underlines that the genre's overall potency is determined by its texts and contexts, where the "desired shock effect" that the music genre embodies is realised (ibid). Other literature functions to emphasise that live rock music experienced in local live venues can embody such desires and also, as part of the 'context' that Frith refers to, facilitate affiliations with community. If anything, alignments between live music and locality can, as Connell and Gibson (2003, p.19) outline, be mapped by the yearning within some localities to achieve forms of continuity and fixity by focusing on modes of consumption that embrace the authentic sense of place.

For Cohen (1991, pp.94-96), local representations of live music symbolise a sense of occasion in that it embodies the "simultaneous process of production and consumption," where the connectivity between artists and audience creates and recreates layers of unique atmosphere that can serve to unite "participants in common activity." The close links between liveness and locality are further exemplified by Street's (1993, p.54) assertion that:

The impact of the local is to be detected primarily in the role played by live performance. Live music, because it is necessarily local, being available only in a specific place to a limited audience, is particularly effective at serving a sense of community identity.

Whilst claims that live music is "necessarily local" is perhaps open to question given the wide context that the characteristics of live music, audiences and place can possess, Street's perspective can however be supported by Auslander's (1998, pp.10-13) proposal that authenticity, rock authenticity in particular, is embedded in the visual evidence of the live performance that, as part of 'paying their dues' process towards levels of authentic forms of success, and is best exemplified within small local venues. Furthermore, within such environments forms of realness and intimacy can transcend, thus embedding this local live music experience within individual memories (ibid).

Within this realm however, Kronenburg (2011, p.137) suggests that literature can tend to focus on the "geographical place rather than physical space" where the live event happens. As highlighted above, Kronenburg holds valid grounds for

underlining this gap in the literature; live music performances occur within a locality *and* within a venue, and it is the manner in which the “geographical place” and live location can cross-pollinate and shape the performance (ibid) that ultimately enriches the live music experience for both artists and audiences.

By underscoring the key role played by local audiences *and* local venues, Kronenburg steers the discourse from production to consumption within local music scenes. This sense of localness and local affinity that can occur within live music experiences, is further exemplified by Cohen (1991, p.40), who suggests that:

The sense of community and identity is heightened if the performers and their audience share the same or similar socio-cultural experiences and are thus disposed to interpret the performance collectively. It symbolizes, activates, redefines, and reaffirms values, meanings, concepts, identities, or myths that they might share.

If, as described above, this audience-venue focused discourse fails to materialise within the scope of literature that frames the analysis of more recent local music scenes, then it can be seen that historic music scenes more readily facilitate such attention, as illustrated by Straw’s (1991, p.374) claim that musical timeframes are open to temporal flows *and* subsequent reconstruction within music histories:

Different cultural spaces are marked by the sorts of temporalities to be found within them - by the prominence of activities of canonization, or by the values accruing to novelty and currency, longevity and 'timelessness'. In this respect, the 'logic' of particular musical culture is a function of the way in which value is constructed within them relative to the passing of time.

In many ways therefore, by means of canonisation or other cultural reappraisals, modes of music consumption exhibited by local live music audiences are more likely to resonate within a historical context, especially if attached to a culturally significant local venue.

As a prime exemplar of a live venue that possesses the cultural connotations that Straw alludes to, Cohen’s (2011) case study of Liverpool’s Cavern Club positions this legendary location as a temporal focus for live creativity and as a site where subsequent cultural memories unfold. Hence, whilst the Cavern achieved its reputation as a result of the local production of music within its

walls, it is the memories that relate to the consumption of this live music that drives the “celebrated and romanticized” status of the venue (ibid, p.236). This has led, suggests Cohen (ibid, pp.242-43) to a process where, for some stakeholders, the “performance of memory” assumes significance and helps, through recycling and reiteration, to propel the well-rehearsed anecdotes that circulate among numerous celebratory texts, to shape cultural memories about this local live music location.

Cultural memories that embrace legendary venues should, as Cohen indicates (ibid), be treated with caution, and further literature not only underlines this argument, but also functions to emphasise the potency of the myths that encapsulate venues of this nature. As mentioned in the previous chapter, literature on ‘legendary’ venues can tend to form part of a larger narrative, and, in this instance, it is common practice for the Armadillo World Headquarters, a converted National Guard armoury that existed in Austin, Texas during the period 1970-80, to feature as a key live location in the city’s music history. However, despite being regarded as a noteworthy venue that initiated Austin’s now-significant live music scene, as both Shank (1994, pp.8-9) and Long (2010, p.26) indicate, the negative aspects of the venue’s history tend to be downplayed within local folklore.

In his analysis of the venue Shank notes that, according to local audiences “many magical nights happened there,” and that Willie Nelson was among several major artists who help to construct a sense of triumphant community at the venue (ibid, p.9). However, the author also traces a number of less-celebratory elements, such as the venue’s poor condition and absence of facilities, its rudimentary organisational framework, and lack of focus on the commercial aspects of the operation (ibid, pp.54-55). He also uncovers instances of financial mismanagement that ultimately led to its eventual, somewhat maligned, closure in 1980 (ibid, p.76).

As Long (2010, p.26) discovered however, such discrepancies failed to resonate within the overall myth that embraces the venue, and even raising the question that some form of doubt surround the Armadillo’s iconic status was enough to cause offence among some of the venue’s audience. Indeed, a former owner of the venue encapsulates how the Armadillo’s less illustrious periods were inclined

to be conveniently airbrushed from the celebratory narrative that surrounds the venue (ibid, p.29):

(Owning the venue) ... was drudgery. People don't remember this part: the months and months of drudgery. People talk about the Armadillo like it was a huge success, but there were months when hardly anyone showed up.

If anything, such perspectives, which, as indicated, rarely feature within the confines of the commemorative texts dedicated to 'legendary' venues, further underscore that the myths that embrace such live music locations can be potent enough to nullify several of the inconsistencies that would otherwise undermine such a reputation. It also shows that, within its distinct-from-employment temporal location, the live music aesthetic can, at least from the viewpoint of the 'celebrated' audience, assume precedence over any commercial factors that allowed the live music event to occur in the first instance.

In summarising this section, Frith's (2007, p.14) suggestion that live music matters because it represents a "public celebration of musical commitment" can be confirmed by the literature. However, as an extension of such considerations, the literature also showed that live music matters because, in many ways, it is also symbolises a public celebration of place, as exemplified by the extent of the emotional discharge that can frame the live music experience within local venues.

2.2 Live Music, Liveness and Venues

In this evaluation of literature on the production of, and setting for, live music, it suggests that the live music experience can be both enhanced and diminished by the technology that facilitates its dissemination. It also suggests that the live music setting can also elevate or decrease the value of the live music experience. To this end, the discussion focuses on live music's alignment with, and dependence on, technology, as well as the evolution of the different types of live music venues. This process allows the Apollo's temporal location, both within the concept of liveness, and as a venue, to be tracked and analysed.

Before such analysis, it is necessary to define 'live music' from a historical, technological and aesthetic perspective. The term can be seen to encompass much more than its original definition implied. Both Auslander (2002, pp.16; 20)

and Sanden (2013, pp.3-4) note that the term initially depicted a temporal-simultaneous music performance, which emerged due to the requirement to distinguish different types of (live/recorded) performance in the mid-1930s. Whilst both modes of performance functioned to co-exist thereafter, it is noted by some, such as Thornton (1995, p.42), that clear dichotomies were evident between the two aspects, as underlined by perceptions that live music symbolises the essence of music through its ability to accommodate aspects such as its 'truth' and authenticity.

Such connotations rely on the widely embraced belief (at least in some folk and rock music environments) that technology can function to marginalise authenticity as it serves to symbolise a form of distance between artist and audience, or even represent a sense of falseness (Frith 1986, pp.264-67). Certainly, within such parameters, technology and live rock can be regarded as being in conflict due to the key position that authenticity (Keightley 2004A) and its representation within a live performance context assumes within the genre's ideological framework (Frith 1981B, pp.80-81). Of course, as Auslander (2011, p.61) notes, live music has, since its 'inception,' been increasingly aligned with technology due to the vast increase in audience size and modes of access. In this instance both Baudrillard (1981) and Auslander (2011, p.4) refer to the 'mediatization' process where a live performance is re-shaped by its subsequent reproduction as audio or visual data. As a result of such trends, the concept of liveness encapsulates the many complexities between authenticity, technology and performance that extend beyond the original recorded-live performance dichotomy (Sanden 2013, pp.2-3). The discussion that follows therefore addresses some of these complexities as they relate to the Apollo.

2.2.1 Liveness

Auslander's (2011, p.61) historical model of liveness describes the temporal characteristics and cultural forms of live music through history, and lists 'classic liveness' as the initial type of liveness. This category is said to represent the physical co-presence of the performers and audience, with the temporal simultaneity of production and reception mainly occurring within a theatre-type environment (ibid). Further categories of liveness within the model, such as those involving broadcasts and live recordings of performances, increasingly rely

upon advanced forms of technology to accommodate the collective audience across a range of media platforms (ibid). The model therefore symbolises that technology has not only greatly extended the connotations of what 'live' represents, but that an increasing distance has also occurred between the artist and the 'live audience' (in whatever form) as a result.

One of several limitations with Auslander's model however is the lack of detail to accompany the categorisations, not least the specific timeframe they are said to represent, or what each phase of liveness fully encapsulates. Some later elaboration by the author (ibid, pp.73-74) points towards classic liveness (and its accompanying technology) being mostly relevant to the 1960s and 1970s. From the author's perspective (ibid, p.97), the early 1980s mark a paradigm shift where rock's ideological reliance on the authentic nature of the live performance became fragmented due to the shift in emphasis towards a form of simulated performance being embodied in music videos within platforms like MTV. Indeed, this is a pattern and timeframe that is also identified by Frith (1988, p.1).

Other authors also note that the simultaneous introduction of digital technology functioned to impact on the embodiment of authenticity both within the recording process (Warner 2003, pp.18-22) and its live representation (Frith 1988, p.195). As a result, rock's reliance on a close association with the ideal of liveness as an underlying aesthetic, both within a recorded sense (Sanden 2013, p.66) and performance mode (Frith 1981B, pp.80-81), can be seen to unravel during the early 1980s. Following this evidence, it can be seen that the 'classic liveness' era and what it symbolised was a phenomenon that was most closely related to the Apollo's initial phase.

A further shortfall in Auslander's (2011, p.61) live model is the author's dependence on the technological framing of liveness, which tends to neglect the social context encapsulating the live music experience. This weakness is emphasised by Holt (2010, p.245) who suggests that:

Only by examining live music in its communicative context can we understand its capacities in the production of authenticity, festivity and social presence.

This idea indicates that, while Auslander's model provides a useful framework for further analysis and the temporal positioning of liveness at the Apollo, his

over-reliance on a concept that focuses on technology functions to accentuate the absence of an appropriate ethnographic foundation and tendency to ignore the key role played by an audience within the live music environment, as depicted by Small (1998, p.13) and Holt (2010, p.256). To this end, the next section explores what is known about the live music venue.

2.2.2 The Live Music Venue

This evaluation of literature on the live music setting suggests that, while some live locations can enhance the audience experience, others can, just as equally, diminish the live music aesthetic. In effect, the analysis to follow extends on the earlier discussion about locality and liveness by concentrating on the live venue itself. As previously mentioned, Cohen's (1991, pp.39; 96-97) ethnographic study refers to the way in which live performance can unite participants and symbolise a sense of community. However, as Frith (2007, p.9) more accurately reflects, it is the fusion of live performances *and* venues that resonate within rock's mythology. Accordingly, the discussion argues that live music venues can play an important role in engendering the depths of emotion described by Cohen.

Literature on the specifics of live music venues however remains limited in scope despite the upsurge in academic interest in live music. As an example, Forsyth's (1985) key study on the place of music is restricted to one type of venue (concert halls), and fails to fully encompass the wider context for live music. By contrast, Frith (2012) appears more aware of the essential components that can shape a live performance, and refers to its materialistic elements as being the affiliation between audience, performer, place, promoter-as-catalyst and technology. As Small (1998, p.13) suggests, the series of relationships between individuals that frame live music performances in a venue (ibid, p.13) can directly influence aspects of the live experience, such as the sound quality, aesthetics or its commercial viability. Of obvious note, these relationships can be both fixed and fluid and are dependent on the way participants, settings and technologies adapt to each other component through time.

Here lies the main problem with the Kronenburg's (2011) typologies of live music venues (adapted, adopted and dedicated). For the most part, the author relies on a fixed notion of what each category of venue symbolises, thus failing to embrace the materialistic components that can frame the production and

consumption of the live performance (Frith 2012). In brief, Kronenburg (2011, pp.140-42) argues that adopted spaces represent venues that have been designed for other purposes, adapted spaces relate to the spaces that have modified, and dedicated venues represent those venues that have constructed for live performances.

Whilst the author is keen however, like Forsyth (1985, p.3), to emphasise that a venue's architecture can facilitate and engender additional layers of meaning within a live performance (Kronenburg 2011, p.137), the three categories appear vague and provide limited evidence to validate such claims. In the main, the typology fails to fully engage with factors that shape the live performance within the venue, and does little to encapsulate the evolution of live music venues or identify the components that can elevate or diminish the live music aesthetic.

In many respects it is the development of the live music industry that can be seen to have impacted most notably on the live music experience, with this process being underpinned by the technical and commercial advances made within the sector. As Frith *et al* (2013, p.192) note, the commercial potential that live rock offered during the late 1960s could not be fulfilled by the glaring inadequacies of the prevailing UK live circuit. Indeed, whilst there was much activity within this sector during the period that followed, there is a lack of corresponding literature (most notably for the key timeframe 1968-84), which may be addressed by pending studies (Frith *et al*, forthcoming).

Brennan (2010, pp.7-8) and Brennan and Webster (2011, pp.10-11) do apply some focus towards this era, however, the analysis concentrates on the role of the promoter and is limited by the constraints imposed by their historical-overview framework. Nonetheless, both texts provide indications of relevant trends, such as the emergence of a new breed of promoter, the increasing significance of live rock and the growing professionalism of the live sector from the early 1970s onwards. In this instance, Brennan (2010, pp.13-15) effectively shows that this professionalisation mainly revolved around the ancillary services (sound and light equipment, transportation etc.), before the capacities of the new tier of arena venues (established between 1976-91) provided the desired economies of scale.

It takes Cloonan (2012, p.166) and others however to remind us that 'economies of scale' possess wider implications and, despite improvements in sound and conditions, the arena as a venue can contribute relatively little towards the live music aesthetic. Referring to a contemporary example of an arena concert, Tassell (2013, p.181) refers to the lack of 'soul' and spirituality that such live events facilitate, with this live experience being distinctly remote from the intimate "spit and sawdust" environment associated with the small live venue. What Tassell is missing could more effectively be referred to the way in which live performance can be regarded as a 'true' and authentic representation of music, which Shuker (2003, p.218) describes as representing an essential part of rock's ideology. However, the "spit and sawdust" authenticity of liveness that the author (Tassell 2013, p.181) refers to can also be seen to be in conflict with the growing commercialisation of the live sector. Frith (2007, p.9) encapsulates this process by stressing that while the trademark "filth and seediness" of the 'legendary' live venue may be one of the reasons why the location is celebrated; it is also the reason why the venue is now closed.

Further examples of literature show other 'legendary' venues being authenticated by their extremely poor conditions. Burrows (2009, p.127) quotes artists who can relate to New York's CBGB venue as it was a "shithole," while Leigh (2008, p.24) relates that part of the Cavern's appeal was due to the fact that it "stunk like a toilet." The desire to embrace such authentic surroundings is underlined by Melly (1972, p.77), who is dismissive of the rebuilt and "tarted up" Cavern of the mid-1960s, as it was no longer "scruffy, smelly and disreputable." Indeed, by nature of its run-down condition and overall 'rock' credentials, the Apollo could be also be included within this tier of 'legendary' venues. Similarly, a venue like the Apollo (which was operational during this key period of live sector professionalisation) was also subject to similar conflicts between authenticity and commerciality.

Therefore, the literature shows that the desired economies of scale and professionalisation of the UK live network from the late 1960s onwards led to improvements in the sound and conditions at the typical live music venue. However, this process also led, in many cases, to the marginalization of the live music aesthetic, which was essentially a non-commercial component.

2.3. Music Genre

This assessment of literature on the rock music genre probes the extent to which the symbolic nature of the genre was embraced by its many advocates and stakeholders during the timeframe that reflects the Apollo's period of operation. This approach addresses the perception held by some observers that the venue embodied the essence of the rock genre within a live context (Fields 2009; Kielty 2011). Given this connection, the way in which the venue's timeframe corresponded with the trajectory of the genre's rise and demise can also be seen to hold relevance. In this regard, the discussion argues that the key era for the rock genre (and what it symbolised) ran parallel with the Apollo's initial period (1973-78) only. The literature therefore functions to question the scope of the appeal that the venue's proffered rock status actually held. This argument will be explored over two main parts, with the characteristics of the rock genre being analysed in the next section, and the extent of genre affiliation being explored in the section thereafter. Before we reach this stage, a definition of 'genre' is provided.

Whilst 'genre' can apply to numerous forms of cultural texts, its function within popular music has, from the perspective of Negus (2003, p.4), been used to categorise and mediate the listening experience, with this process being framed by the commercial objectives of the record industry. Frith (2002, p.75) extends the commercial potential of genre labelling by drawing reference to its use within the wider music industries (publishing, A&R), which, he suggests, is a process that can also dictate individual taste.

Although generally accurate, such definitions perhaps lack engagement with the social context that music genres can exemplify. In this regard, Fabbri (1981, p.52) defines a musical genre as consisting of "a set of musical events (real or possible) whose course is governed by a definite set of socially accepted rules." This definition therefore not only recognises that genres can shape communities and social interaction, but that they can also impose boundaries within the same environment. The author provides further elaboration by means of five 'genre rules,' which, again, function to capture the numerous layers of meaning that genres can facilitate. These rules encompass the technical organising of sounds,

the semiotic meaning, behavioural rituals, the social and ideological rules, and the commercial and juridical rules (ibid, pp.55-59).

Although Fabbri (ibid, p.55) offers no hierarchical order for these rules, his reluctance to do so is grounded by the understanding that forms of fluidity will apply during the evolution of the genre, where some rules will assume dominance, and others become marginalised. Accordingly, the author's genre rules can be regarded as a useful model to track the trajectory of the rock genre (as well as its numerous layers of meaning) during the period covering the Apollo's tenure, and will therefore feature in the discussion to follow.

2.3.1 The Rock Genre

Several accounts (including Frith and Horne 1989, p.56; Middleton 2002, pp.27-28; Keightley 2004A, pp.125) regard the mid-1960s (1967 specifically) as representing the start of the rock era. The genre can be seen to have infused both the creative and industrial machinations of popular music during this period. Indeed, representations of rock's prevalence from the mid-late 1960s can be traced within a linear process of music creativity and technical exploration (Middleton 2002, p.28), artistic inclinations (Regev 1994), marketing potential (Shuker 2006, p.8) industrial logic (Keightley 2004B, p.384), and levels of audience engagement (Longhurst 1996, p.108), all within an increasingly reflective socio-political environment (Doggett 2008).

As already mentioned, the live representation of the rock genre also began to assume prominence during the late 1960s-early 1970s (Brennan 2010, pp.7-8; Brennan and Webster 2011, pp.10-11), which was just prior to the Apollo's opening. Taking all these factors into account, Keightley's (2004A, p.110) suggestion that rock was, less a music genre, and, more, a larger musical culture, can therefore be seen to possess relevance.

The notion of a pop-rock (commercial-serious) dichotomy tends to be a recurring feature of other definitions of the genre, such as those offered by Moore (2001, p.3) and Shuker (2006, p.8). Although Bennett (2009, p.475) follows this trend, he also refers to the widespread commercial success of classic rock groups like Led Zeppelin as further symbolising the values of rock (ibid, p.476), without acknowledging that accomplishments of this nature would otherwise be at odds

within the genre's underlying components - most notably its non-commercial stance. It therefore remains for Frith (1983, p.36) to highlight the nature of the commercial-counterculture contradiction that exists, and to note that, for all its anti-commercial aspirations, rock achieved its own mass audience.

One way for rock artists to meet market demand, retain notions of authenticity and still stimulate non-commercial illusions was within a live performance environment. Indeed, Warner (2003, p.4) describes live performance as a "fundamental aspect of rock and one that confers authenticity." This viewpoint, which is shared by several others,¹⁴ is further developed by Auslander (1998, p.3) and Moore (2002, p.213), who suggest that the actual "seeing" of the live performance within an unmediated environment was an essential component in underlining rock's authentic foundations. However, whilst such arguments appear credible, discourse of this nature tends to make assumptions about the impact that authenticity generates, and lacks evidence with regard as to how it actually materialises both within the live rock audience and the venue itself.

With regard to the rock audience, Middleton (2002, pp.258-59) addresses this issue by drawing connections between rock's capacity to convey emotions, embody physicality and simulate realness, with the way in which this is encapsulated within the realm of bodily pleasure (Barthes 1975). Such traits are discernible to Baugh (1993, p.24), who observes that the:

... 'visceral' properties of rock are registered in the body core, in the gut, and in the muscles and sinews of the arms and legs, rather than in any intellectual faculty of judgement ...

Extending such arguments, Toynbee (2000, p.123) notes that in a live rock context, forms of community can be activated (emphasis in the original):

... on the basis of 'direct' evidence from the senses: you *touch* the person next to you, *see* the band on stage hailing you, and *immerse* your body in the noise, a common noise which envelops everyone.

The literature therefore indicates that physicality, tangibility and realness can act as sensory stimuli to advance the live experience for live rock audiences in ways beyond assumptions that 'authenticity' alone facilitated such feelings.

¹⁴ See Grossberg (1992A, pp. 206-07); Shuker (2006, pp.106-07); Bennett (2008, p.264); Wiseman-Trowse (2008, p.38).

Certainly, Thornton (1995, p.29-30) would be among other advocates of dance and rave culture who would question the privileging of both live performance and rock as facilitators for modes of authenticity among audiences. However, Thornton's perspective on this matter imposes some temporal limitations as to when dance culture developed sufficient levels of liveness. Writing in 1995 (ibid) she suggests that an alternate form of liveness exists as part of 'disc cultures': (emphasis added):

What authenticates *contemporary* dance cultures is the buzz or energy which results from the interaction of records, DJ and crowd. 'Liveness' is displaced from the stage to the dancefloor, from the worship of the performer to a veneration of 'atmosphere' or 'vibe.' The DJ and the dancers share the spotlight as *de facto* performers; the crowd becomes a self-conscious cultural phenomenon - one that generates moods immune to reproduction, for which you have to be there.

Indeed, whilst the live potency of both dance and disc cultures are clearly articulated in this instance, Thornton recognises that such developments did not fully materialise until the 1990s, as evidenced by an earlier admission that live performance was the main source for audience notions of authenticity between the mid-1950s and the mid-1980s, where "the essence or truth of music was located in its performance by musicians in front of an audience" (ibid, p.26). Again, it can be seen that the Apollo's timeframe (1973-85) facilitated what may have been the last period when a number of 'liveness' factors, not least 'classic liveness' (Auslander 2011, p.61), were in evidence at such live locations.

Moreover, audience affiliation with perceptions of authenticity within a live music setting can also be seen to possess an allure that is associated with gaining access to 'realness.' Such inclinations materialise within Grazian's (2004) study of the commercialised environment inhabited by several 'authentic' venues that form part of Chicago's Blues scene. In this case study, the desire by some audience members to embrace the most run-down and dangerous venues, forms part of this pathway to realness, with these prized locations being elevated above other 'mainstream' venues (ibid).

The same rationale prevails with regard to perceptions of the run-down 'legendary' rock venue, such as the previously mentioned CBGB (Burrows 2009, pp.126-27), where aspects such as the rudimentary toilet facilities became a key focus of their appeal. Whilst Burrows feel content to leave such attractions unexplained, further literature by Tuan (1977) provides a more solid basis for

understanding. He suggests that not only are older buildings more likely to possess a “pungent personality” that modern architecture often lacks (ibid, p.11), but also that the feel of a location can resonate within a “person’s muscles and bones” due to heightened sensory experiences (ibid, pp.183-84). Thus, as Hayden (1997, p.18) posits, place can resonate most strongly in people’s memories when they carry out an “... assault on all ways of knowing (sight, sound, smell, touch and taste).”

In summary, the literature indicates that the sensory and authentic live rock experience can be accommodated and elevated by the alluring connectivity between the body and the odour-enhanced place, where elements of realness, physicality and tangibility co-exist. Its relevance therefore lies in the fact that the live music aesthetic (the live rock aesthetic in particular) is best facilitated within venues that accommodate such visceral characteristics, and are most likely to exist as live locations that have not been the focus of advancements made within the live sector. To this end, the next section of the review draws further parallels between the Apollo, rock and notions of authenticity.

2.3.2 Genre Worlds

The perception of the Apollo as a key rock venue, both during its timeframe (*New Musical Express* 1973B, p.40; Jones 1974, p.55), and within its afterlife (Kielty 2011; Glasgow Apollo 2014A), ultimately serve to underline the strong associations that are said to exist between this genre and the venue. Framed by Frith’s (2002, p.88) concept of ‘genre worlds,’ the discussion to follow argues that such links functioned to bolster the status of the venue for the bulk of the 1970s, but due to changes in genre affiliation thereafter, these same associations would serve to diminish the venue’s reputation. This transformation holds relevance as it can be seen to align with the downward trajectory that the venue followed during the second half of its tenure.

As mentioned in the previous section, rock assumed a key cultural presence across a number of levels during the early-mid 1970s, which mirrored the Apollo’s initial period. However, this process can only be partly explained by the aforementioned claim by Keightley (2004A, p.110) that it represented a large-scale musical culture. Regev (2013, pp.18-20) provides a more incisive analysis of this development by noting that the genre’s stylistic development and overall

presence was achieved through the appropriation of what were considered suitable sub-genres as part of the general rock genre nomenclature.

In this regard Fornäs (1995, p.113) describes rock as a “supergenre,” while Toynbee (2000, p.124) simply refers to it as a “single mega-genre.” In effect, the literature suggests that rock’s genre predominance can be linked to its all-inclusive tendencies. Therefore, whilst acknowledging that many musical variations (and discourse threads) existed within its sphere, the literature suggests that a general cultural mindset prevailed among rock genre stakeholders, at least during the course of the Apollo’s initial period.

Further confirmation of rock’s key position can be found within Frith’s (2002, p.88) concept of ‘genre worlds,’ where, framed by a genre’s ideology, a complex series of collusive relationships between artists, audience, media platforms and industry, maintain genre boundaries among like-minded stakeholders. As an example, following Thornton’s (1995, pp.151-162) claim about the impact that music consumer magazines possess on music subcultures, Forde (2001, p.24) suggests that the weekly British music press of the early 1970s were particularly keen to embrace rock’s ideological traditions. Furthermore, as Long (2012, pp.54-55) emphasises, a specific focus on the live representation of rock was at the centre of such motivation.¹⁵

Fryer (2008) also notes that, within this environment, music television programmes such as *The Old Grey Whistle Test* also offered the informed rock fan access to what Mills (2010, pp.60; 64) refers to as ‘real’ live renditions of songs across the genre’s wide spectrum. Thus, rock’s cultural presence existed across a number of affiliated platforms, and was readily embraced by its many advocates.

Frith (2002, p.94) however applies a caveat by noting that ‘genre worlds’ of this description normally rely upon its advocates being able to maintain the genre’s boundaries. Indeed, as he posits (1981B, pp.158-63) in the instance of the punk movement of 1976-77, rock’s underlying foundations, its cultural presence in particular, were sufficiently challenged on a number of fronts. For Reynolds

¹⁵ In turn, this focus on audience engagement with live rock music is also affiliated with Grossberg’s (2002, p.46) suggestion that the degree of a fan’s commitment to the genre could be measured by the number of live concerts they attended.

(2005, p.xvii) punk marked a “ground zero” point within popular music, which, in its wake, served to provide a wealth of opportunities to “break with tradition.” With rock already marginalised by punk, Frith (1990, pp.129; 1992, pp.47-48; 52) suggests that the genre was further destabilised by the industry preference for video over vinyl at the start of the 1980s, which led to a paradigm shift within rock’s creative and ideological foundations.

This is exemplified by Berland’s (2003, pp.27-28) analysis of MTV music video culture, where she refers to the way in which videos function to displace associations with ‘real’ time that a live performance would have represented. Thus, rock’s capacity to embrace authenticity, achieve a temporal impact and to encapsulate ‘thereness’ was undermined by this process. Furthermore, Rimmer (1985, pp.163-65) also underlines that the early 1980s witnessed the impact of the traditional rock music press being considerably undermined by the huge commercial success of MTV and new pop-focused magazines such as *Smash Hits*. Frith (1988, p.5) argues that this MTV-*Smash Hits* era observed rock’s all-embracing ‘supergenre’ persona being fragmented towards numerous “taste markets,” thus considerably diminishing its overall cultural impact.

In addition, Christgau (1990) notes that rock (and what it symbolised) was further undermined by the ‘rockist’ debate within the traditional music press during the early 1980s, where the genre’s traditional values, such as authenticity and liveness, were the subject of ridicule. This was a process, suggests Long (2012) that saw conflict emerge about rock’s relevance between different music newspapers (pp.96-97) and even within the same publication (pp.148-49). Thus, not only was rock’s significance as a genre subject to divisive debate, its supportive genre world was no longer in existence.

The literature also suggests that, following the fragmentation of the rock supergenre, the re-emergence of heavy metal led the genre to adopt and extend several of rock’s essential characteristics. Walser (1993, pp.11; 17; 80-81), Weinstein (2000, pp.205-06; 213-14; 224-27), Waksman (2009, pp.180-81) and Cope (2010, p.41) all describe the genre’s reliance on its power-guitar components, displays of physicality, emphasis on live

performance and high levels of audience interaction within large-scale arena environments. In effect, rock's transformation during the early 1980s served to engender further divisions among several of the genre's advocates (Long 2012, p.146).

In summarising this development with reference to Fabbri's (1981, pp.55-59) genre rules, it can be seen that, in each case, whether it be the technical, semiotic, behavioural, social and ideological, and economic rules, distinct genre boundaries had emerged between what rock 'was' during the early-mid 1970s and what it 'became' during the early 1980s. With live performance being considered by Frith (2002, p.94) as the ultimate indicator of genre, venues like the Apollo would have been subject to the peculiarities of rock's changing identity at this time due to the close associations between the genre and the venue. As a 'rock venue' therefore, the Apollo can be regarded as assuming different values between the first and second periods of its tenure. Despite this disparity, the venue retains, like the Armadillo World Headquarters example mentioned above, positive memories of a uniform 'legendary' status that encompasses its entire history. In this respect, the next section probes literature on aspects of memory and legend.

2.4 Legends, Memory and Rock Heritage

If indeed the Apollo is regarded as a 'legendary' venue by some sources (Sloan 1985A, p.24; Glasgow Apollo 2014A), then the basis for such a reading deserves to be scrutinised. The three key components that underpin a status of this nature are explored within the evaluation of the literature to follow. First, as a means of defining the term 'legendary,' focus is given towards the social requirement to construct celebrated narratives, as well as the mythical dimensions that frame these chronicles. Second, the way in which both autobiographical and collective memories can shape social phenomena is evaluated. Last, the role that rock music heritage plays in maintaining a music-related legend is also explored. Overall, it argues that a combination of these three elements have helped to maintain the Apollo's presence within its afterlife.

2.4.1 Legends and Myths

This analysis focuses on the way in which legends are constructed, and it suggests that the power of the language used to articulate the legend's presence can help to embed the legend. Furthermore, the depth of local engagement that materialises can also elevate this process.

Providing a definition of 'legend' can, as Dégh (2001, pp.42-44) notes, prove problematic, not least due to the difficulty contemporary folklore scholars face in establishing parameters for this research field. As an example, Brunvand (2003), who focuses on modern 'urban legends,' offers a rather pedestrian definition by describing legend as "folk history, or rather quasi-history" (ibid: 3). As Dégh (2001, p.46) emphasises, Brunvand's focus on a general readership and his reluctance to further scrutinise a legend's supposed true-false dichotomy, does little to provide a fuller understanding of the term. Instead, Dégh (ibid, p.97) describes 'legend' as an overarching term that encapsulates several kinds of stories, which contain variations of the truth and facilitates debate about belief. However, Stevens (1990, p.126) offers a more refined alternative when he suggests that, rather than "belief," the "conviction" or "absolute certainty" held by the requisite storyteller acts as a foundation for the perseverance of legends. This view is further supported by Jansen (1976, p.270), who posits that legends can be either short-term or long-term, with the degree of longevity being dependent on their levels of support from advocates.

Dégh (2001, pp.156-66) also notes that localised versions of legends are the most common type. Nonetheless, her analysis of this environment fails to embrace the symbolic nature of the local engagement with this process, and, instead, Bird's (2002) study shows strong evidence that the local commitment towards legend is constructed around a sense of place and cultural identity. Furthermore, the author argues that, with cultural landmarks acting as a focus for narratives to form, such attachment to place and legend can function to reflect tensions and spatial boundaries when these landmarks are ostracised (ibid, pp.523; 529). The literature therefore suggests that local legends can become intensified, even become long-term, when signifiers of communities are threatened. Thus, this development provides a basis for understanding the nature and longevity of the Apollo legend.

Myth also assumes relevance within this realm, and its general definition as a story that creates or discloses an alternative world (Schilbrack 2002, p.1) frames the discussion to follow. Whilst Lincoln (1989, pp.23-24) acknowledges the presence of legends, he places more significance on myths. Such considerations are grounded by his hierarchical 'model of authority' (cited Schilbrack 2002, pp. 7-10), that focuses on different types of story-based narratives (fable, legend, history and myth in ascending order of significance). Lincoln posits that, whereas legends only engage with aspects of the truth, myths assume the key position within the hierarchy, as they are the only narrative source that possesses elements of the truth, credibility and authority (ibid). This is mainly due, argues Lincoln (1989, pp.8-10; 23-25), to the persuasive and evocative nature of the myth-related discourse that ultimately serves to legitimise the narrative and instil a sense of belonging among like-minded advocates.

On a similar thread, Barthes (1972; 1977) also refers to the potency of language to convey mythical content and to convince recipients. He posits (1977, p.165) that it is the very "naturalness" of the stereotypical meta-language that accompanies the myth, which manifests as a form of common sense or "doxa" (the norm). In this way, suggests Barthes (1972, p.117), the meaning of what the myth symbolises is already complete and contradiction-free, thus achieving its ultimate aim, which is to transform "history into nature" (ibid, p.129). Thus, from the persuasive perspective of both Lincoln and Barthes, in the case of the Apollo, the 'given' and credible nature of the myths that encapsulate the venue's status can, as a matter of course, function as a means of access to a community that upholds its legendary reputation.

Myths still incline to attract critique, and while DeCurtis (1999, p.35) may contend that myths can simply be associated with falsehoods and replicate the incorrect, he tends to ignore their ability to accommodate elements of the truth, along with, as Barthes and Lincoln have just shown, the influential nature of the rhetoric that surrounds their dissemination. Furthermore, if myths are required to be "passed on" as Segal (1999, p.80) suggests, then Blackmore (2000, pp.99-107) refers to the power that can be carried by forms of persuasive and easily imitated language within a digital environment (such as memes), whereby not-always-accurate information can be conveyed and replicated easily.

In summary, the literature indicates that, in some cases, legends can be framed by factors such as the sense of loss within a locality and be augmented by mythical narratives that help to develop a community ethos.

2.4.2 Autobiographical and Collective Memory

The focus of the discussion that follows stems from Frith's (1981B, pp.265; 1996, pp.140-42) observation that an individual's engagement with popular music (live music in particular) can resonate as powerful subjective *and* collective experiences. Therefore, by exploring literature on autobiographical and collective memory, the analysis will help to assess the influence that both types of memory hold towards maintaining forms of myth, such as those that encapsulate the Apollo. Overall, it is argued that both types of memory can resonate, with autobiographical memory remaining a key driver of the relationship between the two entities.

Autobiographical memory has been defined by Baddeley (1992, p.13) as being a "recollection by subjects of their earlier lives." However, such a definition remains limited, and further literature shows that certain distinctions arise within this broad overview. Tulving (1972) applies partitions between semantic and episodic autobiographical memories, where the episodic reminiscences are recalled within their temporal-spatial framework, while semantic memories remain context-free. Although authors like Barclay (2001, p.82) generally accept the notion of episodic memory, Brown and Schopflocher (1998) provide additional layers of meaning to this concept.

Rather than consider these episodes to be loosely aligned, the authors (*ibid*, pp.471-74) emphasise that if the events that form the episodes are in some way systematic (sharing locations, participants and event types), then the combination of episodes with these autobiographical memory 'clusters' can assume more significance and become embedded in the subject's memory. Further development of this autobiographical memory-cluster concept by Wright and Nunn (2000, p.487) also found that the clarity of the individual's memory (and the level of importance that accompanied it) increased in proportion to the emotional depth that each cluster produced.

Conway (1990) follows a similar path, noting that, while mundane occurrences fail to leave an imprint on a person's memory (ibid, p.67), episodes that function to stoke personal emotions (especially 'first-time' experiences during the transitional periods in the individual's life) can be "highly vivid" (ibid, pp.82-85; 91-96). As a result of such developments, the author posits (ibid, pp.37; 41) that the first quarter of an individual's life tends to stimulate the most accurate and prized memories. In effect, the literature increasingly indicates that the youthful endeavours that encapsulate a series of key transitional life events can resonate strongly within autobiographical memories.

With regard to the accuracy of autobiographical memories, some differences exist within the literature. Barclay (2001, pp.82-83) suggests that the individual's reconstruction of past events may be inaccurate due to their requirement to alter the relevant memories in order to meet current dispositions. Instead, Conway (1990, p.9) claims that, while facts can be compromised, the general accuracy of the memory remains intact. However, in highlighting that memories naturally fade with time and require corroboration from a range of external 'secondhand' sources, Tourangeau (1999, p.45) functions to underline a prime component that shapes autobiographical memory, which Conway has neglected.

What Tourangeau is alluding to is that autobiographical memory rarely exists in isolation, nor is it, as Bartlett (1932, p.13) indicates, a "completely independent function." As Middleton and Edwards (1990, p.1) underline, the socio-cultural environment that subjective memories inhabit, can play a key role in their formation and dissemination. First termed 'collective memory' by Halbwachs (1992), he posits that this phenomenon occurs as a result of a series of individual reminiscences that incline towards sharing notions of a common past, with a collective bond among those contribute forming as a result. Indeed, in relation to live music Toynbee (2000, p.123) suggests that the connection between individual and shared experiences become blurred and incline towards forming larger narratives. Thus, the limitations of Conway's autobiographical stance are made evident by this literature.

Finally, rather than assume that only 'collective memory' shapes individual reminiscences (Olick 1999), Erll (2011, p.114) suggests that 'neutral' media

platforms can transpire to embellish and re-shape initial memory data towards a fabricated, yet collective, identity. Indeed, parallels can be drawn with Strong's (2011) holistic study of the grunge music genre, which found that media and other cultural elements shaped the collective memories of many audience members who experienced this music phenomenon (ibid, p.34). In this instance, the next section evaluates literature on the rock heritage environment, which can be seen to facilitate collective notions of the genre's values and characteristics.

2.4.3 Rock Heritage

The concept of rock heritage is shaped by the genre's ability to maintain forms of relevance within a contemporary environment. As Bennett (2009, p.476) explains, whilst rock's temporal impact may have been restricted to the period that encompassed the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, it possesses a capacity to assume, through incidences of "shared generational experience and cultural memory," a presence far beyond this period, due mainly to the extent of the genre's cultural significance during the late twentieth century. Such developments, which tend to be accommodated with a number of 'consecrating platforms,' such as 'classic rock' magazines (ibid, p.475), therefore function to extend the currency of the genre's perceived significance, as well as its underlying components.

Whilst 'legendary' rock venues like the Apollo would be expected to retain a noteworthy position within the rock heritage environment, it transpires that recordings of some description incline to be privileged by much of the literature. This is typified by Bennett (ibid, pp.476-79), who suggests that the basis for rock's canonical values revolves around the production and consumption of 'classic albums,' which tend to receive renewed focus within a range of celebratory platforms, such as the aforementioned 'classic rock' magazines. Indeed, both Schmutz (2005) and Von Appen and Doehring (2006) provide further confirmation of the significance placed on these platforms, albeit such literature now appears dated due to their focus on the non-digital consumer environment.

Additional emphasis is also placed on fixed representations of rock's past in an earlier study by Bennett (2008, p.266), where he refers to the multi-generational appeal that rock engenders due to its physical (CD-DVD) and digital

(*YouTube*) availability, leading young audiences to acquire a “ready made canon” (ibid). Likewise, O’Brien (2004, p.16) suggests that the digital availability of music recordings makes the past “hauntingly accessible.”

Whilst noting that live performances initially represented a vital part of the rock experience, Bennett (2008, p.264) suggests that the changeover from albums to video as the genre’s primary text during the 1980s ultimately allowed audiences, who were too young to have witnessed the original rock artists perform live, some form of audio-visual access to their work. Bennett may not be suggesting that such engagement is the equal of the actual live experience, but he does little to dispel the implication that much of rock heritage is reliant on a fixed representation of a recording or performance.

However, this preference for recorded media fails to adequately represent the experiential. Indeed, Reynolds (2011, p.xix) argues that a certain incompatibility exists between the original text, which encapsulates physicality within its production and consumption, and the absence of such qualities in the digital environment, where the text is most likely to be free and a few clicks away from immediate consumption. Due to these shortfalls, the experiential music episodes of the past, including those that materialised at the Apollo, can therefore be diminished with traditional rock heritage environments.

This may be due to the uniqueness of the values that pertain to some live music experiences and, in this case, Auslander (2011, pp.67-68) claims that attending some key live music events during rock’s defining period carries significant symbolic capital.¹⁶ Furthermore, this capital is extended further if the event in question leaves no trace within any media platforms (ibid). This follows Phelan’s (2006, pp.146; 149) suggestion that forms of recording can taint the essence and exclusivity of live performance. In such circumstances, explains the author (ibid, p.128), the live performance escapes regulation and control, thus retaining its presence in the individual’s memory. Whilst Auslander’s perspective may lack ethnographic corroboration (a shortfall that was mentioned earlier), further literature by Leonard (2010) lends support to the growing sense that popular music histories are underpinned by social experiences and are made meaningful by their inclusive nature and disregard for elitist ‘official’ agendas.

¹⁶ Also see Leonard (2007A, pp.164-65).

In this case, Leonard (2007A, p.148) claims that the museum environment is one where “... the sonic and bodily experience of music and the emotional and social ways in which it is experienced in time and space” is celebrated. Indeed, she further suggests that local live music is a particularly relevant aspect of the experiential, where artifacts such as concert tickets and other concert mementos can represent considerable symbolic and emotional value for the beholder (ibid, pp.151; 158-59). Similarly, Keightley and Pickering (2006, pp.150-52), also endorse the capacity of material objects like concert tickets to assume properties as “vehicles of memory,” where the object in question embodies sounds and images from the past.

Whilst Reynolds (2011, pp.12-14) is keen to highlight the ‘wrongness’ of popular music artifacts being present within the museum environment, Leonard’s studies (2007A; 2010) provide compelling evidence of the clear links between the emotional and experiential that such items engender. Reynolds’ (2011) critique is mainly directed at either ‘official’ rock museums (such as the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame) or commercial enterprises (like the *Hard Rock Café*). However, whilst recognising some of the conflicts between the official and commercial representations of rock’s history, Burgoyne (2003) also notes the valid contribution that the local-vernacular music history can make to rock’s larger chronicle. This recognition of ‘authentic’ music experiences is evidenced by prevailing accounts of ‘real’ live venues, such as Murray’s (1975) description of CBGB (“CBGB is a toilet”), being subsequently represented as a valid artefact (in the form of a recreation of the CBGB toilet) within a contemporary rock museum (Wilson 2013).

Similarly, Bennett (2002; 2009) suggests that, driven by rock enthusiasts and a DIY aesthetic, technology can, through platforms like websites, create and shape localised rock canons. Such practice therefore provides a democratised and grass roots alternative to the more elitist ‘official’ rock canon, and positions different sets of collective memories that accumulate within an increasingly pluralistic rock heritage environment (ibid 2009, p.487). Thus, for many of the live music reminiscences that emanate from venues like the Apollo and which engage with rock’s underlying components, such as liveness and authenticity (in addition to thereness and locality), DIY platforms such as local music websites can be seen to be key facilitators for the memories that subsequently unfold.

Therefore, the literature shows that some live music experiences of the rock era (especially those that were not documented), can match, if not exceed, recorded media as a valid component of rock heritage values. Such representations can also assume a more democratic and local identity, as well as engender a high degree of emotional attachment.

2.5 Conclusion

This discussion focused on four key themes that underpinned the research question. First, the literature focused on local live music and found, shaped by elements of ‘fixity’ and ‘fluidity’ (Connell and Gibson 2003, pp.9-11), that locality can help to shape the dynamics of the live music experience. Second, the literature on the diffusion of live music within the live music environment indicated that the most authentic representations of live music occurred in reasonably small venues and required appropriate levels of technology, during a period before the commercial objectives of the live sector functioned to diminish such traits. The third section of the review found that literature on the rock genre positioned it as being culturally dominant for most of the 1970s, but that its cultural value declined after the early 1980s. Last, the literature found that key autobiographical live music experiences (especially those that occurred during an individual’s youth and early adulthood) tended to resonate, and had subsequently found space within new rock heritage memory environments.

Overall, the literature provides strong indications about the levels of potency that each of these components can possess at key points. However, when these factors align on a temporal-spatial basis (as they would do in the case of a live rock concert at a relatively compact local venue during the early-mid 1970s), the scope for magnifying the power that such occasions would possess becomes discernible. If using the Apollo as an example, then the literature would therefore indicate that a venue of this nature, at least during its initial phase, would serve as a periodic ‘alignment-enabler,’ that facilitated a range of prevailing socio-cultural, musical and technological trends, practices and developments.

Chapter Three: Methodology

As stated in the first chapter, the main aim of this thesis is to unravel the components that shape the legend that encapsulates the Glasgow Apollo. The rationale for the methodological approach adopted for this purpose argues that it can be validated by its objective stance and the adoption and implementation of appropriate methods, as well as the overall focus placed on the prime elements that underpin the research question. To this end, the central role of the Apollo within the thesis is of key significance due to its historical resonance and ability to enable social interaction for decades after its closure. As Becker (1998, p.50) suggests, “Objects ... are congealed social agreements, or rather, congealed moments in the history of people acting together.” Additionally, he further posits that if both the local circumstances and the timeframe of the research topic are articulated within a study, then a more comprehensive form of understanding can materialise as a result of such inclusion (ibid, pp.56-57). If anything, this study follows a local path, is responsive to the venue’s temporal location, and recognises the social cohesiveness that prevailed within this setting.

Some note of caution should be applied to the approach adopted, which mainly relies upon forms of semi-structured interviews with the venue’s management, staff, audience, performers and other relevant parties. As the venue continues to be celebrated on a number of levels, such participants could be viewed as stakeholders in what Brocken (2010, p.30) refers to as ‘known’ histories. This normally applies where events of the past can be “over-determined” through high levels of engagement with a given scenario.

The conflict that materialises between what Brocken (ibid) regards is the ‘fixity’ of ‘known’ histories and the ‘fluidity’ that encapsulates musical practice, can, he suggests, incline research activity towards the safety of ‘fixity’ in some cases. However, by following Becker’s (1998, pp.50; 56-57) aforementioned perspective, the methodology adopted in this instance aims for an overall sense of ‘fluidity’ by endeavouring to encompass many of the contributory factors that shaped the Apollo phenomenon, several of which have failed to encroach on the ‘fixity’ of the venue’s ‘known’ history. Furthermore, as previous Apollo histories only seek to confirm the ‘known’ legendary attributes of the venue with its

stakeholders, many of the interviewees for this study are effectively being challenged by being relocated out with their 'known' history comfort zone.

To elaborate on this further, the remainder of this chapter provides seven sections that focus on the research strategy adopted for the thesis. First, the author's personal involvement in the study is discussed, after which further discussion is provided on the implications of the research question. Third, the methodology approach is explored, and is then followed by a discussion on the research tools utilised. Fifth, an analysis of how the research was implemented is followed by an overview of the ethical approach adopted for the thesis, after which a conclusion to the chapter is provided.

3.1 Personal Involvement

This section outlines the personal involvement of the researcher and argues that aspects of my personal history provided a basis for an informed approach to the study, and for an objective stance to be adopted. Whilst a rationale has already been provided for the research, further questions remain regarding the extent of any personal involvement surrounding the study, including variations of:

- 'Why Glasgow?'
- 'Why the Apollo?'
- 'Why live music?'
- 'Why now?'

When I reflect on these issues, it is apparent that my personal history is of significance within the context of the research question. Certainly, as Phillips and Pugh (2001, p.89) relate, given the scale of personal resources devoted to the PhD research process, the focus of the study should, as a prerequisite, possess some form of "intrinsic attraction" for the researcher. Research projects of this nature can also be compared, as Davies (2007, p.19) suggests, to a "personal voyage of exploration." Observations of this nature require further deliberation, and the discussion that follows seeks to expand on this facet in more detail.

As a mature student who returned to higher education after a career lasting several years in a non-music industries sector, I initially approached the undertaking of the study with only a basic idea about the topic that I might

research. At this stage I was inclined to focus on popular music in my home city of Glasgow, and also wished to articulate my passion for live music. While I had spent all of my life in Glasgow, and had grown up during a period that bordered on the impending forms of de-industrialisation and urban renewal in the city, I had, for a variety of reasons, barely engaged with the ramifications of such developments. However, as I reached mature adulthood, I became aware of a requirement to 'know' my home city, and engage more fully with its history, culture and identity.

Having been a regular attender of live concerts in Glasgow since the age of sixteen, I had often been intrigued by the occasional-to-frequent onstage pronouncements made by a range of visiting performers to the city, whereby the distinctly positive attributes of the (singular) local audience were celebrated in some form. This factor, which was, in almost all cases, duly acknowledged by the receptive home crowd, appeared to me to be part of the live concert ritual in the city, indeed in any city. Certainly, such practice reflects what Frith (2002, pp.207; 211) regards as the performance role expectations that can occur at live music events. In this case, both the artist and audience knowingly engage in a process where local audience accolades are anticipated, provided and accepted. Yet, when I attended live music concerts at other cities throughout the UK, similar pronouncements by artists towards the local audience were much less noticeable, albeit such observations were casual in nature and based on a considerably smaller sample.

Nonetheless, as the literature has already indicated, the notion of the feisty, yet enthusiastic, 'Glasgow audience' had long been celebrated (and feared) in live entertainment circles. The literature also provided evidence that this audience persona had also been recognised locally, duly accepted, and thereafter formed a key facet of the city's cultural identity. As the first major live music venue in Glasgow of the rock era, the Apollo effectively provided a platform for this local audience continuum to manifest within this new setting.

I had attended my first concert at the Apollo in October 1975 when Sparks performed, and regularly visited the venue until the late 1970s-early 1980s. After this period my changing taste in music led me towards a range of newly established or re-established live venues in Glasgow, such as the Barrowland

Ballroom, Pavilion Theatre and Tiffany's. Like others in the city, I was saddened by the Apollo's closure in 1985, but, having 'moved on' to other venues and live experiences, I cannot say that the venue's demise held any personal significance at that juncture. Of course, while the venue's closure attracted little interest at the time, the legend of the Apollo has grown considerably since then within local media circles and rock heritage platforms. Indeed, the venue has now been repositioned as an iconic venue that symbolises key aspects of the city's live music profile and cultural identity.

As I continued to attend live concerts in the city, and regularly observed the Glasgow audience persona being acknowledged, the simultaneous, and growing, local focus on the Apollo's now enduring reputation, led me to consider undertaking a study on the venue. In effect, as a key example of a venue that embraced the local audience traditions during a defining period of popular music, the Apollo accommodated many of the prime considerations that my personal history articulated. However, whilst recognising, and identifying with, some of the sentiments expressed about the venue on a range of platforms, I was somewhat more reluctant to engage with the full extent of what was regarded as the venue's illustrious status. This was mainly due to the 'one voice' narrative that inclined to gloss over many of the venue's imperfections. Key factors that may have helped to shape the venue's audience, and which contributed to the Apollo's status and subsequent decline, were also ignored within such realms. Such a narrow perspective on what was a notable live venue reflects the rudimentary nature of the celebratory and simplistic accounts of the music making process emphasised by Cohen (2007B, p.19), which was mentioned earlier.

This, perhaps more than anything else, led me towards undertaking a major academic study on the Apollo, where the full scope of the venue's status, and the reason why it still resonates several decades after it ceased to operate, could be afforded appropriate analysis and critical insight. In addition, the timing of the study was influenced by the desired emphasis on primary data for a historical study of this nature (Cohen and Manion 1997, p.51), with this factor being underlined by the fact that several of the potential interview participants would now be approaching advanced years.

3.2 The Research Question

Further context for the methodology is offered at this stage as a means of providing further evaluation on the nature of the research question. The analysis suggests that, by engaging with the intrinsic research template required for studies of this type, the methodology adopted aligns with the core components of the question.

As highlighted in the first chapter, the main focus of this thesis encompasses a venue, city, timeframe and afterlife, where the historical framework that helped to shape of the Apollo phenomenon is of key significance. Accordingly, Kipling's 'practical template' for integrating data, as outlined by Trafford and Leshem (2008, pp.90-91), bears relevance in this instance. What is essentially known as the 'what, why, when, how, where and who' template to research design (ibid), Kipling's framework can be applied at both macro and micro level to studies of this nature. In effect, this approach serves to emphasise the configuration between the overall design and the various components contained within this strategy.

In this regard, following the suggestion of the authors (ibid, p.91) the 'what' (the study wants to discover), the 'why' (this should be investigated), the 'when' (this study will be conducted) and the 'where' (this topic is located and where is it to be investigated), have all been addressed within the discussions that have already taken place. The remaining factors (ibid) - the 'how' (it is intended to investigate the question) and the 'who' (the respondents are from which the data must be gathered), are aspects that can be described in further detail at this point.

When further considering the 'how,' the extent of the research question's parameters (as applied to the framework that encompasses the city, the venue, its operational period and afterlife) becomes more apparent. This is a process that serves to emphasise both the multi-disciplinary nature of the study, as well as the level of engagement with a range of relevant research fields. In essence, the analysis of the venue alone encompasses a study of its architecture, live music and, by association, notions of liveness. Of obvious note, the key role played by the Apollo audience assumes a prime position within such analysis.

The developing nature of the UK live sector during the venue's lifespan also performs an important role. Within this context the prevailing marketplace stakeholders, who are determined by the predominant forms of popular music, become visible within the study. In the main, these are represented by key live artists who performed at the venue, the main UK live promoters, as well as by the supportive music media.

The venue's timeframe is one that permeates the entire 'how' components, while the Apollo's afterlife is one aspect that engages with a number of research fields, most notably, memory, nostalgia and music heritage. Overall, the research approach adopted aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the range of factors that contributed towards the Apollo phenomenon. This approach also further underlines this study's alignment with the multi-disciplinary scope of Popular Music Studies (Hesmondhalgh and Negus 2002, p.1) and the manner in which this research field facilitates the extra-textual analysis of the components that impinge on popular music narratives (Griffiths, cited Cloonan 2005, p.80).

Overall, the inclusive nature of the research design ultimately aims to identify the various components of the Apollo 'legend' and, in doing so, provide a basis for an evaluation of their contributory impact towards the venue's reputation. This approach not only enables the 'legend' to be unpicked, but also assumes a position where the readily accepted notion surrounding the venue's legacy ("the Apollo was a legendary venue" being a common example) is held up for analysis. Such a perspective affiliates with Barthes' (1977, p.165) view that the myths that ultimately feed the legend tend to predominate within cultures where the very naturalness of the phenomenon assumes a 'common sense' disposition. By extension, the emblematic nature of key characteristics of the Apollo 'legend' - its association with live rock music, the enthusiastic local audience, and the run-down demeanour of the venue, all, in some way, inform the Apollo synecdoche, and therefore shape the research design of this thesis.

3.3 Research Methodology

Analysis of the research methodology is offered at this point, and it is suggested that the process of methodological triangulation best accommodates the multi-

disciplinary approach required for the study. It also argues that the use of Actor Network Theory functions to provide a cohesive framework for the methodology.

As already described, given the extent of the socio-cultural characteristics that shape the Apollo legend, the study acts to engage with a wide range of research disciplines and research fields. Such an approach therefore dictates that the adopted methodology shares an affiliation with methodological triangulation (Denzin 1978). In short, this process facilitates several viewpoints, data sources and methodologies in order to study the same social experiences (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998, p.41; Bryman 2004, p.275). In this instance, Jick (1979, pp.603-04) outlines its advantages:

... triangulation may be used not only to examine the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives but also to enrich our understanding by allowing for a new or deeper dimension to emerge.

With the ultimate aim of the research being to obtain a fuller understanding of the Apollo phenomenon, then the adoption of methodological triangulation can therefore be regarded as an assured pathway to achieving this research goal.

Both quantitative methods (concert statistics, genre categorisations, document analysis, etc.) and qualitative methods (semi-structured interviews, focus groups, textual analysis, etc.) were utilised in this study. While both methods perform key roles and function to articulate the dimensions of their respective data, prominence was given to the qualitative methods in this instance, mainly due to the emphasis placed on the social and subjective proportions of the study. This process, which is readily accommodated within methodological triangulation, affiliates with what Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998, pp.44-46) refer to as the 'Dominant-Less Dominant Mixed Method Design.' By extension, the approach has been designated by Morse (1991, p.122) as representing a 'QUAL+quant' strategy (emphasis in the original). In effect, it allows a 'rich description' of the phenomenon to emerge as a result of "privileging the qualitative" within research studies (ibid), and can therefore be deemed to be an appropriate strategy within the context of this thesis.

The aforementioned studies undertaken by the University of Liverpool, which focus on the dynamic relationship between the city, its social history and popular music, serve to acknowledge the impact that a diverse range of temporal socio-cultural factors can have on local music phenomenon. Indeed, as

Callon (1986, p.20) suggests, the development of research knowledge “... cannot be understood unless the simultaneous reconstruction of the social contexts of which they form a part is also studied.”

In this case, whatever forms of analysis the Apollo facilitates, it still tends, due to its cultural presence, to retain an identity as a single entity. Rather than the thesis analysing the ‘Glasgow Apollo’ as a life form that facilitated the production and consumption of live music over a twelve-year period, it would be considered unwise to embark on an academic study that fails to take account of some of the factors that impacted on the venue. This includes components such as locality, music genre and industry infrastructure, all of which assume a non-human quality, yet bear considerable influence on the temporal networks and relationships that surround an occurrence like the Apollo.

The framework required to make this process meaningful involves applying Actor-Network Theory (ANT), as outlined by Latour (2007). ANT involves the construction and recognition of human and non-human actors, or actants, which, although regarded as heterogeneous, form a network of associations, both local and non-local, that ultimately helps to shape the phenomenon under inspection (Laing 2010, p.2). Furthermore, in illuminating how the ANT framework can facilitate transformations within networks, Latour (2007, p.65) highlights that, as “multiple modifications” occur, the constant movement of actors help to determine “momentary associations” which produce new shapes within the social phenomenon in question.

In adopting this approach, the study serves to engage with the successful ANT strategies implemented by Peterson (1990) and Laing (2010) as part of their key texts. Laing’s (ibid) study of the musician Buddy Holly effectively uses ANT as an analytical framework, with the networks of locality, technologies, other individuals and artefacts serving to articulate the impact these aspects had on the shaping of the artist’s persona and creative output. Similarly, Peterson’s (1990) article, although not functioning as an ANT-framed study as such, skilfully connects the cultural industry network-threads, such as technologies, law, industry structure and market, all of which congealed in 1955 when rock and roll music started to manifest. Certainly, both studies benefit considerably from the way in which they underline the extent to which popular music phenomenon are

as much a product of mitigating actors, as they are of social activity (Laing 2010, p.2).

Whilst the ANT approach can be critiqued for minimising the social relations that framed the phenomenon in question (ibid) and for embracing actors of uneven value (Callon 1999), its method of application in this thesis functions to address any potential shortfalls of this nature. To this effect, ANT is applied economically within the study, and acts mainly as a framework in order to “follow the actors” (Latour 2007, pp.11-12) throughout the thesis narrative. A key aspect to emerge from the study will be the manner in which social relations influenced the actors in question, with this element being discernible during the fieldwork portion of the study. As will be seen, each of the main actors (locality, industry, genre, technology, memory and legend) possesses equal value, albeit some are more visible than others at prominent stages in the narrative. Overall, it is the evolving mix of the relationships between the actors that ultimately shape the venue phenomenon.

With regard to the selection of the actors in question, the motive for including ‘locality’ has already been articulated earlier in this chapter. The ‘industry’ in question mainly relates to the UK live music sector, which initially embraced the venue’s presence, but, through ongoing modes of professionalisation, subsequently marginalised its existence. Music genres also play a significant role in the Apollo narrative both during and after its operating period due to the manner in which rock music shaped perceptions of the venue. Technology, mostly in the form of liveness, can also be seen to be an influential component, with this aspect providing the foundations for the venue’s renowned atmosphere. Another key actor, ‘memory’ (both autobiographical and collective), can be regarded as key component that maintains the venue’s reputation within its afterlife, with this process also informing the final actor, ‘legend,’ from 1985 onwards.

In this case, the aforementioned “momentary associations” (Latour 2007, p.65) between a range of actors that shape specific eras, can be articulated by 1973-74 being framed by the alignment of locality, genre and industry. Following this, the association between liveness and industry defines 1975-76, with 1977-79 being noted for the affiliation between genre and locality. Liveness, genre and

locality can be seen to shape the period 1980-84, whereas 1985 embraces liveness, memory and legend, and the afterlife period is reflected by the association between memory and legend.

Taking a broader perspective, if the main entity within this thesis can be considered to be the Apollo building, then, as Latour and Yaneva (2008, p.80) posit, ANT also recognises that:

... a building is not a static object but a moving project and that even once it has been built, it ages, it is transformed by its users, modified by all of what happens inside and outside, and that it will pass or be renovated, adulterated and transformed beyond recognition.

Therefore, by focusing on the configuration between the venue and the city within the realm of its period of operation and afterlife, the methodology utilised for this study relates to the shaped entity of the Apollo building, and to the networks that framed the transactions that occurred both internally and externally. The methodology also recognises the historical and temporal networks that framed Glasgow during the Apollo's tenure. Furthermore, by examining the legacy of the venue from a 2015 perspective, the study is also able to gauge the legacy networks that have emerged since the venue closed in 1985.

3.4 Research Tools

An outline of the range of the research instruments that were used during the course of the fieldwork phase of the study is provided at this stage. The fieldwork, which mainly took place between September 2011 and September 2013, draws heavily on semi-structured interviews with many of the Apollo stakeholders (including venue staff, artists and audience members), as well as a series of focus groups with audience members. Semi-structured interviews presented the most flexibility by providing a framework where the main themes that encapsulated the research question could be pursued, whilst, at the same time, offered scope to accommodate any tangents that emerged as a result of the responses given. As underlined by Saunders *et al* (2000, p.245), this type of interview can illuminate the 'what' and the 'how' of the research question, and this method therefore assumed due relevance within the study. Semi-structured interviews can also facilitate the exploratory and explanatory focus of the

research, where, respectively, new insights and deeper forms of understanding can be achieved (ibid).

The interactive nature and synergy-enhancing capacity of the focus group process (Tonkiss 2012, p.228) was one of the main reasons why this research method was selected. Like semi-structured interviews, this method also allows opportunities for the researcher to probe responses, challenge the views expressed and gain an understanding of the way in which participants reach certain conclusions (Bryman 2004, p.348). Such a setting also replicated in a small way the “common experience” (Krueger and Casey 2000, p.3) that the Apollo audience may have represented.

In recognition of the fact that a large number of potential research participants would be unable to attend these Glasgow-based group interviews, a questionnaire was constructed to accommodate contributions from non-local Apollo audience members. In effect, the questionnaire (Appendix 2), which asked a series of ten open questions linked to some of the underlying themes that framed the study (such as locality, audiences, liveness and genre), provided a further opportunity for those who attended concerts at the venue to critically reflect on these experiences.

Another research tool adopted for the study was the textual analysis of Apollo-related media, which mainly focused on examples of live recordings from the venue. Although such analysis is limited in nature due to space constraints, this method was utilised in order to achieve some form of comprehension about the manner in which the dynamics of the live music experience manifested during the venue’s timeframe. The adoption of textual analysis therefore means that this prime aspect of the Apollo phenomenon can therefore be considered within an appropriate context.

The secondary sources analysed during the study included local and national newspapers, as well as the UK music press. Local council records, demographics, local maps and travel timetables were also consulted during the fieldwork process and incorporated within the findings.

It could be argued that a study of this nature may have benefitted from a research platform that placed greater reliance on the contribution of the Apollo

audience, such as an online forum, where a multitude of participant responses could be facilitated. However, it is discernible that the standardised story of the venue is already affiliated with a participatory process of this nature, and, as will be shown in the chapters to follow, it is within such realms that the celebratory accounts of the venue emerge. In many ways, accommodating a ‘free form’ online approach for the participants to upload their Apollo memories would have been an ‘unknowable’ with regard to the levels and nature of the responses received. In the worst-case scenario, this would have also posed several data-management problems.

3.5 Conducting the Research

This overview of how the research techniques were implemented largely concentrates on the use of focus groups and semi-structured interviews, which, as mentioned above, were the two main methods adopted for the study. The series of focus groups were mainly arranged through the website that accompanied the research project (glasgowapolloresearch.wordpress.com). In this respect, this platform served a useful purpose for alerting potential participants to the nature of the study, as well as for facilitating contact with a number of contributors who were based abroad. Three focus groups for Apollo audience members were held in total during October 2012. Although scope existed for more groups to be held, it was felt that during the course of the third exercise that forms of data saturation were beginning to emerge. Consequently, it was regarded that this research method had achieved its primary aim, and that further examples would amount to a waste of resources. This ‘three-max’ approach to focus groups also aligns with the findings of Calder (1977, p.361), who found that that data capacity was usually accomplished by the time of the third event.

In the main, the basic criteria for selection for the focus group was that the participants had attended concerts at the venue, with this fairly low entry-point resulting in a range of audience members who had attended anything from between three and seventy-six concerts at the venue. Initially, it was hoped, given the general perceptions about the ‘maleness’ of the Apollo audience, that gender parity could be achieved within the groups. Unfortunately, due to the logistics involved, this process failed to materialise, and only the first session

offered a moderate level of female representation within the groups. At the conclusion of the sessions, the first group possessed thirteen members (eight males, five females), the second had eleven participants (nine males, two females) and the last session attracted eight members (seven males, one female).

Initially, it was envisaged that holding these research events in the current venue where the Apollo was partly located (a large Australian-themed bar no less) would be act as an ideal 'home' location to conduct this exercise. However, the noise levels experienced during the initial session proved a distraction for some of the focus group members.¹⁷ Although the event was completed successfully, it was felt that further noise issues within this setting might have placed some restrictions on the anticipated levels of participant interaction during the remaining events. As a result, the two further sessions were held in another city centre venue (the Contemporary Centre for Arts), which possessed a quieter environment. However, upon completion of the focus group series, it was noticeable that it was the initial session that produced the highest level of interaction among the participants, with this process being made more discernible by the distinctive 'buzz' that encapsulated the proceedings at the first event.

Whilst this background noise may have helped to create an atmosphere of some description (one that may have related in some small way to the ambience of the original venue), the more likely explanation was that the initial group contained the largest number and best gender mix of all the groups. Nonetheless, the fact that the best example of group synergy materialised in the first session deserves some further elaboration. In this instance, Hollander's (2004) study of the way that social contexts can impact on focus groups assumes relevance. Indeed, four of the specific contexts outlined by the author can be applied. First, the way in which the associational context influences the dynamics of a group (ibid, p.614) can be underlined by the point that the first session took place on the site of the venue. Certainly, this was a factor that influenced the proceedings, despite (or perhaps because of) the noise pollution.

¹⁷ Although the space allocated for the focus group had been checked beforehand (on the equivalent day and time the previous week), for any potential issues of this nature the venue had since accepted a late booking for a brand promotion event, which was located in another part of the venue.

The three remaining contexts: gender (ibid, p.615), conversational (ibid, p.619) and relational context (ibid, pp.620-21) can also be seen to apply to the three sessions in different ways. This was evidenced by the way in which the first group possessed a gender balance that meant that the responses steered away from male discourse (such as underage pub culture, which was evident in the other two groups) and embraced more meaningful experiences. Furthermore, it was noticeable that the female participants in the first group had all attended a considerable number of concerts at the venue, whereas their counterparts in the other two groups had not, thus reducing both their conversational and relational input to the sessions.¹⁸

In the main, the schedule for the focus groups (Appendix 1) ran along similar lines, where parts of the session were devoted to themes that encompassed Glasgow and its audience, as well as the experiences of travelling to and from the venue. The sessions also included focus on the Apollo's condition, atmosphere and the types of artists and music genres they witnessed at the venue. The question of the venue's legendary status was also explored, and comparisons with the Apollo's immediate replacement, the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, formed part of the process. Apart from a few exceptions, the majority of the focus group participants did not know each other. However, in many ways, the participants appeared to resemble a pre-existing group, due to the manner in which some of the Apollo anecdotes facilitated almost-instant recognition among those who attended.

Although this process helped to facilitate interaction between group members, it can also be viewed as a means to form sites of collective remembering (Kitzinger 1994, p.105). Indeed, one male member from the first focus group recognised that the sessions were validated by their capacity to accommodate such reminiscences. Furthermore, the potency of the Apollo memories were more than sufficient reason to attend the focus groups:

I think it (the Apollo live experience) is a reminder of the good old days, but not necessarily in a purely nostalgic way. The other thing is that you've quite a few of us around the table, out for a couple of hours on a

¹⁸ Additionally, it was found that the two latter groups possessed a general male-rock/female-pop demarcation, further adding to the conversational-relational distance between the participants. As a result, attempts were made to facilitate the experiences of the female participants in order to provide some balance to the proceedings.

Tuesday night to talk about it, and it's twenty-seven years after the venue closed: that defines it in itself.

This comment may provide indications for the reason for the high attendance rate for the sessions. Whilst further analysis of the focus group data will take place within chapter nine, it is sufficient to note at this stage that the sessions provided mixed results. On the one hand, the group interviews provided an ideal opportunity to experience the potency that the venue still possesses at first hand, and also to witness the celebratory enthusiasm that frames this reputation. However, on the other hand, whilst the sessions produced some useful data, the depth of the responses overall were somewhat limited when compared to the more detailed replies achieved within the aforementioned questionnaires that several other audience members completed (Appendix 2). Nevertheless, a combination of these two methods provided a solid basis in which to explore the key themes that underpin the research question.

With regard to the semi-structured interviews conducted for the study, the main objective was to target a reasonably wide range of venue stakeholders whose experiences of the venue would add forms of knowledge that extended beyond the existing history of the venue. These stakeholders included representatives from the Apollo's management and staff, the venue audience and the artists who performed there. In addition, it also included concert promoters and other live sector operatives, local media personnel and other informed commentators. In the main, this objective was achieved and provided the desired range of data. Indeed, the most productive interview category related to the Apollo's management tier that supervised the venue during its most defining period (1973-78).¹⁹

Unfortunately, two of the managers from the Apollo Leisure era (1978-85) are now deceased, but an interview was conducted with the company's Director of Theatres (Sam Shrouder) who oversaw the Glasgow Apollo operation. Overall, a fairly comprehensive insight about the venue operation was gained from these sources. Likewise, a number of key venue staff were interviewed, including the

¹⁹ The interviewees within this tier included the company's CEO (Frank Lynch), as well as all the venue managers during this period: Colin Robertson (1973-74); Jan Tomasik (1974-76); Gerry Tait (1976-77); Russell Gilchrist (1977-78). Other key personnel interviewed from Unicorn Leisure involved Danny Hendry (Security Supervisor, 1973-82); Russell Kyle (PR Representative, 1974-77); Ronnie Simpson (Booker, 1973-74) and Eddie Tobin (Booker, 1973-74).

Apollo's security supervisor, as well as a number of promoters who used the venue. Given their significance towards the study, the authors of the main 'Apollo texts' were all interviewed.²⁰

Others who were selected for their potential to add important primary evidence about key junctures in the Apollo's timeline included two key figures behind the protest campaign to save the venue in 1978 (Christine Nanguy and former councillor Duncan McLean). Additionally, a number of local journalists (David Belcher, Russell Kyle, Russell Leadbetter and Billy Sloan) were also considered as prime interview sources due to the extent of their engagement with the venue.

With regard to the artist interviewees, much of this depended on the willingness of the performer to respond to a study of this nature. In most cases however the response to requests for a contribution to the study was positive. It was decided to avoid the tendencies displayed by some of the Apollo texts, whereby the objective of the approach was to gain positive 'confirmation quotes' from selected rock artists who had performed at the venue. Instead, a wider range of performers and genres was selected. Where possible, the performer was asked to apply some critical reflection of their Apollo experiences. These artists included Dave Bartram (Showaddywaddy), Elkie Brooks, Graham Gouldman (10cc), Steve Hackett (Genesis), Tommy Ramone (The Ramones), and Rick Wakeman (Yes).

In general, the themes of the questions posed to any of the respondents were dependent on their role within the study, and framed by the mode of contact, with interviews being conducted by email tending to be much shorter than face-to-face encounters. Normally, the validity of the interviewee's contribution towards the study was established at the outset, with, as an example, the number of times they appeared at, or attended the venue being confirmed for artists or audience members. As mentioned above, the participants were asked to critically reflect on their experiences of the venue, and were also requested to provide (if possible) key examples of defining Apollo-related incidents as a means of encapsulating what the venue symbolised.

²⁰ These included Martin Kieley (Apollo Memories 2005; 2009; 2011); Scott McArthur (Glasgow Apollo website) and Tommy McGrory ('I Was There' musical, 2009; 2010).

Appendix 3 provides a breakdown of the contributors to this thesis, and it can be seen that 15 artists were either interviewed or completed short email questionnaires. A total of 47 audience members provided contributions through the focus groups, email questionnaires or participated in semi-structured interviews. The Apollo management and staff provided the source of 14 interviewees, while the same number of journalists-broadcasters and media representatives were also interviewed. Seven representatives from the live music sector provided contributions, and five other sources from a variety of other relevant backgrounds completed the interview process. In total, this study received input from 112 Apollo stakeholders for consideration, ranging in contribution from short email responses to in-depth interviews. Overall, both the range and the balance of the interview categories can be seen to provide a solid foundation for the research question to be addressed.

While this overall amount of respondents may seem somewhat large when compared to other studies of a similar size, several factors serve to substantiate the sample size utilised for this thesis, thus avoiding the ‘too small’ or ‘too large’ dichotomy, as suggested by Kvale (2009, p.43).²¹ As an indicator, Patton (1990, p.184) is keen to emphasise that a “no rule” policy for sample size should be pursued for qualitative research studies. Instead, he suggests that the number of contributors should be more readily configured with the function of the analysis, and the affiliation with the most fruitful approach that adds most to the overall integrity of the study (ibid).

Furthermore, Rubin and Rubin (2005, pp.64; 67) also refer to the credibility that a study gains when the interviewees are experienced and have first-hand knowledge about the research problem, especially if a wide range of perspectives is reflected. In addition, the ‘trustworthiness’ of a study can, as noted by Butler-Kisber (2010, pp.15-16), be articulated by the degree to which the researcher has taken the social and contextual influences that frame the research question into account. Therefore, given the wide-ranging nature of this study, its socio-cultural context and the level of knowledge and experience still

²¹ Strong’s (2011) study on audience memories of Grunge music used data from 43 semi-structured interviews as the analytical framework for her book. Nonetheless, a review of literature on the subject of interview numbers (Guest *et al* 2006, pp.60-61) highlighted that, despite the dangers of data saturation, little clear guidance is available on the ‘correct’ amount that should be undertaken in a study.

retained by many of the Apollo stakeholders, the sample size can be deemed appropriate. However, such an approach is not without some form of data saturation, and further discussion on this aspect will be pursued in the chapters to follow.

All of the semi-structured and focus group interviews were, with the respondents' permission, taped and then transcribed by hand. With regard to the categorisation of the data, the thematic coding process (Rivas 2012, pp.367-69), which allows the researcher to 'build' on the existence of several 'known' codes that are already discernible at the outset of data collection (such as locality and genre), was applied in this instance. This approach allowed for a more nuanced coding to materialise, whereby, through a line-by-line analysis of the transcripts in question, a form of open coding (Glaser and Strauss 1967) produced several more refined themes (such as 'affiliation with the rock genre aesthetic') that were not immediately apparent in the original transcripts.

3.6 Ethics

The ethical implications for the study provide the basis for the discussion to follow, and it is suggested that appropriate steps were taken to address such considerations. Undertaking a study of this nature naturally involves obtaining accurate information from willing participants and, in this respect, Ali and Kelly's (2011, p.64) suggestion that two main areas of concern predominate when managing ethical consent have been observed. These involve issues relating to the privacy and confidentiality of the participant, and the gaining of informed consent.

In the first instance, all the interviewees were provided with the opportunity to either remain anonymous or have all, or part, of their contribution to the study anonymised. While none of the participants took up this option, there were a few instances where certain disclosed information was not included within the transcript at the request of the interviewee. On other occasions some of the participants provided specific data that was subsequently deemed to be sensitive and these portions of the relevant response were anonymised on their behalf. All interviewees were also offered copies of the transcripts to check for

any errors or misrepresentation, and any changes that were requested were accommodated.

With regard to informed consent, all participants received a Plain Language Statement (Appendix 4), which provided details about the purpose of the study, their rights and the ethical framework relating to the thesis. Additionally, as an extension of this process, all participants were asked to read and sign a consent form (Appendix 5) pertaining to the use of their data. The interviews were also used as a facility to furnish further details about the ethical process of the study, and for the participant to ask any questions about the study.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the range of approaches that encapsulate the research methodology for this thesis. The discussion emphasised that these components were framed by an engagement with the study's local setting, its temporal context and the inclusive nature of the research methods. Moreover, by identifying and following the relevant 'actors' (Latour 2007, p.237), the triangulated approach aims to provide a cohesive illustration of the Apollo phenomenon.

Despite the time lapse since the venue closed, the study takes advantage of the fact that, except in a few cases, the vast majority of the known participants, whether they be venue management or other relevant stakeholders, were not only available to contribute to the study, but still possessed what appears to be reasonably clear recollections of their Apollo experiences. In effect, what Richardson (cited Butler-Kisber 2010, pp.62-63) refers to as the "value of the narrative," where the "lived experiences" of the participants can be heard, are readily accommodated by the research tools employed and sample size deployed within the study.

In returning to Kipling's research template for data integration (Trafford and Leshem 2008, pp.90-91), the 'what, why, when, how, where and who' of the research question can be seen to be further accommodated within the following six chapters, which are dedicated to the fieldwork portion of the thesis. Informed by the overall ANT framework utilised for the study, each chapter assumes a specific timeframe and adopts a local focus. Furthermore, they

concentrate on the key issues, practices and stakeholders that determine each period, thus facilitating the integration of specific actors during these timeframes. Due to the capacity of the chapters to articulate the relevant findings on an ongoing basis, the trajectory of the venue can also be more readily gauged and, as a result, the dimensions of the research question are increasingly addressed as the thesis unfolds.

Chapter Four: 1973-74

If anything, the initial period of the Apollo operation can be noted for the manner in which the venue assumed a key presence within the live music sector at both local and national levels. The discussion to follow suggests that this timeframe represented a key era for the Apollo due to it being at the epicentre of a renewed sense of locality that coalesced with the ascendant trajectory of live rock music. Ultimately, this configuration of actors symbolising locality, genre and industry galvanised the local appetite for the Apollo venture, and thus shows the significance of the venue's temporal-spatial location. The argument is developed over two parts, with locality, then the affiliation between the live music industry and the rock genre, providing the relevant themes for discussion. In the first instance it is shown that the Apollo became the focus of a city-wide cultural wave that was nurtured by a local network of stakeholders, and which was a process that helped to elevate the status of the venue. The discussion also argues that the Apollo's initial phase aligned with the prevailing focus on live rock music and was therefore in a key position to reap the commercial benefits and aesthetic values that the genre offered.

4.1 Locality

This part of the fieldwork analysis explores how several elements of locality merged during 1973-74, and which ultimately placed the Apollo within a favourable cultural environment. Indeed, without articulating this in any great depth, Colin Robertson (2012), who was the first manager at the Apollo, was of the strong opinion that 1973 represented the "perfect" time for the venue to open. The discussion that follows will outline why such views materialised. In short, it is argued that the Apollo was a key player in the transformation of the local live music ecosystem, as well as being a leading force and beneficiary of a local cultural wave.

4.1.1 The Glasgow Cultural Wave 1973-74

The term 'cultural wave,' a not uncommon phrase affiliated with cultural texts, lacks a precise definition. According to Kim (2013), the term produces strong associations with cultural identity, which, as Hall (1996, pp.1-4) suggests,

exemplifies the “politics of location” that are shaped by an underlying sense of local history and the characteristics of place. Furthermore, Hall (1990, p.225) posits that this identity can gel through a process of “becoming” as well as “being,” thus signifying that a locality’s history and temporal-spatial dynamics can, at key times, function to merge and create an enhanced sense of place. As the discussion to follow will demonstrate, such a period occurred in Glasgow during 1973-74, when a heightened awareness of local identity materialised.

Prior to this development, Glasgow’s reputation as a distinctly violent city resonated from both a local (*Glasgow Herald* 1972, p.13) and international (ibid 1973C, p.1) perspective.²² However, some observers, like American artist Alice Cooper, who first performed in the city in 1972, found the environment endearing, due to the inclination of local inhabitants to “drink, fight and rock and roll” (quoted in BBC 6 Music 2011). Whilst this sense of Glasgow’s engagement with rock music is recognised as being “in the air” (Kloosterman 2005, p.181), the local live music infrastructure of the early 1970s did little to facilitate such desires.

Certainly, the city’s shortage of live performance spaces, regarded by McSweeney (2013) as being a key space within live music ecosystems, was apparent to local musicians like Midge Ure, who referred to the “non-existent” live scene as representing a “musical desert” (Ure 2004, p.23). From a national live touring viewpoint, aspects of the city’s live music infrastructure failed to endear Glasgow to visiting artists,²³ and, as promoter Adrian Hopkins (2012) suggests, the city did not feature prominently in UK tour schedules due to a lack of suitable venues.²⁴ This neglect by major artists further added to the sense that, despite possessing a “tremendously emotional audience” (*Melody Maker* 1972, p.10), the city was being bypassed as a result of its poor live music infrastructure.

²² In December 1972, after reviewing violent crime statistics, the city’s Assistant Chief Constable was forced to concede that Glasgow people “were addicted to violence” (*Glasgow Herald* 1972, p.13). Furthermore, a May 1973 article by *Time* magazine depicted Glasgow as a place where violence was a “way of life” (ibid 1973C, p.1).

²³ Such inclinations can be traced by incidences where, in December 1972, major artists like Led Zeppelin were, despite being residents, refused entry to the restaurant facilities at the city’s Central Hotel for refusing to wear ties (Hicks and Scott 2012, p.106).

²⁴ As an example of this practice, the ‘UK’ tour by The Who in 1973 failed to include any dates outside England.

Moreover, audience engagement with live rock music at the lower end of the live music ecosystem was severely restricted by the prevailing licensing laws in the city. Whilst a 1890s ban on local taverns providing live entertainment (Maloney 2003, pp.72-73) was eventually 'relaxed' in 1964 when public houses were allowed to host live entertainers, the accompanying conditions effectively continued to limit the provision of live music within these settings (*Glasgow Herald* 1964, p.10).²⁵ Certainly, parallels can be drawn in this instance with the licensing restrictions imposed on live jazz in New York, which, as Chevigny's (1991) study shows, effectively symbolised that the vernacular arts were not regarded as valuable by those in authority. In effect, Glasgow's local authority of the early 1970s was upholding a hegemonic agenda of the 1890s, which was first imposed due to the local moral panic over music hall entertainment (Kift 1995).

For the bulk of the 1960s most local forms of live music were encompassed within Scotland's popular ballroom circuit, where patrons danced to cover versions of current hits by local bands (Tobin 2010). One notable exception was the Burns Howff, a 200-capacity venue city centre pub that started to host live rock shows from the late 1960s. However, despite attracting significant degrees of local interest, the success of the venture was limited due to the aforementioned constraints imposed by the local licensing laws that prevented the owner, John Waterson, from charging admission (MacDonald 1970, p.9). Waterson was therefore compelled to pay artists (such as Stone The Crows featuring Maggie Bell) in the region of £10 per appearance, thus leading, as his son Paul recalls (Waterson 2012), for some local musicians to shun the venue. In essence, ventures like the Burns Howff underline the fragile nature of the city's live music ecosystem of the early 1970s, where the high demand for live rock music remained unfulfilled due to licensing constraints and the limited range of suitable small venues.

A similar configuration was also discernible at the higher end of the ecosystem. Despite plans for an immediate replacement of the city's concert hall after a fire in 1962 (*Glasgow Herald* 1962, p.1), these proposals did not come to fruition

²⁵ In this instance, forms of live entertainment had to take place in the lounge area of the pub, all customers had to remain seated, and, most significantly, no admission charge could be demanded by the owners (*Glasgow Herald* 1964, p.10).

until 1990. Following the remodelling of Glasgow's main Odeon cinema (which had previously hosted concerts by The Beatles) in 1970, there were only two other venues capable of relatively large-scale concerts. However, one of these locations, the Kelvin Hall, which was a council owned multi-purpose exhibition space, was deemed as being unsuitable for rock concerts (Roller 1973, p.4). This left Green's Playhouse cinema in the city centre as Glasgow's only viable venue.

Although the late 1960s and early 1970s had witnessed this venue hold an increasing number of live concerts, the *ad-hoc* nature of these events led to regional promoters like Derek Nicol being unable to sustain a commercial presence at the Playhouse (Nicol 2012).²⁶ Nevertheless, in early 1973 local live entertainment entrepreneur Frank Lynch used his resources as CEO of Unicorn Leisure to acquire the lease of Green's Playhouse cinema for the purposes of providing the city with a dedicated live music venue.

Reflecting on his reasoning for undertaking such a large venture, Lynch (2013) felt he could address the glaring omission within the city's live music infrastructure:

... the big worldwide acts didn't come here as, prior to the Apollo, Glasgow was known as an industrial city, and as a city with no suitable venue, bar the Kelvin Hall. When I opened the Apollo it had one; it had a venue that people could go to.

Keen to make a statement about the nature of the venture, the new leaseholder selected the 'Glasgow Apollo' for its title in order to contemporise its presence, thus applying distance with the dated nomenclature symbolised by the city's traditional theatre environment, such as the 'Kings Theatre' (ibid).²⁷

However, the venue's location, which was directly across from the still-operating Pavilion theatre (a variety theatre that had opened in 1904), therefore meant that the two venues were inevitably drawn together by their shared Glasgow entertainment lineage. Steven Lindsay (2011), a local musician and

²⁶ In the period 1970-71, the number of concerts held at Green's Playhouse increased from seventeen to thirty-four per year, then decreased slightly to thirty-one concerts in 1972 (Appendices 6A-6C). Nicol, then working for the Dundee-based Andy Lothian Organisation, was among the first to host a rock concert at the venue when he promoted Fleetwood Mac in October 1969. However, subsequent concerts were limited by the 'make-do' facilities and after-cinema-programme slot at the venue. This, along with the overall lack of commercial potential, led Nicol to cease promoting at the cinema (Nicol 2012).

²⁷ In this respect, Lynch (2013) was eager to emphasise that, despite claims made elsewhere (Leadbetter 1995), the choice of the venue's name had nothing to do with the Harlem Apollo.

frequent concert attender at the Apollo, was more than aware of this tradition as determined by the venue's location:

I think maybe because of where it was - across from the Pavilion, and going to the Apollo was about going to theatres in Glasgow, and when you went to the Apollo to see someone like David Bowie, you felt as if you were continuing this lineage in some way. There was some kind of tradition established ...

Certainly, this entertainment lineage, when coupled with Lynch's desire for the venue to "bring the old place back to life" (Gibson 1973A, p.5) assumes significance. In many ways Lynch may just as easily have been referring to the city of Glasgow, given the boost that the Apollo made to the local live music environment, whereby the entrepreneur provided the previously-neglected local audience with what would be the first dedicated live music venue of the rock era. Acting as a fixture that created a dialogue between the city's past and present, the Apollo therefore functioned to engage with Hall's (1990, p.225; 1996, pp.1-4) aforementioned concept of cultural identity, where a sense of locality is greatly augmented by the configuration of history and temporal-spatial dynamics.

Indeed, with the launch of the Apollo denoting a key initiator in the city's cultural wave, other examples of these dynamics are also increasingly evident during the period surrounding the Apollo's opening. Not least, this includes the success of the national football team in qualifying for the World Cup just three weeks after the Apollo opened, which prompted the inclusive local newspaper headline 'We Did It' (*Daily Record* 1973, p.1). As will be shown in later discussion threads, close links existed between the Apollo audiences and the fans that supported the then-successful Scottish football team.

Another source was the emergence of a modern example of what Brogan (1952, p.152) referred to as an 'industrial comedian,' who started to gain popularity in 1973, after a successful season at the Pavilion Theatre. Echoing both his music hall-variety theatre predecessors, as well as local working class culture, former shipyard worker Billy Connolly (who was also managed by Frank Lynch), possessed the background and linguistic tools that served to affiliate him with notions of locality, to the extent that "The people of Glasgow and the West of Scotland like me. ... I talk their language" (Connolly, quoted Blair 1973, p.11). With Connolly's subsequent national and international success being based on

this persona, the comedian can be regarded as a prime contributor to the city's cultural wave.

A further contributory factor included the opening of the modern £3 million Albany Hotel in February 1973 (*Glasgow Herald* 1973A, p.2). With its facilities being more in tune with visiting artists, the city therefore gained its first 'rock' hotel, and, as Colin Robertson (2012) highlighted, subsequently provided the Apollo (which opened seven months later) with a key link within its infrastructure.

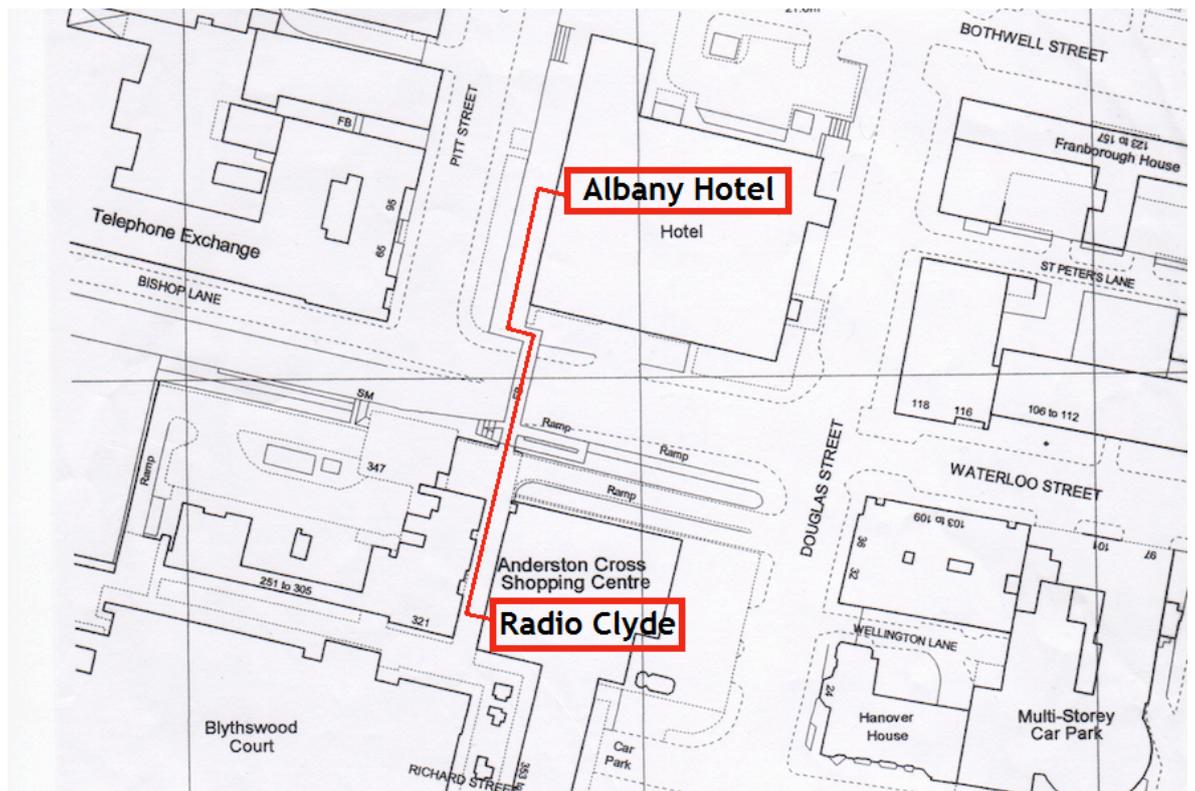


Fig 4-1 Albany Hotel-Radio Clyde pathway (Ordnance Survey 1984).

Moreover, the hotel proved to be a magnet for the fans of artists who were appearing at the Apollo. Maggie Duncan, a regular concert-goer at the Apollo, was one of the many fans that gathered at the Albany to meet visiting artists. Duncan, who has retained all the autographs she obtained from this period recalled (2012), as she leafed through the various entries:

... I got this one (from Elton John) at the Albany Hotel. We used to hang about at the Albany for that purpose. ... And nobody used to believe us when we said that we had met somebody like Elton John and got his autograph. We had to show the autographs before they believed us. We came from Easterhouse, and nobody from Easterhouse gets to meet someone like Elton John, but we did.

Duncan’s observation serves to underline a vital aspect of the Albany’s presence within the Apollo phenomenon. Its ability to provide a pathway from the distinctly local environment of Easterhouse (a peripheral council housing estate) to a global artist such as Elton John, is one that functions to symbolise the level of access that locals gained to a milieu far removed from their origins.

The hotel also provided a (literal) pathway to Radio Clyde, the central component in the city’s prevailing cultural wave (Figure 4-1). The station, which was Glasgow’s first commercial radio enterprise, started broadcasting at the end of 1973, within three months of the Apollo being launched. Conveniently, Radio Clyde was based in the city centre directly across from the Albany Hotel, with a ramp connecting the two buildings. For Radio Clyde producer John MacCalman (2012), this pathway meant that it was ‘natural’ for artists who performed at the Apollo (and who would inevitably stay at the Albany), to visit the station and feature on their weekly late evening rock show.

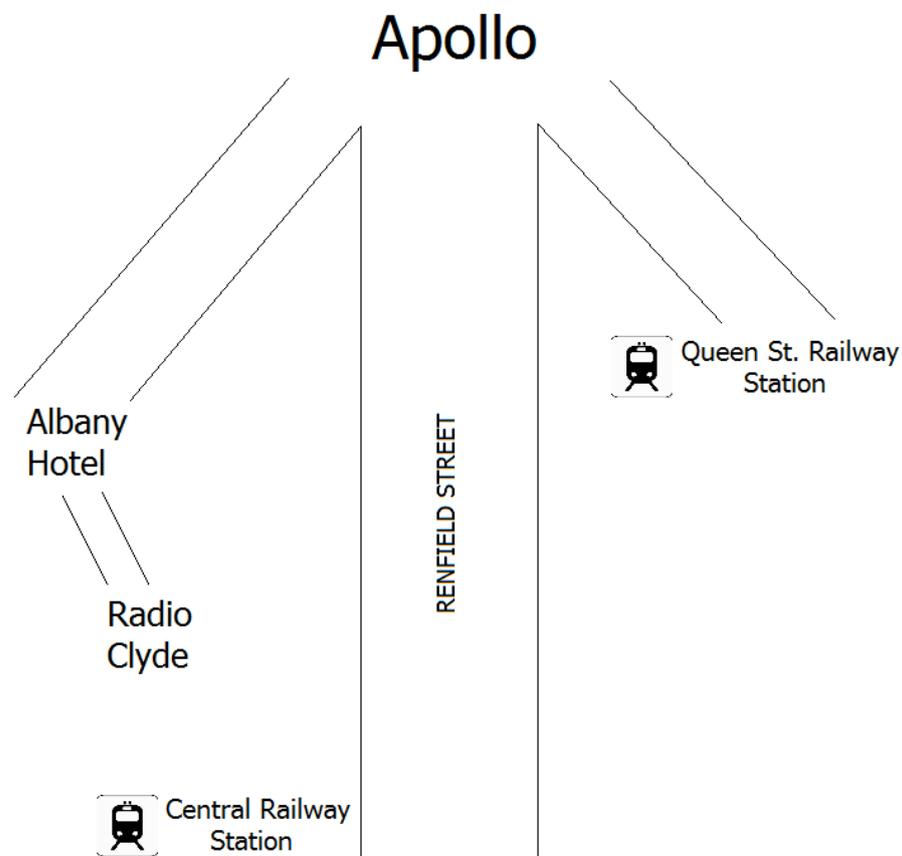


Fig 4-2. Radio Clyde-Albany-Apollo musical pathway.

Therefore, this additional new pathway between the Albany, Radio Clyde and the Apollo (Figure 4-2), which was not in existence before 1973, was one that was regularly travelled by artists and audiences during the venue's tenure, thus becoming an important facet of the live music experience. Indeed, Cohen's (2012B, p.600) study of musical pathways in Liverpool found that, through movement and memory, these routes resonate within the individual's body, as well as within the collective music experience. From the viewpoint of Duncan and MacCalman, similar sentiments can be seen to have been generated by the Glasgow pathway.

From a local music perspective Radio Clyde also functioned to galvanise the local music infrastructure as a result of the station being allocated twice the radio play 'needle time' of their national BBC competitors (Hoggard 1973B, p.44). This provision led UK record labels to employ regional record pluggers for the first time (Partridge 1973B, p.23), and also initiated a process that saw international artists, like Elton John, to not only regularly visit the station in order to promote their upcoming live appearances at the Apollo (Currie 2009, p.92), but also to host entire shows at Radio Clyde (Blair 1975, p.3).

Moreover, Radio Clyde DJs frequently compered live concerts at the Apollo. This development was, according to MacCalman (2012), another 'local-natural' process, given the close connection between the Apollo and the radio station:

... there would have been no point in getting a (national UK) Radio 1 DJ to be the host or comper to introduce a band or something. Whereas, if it was a local guy, then this was more natural.

Compelled by the *Sound Broadcasting Act* of 1972 to engage with the local community, Radio Clyde took this stipulation to heart, and almost every nuance of their activities was focused on its local audience (Baron 1975, p.107). Reflecting on the nature of the station's achievements, MacCalman (2012) indicated that a sense of inclusive locality underpinned Radio Clyde's success (emphasis in the original): "Do you know what it was? It was *our* radio station". Therefore, Radio Clyde, perhaps more so than other cultural wave components, proved to be a key driver of the renewed sense of locality that permeated the city during 1973-74.

4.1.2 The Local Apollo Network

The venue's close working relationship with Radio Clyde was further replicated within a small group of local stakeholders who possessed some form of interest in the Apollo's activities. This network was framed by the principles of social exchange. Homans (1958) regards this as an exchange mechanism where collaboration between individuals is based on the trading of tangible and intangible products that mutually benefit each party. Whilst this process requires obligations between the stakeholders (Emerson 1976), interpersonal networks of this nature can, as Brass *et al* (2004, pp.796-98) suggest, be enhanced if the actors possess a shared vision. In the main, the network in question possessed a local gaze, which was primarily focused on the Apollo.

As the first Apollo Manager Colin Robertson (2012) explained, the venue was keen to maintain a meaningful working relationship with the regulatory authorities:

... we had a great relationship with Building Control, you got nothing but help from them. We used to get whoever was in charge of the Licensing Committee sending an emissary. They would never do this personally, (such as) asking for things like free Osmonds tickets. It was a case of, certainly, he can have fucking three thousand tickets if he wants, because he looks after us so well.

Although Robertson may be engaging in hyperbole, the essence of his comments aligns with the suggestion made by Thibaut and Kelley (1959, p.13) that, whilst differences between the cost and reward of the goods may exist within social exchange, it is the overall exchange value of the transaction that is important. While both parties in this case value the reciprocal nature of the social exchange, it is the Apollo that is most willing to 'pay the price' for this relationship.

However, George McCracken, an environmental health officer from the local council who regularly inspected the run-down venue during this period, was keen to dispel any notions that the Apollo received any form of privilege from the local authority regarding matters of health and safety (McCracken 2013). Nonetheless, McCracken, who was, along with his colleagues, then in in his late twenties and a frequent concert attender at the Apollo, indicated (*ibid*) that he was very conscious of the venue's local and national status when he carried out the inspections:

... we took the view that this was a venue that everybody loved, it was one of the biggest venues in the UK. ... the last thing we wanted to do (in respect to the Apollo) was to say, 'no.' We wanted to say, 'yes', but it was a qualified 'yes' - you had to do this and that in order for that to be confirmed. ... there was a general consensus that everybody wanted it to work because it was great for the city to have these bands from all over the world to be playing here.

Locality therefore not only frames this all-important relationship between the two parties, it is also used as a commodity within the social exchange that occurs. Within McCracken's reflections, the significance that the Apollo holds within the local community is emphasised by the extent to which the venue's operation is accommodated, despite the numerous shortcomings within the building's fabric.²⁸

Jan Tomasik, who succeeded Robertson as the Apollo manager in 1974, further enhanced the local media strand of the network. Local music-entertainment journalist Russell Kyle, who also held a public relations post at Unicorn Leisure, found this network relationship "incredible," with this relationship being enhanced further by his privileged dual position, which made him 'privy' to yet-to-be-announced details about forthcoming concerts at the venue (Kyle 2012). Tomasik recalls that these networks were extremely important to the venue because "So many people were writing about it," with this being underlined by the sense that numerous local journalists (and Radio Clyde DJs) "almost lived" at the venue (Tomasik 2012). Indeed, Tomasik functions to encapsulate the spirit of the local Apollo network, when he suggests (ibid) that "... when you had all these people, they were all working together (on behalf of the Apollo)."

Networks of this nature reflect Kaniss' (1991, pp.2-4) claim that the local press are inclined to express affiliation with their readers by focussing on institutions that symbolise local values. Likewise, Meech (1995, p.8) suggests that Glasgow-based sister newspapers the *Daily Record* and *Sunday Mail* followed a similar path, and such traits can be evidenced by the positive representations of the Apollo-Unicorn Leisure in these publications (Bruce 1973, p.6; Houston 1978, p.16).

²⁸ The venue's hospitality also extended to other members of the regulatory authorities. Gerry Tait, the venue manager between 1976-77, related that the local police were part of this Apollo network. It was, says Tait (2013B) "their favourite venue," not least because the bar in the manager's office often served as a key attraction, thus making the Apollo "the prime beat in Glasgow."

When returning to Colin Robertson's (2012) observation that 1973 seemed to be the "perfect" time to launch the Apollo, the former Manager further suggests (ibid) that:

There was a big sprinkling of luck in that the time and the space were so right. Glasgow and the West of Scotland were waiting for the Apollo; they just didn't know it.

However, as the preceding analysis has shown, something more than "luck" initiated the Apollo's most distinctive phase. In addition to the venue addressing a high local demand for live music, the configuration of several cultural components (including the Apollo itself), which were maintained by a strong and supportive local network, further elevated the venue's influence. What remains meaningful about this development is its distinct localness. Whereas contemporary 'local' venues tend to be affiliated on a number of levels to a global infrastructure (Webster 2010, p.26), the Glasgow Apollo operation (from staff to stakeholders) embodied a distinctly local ethos during its initial phase. Thus, locality not only shaped the venue, it was also embedded within its infrastructure.

4.2 The Apollo and Live Rock Music

Declarations made by some advocates within the realms of the unofficial website devoted to the Apollo (Glasgow Apollo 2014A), as well as within the series of *Apollo Memories* books (Kielty 2005; 2009; 2011), tend to represent the venue as encapsulating the essence of the rock genre within a live context. As these two sources have emerged as the main fonts for (and thus shaped) the Apollo memory narrative, such claims are required to be scrutinised within a study of this nature.

The discussion that follows focuses on the manner in which the various components of live rock music merged at the Apollo during 1973-74. The analysis suggests that the coalescence of the evolving live music sector and the ascendancy of live rock made the run-down Apollo an ideal location to experience this phenomenon. This argument is provided in three parts. First, it is shown that main requirements of a new type of live music promoters were addressed by the Apollo's opening in 1973. Second, the depth of the Apollo's association with rock music is made evident, and, last, the overall milieu in

which these live performances were articulated is revealed as possessing significance at the venue.

4.2.1 The UK Live Industry of 1973-74

This part of the discussion suggests that the venue emerged as a key commercial focus for a new wave of concert promoters during 1973-74. These promoters had emerged in the late 1960s following the fragmentation of the pop package tour model (Creasy 2007, pp.73-74), with this process being incentivised by an increasing recognition of live rock's commercial potential (Frith *et al* 2013, p.192). New promoters such as Tony Smith and Harvey Goldsmith, who were far removed from their older, more show-business orientated predecessors (Brennan and Webster 2011, p.10), held, as the discussion to follow shows, strong links with the Apollo during the venue's initial and most defining period.

Indeed, the venue's opening in September 1973 helped to address an issue that had confronted English promoters since the mid-1950s, whereby a lack of local knowledge had led them to appoint regional Scottish-based agents-promoters (who were usually dance hall operators) to organise live shows on their behalf. However, these cartels were marginalised greatly by the shifting popularity towards live rock, which led many of these operators to fold by 1968 (Hogg 1993, p.102). The pursuit of local knowledge in Scotland by the new type of national promoter thereafter gravitated towards the residual local live music representatives.

By 1973 the sole remaining live music agency in Glasgow was Music and Cabaret (MAC), which was managed by Ronnie Simpson. In an astute move, Frank Lynch, then in the process of setting up the Apollo venture, took over MAC and established Simpson as a booker for the venue, along with his colleague Eddie Tobin (Simpson 2013). Thus, when the Apollo opened in September 1973, the new rock promoters, like Goldsmith and Smith, had ready access to a venue that was large enough to accommodate the growing demand for live rock in one central location, instead of a myriad of small-medium size venues. It also, through staff like Simpson and Tobin, functioned as a central source of knowledge about the scope of the local market.

This combination of capacity, location and local knowledge proved to be an immediate attraction to promoters at a time when the market for live rock was in the ascendancy, as Ronnie Simpson (2011) explained:

Promoters like John Smith (Tony's father and business partner) already knew about it obviously, but others, like Derek Block, the first question they would ask is, 'What's the capacity?' You'd say 'three thousand' and they would be interested immediately, and would be asking what dates we had available. And then they would get back to you with everyone that was going.

Furthermore, the fact that many of the initial concerts were selling out quickly, led the Apollo to assume gravitas amongst promoter echelons (ibid):

But then, you would also get people who would say, 'Yes, but is there any money in it?' All promoters have overheads, but being able to sell out a three-thousand sized venue usually at the start of the tour, well, that made everybody happy, including the bank manager. So the fact that it was there and was selling out, the fact that the promoters were speaking to their peers, meant that everybody knew that it worked. ...

Indeed, promoter Adrian Hopkins (2012) estimated that, for a full capacity show, the Apollo generated forty per cent more revenue than a typical town hall concert on average, and up to twenty-five percent more than its nearest counterpart in size-terms, the Hammersmith Odeon. An additional bonus was that, given the large interest in live rock locally, the Apollo generally involved less marketing costs (ibid).²⁹

There was also a sense that both the Apollo and the new type of promoters shared a relatively youthful form of kinship within this fairly new live music environment, as a later Apollo Manager Gerry Tait (2013A) articulated (emphasis in the original):

A lot of the promoters were also *with* the Apollo at that stage, and most of them were quite young, with people like Harvey Goldsmith, Jef Hanlon, and you got to know them really well.³⁰

Therefore, at a time when the post-1967 promoters were breaking new ground within a live sector that was still limited by capacity constraints and a

²⁹ Similarly, promoter Jef Hanlon (2011) concluded that "with a hot act" the Apollo represented a "big payday for the promoter." Both promoters would be referring to the venue's maximum capacity of 4,368 (Harkins 1995, p.15), which applied after the Apollo's top balcony re-opened in 1975. By comparison, the Hammersmith Odeon's capacity was 3,487 (Cinema Treasures 2014A).

³⁰ Promoter Paul Loasby (2012), who initially represented Harvey Goldsmith before promoting his own shows at the venue, was in no doubt about what made the Apollo resonate: "... because of the venue and the people who were running it; they were also incredibly helpful when it came to marketing, unbelievably helpful."

substandard framework (Cloonan 2012, p.158; Frith *et al* 2013, p.192), the Apollo offered these operatives some form of commercial and logistical stability that may not have been evident at other UK venues. Whilst it may have been the only local venue for promoters to put on large concerts, these levels of fixity suggest that, if alternatives had existed, then it would have been unlikely that they would have sought to pursue them.

4.2.2 The Apollo as a Rock Venue

This discussion focuses on the Apollo's reputation as a live rock location and the impact that this status had on the venue's commercial objectives during its initial stages (1973-74). It is argued that, despite some conflict about the Apollo's identity, the potency of live rock during this period infused the venue's internal and external environment to the extent that rock assumed a key presence within the Apollo's status. In this instance, 'rock' is defined in general terms, aligning with the 'supergenre' description offered by Fornäs (1995, p.113), which was discussed in chapter two. Whilst some fairly wide variations certainly exist between several sub-genres (such as between acoustic-rock and heavy-rock), as the discussion in the next section will show, the characteristics of this rock genre-world (Frith 2002, p.88) were all accommodated at, and exemplified by, the Apollo.³¹

Despite the recognised local demand for live rock music (as outlined earlier in this chapter), the Apollo leaseholder Frank Lynch was more focused on bringing major pop acts such as David Cassidy, The Osmonds and Neil Diamond to a "worthwhile audience" at the venue (*New Musical Express* 1973A, p.16). Put simply, as Lynch (2013) explained, "I had to pay the rent. Why should it be exclusive to one section of the Glasgow population?" Therefore, the venue booker Ronnie Simpson (2011) was left in no doubt about the desired agenda:

The brief was - get the concerts - that's what we want to do. I was also a believer in the fact that it should be kept as much as a family venue,

³¹ Keightley (2004A, p.104) typifies the wide scope that the rock genre possessed and highlights why certain perceptions exist about its inclusive status:

... rock has stood for much more than a single style of musical performance. Very diverse sounds and stars including country blues, early Bob Dylan, Motown, Otis Redding, Kraftwerk ... have all been called 'rock' at one time or another ... If this eclectic set of performers and sounds can be grouped under the heading 'rock,' it is not because of some shared, timeless, musical essence; rather, specific historical contexts, audiences, critical discourses, and industrial practices have worked to shape particular perceptions of this or that music or musician as belonging to 'rock.'

rather than just a rock place ... my belief was that it would never sustain as a rock venue, or not enough.

However, the first Apollo Manager Colin Robertson (2012) held a more realistic perspective with regard to the commercial potential of the then burgeoning rock genre:

The venue had a rock 'n' roll smell, due to the sweat and people jumping up and down. My answer was still the same; we're catering for the majority. We would cater for the minority if and when required, but, if I had my choice between Status Quo and Duke Ellington, then I'd go for Status Quo every time. Everyone has their own taste in music, but that outlook makes commercial sense.

Robertson appears to be at odds with Lynch's commercial-aesthetic objectives. There can be little doubt that the manager recognised, along with Frith (1981B, pp.83-84), that rock music during the early-to-mid 1970s represented a genre 'cash cow' (Negus 2003, p.48). However, Robertson's reference to the venue's aesthetic and the audience's behaviour act to underline an issue that was central to the Apollo's rock identity. Framed by perceptions of the boisterous nature of rock audiences (Weinstein 1991, pp.98-99), Lynch's main concern about accommodating a range of music genres, was that any seats damaged during the course of, say an AC/DC concert one evening, would impact unfavourably on the following evening's Diana Ross audience (Lynch 2013).

Certainly, Lynch may have had some cause for concern as the venue audience already possessed a reputation for unruly behaviour at Green's Playhouse, with one promoter noting of a 1972 concert that "They don't just break seats up here - they literally destroy them" (Plummer 1972, p.50). During the same concert the venue is also 'complemented' by a visiting music journalist for its terrible smell, which, greatly contributes towards the sense that it "suits rock and roll so much better than the clean conditioned air" of other venues (ibid).

Although the venue underwent a "Cinderella conversion" (*New Musical Express* 1973A, p.16) before it re-opened as the Apollo, a combination of the building's extremely poor fabric, along with ongoing maintenance limitations, meant that the condition of the venue's environment remained an underlying issue during the entire Apollo lifespan. Indeed, in one of the first concerts to be reviewed at the Apollo, the music journalist concerned expressed apprehension that the renovation may have compromised the venue's pre-existing rock identity (ibid

1973B, p.40). However, such fears evaporate when it is noted that (thankfully) the setting resembles the “fake tat of Mecca dancehall” (ibid).³² There is also some relief that the rowdy Apollo audience “... kicked most of the Apollo’s good intentions right back up the alley ...” (ibid), thus further underlining the venue aesthetic-audience behaviour alignment mentioned earlier.

In highlighting the venue’s “rock ‘n’ roll smell,” Colin Robertson (2012) recognises that, almost from the outset, the Apollo’s renovation failed to diminish its fundamental imperfections that prevented it from being regarded as a ‘respectable’ venue. In effect, the venue shares similar authentic aromas with CBGB (Burrows 2009, p.127) and the Cavern (Leigh 2008, p.24), with the Apollo also possessing the “pungent personality” that Tuan (1977, p.11) suggested can individualise older properties. Indeed, for some of the Apollo audience (Pidgeon 2012), the venue’s environment perfectly aligned with the rock genre:

I believe the Apollo was ideal for rock gigs ... the place was a dump, so (there was) no need to be over well mannered. Subsequently, there was no need to worry about any mess we made.

Certainly, such conditions also acted to impose generational boundaries at the venue, as this audience member underscored:

I can remember my Dad going there to see (country artist) Don Gibson, and coming back and saying, ‘If I go back there again, I’m wearing a fucking boiler suit!’ For us this reinforced it, that this was somewhere that your parents didn’t like to go, whereas we revelled in these conditions. (Sharp 2012)

Views of this nature remain typical of a large proportion of the audience members interviewed for this study. As we have heard, such surroundings can tempt some audiences towards forms of boisterous behavior (Weinstein 1991, pp.98-99).

In summary, while Lynch was keen to embrace the concept of an all-round concert venue that would attract major artists representing a wide range of genres for the “worthwhile audience” he referred to, the realities of the Apollo’s condition, as well as rock’s commercial appeal, meant otherwise.

³² While the “touch of Hollywood” conversion (Gibson 1973B, pp.10-11) from Green’s Playhouse to the Apollo was said to cost in the region of £200,000 (*Glasgow Herald* 1973B, p.24), this cost (£2.3m in 2014 prices as determined by the inflation calculator on thismoney.com) was disputed by a number of (anonymised) stakeholder sources who were interviewed. One interviewee, who contributed towards the conversion process, suggested that perhaps half this amount (‘if lucky’) had been spent on the renovations.

However, as the next section will show, such trends were not immediately evident, with 1974 in particular showing that Lynch's vision did make an initial impression.

4.2.3 The Apollo Genre World

Some focus is provided at this stage on the prevailing environment that embraced the rock music genre across a number of cultural platforms and which influenced the live music experience at the Apollo during 1973-74. Ultimately, the discussion suggests that these texts functioned to both articulate and stimulate engagement with live rock at the venue. Thus, the Apollo's close association with a key period in popular music (along with its associated cultural impact) can be traced to this 1973-74 timeframe.

First, as a means of providing a framework for the discussion, a brief overview is provided of the various music genres that were represented at the Apollo during 1973-74. In order to provide an accurate form of analysis, the somewhat incomplete concert schedules on the Glasgow Apollo website were supplemented with details from prevailing local newspaper listings, music paper 'gig guides' and by reference to venue ticket stubs that appeared on online auction websites (see Appendix 6). Thereafter, it entailed categorising the live music events at the Apollo in the form of a genre map, with the data in the Appendices (6A to 6P) representing a year-by-year evaluation of the concerts held at Green's Playhouse (January 1970-May 1973) and Glasgow Apollo (September 1973-June 1985). Additionally, some further analytical data is also provided that reflects overall trends at the venue in relation to genres (Appendices 7A and 7B) and ticket prices (Appendices 8A and 8B).

In effect, this genre mapping process follows Fabbri's (1999, p.13) recommendation that such practice represents the best method to accommodate the "universe of musics." The method adopted also recognises Neale's (cited Toynbee 2000, p.103) suggestion that genres can more likely be regarded as "systems of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject." Extending such forms of categorisation, Negus' (2003, pp.28-29) reference to the manner in which music genres are "formally codified" within the confines of the record industry in the hope that they appeal towards a "genre culture," can also be seen to hold relevance.

Accordingly, the live events at the Apollo have been allocated genre categories (country and western; folk; heavy metal; jazz; pop; punk-new wave; reggae-ska; rock; soul-dance) that are reflective of the traditional record industry sector classification, as well as the broader social context in which the type of music would have been consumed at the venue. In this respect, these categories are not meant to be exhaustive, and are more intended to be illustrative of the range of music styles experienced at the Apollo. As the discussion to follow suggests, the aforementioned rock 'supergenre' (Fornäs 1995, p.113) can be seen to represent the most dominant category (albeit one that has a lesser presence in the venue's first few years) that accommodates the wide range of artists who belong to this classification.

In 1974 evidence exists that Lynch's objective for the 'all-round' venue that accommodates a wide range of genres starts to assume a brief presence (Appendix 6E). As a result, a tangent category ('popular entertainment') has been constructed to encompass events that include stage shows, boxing broadcasts, variety entertainment vocalists and mature pop artists, that would normally take place in a traditional theatre-type environment. Space restraints mean that only the headline artist has been allocated a genre category. Some examples of these classifications during 1973-74 (Appendices 6E and 6F) include the singer Tom Jones and comedian Bob Hope being classed as 'popular entertainment,' 'jazz' being represented by performers like Duke Ellington and Ella Fitzgerald, and the 'pop' category including artists such as Cliff Richard and The Bay City Rollers. Performers like Slim Whitman and George Hamilton IV typify the 'country and western' genre, and the 'rock' category, which embraces the 'supergenre' components noted above, includes artists as diverse as Status Quo, Roxy Music and Yes.

The analysis of the period prior to the Apollo's opening suggests that the venue's live rock identity was discernible before the new venture launched. Notably, the vast majority (84%) of these performances between 1970-72 belonged to the general rock category (Appendices 6A to 6C). This pattern no doubt helped music journalists like Plummer (1972, p.50), mentioned earlier, to assume that the Playhouse was an established rock venue. Whilst all of the 21 remaining concerts of (January-May) 1973 held under the Green's Playhouse name belonged to the rock category, the equivalent figure for the balance of that year (September-

December) under the Apollo banner was just 57% (Appendix 6D), thus providing early indications about the ‘all-round’ genre focus of the Apollo.

Although genres like pop, soul and folk made up the shortfall in this latter period, it was to be the following year when Lynch’s desire for a fully extensive concert portfolio first starts to leave an impression. In 1974 the number of rock concerts fell to 47% of the overall total (Appendix 6E). Tellingly, the average ticket price for this genre was just £1.25, whereas many of the premium non-rock concerts averaged in the region of £2.25 (ibid).³³ Such averages therefore help to explain Lynch’s yearning for a ‘worthwhile’ audience. Yet, despite the fairly major reduction in rock’s profile at the venue (from 100% in the first half of 1973 to less than half that amount during 1974), the rock genre still resonated at the venue, more so than any other music category. The question that emerges therefore is what may have made rock infuse the proceedings at venue to such a high degree?

In this instance Frith’s (2002, p.88) aforementioned concept of ‘genre worlds,’ where advocates function to elevate notions of a genre’s significance among willing participants, can be seen to bear relevance. With the music press being regarded as a leading exponent of such practice (ibid 1996, pp.136-37), publications such as the *New Musical Express (NME)* and *Melody Maker* both used live music as the main driver of their comprehensive cover of the rock genre during the early-mid 1970s. Indeed, from the perspective of the *NME*, live gigs were “the bread and butter of rock” (1974, p.2) and proved to be the focus of the magazine’s rock-focused re-launch in 1972 (Long 2012, pp.54-55).

Moreover, the Apollo regularly gained a key position within the music press due to the venue being regularly used as the launch date for numerous major UK tours, as the then local *NME* correspondent Stuart Hoggard (2013) explained:

The weekly deadlines meant that I could review a band (who had appeared at the Apollo) at the start of the tour, dictate my review over the phone ... and it would be in print before the main London gig - thus giving readers a preview of what they’d be getting when they went to see them.

³³ In 1974, ticket prices for artists such as Glen Campbell, Ella Fitzgerald, Charles Aznavour, Johnny Mathis and Jack Jones, all averaged £2.25. In 2014 prices, the average rock concert ticket (£1.25) would, using an inflation calculator (This Is Money 2014), equate to £13.19, while these non-rock tickets average of £2.25 would represent £23.75 in contemporary (2014) prices (Appendices 6A; 8A; 8B).

Equally, reading about new artists, such as Captain Beefheart, in the music press and then being able to gain access to them at the Apollo (as exemplified by Beefheart's appearances at the Apollo in 1973 and 1974) was a key motivator for some audience members:

I'd seen things in the *NME* going on about Captain Beefheart, but never actually heard him ... I decided to go and jumped on the bus, ... I'm so glad I did (as) it changed my musical taste forever, because I'd never seen anything like it in my life. ... you walked out there thinking that something had changed. (Peters 2012):

Reflections of this nature, whereby the audience member has not actually heard any music by the artist beforehand, was not uncommon at this time due to the limited opportunities to access rock music on radio (Partridge 1973A, p.2). Therefore, the Apollo fulfilled a key purpose in meeting the desire to confirm (unheard) recommendations within other genre-world platforms. For some venue spectators (Moreland 2012) therefore the correlation between the music press and the Apollo was a natural progression, whereby "You weren't seeing them on TV. There were pictures in *Sounds* or the *NME*, and all of a sudden they were live on stage facing you." In effect, the audience member embraces the concept of "seeing is believing" (Auslander 1998), where rock's perceived authentic characteristics can be realised at the Apollo.

For other audience members (Arbuckle 2012), the music television programme *The Old Grey Whistle Test* (1971-87) initiated a record buying and concert attending process:

For me, things like the *Old Grey Whistle Test* was vitally important in raising awareness about new bands to see. I used to watch that programme and then go down to (local record shop) Impulse to try and buy the album. If liked the album, then I would try and go and see the band.

Indeed, as Mills (2010, p.59; 64) suggests, the programme was intended to represent an extension of the music press, and was also focused towards the 'serious' rock fan that embraced the genre's "broad palette" (Fryer 2008, p.159). In addition, the programme 'spoke' to its rock audience by being located within a late-night slot on BBC's 'alternative' channel (BBC2), and by reflecting many of the genre's artistic-authentic characteristics. It did so, as Mills (2010, pp.60-63) posits, by focusing on factors such as the album as a 'serious' work, liveness and minimal production values, as well as applying (or implying) distance with forms of commercial music. Again, like other rock texts, this anti-

commercial illusion paradoxically formed the basis of commercial activity (ibid, p.62). Ultimately, *The Old Grey Whistle Test* also helped to sell concert tickets at the Apollo.

Overall, this synthesis between the music press, music television, the Apollo and the rock genre, could, for some audience members, place the Apollo at the epicentre of this genre world. Indeed, for one such representative (Kemp 2012), forms of celebratory circularity materialise within this realm:

The Apollo crowd gained a reputation which went before them and I felt that we always tried our best to live up to it! Publicity in the music press and from performers made me feel that you were part of something special.

Similarly, other audience members (Pidgeon 2012) also felt that being “part of something special,” with this development being underpinned by its collective framing:

I attended many a gig at the Apollo on my own. It is hard to describe but the Apollo was and still is the only place I ever felt part of the crowd.

In these instances, Toynbee’s (2000, pp.110-17; 123) reference to the “genre communities” that are strengthened by their high levels of access to rock’s authentic values at live concerts, can be seen to manifest at the Apollo, with the relevant genre world components further elevating this process.

In summary, the discussion has shown that, despite the reduced presence of the rock genre at the Apollo during the period 1973-74, this music category continued to resonate above and beyond other genres at the venue, mainly due to the high level of genre world affiliation. Thus, by articulating the desired genre characteristic that these media stakeholders embraced (liveness, authenticity and community), the venue established its rock identity during its initial stages.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has positioned 1973-74 as a key period in the Apollo’s history, where a temporal-spatial correlation favoured the venue and helped to establish its profile. The discussion showed that a configuration between a renewed sense of locality *and* the ascendancy of live rock music ultimately shaped the initial stages of the Apollo phenomenon. Taking some of the ‘place plus ...’ discussion

points into consideration, the evidence suggests that relevance can be attached to the suggestion by Leyshon *et al* (1995: 424-45) that:

Space and place are not simply ... sites ... over which music has diffused, but rather different spatialities are ... formative of the ... resounding of music.

Moreover, if considering this development within the framework of Actor Network Theory as outlined by Law (2006, pp.10-12), then, although the relevant actors (locality, liveness and the rock genre) assume different roles, the combination of their 'partial connections' serve to shape a unique phenomenon. However, as Latour (2007, p.65) reminds us, such phenomena are products of "momentary associations," and the next chapter, which focuses on the period 1975-76, considers if these associations were still evident within that temporal-spatial location.

Chapter Five: 1975-76

The analysis to follow argues that the 1975-76 period represents the peak of the Apollo's accomplishment as an era-defining live music venue. It is also suggested that this period provides the first indication of the Apollo's downward trajectory, which followed modes of transformation within the live music sector, as well as a change of emphasis within the confines of liveness. The argument is organised in three parts. First, it is shown that the venue's environment played a prime role in facilitating and elevating the live rock aesthetic. Second, it is suggested that a desired authenticity-liveness balance was achieved at the Apollo towards the end of 1975. Last, it is argued that moves towards commerciality within the live music sector during this period started to impinge on the Apollo's future viability. Together, this configuration of the actors representing industry, genre and technology (in the form of liveness), can be regarded as instrumental in shaping this part of the Apollo's tenure.

5.1 The Apollo as a Live Music Location

As a means of setting a framework for the discussion to follow, an analysis of the venue's concert schedule for 1975-76 using the genre categories that were defined in the last chapter reveals that rock represented 41% of the 146 concerts held in 1975 (the highest number of annual concerts in the venue's history), and 56% of the 128 concerts that took place in 1976 (Appendices 6F; 6G). In these years 32% (again, the highest total achieved for this category) and 18% respectively of the annual concerts belong to the 'popular entertainment' category. An example of the wide diversity of the artists who performed at the Apollo during 1975 is exemplified by a block advertisement (Fig 5-1) in a local newspaper for 29 upcoming concerts at the venue from October 1975 (*Evening Times* 1975A, p.45).³⁴

The range of artists, which extends from Calum Kennedy, a traditional Scottish artist, to Lynyrd Skynyrd, a southern-state hard rock band, clearly reflects the scope of the venue's booking policy, as well as its ability to appeal to a wide

³⁴ Three of the concerts featured within this advertisement (by The Temptations, Tammy Wynette and Ray Stevens) were subsequently cancelled.

range of promoters. From this example, the Apollo is represented as a key *live music* location at this stage in its tenure, as opposed to a rock venue.

Fig 5-1 Glasgow Apollo Concert Schedule (Evening Times 1975A, p.45)

Yet, as previously noted, it is predominantly rock concerts that resonate within the subsequent histories of the venue (Kielty 2011; Glasgow Apollo 2014A). The dissemination of these concert experiences can therefore be regarded as possessing significance. Effectively, such patterns materialise mainly due to the fact that, whilst many of experiences relating to these non-rock live performances may stay confined to those who were present, representations of the rock concerts possess a much wider audience through genre-diffusion.

Fig 5-2 Rory Gallagher, Glasgow Apollo, 13 December 1975 (Glasgow Apollo 2014B).

Therefore, some concerts, such as the one held by the rock artist Rory Gallagher in mid-December 1975 (Fig 5-2), can be articulated to advocates and reflect forms of tangibility and authenticity, as this excerpt from a music press live review indicates:

The Apollo's packed to the beams with flush-faced boyos fresh from the bar, clutching Rory Gallagher banners and cursing Celtic's defeat in the afternoon. Upstairs a hole's been kicked in the wall in the ladies' and the sinks are all blocked; downstairs there's a fight going on in the foyer and the full house is obviously and vociferously ready to boogie. (Errigo 1975, p.34)

Despite the range of genres on offer at the venue, a safe assumption could be made that very few other music categories were likely to evoke such audience behaviour in 1975, or, for that matter, receive similar focus. The essence of the review, where the live rock aesthetic at the venue aligns with the Apollo's environment and its audience, therefore forms the basis of the discussion to follow.

5.1.1 The Apollo Atmosphere

If only one element could be attributed to the Apollo's dynamic presence, then, for some observers (Leadbetter 1995; Kielty 2011), the venue's 'unique atmosphere' would be the key component. Although this form of ambience was evident in various forms throughout the Apollo's period of operation and cannot be restricted to one specific era, its analysis at this stage is facilitated by the relevance it holds, as the discussion will go on to show, within the context of the commercialisation of the live music sector during 1975-76. Nonetheless, whilst any reference to the existence of an 'Apollo atmosphere' was immediately recognisable to almost all of the participants that were interviewed for this study, claims of this nature are problematic in that they allude to an intangible entity, possess an overall sense of vagueness, and do little to clarify its contributory factors.

Kotler (1974, pp.50-51) accurately refers to atmosphere as representing the spatial aesthetics of the surrounding space and as being perceptible in sensory terms. If the atmosphere at the Apollo is indeed 'unique,' then its components must therefore represent aspects of permanence (such as the venue's internal environment) and variability (the interaction between audience and artist). The relationship between these two elements can be seen to be more transparent at

certain events (such as the rock concert described above) and less discernible at other performances. Together, these elements signify 'thereness,' which, as the impending analysis suggests, embodies the essence of liveness. In effect, the Apollo's spatial aesthetics can be measured by the extent of the impact between its fixed and fluid components. In this instance the discussion to follow argues that elements of the Apollo's environment contributed towards the sense of an authentic ambience that existed at the venue, and also played a key role in symbolising the Apollo's strong affiliations with the live rock aesthetic.³⁵

For some artists, such as Elkie Brooks (2013), the venue's run-down environment helped to form part of the Apollo's charm:

Back then, it didn't seem to matter too much about the condition of theatres as we were all so pumped up ... the Apollo was never in amazing condition, but that was part of its appeal: rough, ready, rowdy and rocky.

Similar to Brooks' reflections, the venue's condition raised comparable genre-related connotations with some of the venue's audience (emphasis in the original):

Let's be honest, the place was a dump but it didn't matter a damn. ... No one in the 70s or 80s went to the Apollo for comfort; they went to have a good time and ROCK. It was a release from the daily grind. (Dearie 2012)

Likewise, another audience member readily embraced the genre-affiliated sensory nuances at the venue:

It was never less than endearing. I loved the peeling walls, sticky carpet, smelly bogs etc. I think it really suited the punk ethos, and the smash it up atmosphere, particularly in the stalls. (Fraser 2012)

Thus, in addition to the venue's environment providing a requisite setting for the live rock experience, it can also be seen to share several of the primitive-authentic and sensory components that 'legendary' venues like CBGB possessed (Burrows 2009, pp.126-27).

As Keightley (2004A, pp.125-27) emphasises, rock mythology tends to embrace the genre's primal roots and, despite its commercial success, the narrative that encompasses rock frequently alludes to, and celebrates, the untainted nature of its non-mainstream trajectory. In this instance, forms of what Keightley (ibid, pp.137) refers to as "Romantic authenticity" helps to shape such perceptions,

³⁵ One of the key contributors to the Apollo atmosphere, the venue audience itself as a representation of the 'Glasgow audience,' will be examined in more detail in chapter six.

whereby aspects such as liveness, community and forms of “tradition and continuity with the past roots,” assume substance. Therefore, coupled with Kohl’s (1993) study that provides strong evidence to suggest that elements of rock represent a modern version of carnival, the dilapidated environment that the Apollo inhabited can be seen to enhance the venue’s ‘rock credentials,’ as well as provide its own pathway to realness that appealed to some audience members.

For many artists, the Apollo resonated for several reasons, not least due to its unique fixtures. Graham Gouldman (2013) of 10cc was among several performers, including Rick Wakeman (2011), Barbara Dickson (2012) and Ray Jackson of Lindisfarne (2013), who regarded the venue’s seventeen-foot high stage as being particularly memorable. This elevation therefore meant that, as The Sensational Alex Harvey Band member Ted McKenna (2012) recalled, the artist would tower above the audience in the stalls, yet almost be on eye level with the audience in the first balcony, thus presenting a unique visual aesthetic for both the artist and audience. It also made the artist experience forms of vulnerability. Steve Hackett, who regularly performed at the venue as a member of Genesis and as a solo artist, related that the extremely high stage “... could give you a sense of vertigo as you realized there was such a long way to drop” (2013).

The other unique fixture within the Apollo was the venue’s upper balcony, which was inclined to ‘bounce’ when the audience members in that section jumped and down. While assurances were given that the balcony was ‘meant’ to bounce, and that its initial design and subsequent structural tests deemed it safe (Robertson 2012; Tomasik 2012; Tait 2013A), it remained a precarious venue fixture. For artist Rick Wakeman (2011), witnessing the Apollo audience embrace danger in this setting functioned to epitomise the rock aesthetic at the venue:

Somehow it (the Apollo) had that X factor that made it pure rock ‘n’ roll for band and audience alike. I can recall, as indeed many bands can, seeing the balcony bounce up and down and how it never collapsed was beyond me. The people in the balcony didn’t care one iota and I think they would have went on dancing in their seats had it collapsed.

Thus, Wakeman’s observation suggests that the Apollo balcony ‘in motion’ encapsulates rock’s visceral characteristics (Baugh 1993, p.24) ‘in action,’ with this process being underpinned by a powerful form of ‘thereness.’

In combination with the venue's features, the Apollo audience could also add distinctive elements to the venue's overall sensory ambience. In this instance, former Apollo manager Jan Tomasik (2012) recalled the "wet dog" smell that regularly accompanied the Status Quo audience at the venue:

I can't recall a Quo concert when there wasn't drizzle outside and their denim would get wet. So, the doors open and three and a half thousand of them would come in ... it was bogging, plus all the heat, with condensation running down the walls.

Therefore, these audience members, who were already embracing denim's "sartorial authenticity" (Salazar 2010), were also replicating rock's symbolic (Straw 1984, p.117) and "working" (Frith 1988, p.95) attire. Furthermore, this was further authenticated by its sensory contribution towards the "pungent personality" (Tuan 1977, p.11) of the live music moment.

Overall, the 'unpleasant' aromas, limited facilities and poor conditions can be seen to have added substance to the 'realness' of live occasions at the Apollo by evoking the essence of authenticity. However, this intrinsic characteristic was predestined to destabilise the venue at a future date, as this further reflection by Elkie Brooks (2013) indicates:

I hate it nowadays when you turn up at a theatre and it's disgusting back stage and falling to pieces, there's no excuse, but back then, it all seemed more exciting.

Brooks' reference to "back then" (as well as her earlier reference to "Back then, it didn't seem to matter to much about the condition of theatres") locates the Apollo within a fairly dilapidated live music sector, but also suggests that she would not embrace such conditions now. It also underlines that, as the trajectory of the live sector moved towards forms of professionalism, the Apollo's condition was both an advantage (in its early stages, when it symbolised an idiosyncratic plus factor) and a disadvantage (in its latter stages, when it represented an aesthetic burden).

Here lies one of the essential paradoxes of the Apollo phenomenon. With this key part of its reputation being so firmly engrained within the venue's run-down setting, the Apollo's reliance on this factor was all consuming to the extent that it greatly contributed towards its undoing. Certainly, if the venue's poor environment had been addressed (as industry standards increasingly demanded), the Apollo, as some stakeholders recognised, would have lost its unique key

‘quality.’ For Rick Wakeman, who once described the venue as being a “disgraceful, disgusting, filthy place to go and see bands” (cited Leadbetter 1995, p.64), there was a later admission by the artist in an interview conducted for this study (2011), that, had the venue been modernised, then “... it wouldn’t have been the Apollo anymore.”

In general, during 1975-76 the Apollo’s internal space can be associated with the ‘idiosyncratic plus’ category, with many aspects of its environment making a valuable contribution towards the venue’s spatial aesthetics. Underpinned by the ‘fixed’ condition and the ‘fluid’ response of the local audience at some concerts, the close links that the venue is said to hold with the rock genre can therefore be seen to have crystallised during this timeframe.

5.1.2 The Apollo Audience

The analysis to follow suggests that, while the venue audience did make a valid contribution towards the venue’s ambience, aspects of its dynamics were, on occasion, less than organic. In effect, the known characteristics of the audience could be readily adopted by over-obliging spectators, be appropriated as a venue commodity, or become blurred with football-generated carnivalesque celebrations. As the next chapter will go on to elaborate, there were, in general, three main identities within the venue audience. First, this manifested as the ‘Apollo audience,’ where close ties to the venue created a sense of belonging, and, second, as the ‘traditional’ ‘Glasgow audience,’ where the imprint of city’s audiences of the past still resonated. Lastly, there was the ‘genre’ audience, where the type of music performed at the venue influenced audience etiquette. As we shall see, these categories, which are not exhaustive, could frequently blur and possess different levels of input.

For many key stakeholders, such as promoters Adrian Hopkins (2012) and Paul Loasby (2012), the Apollo-Glasgow audience symbolised a large, highly charged local crowd that became one of the venue’s prime assets. Given the Apollo’s dependence on these promoters for return bookings, there are indications that the venue management did occasionally engineer the audience reaction to ensure that this profile was maintained. As an example, Danny Hendry (2013), the venue security supervisor, described how a ‘great atmosphere’ at the Apollo could sometimes materialise:

I used to tell the usherettes, just go in your ‘civvies’ and just run down the front, and that way you’ll get other people to do the same. There was a great atmosphere at some of these concerts.

Likewise, usherette Trish Ordish (2012), then Lyons, related that she was once asked by the venue manager, along with some of her colleagues, to “gee up” a somewhat-docile Apollo audience at a 1977 Fleetwood Mac concert:

It would only have eight or nine of us, not that many, but we were to surge towards the front, making our way from the back of the stalls, and get everyone going in the process, singing and dancing. Because, if you’re standing up at the front, then everyone else around about you has to stand up, and this was really important. With an artist like Fleetwood Mac, where this surge was orchestrated, the whole band had been re-jigged, and they were big. They had played the Apollo before, and came back, and it was really important that they got a good reception, but it wasn’t happening on this occasion. However, it did at the end (due to the surge orchestration), it was great.

In both examples, the goal of achieving a ‘great atmosphere’ at the venue was achieved, and, from the perspective of the instigators-participants, this does not appear to be diminished in any sense by the non-organic methods that were used to gain this desired ambience.³⁶

Misconceptions also emerge about the source of the atmosphere generated by the Apollo audience. In May 1976, when Leonard Cohen performed his introspective, mainly acoustic, ballads at the venue, he was received by a widely enthusiastic flag-waving audience, which served to confirm the Canadian artist’s perspective of the venue. However, as the former Apollo manager Gerry Tait (2013A) explained, the origins of this crowd reaction lay elsewhere:

Leonard Cohen ... you know what that usually would be like - you take along lots of paper hankies. The place was jumping, and people were waving flags and all that, and he had said to his band beforehand, that this was a great venue and things like that. The atmosphere was fantastic, and I went backstage after the concert, and he was saying to the band, ‘I told you.’ However, I didn’t have the heart to tell him that the atmosphere was mostly because Scotland had beaten England at Hampden that day - that was the reason. They were all just going out and going ape - to wave flags like at a Leonard Cohen concert is just something you would never see at a concert in a million years.

In this respect Finn and Giulianotti (1998, pp.190-91) substantiate the potency of such occurrences by referring to the displays of carnivalesque behaviour within

³⁶ Whilst the Fleetwood Mac exemplar falls outside the analysis window for this chapter, a number of Apollo staff interviewed for this study confirmed that this was a not uncommon practice throughout the venue’s initial period.

the Scottish football support during 1973-78, with this being a process that served to hide any rival identities and promote a common persona.³⁷

The venue also benefitted financially from the boisterous nature of the Apollo-Glasgow audience, by being able to exploit the prevailing trend within the UK live circuit, where the extent of audience reaction at some rock concerts often led to a venue's seats being damaged (*New Musical Express* 1975, pp.8-9). Several Apollo staff interviewed for the study confirmed the fairly regular process where the fixings for the first six rows or so of seats were loosened prior to an anticipated 'energetic' concert. Inevitably, these seats would collapse at the outset of the concert and be removed intact by the primed security staff. These 'damaged' seats, which could be re-fitted as normal in time for the following night's concert, were then usually charged as an added expense to the promoter for the concert schedule, and therefore represented an additional revenue stream for the venue.

Lastly, when returning to the aforementioned audience categories, evidence suggests that these identities were 'known' to some of the participants involved and that this was a factor that could influence both their behaviour and expectations, as this example from one audience member (Lonsdale 2012) illustrates:

Part of the appeal of the concerts at the Apollo was that you could lose your identity and become part of something larger. You were all there for the same thing. You always gave the support band a hard time- it was Glasgow and that's what we did. The bands always told us we were the best audience in the world - I believed it then and was proud to be a Glaswegian. I don't ever remember getting annoyed with any other concert-goers - even in the crush at the front.

In this case, the Apollo-Glasgow alignment has been recognised by the artist(s) and audience. As well as engendering a sense of 'Glasgow-ness,' it has also initiated a tendency towards replicating modes of traditional Glasgow audience

³⁷ Such parallels with then-successful Scottish football team also serve to substantiate the impact that this component contributed towards the 'Glasgow wave' mentioned in the previous chapter, where the positive overspill from this element reaps positive benefits for the Apollo. Comparisons (and instances of cross-over) can therefore be made with the famous 'Hampden Roar' (Crawford 1992, p.435) and the atmosphere at the Apollo. Indeed, Hoggard (1973A, p.42), describes the euphoric Hampden-like scenes that materialised at the Apollo during a Family concert in September 1973 after Scotland qualified for the World Cup that evening.

behaviour. The ‘knowingness’ of such traits is encapsulated by comments made to the Apollo audience by Mick Jagger during a 1976 Rolling Stones concert at the venue (Charone 1976), whereby he referred to their known reputation by stating (emphasis in the original):

You’re all famous for your singing in Glasgow, right. I said RIGHT. ... (after the crowd sing along to the proffered song) ... Why thank you Glasgow. You’re foking (sic) great Glasgow ya know that? Of course you know that.

Parallels can also be drawn with Bailey’s (1994) study of ‘knowingness’ within music hall culture, where the shared, but privileged, knowledge exchange practice between artist and audience functioned to enhance the live performance. The role played by the Apollo audience at some live concerts (such as fulfilling genre or ‘Glasgow audience’ expectations), therefore represents an audience-related extension to Frith’s (2002, pp.211-12) range of onstage artist performance roles.

In summary, variations of the Apollo-Glasgow-Genre audience could, through an organic, inadvertent or constructed process, add sufficient substance to the spatial aesthetics of the venue. Further consideration of these factors is provided in the next section, when the contribution made to the Apollo ambience by liveness and tangibility are discussed.

5.2 Live at the Apollo

This evaluation of the live music experience at the Apollo during 1975-76 uses Auslander’s (2011, p.61) historical model of liveness to outline the balance between liveness-authenticity that was achieved at the venue during this period. As a reminder, this model encapsulates both the configuration and conflict between live music, technology and authenticity, and is grounded by the perception that increasing forms of technology can decrease the levels of live authenticity (Frith 1986). The discussion argues that the end of 1975 represented the peak period for what Auslander (2011, p.61) referred to as ‘classic liveness’ (the ultimate live-authentic balance) at the venue.

5.2.1 Apollo Liveness

As mentioned previously, Auslander’s live model (ibid) possesses only a limited number of components and, as a result, the discussion that follows serves to

acknowledge the existence of other contributory factors that add forms of ‘thereness’ or ‘nowness’ to the live concert experience at the Apollo. Such discourse is framed by the author’s (ibid, p.148) suggestion that live performance “ ... exists only in the transitory present moment,” and Phelan’s (2006, p.146) claim that it is a ‘now’ experience. Similarly, it is also framed by what Reynolds (1999, p.199) suggests is the way in which rock privileges intensity, whereby its message is (emphasis in the original) “BE HERE NOW.”

This argument will be developed over two parts. First, the discussion underlines the impact that forms of tangibility made to the live music experience at the venue. Following this, a textual analysis is provided of a 1976 live recording from the venue, where it is suggested that, as a live document, it functions to encapsulate the tangibility and ‘thereness’ that the concert experience at the Apollo symbolised.

Much of the intensity surrounding the Apollo live experience in its initial stages was due to the newness of the venue enterprise and the fact that many members of the audience were attending live concerts for the first time (Leadbetter 1995, p.9). Indeed, Conway’s (1990, pp.82-85; 91-96) aforementioned study of autobiographical memory helps to articulate the power that many of these ‘first time’ experiences engendered. Certainly, several of the audience members interviewed for the study emphasised that the Apollo represented an ‘adventure’ that impacted on various stage of their youthful development, as this example from a then-teenage Apollo audience member illustrates:

At that age you feel invincible in some respects, and you just got on with it. Still, for me as a thirteen year old, coming into the city felt like a big adventure, being allowed to come in on the train. Later on, at fourteen, fifteen, working out what your date of birth was, so that you could get a half fare on the train, then getting a pint when you got there, which sometimes got very complicated for a fifteen year old. (Johnston 2012)

Other aspects of the concert-going experiences at the venue, whether witnessed or experienced, functioned to add further to the overall sense of Apollo-enhanced tangibility, not least the aforementioned ‘bouncing’ balcony and encounters with the venue’s security staff. For several audience members the ‘mad dash’ for the last train home due to the erratic scheduling of concerts at

the venue became a part of the tangible Apollo experience, as this recollection demonstrates:

The downside to the Apollo concerts was the dreaded ‘ten to eleven’ sprint down Renfield Street to catch the last train at eleven. We missed the encores of a good few concerts because the artists had failed to appear on stage anywhere near the advertised start time. Sunday nights were even worse as the last train was at ten thirty. (McGhee 2012)

These examples function to underscore that, for some audience members, Apollo live events extended beyond ‘just’ witnessing the performance itself and, at their full extent, involved an array of experiences and encounters that elevated the senses (Cohen 1991, p.94), thus enhancing the ‘realness’ of what concerts at the venue represented. Therefore, by adding increased levels of tangibility to its ‘classic liveness’ location (Auslander 2011, p.61), an enhanced sense of reality can materialise, due to it being framed by the degree of bodily movement and the levels of interaction with the immediate surroundings (Johnson 1987, p.xix). In addition, this environment also accommodates the affiliation between the body and the “pleasures of the text” (Barthes 1975, p.17).

Indeed, whilst Frith (2002, p.124) may claim that a “good rock concert ... is measured by the audience’s physical response,” it is also evident that, by extension, reciprocal venue-facilitated physicality can add value to the live rock event. In essence, if the ultimate desire of engagement with popular music is to achieve a sense of being “intensely present” (ibid, p.144), then, in many respects, aspects of the Apollo live experience symbolise a ‘thereness’ (Johnson, quoted ibid, p.235) that both embody and elevate the characteristics of the ‘classic liveness’ position that the venue held during its initial phase.



Fig 5-3 The Sensational Alex Harvey Band, Glasgow Apollo, 18 December 1975 (Glasgow Apollo 2014C)

As an illustration, the ‘first time’ Apollo experience of local radio producer Nick Low (2012), who was accompanied by his friend Andrew Innes, later of Primal Scream, encapsulates this form of liveness:

I saw The Sensational Alex Harvey Band at the famous Christmas gig (in 1975), which was the first gig I went to. ... I just thought that every gig was going to be like that. I went with my friend Andrew Innes, and we went there from school when we were thirteen, and it just blew our minds, it was amazing. The atmosphere was something else... that was a band who were at the top of their game, and absolutely loving it.

For many observers this series of concerts held at the venue over Christmas-New Year 1975-76 (Fig 5-3) by The Sensational Alex Harvey Band (SAHB) were considered to be among the most significant to have taken place at the Apollo (Kielty 2011, pp.46-49).³⁸ However, despite being regarded as *the* definitive UK live rock act at the end of 1975 (Jones 1975, p.5), this year marked the career apex of the group and they were never able to regain their live intensity they achieved at the Apollo (Munro 2008, pp.161-75). In many ways, this period also marked the peak of ‘classic liveness’ at the venue, with this transformation being made discernible by another set of concerts that took place at the venue immediately before the series of SAHB live performances.



Fig 5-4 Queen, Glasgow Apollo, 16 December 1975 (Glasgow Apollo 2014D)

³⁸ To the regret of Ted McKenna (2012), the band’s drummer, these live events were not recorded in any form. However, by virtue of their non-documented status, such an omission serves to add further substance to the key position that this series of concerts possess within their ‘classic liveness’ location (Auslander 2011, p.67).

When rock artists Queen appeared at the Apollo in mid-December 1975 (Fig 5-4), the group held the number one position in the UK singles chart with their single *Bohemian Rhapsody*. Yet, Queen were unable to perform this song in its entirety due to its many intricacies, and therefore relied upon a taped section when it was delivered 'live' at the Apollo (Blake 2010, pp.169-70; 175-76). While this alone signalled a paradigm shift in the relationship between liveness and technology, this issue was compounded further by the promotional video that accompanied the song.

In effect, the video possesses deeper significance with regard to its impact on live performance. As Gow (1994, p.260) explains, this video was able to fully articulate the intricate parts of the performance:

By mirroring the shifts in the music so faithfully this visual approach invites the audience to experience the full range of emotions surrounding the song and to appreciate the inventiveness of those who have created it.

In this case, the 'audience' in question was not located at the Apollo, or at any other local live venue, but those positioned in front of global television screens. Thus it not only altered "the way in which music reaches people" (Frith 1988, p.192), but it was also noted for "displacing the social context of the music itself" (Berland 2003, p.27). As a result, the direct artist-audience relationship within a live setting was compromised to some degree, with venue audiences, including those at the Apollo, being no longer privileged in the same way as a result of these developments.

Such processes marked one of the first instances where, as Straw (2005, p.3) suggests, music video elevated image above experience. By providing a visual template for rock's commodification (Frith 1990), it also partially displaced live performance as a key component from the traditional pathway to success within the traditional rock framework (ibid, p.111). Indeed, Frith (1988, p.1) regards such developments as one of the main reasons why some of the traditional values of rock became destabilised, whereby the artist is no longer a performer in the traditional sense, due to authenticity having been replaced by artifice (ibid, p.4).

Therefore, in summary, the period 1975-76 was denoted by the gradual shift between 'classic liveness' (as represented by SAHB) and the (just discernible)

focus on the non-live representation of music (as symbolised by Queen). As a venue closely associated its ‘classic liveness’ environment and reputation, this shift can be seen to hold consequences for the Apollo, and the chapters to follow will expand on this in more detail.

5.2.2 Live Recordings

This textual analysis of a live concert recording that took place at the Apollo in October 1976 forms the basis of the discussion to follow. It therefore addresses a further example of Auslander’s liveness model, where the category ‘live recording’ denotes a “temporal gap between production and reception” (2011, p.61). This represents the first stage in the model where technology can be seen to impact on the notion of live authenticity.

For Waksman (2009, p.37) live rock albums act as documents of the performance, with their success being denoted by their ability to “convey a sense of presence” at the event. Following this suggestion, it is argued that, despite the featured example being partially constructed, it still displays a discernible quota of audience-based being-there liveness. It also reflects the live music experience at the venue by encapsulating an example of the Apollo-Glasgow audience, as well embracing key aspects of the venue’s spatial aesthetics. The recording therefore not only embraces the physicality of the live rock experience that encapsulated parts of the 1970s and 1980s (Bennett 2012, p.287), but also positions the Apollo as a key location for such performances.

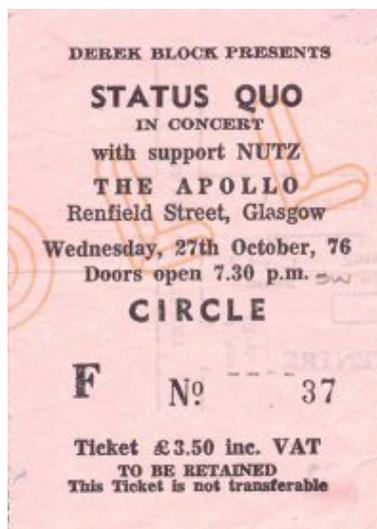


Fig 5-5. Status Quo, Glasgow Apollo, 27 October 1976 (Glasgow Apollo, 2014E).

The rock group Status Quo, who performed at the venue on 26 occasions (Kielty 2011, p.155), more so than any other artist, cemented this relationship by recording a live album (*Live!*) at the venue in October 1976 (Fig 5-5). Indeed, on the album the introduction to the band by Jackie Lynton, delivered in a music hall emcee fashion, forms a key part of the recording by establishing a template for the type, and anticipated levels, of the audience engagement to follow.

Lynton asks the Apollo audience during his introduction (*Live!* 1977):

Is There Anyone Out There Who Wants To Rock?
Is There Anyone Out There Who Wants To Roll?
And Is There Anyone Out There Who Wants To Boogie?
Tonight. Live. From the Apollo, Glasgow
We Have The Number One Rock and Roll Band In The Land
Will You Welcome. The Magnificent ... Status Quoouoooo ...³⁹

One fan of the recording (Chopper 2012) commented that Lynton's introduction is "... so terrific it still sets the hairs up on the back of my neck." Maintaining the flow of 'thereness' that the album encapsulates, he continues (ibid):

This is one of the few live albums that manages to capture the feeling of really being at a gig. ... The album has created memories so vivid at times I can convince myself I was actually there.

Thus, in this case, the live album has achieved its ultimate goal by placing the listener at the event. For an audience member who was actually 'there' (Tinkler 2012), a sense emerges that the recording of the live album facilitated a fusion between audience, artist and venue, albeit aspects of the audience's reaction appear to have been co-ordinated beforehand (emphasis in the original):

The ultimate feeling of community must have been when Status Quo recorded their live album. I had tickets for two of the three nights of that - it was brilliant. We really knew they liked us - from the encouragement by the person who introduced the band for us all to shout QUO-OO-OO-OO for ages, till the band came on the stage, to giving us all stickers that said, 'I'm on the Quo album.' And we were - the live album starts with the Glasgow crowd all roaring. The other thing about that album that made us feel great was the montage of photos inside. It was great spotting friends / me actually on the album. I think this is the reason the

³⁹ The format for the introduction was re-enacted during the concerts that saw the original Status Quo members reform in 2013 (Coleman 2013), with the 'Live' album from the Apollo providing the template for the band's set, as well as the symbolic setting for the reunion venture (*Classic Rock* 2012).

Apollo was so special - it really was a two-way relationship with the performers and their audiences.

As Bennett (2012, pp.288-89) suggests, within the realms of the live rock experience, and in the interest of pursuing-maintaining notions of community, artists actively entice modes of interactive input in the event by creating pre-determined space for the anticipated audience response through vocal participation, clapping and stomping.

In the case of the *Status Quo Live!* album the author (ibid, pp.290-91) uses the example of the track 'Roadhouse Blues' to articulate this aspect in more depth. During the song's elongated and stripped-back shuffle middle section, the 'Quo-oo-oo-oo' chant (which Tinkler referred to) assumes, through the process of being placed high in the mix, a central position in the song's structure (ibid, p.291). This, along with a further interactive gap for audience engagement with an Irish Reel section of the song, leads Bennett (ibid) to claim that:

The combination of band-audience rapport re-presented here is a particularly compelling example of the way in which the live album has been used as a vehicle for the mediation of a band-audience relationship. ... The live version of 'Roadhouse Blues' contained on 'Status Quo Live' is very much a testament to this relationship.

Bennett's declaration possesses sufficient substance given the strength of the indicators to that effect thus far. From the 'I Was There' stickers, the pre-rehearsed vocal refrains, and the considerable gravitas generated by the introduction given to the group, this live event is well primed for the audience-artist-venue fusion that follows.

Furthermore, the venue's 'bouncing' balcony receives a knowing reference within the concert (during the introduction to the song 'Is There A Better Way?') whereby the audience who occupy this section of the venue are made further aware of the instability of the structure, but then asked by the group to get the balcony "really moving" during the next song (*Live!* 1977). Moreover, during 'Roadhouse Blues,' the audience are asked to embed their presence on the live recording (ibid) when so instructed: "Right Glasgow. Let's get your voices on the tape". Overall, a combination of these 'fusion factors' enable Gracyk's (1996, p.78) suggestion that "The concert experience cements the bond of audience to performer in a way that nothing else can." However, at the same time, the

author (ibid, p.88) also claims that very few live albums capture the essence of the live event.

Gracyk is mainly referring to the conflict between the original concert as experienced by the audience and the subsequent listening experience, which is now sanitised and balanced towards the individual listener (ibid, pp.88-89). Again, this view tends to ignore the compromise that official live recordings represent, and that the final product is ultimately intended to appeal to an audience, a listening audience, who were not present at the initial event. As highlighted above, if the success of a live album can be determined by the way in which it can transport the armchair audience to being a venue audience (Waksman 2009, p.37), then the Status Quo live album seems to have achieved that aim.



Fig 5-6. The Ramones, Glasgow Apollo, 19 December 1977 (Glasgow Apollo, 2014F).

As a footnote to the above example, some brief analysis of another live album to emerge from the Apollo helps to provide further grounds for the emphasis on 'being there' liveness. Although situated slightly outside the allocated timeframe of this chapter, *It's Alive* by The Ramones (1979), which was recorded at a live performance in December 1977, demands our attention by its position within some of the 'best ever live album' lists in *Rolling Stone* (2007), *Allmusic* (Rivadavia 2009), *Goldmine* (Borack 2011), and the *New Musical Express* (Chester 2011).

The criteria for inclusion in such lists is varied, but the supporting accolades generally focus on the depth of the liveness that emanates from the recording, as this post by a fan of the album illustrates:

No subtleties of production or tweaking are needed here to capture the Ramones' live sound. Plug them in, turn everything up to 10 and let it rip. *It's Alive* is not just the best Ramones album, it is easily the best live punk-rock album of all time and perhaps one of the best live albums ever recorded. (Nelson n.d.)

The fan (ibid) goes on to relate that it is the high level of audience interaction on 'It's Alive' that transcend the recording, whereby "... the sound of the maniac crowd is practically organic."

This is where the Apollo's presence on this recording can be introduced, and notions of the album's liveness can be unraveled. Although the album is credited as being recorded live at the group's performance at the Rainbow Theatre on 31 December 1977, its recording history is somewhat more complex. Indeed, most of the album had to be re-recorded in the studio, and only the drums remain from the original recording (Prindle 2008). With the vocals and the majority of the instrumental accompaniment being recreated in the studio (ibid), this left one remaining audio component outstanding, most notably the presence of the live audience. For this process the album's producer Tommy Erdelyi (otherwise known as The Ramones' then-drummer Tommy Ramone) patched the audience noise from recordings made at the Glasgow Apollo concert on 19 December 1977, which had been the opening date on the same UK tour (Erdelyi 2011).

In an email interview with the author in 2011 (the drummer-producer passed away in July 2014), Erdelyi recalled the Apollo concert as being "really exciting" and that an "intense energy" emanated from the venue. The audience was, enthused Erdelyi (2011):

... one of the best we ever had, in fact it was so vocal and appreciative that we used the Glasgow audience's ambient sound that we recorded and added it to the recording of the Rainbow audience in London a few days later for our *It's Alive* album. (In Glasgow) ... the whole building seemed to shake with the excitement.

Whilst the liveness quota of *It's Alive* may now be questioned, this re-positioning of the Apollo audience 'at' another live venue functions to endorse two significant factors. First, it is clear from Erdelyi's comments and practice that the Apollo audience resonated above those at other venues during the group's UK tour.⁴⁰ The second significant point to emerge from *It's Alive* is the degree to

⁴⁰ Similarly, at the conclusion of a live performance by Paul McCartney and Wings at the Apollo on 17 December 1979, which was the last date of the artist's UK tour, McCartney informs the

which the reconfiguration of this live music experience has transcended the original “spatio-temporal location of its original utterance” (Bennett 2012, p.293). Yet, for many listeners, fans and critics alike, this has not prevented high levels of engagement with a ‘live concert’ experience that mainly took place in the studio. In effect, it is only the Apollo audience who add forms of liveness to the album, and this can be regarded as one of its most accurate and compelling factors.

In summary, the above analysis has demonstrated that aspects of audience-based ‘being there’ liveness can be articulated through both fairly truthful and even studio-constructed live recordings, if they embrace the sense of tangibility that encapsulate the actual live performance. As key examples of this process, both *Live!* by Status Quo (1977) and *It’s Alive* by The Ramones (1979), accurately portray the Apollo as a key ‘classic live’ venue of the rock era.

5.3 The UK Live Industry 1975-76

Finally, some focus is applied to the Apollo’s position within the UK live sector during 1975-76. It is argued that elements of the venue’s uniqueness, most notably its large capacity and spatial aesthetics, were beginning to be diminished by gradual developments within the live industry during this era. This argument is developed over two parts, with the discussion first suggesting that the venue’s ambience carried little weight within an increasingly professionalised live music sector. Second, it is made evident that the introduction of a further, much larger (capacity-wise) tier of live music venues in the UK functioned to marginalise the Apollo’s position within the live industry.

In the first instance, a comment made by Radio Clyde producer John MacCalman, who had many dealings with American artists who performed at the venue, bears relevance. When asked if these performers generally left with a positive impression of their Apollo live experiences, the producer (MacCalman, 2012) replied that:

Yes, totally and utterly. They all said, ‘We wish we could can the atmosphere in the Apollo, and take it with us to some of the gigs that we do in the States and release it again.’

audience that they have been the most overwhelming of their 20 date schedule: “You’ve done it again - you’ve been the best” (McCartney 1979).

However, if available, such containers would, if the following viewpoints were embraced, probably serve little purpose within the US live sector of the mid-1970s. Commenting on the balance between live atmosphere and commerce in 1974, Frank Barsalona, head of the USA's largest booking agency, Premier Talent (quoted in Charlesworth 1974, p.9) was dismissive of the value of live music aesthetics:

It used to be that acts were more concerned with the aesthetic aspects of the show. This seems to have gone by the wayside and it's no longer important. Now all that matters is getting more people in and getting more and more money.

In this instance Barsalona serves to highlight a general commercial trend within the American live market, which, following tradition, tends to be replicated in the UK sector at a later stage, albeit on a smaller scale. As an example, although the series of concerts at Earls Court Arena by The Rolling Stones in 1976 may have set new commercial benchmarks in the UK, the opening night was regarded by sections of the music press as being a "scandal" for possessing an "atrocious" sound (Watts 1976, p.3). However, in this case, it was the revenues that were generated from such large capacities that resonated, not the concert aesthetics (*New Musical Express* 1976, p.2).

As well as attracting over one million ticket applications for the six dates at Earls Court (ibid), the vast gulf between the Apollo (where the opening three dates of the tour took place) and the London concerts is clearly discernible. Attracting audiences of 13,104 and 102,000 respectively, it would have taken the group to perform in the region of 24 shows in Glasgow to meet the London total.⁴¹ In effect, like other venues of its size, the Apollo offered promoters little scope to achieve economies of scale within this new live environment.

Despite comments by promoters like Jef Hanlon (2011) that the Apollo represented the "jewel in the crown" of the UK live sector, and was "the most atmospheric place for performers," by mid-1976 the increasing focus on (and requirement for) larger capacity UK venues was mounting, as this quote from an article ('The bigger the better') in the *Melody Maker* (1976, p.7) indicates:

⁴¹ By 1976 the Apollo's upper circle had been reopened, bringing the total capacity to 4,368, whereas the Earls Court had a capacity of 17,000 (*Melody Maker* 1976, p.7).

Even the Hammersmith Odeon in London and the Glasgow Apollo, the two biggest regular rock theatres in this country, hardly rate by American and European (size) standards.

While such comparisons seem unjustified (venues like the Apollo were never meant to compete with much larger arenas abroad), the prospect of a UK venue tier *above and beyond* what the Apollo could offer promoters for large concerts was a factor that would obviously impact on the venue.

In this respect, 1976 witnessed the launch of the first major multi-purpose arena outside London, when the 16,000 capacity National Exhibition Centre opened in Birmingham. As Brennan (2010, p.15) relates, this marked the beginning of the first arena network in the UK, where the economies of scale not only included increased capacities, but also offered promoters the opportunity to use standardised equipment for large shows, which could not be accommodated at venues like the Apollo. Thus, commercially and logistically, 1976 marked a turning point for the Apollo with regard to its position within the UK live sector.

Hence, this evaluation has shown that the Apollo's key location within the UK live sector, which was based on a combination of its commercial and aesthetic magnetism (as determined around 1973), no longer held the same status in 1976.

5.4 Conclusion

The Apollo's close relationship with aspects of liveness during the period 1975-76 has been considered and it was found that the venue's spatial aesthetics evolved from a combination of its overall condition, fixtures and audience interaction. Sharing many of the authentic components that other 'legendary' venues possess, it was shown that the venue achieved a peak 'classic liveness' phase (Auslander 2011, p.61) during the course of the period, but that the live industry trajectory towards economies of scale started to impinge on the venue's key attributes. In effect, the two main actors within this timeframe, technology-liveness (as represented by 'classic liveness' as well as modes of spatial ambience) and industry (as defined by the increasingly-professionalised live music sector), can be seen to co-exist at the Apollo, underlying tensions are evident between the two entities.

Although such traits were just discernible and would not fully impact on the venue's overall status for several years, 1975-76 can be seen to represent the tipping point where the venue's overall appeal among stakeholders started to unravel. This can be articulated by a further reference to The Rolling Stones tour of 1976. When asked during the course of a music press interview (Charone, 1976) what the difference was between performing at the Apollo (the smallest venue on their European itinerary) and Madison Square Garden, the group's lead singer Mick Jagger stated (emphasis in the original):

I played for *years* in theatres like this (the Apollo). I know how to play them. I also know how to play 18,000 seaters.

In some respects Jagger avoided answering the question, but, more significantly, he implied that, having 'endured' what were now-too-small run-down cinema-theatres like the Apollo for some time, he was now seeking to apply some distance to an increasingly dated live environment that only posed numerous commercial and logistical limitations for a group of their stature. In effect, the singer was more than aware at this point that, whilst The Rolling Stones may still be able to perform at the Apollo in 1976, they no longer have to do so after this year, mainly due to the recent advancements that had been made in the UK live sector.⁴²

⁴² While The Rolling Stones did perform at the Apollo on one further occasion (May 1982), this concert was organised only as a low-key warm up for their stadium tour of that summer.

Chapter Six: 1977-79

The implications encapsulating the Apollo's temporary closure in the summer of 1978 provide the main focus of this timeframe. This development materialised after the underlying financial difficulties experienced by Unicorn Leisure had led the company to negotiate a 50% reduction in their £100,000 annual rental with the Apollo's owners in 1976 (Robinson 1978A, p.24). This meant that when the venue's lease next came up for renewal in July 1978, the existing tenants were in no position to meet the market rate price to operate the venue, and the lease therefore went out to tender.

Thereafter, the news that the leisure operator Mecca was the preferred bidder and that they planned to convert the Apollo into a bingo hall, had led to a large-scale local campaign to save the venue as a live music location (ibid). Despite the intensity of the crusade, the local council awarded an operating license to Mecca, thus appearing to seal the venue's fate (ibid 1978B, p.16). However, complications arose and the lease was subsequently awarded to Maximus Investments, the Isle of Man registered financial arm of a national theatre group. As a result, the company re-opened the Apollo as a live music venue in September 1978. Whilst the initial period of the new leaseholders' tenure falls within the selected timeframe for this chapter, the discussion relating to this period has been incorporated within a fuller account of the company's networks and practices in the next chapter.

This analysis consists of two main parts. The first section shows that the Apollo's previously close links with locality were severed during this timeframe, mainly due to the local council's adoption of a cultural regeneration policy. The second part of the chapter suggests that the campaign to save the Apollo ultimately acted to embed its underlying reputation as a rock venue. This configuration between the actors representing locality and genre during this timeframe possesses significance because, as the next chapter will go on to articulate, they acted to diminish the Apollo's status from the early 1980s onwards, effectively setting the venue on a downward trajectory for the remainder of its tenure.

6.1. Locality Within / Without the Apollo

This discussion that follows acts to juxtapose the symbolic characteristics of the new form of locality that the local council desired to embrace by means of a new concert hall for the city, with the more traditional representations of locality that were practiced at the Apollo. With the fight to maintain the Apollo's presence providing the initial background and incentive for this process, the analysis is provided in four parts and is framed by the conflict between the divergent social relationships that these venues epitomised. After the socio-cultural implications of the council's response to the campaign to save the venue are examined, representations of the local audience behaviour at the Apollo are discussed within the context of its known boisterous persona, Glasgow's violent culture and genre-related conduct. Overall, it is shown that the campaign to save the Apollo functioned to provide early indications of the more intensive disputes that emerged as a result of the city's subsequent focus on large-scale cultural events, such as the European City of Culture in 1990.

6.1.1 New Locality

As mentioned above, the announcement made in early 1978 that the entertainment chain Mecca had applied to take over the lease of the Apollo building had raised a number of local audience concerns (Gray 1978, p.2). This led to a loosely configured, but highly intensive, local campaign to save the venue (*Evening Times* 1978, p.4), which was initiated by local SNP councillor Duncan McLean and eagerly supported by the local press. The campaign focused on the local council's role in this proposed development (*Glasgow Herald* 1978A, p.1), mainly due to their capacity to award Mecca's bingo licence (Shields 1978, p.8), as well as their well-established remit as provider of cultural facilities in the city (Taylor 1907).

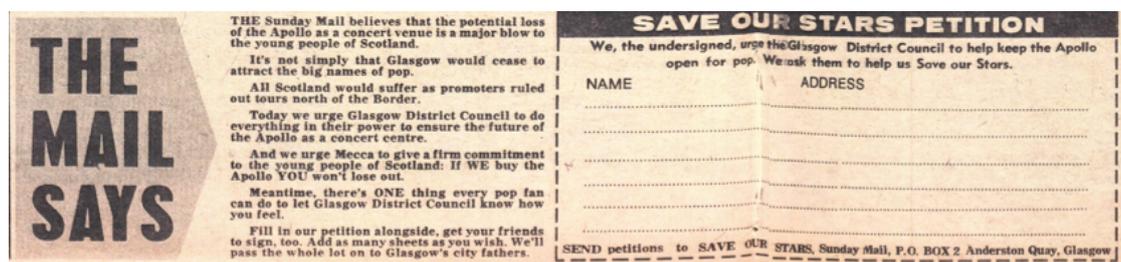


Fig 6-1 'Save Our Stars' petition, Sunday Mail, 5 March 1978 (Robinson 1978A, pp.24-25)

Indeed, within five days of the announcement about Mecca's plans, local tabloid the *Sunday Mail* (Robinson 1978A, pp.24-25) had launched a petition (Fig 6-1) to save the venue and urged local pop fans to "let Glasgow District Council know how you feel," with the petition coupon statement demanding the council "help keep the Apollo open for pop" (ibid). Not only were the local press key members of the previously identified local Apollo network (as discussed in chapter four), but such practice also aligns with Kaniss' (1991, pp.2-4) aforementioned suggestion that the local media tend to display forms of connection with their readers by providing focus on the cultural value of local institutions - in this case, a threatened local institution.

Such attention placed the council in a difficult situation, mainly due to the fact that the city was still without a concert hall facility since 1962.⁴³ The Apollo campaign effectively demanded that the local authority should either take over the running of the Apollo, or provide generous subsidies to help keep this badly maintained fifty-year-old cinema in operation. In essence, these demands effectively forced the council to choose between the Apollo and a renewed bid for concert hall funding. Of course, the choice involved much more than just selecting which venue to support, but, more so, it represented a confirmation of their desires to align the city with its traditional values (the Apollo) or to embrace a 'new' Glasgow (the concert hall) that would extend the city's cultural profile beyond the local and appeal to a global audience.

A decision of this nature is also underpinned by what Chanan (1994, p.49) refers to as the way in which venue spaces can embody two tiers of "social relationships" between the artist and audience, with the "cultural and ideological values" that materialise within these environments being shaped by what the setting's architecture is designed to articulate. In this instance, the initial objective of concert halls to provide a distinct alternative to the socially framed entertainment environment of taverns and theatres assumes significance, whereby its design focuses on aspects of audience demeanour and decorum, thus minimising "the diffusion of their chatter" (ibid, pp.56-57).

⁴³ Despite compensation being agreed for the St Andrews Hall within four years of the fire (*Glasgow Herald* 1966, p.18), the desired city centre site for the replacement venue had failed to emerge. Such delays thus meant that the council required additional Scottish Office funding to help complete the project.

This type of setting not only offered a marked contrast to the Apollo live experience, it also raised questions about the types of social relationships that the city wanted to facilitate. By extension, if applying Chanan's ideological framework to articulate the difference between the concert hall environment and tavern-style live entertainment, then this can be represented as the symbolic conflict between 'Lent and Carnival' (ibid, pp.31-37). Therefore, the modes of audience behaviour at the Apollo possess relevance within this context.

Moreover, for Jenson (1992, pp.20-21), distinct cultural and class distinctions can also be seen to be bestowed within live music audiences by means of a "reason-emotion dichotomy," where perceptions of the passive and respectful (and thus educated and high class) audience are valued, whereas the emotional and rowdy (uneducated and low class) audiences are not (ibid). Certainly, from the standpoint of several political activists in Glasgow (such as the left-wing collective Workers City), the cultural regeneration process, of which the concert hall was a prime initiator, came at the expense of, and served to exclude, already-marginalised sections of the local population (Mooney and Danson 1997, p.79), in addition to the overall traditional working class values possessed by the city (MacInnes 1995, pp.91-92).

If anything, the campaign to save the Apollo attracted support from a wide range of the community (*Daily Record* 1978, p.13 and *Sunday Mail* 1978, p.16) and ultimately generated extensive debate about the local values that emanated from the venue. Thus, the Apollo can be seen to represent a prime source of what Cohen (2007B, pp.9-10) refers to as the deep symbolic attachment that can occur between place and audience

With regard to the Apollo-concert hall question, the council's intentions were not made immediately apparent, but closer scrutiny reveals that, whilst they maintained a disposition through the local press that appeared favourable to the Apollo cause (offering support and commissioning reports etc.), they adopted a series of measures (delaying decisions and inflating projected renovation costs)

that essentially applied self-imposed limitations on any assistance that would help the venue.⁴⁴

Indeed, whilst the campaign to save the Apollo remained proactive through its ten-week duration, Duncan McLean (2013), the former local SNP councillor who led the political campaign against the closure, firmly believes that, such was the local authority's determination to proceed with the renewed concert hall bid, the protest was set for failure almost from the outset: "There was no doubt about it ... the council did everything they could to stifle the campaign." Certainly, evidence shows that within three weeks of the protest commencing, the council thought it appropriate to raise the Apollo issue with the Secretary of State for Scotland, but ultimately used this occasion to insist that the bid for concert hall funding received top priority (MacCalman 1978A, p.3), thus marginalising the Apollo (and what it symbolised) as a direct result of this process.

Given the global cultural status that emanates from acquiring a concert hall (which is a status that the Apollo could hardly attain), this preference can be seen as one of the early indicators that the city was engaging with what Urry (1990) refers to as a 'tourist gaze.' Although the council's bid to achieve government funding for this initiative subsequently failed on this occasion (MacCalman 1978C, p.9), the local state's position regarding forms of popular live entertainment had been made apparent, and the city continued to focus on the adoption of a cultural regeneration policy thereafter.

Indeed, as Urban (2013) makes apparent, the venue's eventual incarnation, the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall (which did not open until 1990), provided the focal point for the city's reign as European City of Culture. Therefore, by undermining the Apollo as part of the renewed bid for the concert hall in 1978, it can be seen that the local authority were keen to form a new city identity that evaded local sentiments, applied forms of distance to occasional forms of what was perceived

⁴⁴ This included referring the question of support for the Apollo to a different council committee that sat just immediately prior to the hearing-decision that was to be made on Mecca's bingo licence (*Glasgow Herald* 1978B, p.8 and McLean 2013). Evidence also exists that the venue repair costs within council-commissioned reports were decidedly vague, with the initial report on 5 May 1978 stating that it would cost £1.25 million (MacCalman 1978B, p.1), whereas a further 'more detailed' report a week later increased this to £2.1 million (*Glasgow Herald* 1978C, p.3). As a result of this almost-instant 68% increase the council decided not to proceed on providing financial assistance to the venue (MacCalman 1978B, p.1).

to be carnival-style behaviour, and marginalised displays of attachment to place. In short, by opting for the concert hall at the expense of the Apollo, the council created an initial form of spatial division in the city, well before any such connections were drawn with subsequent, fully realised cultural initiatives such as the European City of Culture in 1990 (Boyle and Hughes 1991).

6.1.2 The Apollo-Glasgow Audience

Again, like the focus given towards the venue's atmosphere in the previous chapter, this section concentrates on another key aspect of the Apollo's characteristics that does not fall neatly into any one specific era of its period of operation. However, in this case, the analysis of the Apollo-Glasgow audience can be seen to possess particular relevance during 1977-79, with the conduct of spectators at the venue possessing additional relevance due to the symbolic nature of the local Apollo-concert hall debate. As the discussion to follow reveals, this period also witnessed the venue being the scene of several audience confrontations with the Apollo's security staff. Moreover, as the next chapter will articulate, this era also represents the final period when the dynamic attributes of Apollo audience were valued to the same degree by several of the venue's stakeholders. Nonetheless, whilst 1977-79 provides the framework for the discussion, given the wider relevance of the local audience traditions at the venue, some examples emerge from outside this period.

Whilst any analysis of an audience that is perceived as a cohesive unit can be considered to be problematic, Canetti's (1987, p.18) suggestion that crowds (or audiences in this respect) do not become an entity until they discharge and purge themselves of their differences, can be seen to carry sufficient substance in this context. Furthermore, Jenson's (1992, p.20) reference to the way in which music audiences can assume forms of cultural 'them and us' hierarchies, also possesses relevance, as does Grossberg's (1992B, pp.54-55) notion of affective sensibility, where the audience undertake a prime role in elevating music experiences within a designated space. In this sense, a common perception among many of the venue audience members interviewed for this study was that the close ties between them represented an 'Apollo community' of some description.

However, rather than readily accept the vague perceptions of ‘community’ offered, it would be more appropriate to engage with social network theory and consider instead what Wasserman and Faust (2005, p.18) suggest are the “relational ties” that bind a set of actors. The ties in question can include links established through attending the same social occasions and participating in similar modes of behavioural interaction. Furthermore, they also posit that “affiliation networks” can emerge within such settings, whereby the strength of the network can be measured by the degree of attachment that established or experienced actors display within the realm of these “moment in time” events (ibid, pp.40-41). Therefore, using these parameters as indicators, the degree of affiliation within the Apollo audience can be more readily quantified.

One key tie highlighted by several of the audience members who were interviewed for the study was their sense of local affinity and connection with Glasgow itself, as evidenced within the Apollo. For at least one audience member (McCusker-Thompson 2012), a sense of Glaswegian ‘oneness’ was discernible:

There was this sense that you could recognise aspects of Glasgow within the audience, you recognised that they were from the city and the same as you. They dressed the same, the conversations were the same, and you just felt the same.

The sense was reciprocated by several artists, including Rick Wakeman (2011), Dave Bartram (2013) and Elkie Brooks (2013), who drew connections between the audience, the venue and the city, to the extent that they were of the opinion that the venue symbolised the key characteristics of Glasgow. This is exemplified by Graham Gouldman (2013), who felt the Apollo was synonymous with the city, as both were “... a bit rough round the edges but ... (possessed) a big heart.”

Within this sense of the venue as a reflection of the city, it is discernible that some representatives of the local audience engaged with aspects of Glasgow traditions at the Apollo, to the level that, in a live music sense, the venue acted as a focal point for the displays of such local customs. Certainly, the vast majority of the audience members interviewed for the study professed to being more than aware of the traditions of the ‘hard to please’ Glasgow audience. When the subject of this tradition was raised in individual interviews and focus

groups, most, if not all, participants immediately recognised what this ‘tradition’ represented.

In many cases, oft-repeated local anecdotes relating to the aforementioned experiences of Des O’Connor (O’Connor 2001, pp.56-62) and other unfortunate entertainers who suffered in front of a local audience were related, if not re-enacted. As members of a Glasgow audience some felt that they were almost contractually obliged to continue this tradition, as this example (Harkin 2012B), which relates to the verbal abuse that Neil Young suffered at an Apollo live appearance in November 1973, illustrates:

I was conscious of the Glasgow audience tradition, and you would hear from your parents about some of the stories from music hall, and the fact that Glasgow audiences can be a really tough audience. (As was the case) ... for Neil Young as the headline act, and to be actually heckled by a huge chunk of the audience. But we just thought that’s what he actually deserved. How dare he come along and not play anything from his two biggest albums? So the Glasgow punters were basically giving him the two fingers, and it probably was the most natural thing in the world. I wouldn’t think that Neil Young got that reaction anywhere else he went, other audiences would just have accepted the set list he had chosen. Glasgow gave him short shrift ...

Within this response a sense of oneness and civic pride emanates from the fact that this ‘natural’ Glasgow audience tradition was upheld, with the added bonus that a global artist was belittled as a consequence.

These audience tendencies resonated to the extent that they served to bridge any gaps experienced in the local entertainment lineage and entice younger Apollo concert-goers that were new to such traditions. As an exemplar, one then-young audience member (Ferguson 2012) found that this tradition possessed forms of potency, whereby he admitted that he “was probably too young in the beginning to perhaps take on board anything about a Glasgow audience, but I loved it right from the start.”

In this respect, several interviewees in the focus groups were very keen to recite anecdotes as to how the Apollo audience scored ‘victories’ over support artists such as John Cooper Clarke, Japan and Suicide (all 1978), who each suffered extreme forms of verbal abuse when appearing at the venue. However, in some cases, the person relating the anecdote was not necessarily present at the event in question. From the perspective of the other participants this non-presence did

not seem to detract from the potency that the narrative possessed. In essence, there was no actual requirement for the narrator to 'be there'; the fact that the story contained a series of identifiable components, such as the 'tough' and boisterous Glasgow audience against the exposed and maligned (usually English) artist, was more than sufficient grounds for the ready acceptance of the anecdote by a willing audience. Like the example above, a sense of civic pride was discernible when such tales were being related, and examples of the heckles that were used on these occasions were repeated to the enjoyment of the other interviewees.

Framed by allusions towards the traditions of a Glasgow audience, clear similarities can therefore be drawn between the experiences of variety entertainers such as Des O'Connor and electro-punk pioneers Suicide. Furthermore, it can also be seen that this social process of "remembering together" (Middleton and Edwards 1990, p.7) beyond personal experiences is one that generates an "integrated memory system" (Wertsch, cited *ibid*). In many ways therefore the Apollo provides the basis not only for these social memories to gel, but to maintain forms of remembrance framed by local traditions as well.

When other aspects of the Apollo audience proclivities were explored, several participants reflected previous representations of Glasgow audience penchants, whereby pronouncements such as "... it was a case of, I've paid money, now entertain me" (Dearie 2012), echoed similar audience inclinations made by local music hall audiences during the late nineteenth century (Maloney 2003, p.207). Likewise, the Apollo audience's tendency to claim territorial rights over the venue and the artist had been recognised as a local audience tradition from the previous century (Kift 1996, pp.69-71). Indeed, further parallels can be drawn with carnival culture, where the absence of hierarchies and convention can accommodate local traits, which leads to forms of verbal abuse and rowdy enthusiasm to materialise amongst the audience (Bakhtin 1984).

In summary, the analysis of these observations serves to align with Cohen's (1991, pp.39-40) suggestion that live performances can bond participants through their sharing of the singular focus of the event, which then contributes to the proceedings by feeding upon the social relationships that have emerged. In this case, it is the Glasgow audience tradition that has, at least in some

instances, provided an inclusive incentive for some Apollo audience members. Furthermore, if the historical traits of this audience are also taken into account, then Canetti's (1987, p.18) aforementioned concept of the audience forming an identity through modes of discharge, can be seen to further substantiate the actuality of the 'Glasgow audience.'

There was, of course, another side to the local audience, where, if they were 'won over' they could be both warm and tremendously appreciative - as some of the 'best audiences' accolades indicated in the first chapter. The 'known' volatile (both hostile and enthusiastic) nature of the Glasgow audience in general therefore added an 'edge' to live appearance in the city, with this facet impacting on performances ranging from variety entertainers Morecambe and Wise (Sellers and Hogg 2012) in the 1950s, to heavy metal artists like Ozzy Osbourne in the 1980s (Scottish Television 1995). As Elkie Brooks (2013) explains, whilst this reputation led to increased levels of trepidation, it also ensured that some artists were inclined to 'meet the challenge' that this reputation presented:

The Apollo was one of the most notorious theatres in the country. That venue could make or break careers and God help you if the audience didn't warm to you. I think the artists loved the challenge of playing such an infamous venue and the audience were warm-hearted Glaswegians who loved good music and loved to enjoy themselves. If they were not given a great gig, they let you know.

Brooks' reference to the Apollo being able to 'make' careers based on the audience's reaction has been recognised elsewhere, with commentators like Snow (1991) underlining that one way an artist can determine when "stardom has arrived" was when a Glasgow Apollo audience cheer the performer "to the rafters." Indeed, there are some examples that show that the Apollo-Glasgow audience *did* set a benchmark for both appreciation and critique, as well as create career landmarks for some artists.

Certainly, with many promoters (Hanlon 2011; Hopkins 2012; Loasby 2012) frequently using the Apollo as the 'kick start' location for UK tours due to its geographical location and (more so its) audience reputation, the local audience were in the habit of witnessing a range of breakthrough artists who, through the 'album cycle' process, were on the cusp of a new chapter in their career.

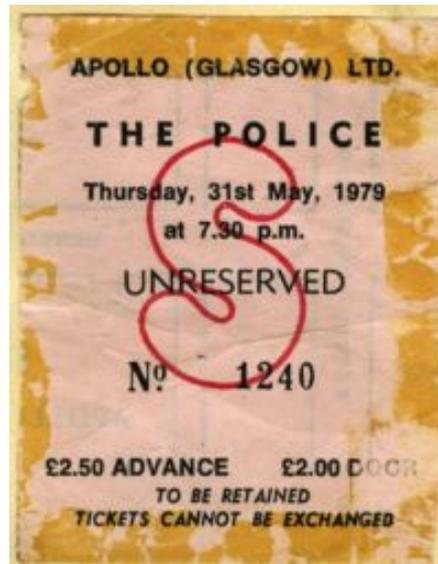


Fig 6-2. The Police, Glasgow Apollo, 31 May 1979 (Glasgow Apollo 2014G).

These career landmark examples include performances at the venue by The Police and The Skids (both 1979). In the first example, Andy Summers of The Police describes in his autobiography (2007, p.292) how he experienced a live music epiphany during the group's first ever headline concert (Fig 6-2) that took place at the Apollo in May 1979. This episode is best articulated by a *Melody Maker* journalist, Mark Williams (1979, p.19), who witnessed this transformation materialise, and marvelled at its outcome:

There's a point at which a band finds itself on a plateau way above the grinding mélange of sweaty clubs and colleges where the music often takes a back seat to the best bitter. Sometimes it takes years of consolidation to clamber these slippery rungs; sometimes a lucky hit single does it. Whatever the reason, it's a buzz to find yourself there, or to witness someone who's just making the final climb. Last week at the Glasgow Apollo, I got lucky and saw it happen for the Police ... 'Rapturous reception' is how a ruthless sub-editor would pass it off, but to the Three Plods it was clearly an awesome recognition of major league fame.

A sense emerges from this account that the live music revelation-moment is advanced further by the privileged notion of 'thereness' that Williams (and by extension, the venue audience) embraced, thus creating a live music mini-zeitgeist within the confines of the Apollo. Certainly, a sense of the magnitude that these live music moments possess can be elucidated by Campbell (2004, pp.xxiii-xxiv), who describes such instances as denoting life-affirming occasions, where a "deep sense of being present" can materialise. In addition, confirmation of the venue's uniqueness also emerges from the fact that, considering the length of Summers' career, which effectively began in 1958 (Summers 2007, p.66) and must include, as a conservative estimate, over a

thousand live performances, it is the Apollo live experience that resonates above all others.

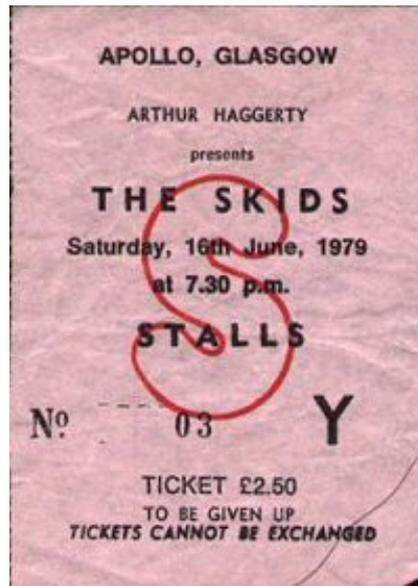


Fig 6-3 The Skids, Glasgow Apollo, 16 June 1979 (Glasgow Apollo 2014H)

In an interview conducted for this study, Richard Jobson (2013) of The Skids also referred to the defining moment when his group headlined the venue for the first time in 1979 (Fig 6-3). For Jobson (ibid), it was:

... an incredible feeling. (Guitarist) Stuart Adamson and I caught each other's eyes as we walked on stage and felt this was it: We were never better than that moment. I felt like we had wings that night - flying through the air in one direction as he passed me in another. The noise from the audience was deafening - the songs sounded like they meant something and for a magic period on the stage it all made sense.

The nature of the events encapsulating the performance by The Skids that evening may have been fleeting, but, as in the previous example, the intensity of this live music event at the Apollo continues to reverberate for decades thereafter. Indeed, in articulating the essence of what that brief glance between Jobson and Adamson represented, this description (“I felt that was it: We were never better than that moment”) provides the most conclusive example yet of how defining live music moments crystallised at the Apollo.

In many respects, given that the essence of the overall experience materialises within such a short duration and leaves a lasting impression, these live music epiphanies represent both the “momentary and the momentous” occasions that can symbolise significant life-long defining personal events (O'Brien 1981, p.47). However, as such occasions are ultimately driven by the depth of passion and

emotion emitted by the Apollo audience, such proclivities tend to further distance the venue from the anticipated 'passive and respectful' audience that would be gathered within a concert hall setting, thus further highlighting the cultural divergence that existed between the two types of venues (Jenson 1992, pp.20-21).

Nevertheless, these exemplars provide further evidence to support the claim that the Apollo hosted significant live music experiences for some artists, whereby a combination of the city, the venue's environment, audience reputation and reaction, all aligned to accommodate a number of defining live events that have since permeated their consciousness. Indeed, in an attempt to condense their overriding impressions of the Apollo, several artists were asked what message they would tweet if given an opportunity to comment on an 'Apollo hashtag.' In response Steve Hackett of Genesis stated "It was a place where you felt dreams came true" (Hackett 2013).

In summary, with the resultant afterglow of these live events resounding far beyond the momentary experiences that generated these memories, a sense emerges that, on occasion, the Apollo possessed a certain temporal-spatial uniqueness that, from the perspective of some performers, could not be replicated elsewhere. Such matchlessness was discernible to those like Jobson (2013), whereby "the atmosphere at the Apollo was strangely unique to Glasgow. I have never encountered anything like this since then." Reflections of this nature therefore align with Cohen's (1991, p.40) aforementioned reference to the manner in which the sense of place and community can emerge through the dissemination of live music within defining and emotionally charged spaces. Overall, the discussion has shown that, on many occasions, the Apollo was a location that embraced aspects of traditional locality and where the sensory nature of the live performance ran contrary with the live music experience that would have taken place within a more passive concert hall environment.

6.1.3 Local Dimensions of Security Practice

A further cultural divergence from the concert hall experience at the Apollo was the way in which several of the live events at the venue were framed by Glasgow's underlying violent traditions, to the extent that the Apollo became synonymous with regular confrontations between the audience and security staff

(Leadbetter 1995, pp.111-17). Indeed, when the venue opened in September 1973, the management tier of Unicorn Leisure, the Apollo's leaseholders, already held considerable experience of maintaining order within a wide array of licensed premises located in the city's still-violent live entertainment environment, where 'protecting the door' to these premises became a fundamental part of the licensee's operation.

As a result, Eddie Tobin, who was one of the venue's bookers during 1973-74 and managed a number of dance clubs in the city during the, "very violent, but very buoyant" late 1960s and early 1970s (Tobin 2012), was adamant that any stewards he employed had to possess certain qualities:

If we were employing stewards, it was a requirement that you could fight. If you didn't like fighting, then you really shouldn't be a steward. At the interview I would ask them, 'Can you fight? Because if you can't fight then you're absolutely no bloody use to me!' ... If a gang attacked your door, you had to win, because if you didn't, they owned your hall ... (and) you might as well go home. So any fight with a number of youths must be won. So your guys had to fight, as that was the nature of the beast.

Such an environment therefore dictated Unicorn Leisure's strict door policy that was implemented across the range of their premises in the city, including the Apollo (Hoggard 1973C, p.40). However, it is within the auditorium that the venue's security practices towards the audience were mainly articulated. As mentioned previously, in recognition of the different genre audiences at the Apollo, the main focus of the security staff (or bouncers) was to protect the venue's seating (Lynch 2013). Of course, rather than possessing a concert hall's almost uniform 'dignified' audience (Chanan 1994, p.157), different types of concerts at the venue posed different types of pressures for the bouncers, as suggested by Holt's (2007, p.19) concept of 'genre cultures,' whereby the category of music preferences displayed by audiences can align with certain practices and behaviours.

The venue's security supervisor Danny Hendry (2013) estimated that approximately seventy per cent of the Apollo concerts posed little, or no, concern for his staff. However, for Hendry, the punk gigs at the venue tended to stimulate layers of conflict, not least due to the audience's habit of spitting at the venue staff (confirmed by a number of Apollo employees), and having to contend with band-incited disturbances, such as those led by The Stranglers (ibid). Whilst spitting and forms of unruly behaviour may have been a common

trait at that point within punk culture (Simonelli 2002), the underlying tensions that emanated from the bouncer's 'known' inclinations towards modes of violent practice at the Apollo, proved to be an incendiary mix. Stating the obvious, Hendry (2013) was of the opinion that "Certainly, the punks didn't like us."

Like Lynch (2013), Hendry regards the violent reputation surrounding the venue's bouncers as being exaggerated by myth and the passing of time. He admits that, while there were a "few bad apples" within the contingent of the bouncers, they were immediately sacked when any transgressions came to light (Hendry 2013). The security supervisor offered further vindication of the positive reputation of the stewards by highlighting that they were in frequent demand by promoters at other venues (ibid). Ultimately, Hendry believes that the bouncers were a respected and intrinsic part of the Apollo phenomenon, as, when referring to the 'Save the Apollo' campaign, he highlights that "... a 100,000 people (sic) wouldn't have signed that petition if we were bastards" (ibid).

Indeed, both Lynch and Hendry echo several of the points raised by Simon Frith as part of a 1979 *Melody Maker* article (1979, p.13), which questioned the poor reputation held by bouncers within the contemporary rock-framed live music sector. An issue central to Frith's argument was rock's tendency to eulogise various forms of audience misbehaviour, whereby taking part in destructive, but celebrated, conduct (especially within seated 'rock' venues), could ultimately destabilise the venue's status and reputation. From this perspective, it could be deemed that the security practices at the Apollo were justified, given the range of issues that the venue staff had to contend with.

6.1.4 Genre Dimensions of Security Practice

Whilst the Apollo management's cohesive perspective on crowd behaviour assumes elements of substance, such claims require further analysis, not least due to some notable incidents that arose during some punk concerts at the venue. Again, such occurrences at the venue ultimately serve to apply further distance from the concert hall experience.⁴⁵ Certainly, if borrowing the rock-

⁴⁵ Due to the lack of small-medium live venues in the city, the Apollo assumed a key position or hosting punk-new wave concerts. Punk had effectively been banned in Glasgow following disorder during The Stranglers concert at the City Hall in June 1977 (*Glasgow Herald*, 1977, p.4). As Hogg (1993, p.159) notes, the anti-punk stance adopted by the local council dissuaded local license holders from hosting concerts that held any connection with the genre, and, as a

enhanced rhetoric that Frith (ibid) refers to, then one of the most ‘celebrated’ riotous concerts at the Apollo was the appearance by The Clash in July 1978 (Fig 6-4).

This concert featured in the group’s fictional documentary *Rude Boy* (1996), and represents one of the few occasions where security practice at the venue was captured on film. In addition to the clearly visible scenes of violence that manifested at the front of the stage during the course of the concert, reviews of the concert in the music press provide a more revelatory account of the venue’s security practices.

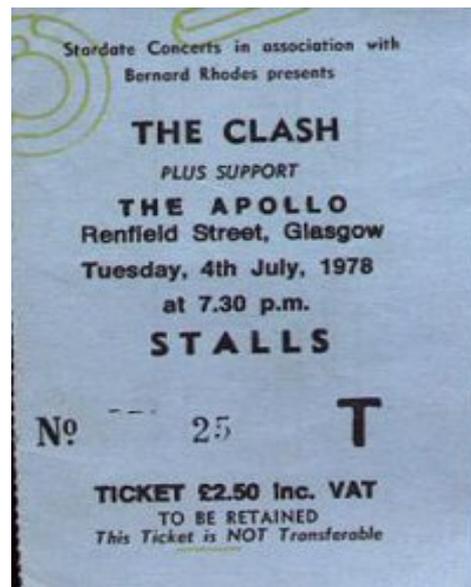


Fig 6-4. The Clash, Glasgow Apollo, 4 July 1978 (Glasgow Apollo, 2014).

Writing in the *New Musical Express*, Salewicz (1978, p.27) reveals that “pogoing kids (were) being dragged to the back of the hall and having the shit kicked out of them” by the venue bouncers. Furthermore, it involved “obscene sights like a bouncer with shoulder-length hair diving head-first off the front of the orchestra pit onto the heads of the audience” (ibid, pp.27-28). Another review from the same concert in *Melody Maker* (Brazier 1978, p.8) also refers to the “sickening brutality” of the bouncers, whereby they lay:

... into the front rows at will, with only the dubious excuse that the seats were suffering. When the hell is this kind of treatment of rock fans (who were human beings last time I looked at them) going to cease?

result, many of the initial punk gigs in the area had to be held at Paisley’s Bungalow Bar, which was situated outside Glasgow. Whilst this ban was later lifted (*Evening Times* 1977, p.3), the Apollo remained the main outlet for punk-new wave concerts in the city during 1977-79.

This account alone takes issue with ‘protect the seats’ policy at the venue, where the extremes of the violent and inhumane retribution far outweigh the consequences of the original misdemeanour. Unquestionably, such images relate closely to those witnessed by the author at the concert that evening, and provide clear indications about the bouncers’ ‘punk mindset’ that was exemplified at similar concerts.⁴⁶

Additionally, punk-new wave artists directly experienced the violent tendencies of the venue’s security staff, as Richard Jobson (2013) of The Skids, then supporting The Stranglers, recalls:

The Stranglers (concert in May 1978) was very violent, as the bouncers clearly did not like punk or punks. J.J Burnel (of The Stranglers) got stuck in and we followed. Remember I was only 17 at the time. Afterwards all the bouncers were waiting in the stairway for us to leave - I was terrified.⁴⁷

Several promoters were also aware of some of the security routines that occurred at the venue. One anonymised promoter in an interview conducted for this study, referred directly to the venue’s ‘punishment room,’ where “If people were naughty (then) the security used to give them a smack.”⁴⁸

According to several Apollo staff interviewed for this study, the extent of the bouncer’s behaviour outwith the view of the public was a ‘known’ issue within the confines of the venue. Rather than condone such unwarranted behaviour, a number of staff challenged such practice. One anonymised Apollo employee reflected on how this behaviour impacted on the workplace environment:

I really enjoyed working there; there was a really good atmosphere. However, that atmosphere changed dramatically at night-time when the bouncers came in; it completely changed the whole feeling about the place. The bouncers were very aggressive and seemed to control the management, as opposed to the management controlling them; they took

⁴⁶ A further punk concert at the venue where members of the audience received similar treatment from the bouncers was the 1982 touring mini-festival, ‘The Gathering of the Clans.’ Again, the reviewer (Clark 1982, p.36) describes the violent behaviour of the bouncers, whereby dancing audience members were “hurled back to their seats” and also “thumped in the guts.” Even younger members of the audience were, ‘knocked about like punch bags’ and some were “singled out” for individual attention by the security staff (ibid).

⁴⁷ Similarly, Jake Burns of Stiff Little Fingers related that, on one occasion, his band had to barricade themselves in their dressing room at the venue after the Apollo bouncers threatened them for criticising their security practice from onstage (Burns 2011).

⁴⁸ Another Apollo employee simply referred to the same location as the ‘Bouncers’ Room,’ where fans who had misbehaved were given a “good seeing to” by the security staff.

over; they were vicious people.... I've got to say that they weren't happy if they weren't battering somebody. ... You saw holes at the front door, and you'd ask, 'How did that happen?' And you were told that it had been somebody's head, they missed the door. You would see people being dragged to the boiler room downstairs for a doing, and you would have to ask if there was any need for this.

Another anonymised Apollo employee who was interviewed for this study also raised regular concerns about the route used by the bouncers to eject audience members. If they were taken out the front exit, then that would generally conclude the matter, albeit, as indicated above, audience members sometimes 'missed the door.' However, if an audience member was taken from the auditorium to be ejected from an exit other than the main entrance (as happened frequently according to this member of staff), then, most likely, the unlucky person was the recipient of a beating within the venue's hidden environment. Indeed, the frequency and continuance of this process was one of several factors that compelled this person to leave their employment at the venue.

In summary, these accounts by journalists, artists, promoters and staff function to contest and diminish aspects of the venue's proffered security policy. Sufficient evidence therefore exists that, framed by local tradition and incentivised further by genre behaviour expectations, a number of concerts at the Apollo facilitated distinctly violent encounters. With violence assuming a key position as one of the three main themes within carnival culture (Burke, cited Chanan 1994, p.32), such occurrences further distance the Apollo from the more staid concert hall experience, where such venues were designed to avoid any inclinations towards such practices.

6.2 Genre Fixity

This part of the chapter focuses on the way in which the campaign to save the Apollo during the early part of 1978 ultimately helped to fix the genre identity of the venue. The discussion argues that, whilst the impending demise of a treasured live music venue was its most transparent initiator, it is also discernible that the specific nature of the new leisure venture at the building gave the campaign a vitality that it may not have possessed otherwise. In effect,

the campaign to save the Apollo was driven by the implied threat that the venue's new use possessed towards the Apollo's rock identity.

When it was announced in March 1978 that the leisure group Mecca had applied for a bingo licence for the venue, initial reaction to both the closure *and* its intended use was palpable. As an example, the campaign initiator, the previously mentioned SNP councillor Duncan McLean, (who was then in his mid-twenties and a regular Apollo concert-goer) was said to be "horrified" that the venue may be turned into a bingo hall (*Glasgow Herald* 1978A, p.1). Further reports in the local media functioned to elevate the notion that bingo, not economic realities, was behind the change of venue use. Indeed, this leisure activity was effectively positioned as the nemesis of what the Apollo represented, through such headlines as "Apollo bingo would kill concerts" (Gray 1978, p.2), and "Morley defends bingo at Apollo" (Forbes 1978, p.3).

The debate surrounding the specific nature of the planned venture also informed the protest campaign, with one of the campaign leaders Christine Nanguy (then Oliver) highlighting that one of the main reasons behind the initiative was to prevent Glasgow becoming a "city of only pubs and bingo halls" that possessed no leisure facilities for young people (Nanguy 2012). In this instance Nanguy's reference to the two main types of prevailing leisure activities in the city reflects the aforementioned notions of gendered leisure, where, as a natural extension of the spatial division of labour (Massey 1995), place also dictates gender-related leisure patterns. Whilst heavy industry had facilitated large-scale engagement with male-dominated pub culture in Glasgow (Johnston and McIvor 2007, pp.27-28; 37), bingo was regarded as the female equivalent, due to its perceived compatibility with the predetermined domestic responsibilities of its overwhelmingly female audience-participants (Clarke and Critcher 1992, pp.159-60).

This leisure activity, which had gained increasing popularity since the early 1960s, had led major leisure chains such as Mecca, to convert many existing cinemas to bingo operations (Dixey and Talbot 1982, pp.1-2). Therefore, a widespread pattern of such conversions was established well before the Apollo bingo licence application was made in early 1978. Bingo's prevalence among its key female audience was such, suggest the authors (*ibid*, pp.9-14), that it

became the source of a multitude of gender-based moral panics. In addition, Mann (2003, p.4) also suggests that the stereotyping of bingo culture led the activity to become closely associated with middle-aged women, and be represented as an 'other' within general perceptions of 'normal' recreational pursuits.

Claims of this nature possess much credence in relation to the Apollo's rock boundaries, as clear indications of bingo's otherness can be found amongst some of the most prominent venue platforms. As an example, the Glasgow Apollo website uses a venue guest book entry by Bob Geldof of The Boomtown Rats as a mission statement to represent what the site, and, by extension, the venue, is said to symbolise. The entry (Geldof, quoted Glasgow Apollo 2014A), which was made in June 1978 shortly before the venue was due to close, states:

The only thing that should happen to the Apollo is that it be torn down by rock fans brick by brick while a rock band play 'Scotland the Brave' at 50,000 watts. Fuck bingo, long live rock!

Geldof's comments clearly positions bingo as rock's (and the Apollo's) antithesis. Given bingo's strong association with its non-male customer base, such observations reflect the embodiment of female otherness that prevails within rock's somewhat clichéd rebellious persona (Reynolds and Press 1995, p.3). It also further symbolises the male discourse that encapsulates the genre (Leonard 2007B, p.31), as well as its masculine traits and notions of male-determined forms of authentic underpinning within rock's ideology (ibid, p.32).

Moreover, the vitriol that surrounded the venue's impending engagement with the female environment of bingo culture was a factor that served to provoke the reaction at the July 1978 concert by The Clash the evening before the venue was due to close, as this reflection (Dickson, J. 2012) highlights:

I remember being at The Clash gig and a guy in the audience was there with a lit rolled up newspaper with which he was trying to set the chair on fire, saying, 'It's not going to be a bingo hall.'

Overall, reactions of this nature go beyond the sense of loss that would typically accompany the closure of a treasured local live music venue, no matter how deeply it resonated. It can therefore be seen that the Apollo's previously understated rock identity rose to the fore and shaped the extent of the 1978 protest campaign to save the venue. Indeed, if an exclusive cinema operation or shopping centre had been proposed for the building, then it is arguable whether

such plans would have generated a 'Save the Apollo' campaign of similar proportions. Likewise, had the Apollo assumed a less prominent (yet underlying) rock persona, then, again, a much smaller protest campaign, if any, would have materialised.

Lastly, it is also evident that the large-scale local debate surrounding the venue's proposed closure generally avoided confronting the underlying reasons that had led this situation to arise, most notably the venue's commercial viability, which was severely restricted due to the poor fabric of the building. Instead, it was the more emotive aspects of live rock and the negative connotations of bingo that garnered headlines. Within this context, notions that the run-down nature of the Apollo made it an 'ideal' live rock venue (which was articulated earlier by some audience members), requires further scrutiny. Indeed, such views are limited in perspective, as the Apollo audience would only see the 'presentable,' yet celebrated, essential elements of the venue, and not its rotting infrastructure.

Such considerations confronted campaign organiser Christine Nanguy (2012) when she undertook a backstage tour of the venue in the spring of 1978, and which confirmed that her efforts to keep the Apollo open had been almost futile, mainly due to the extent of the venue's dilapidation.

We got a tour around the venue ... and were on the stage and shown upstairs. And we thought, 'Oh my God ... what have we tried to save!' We realised then that the odds were against us, not just because of the planning permission, but also because of the state of the building. It had never been maintained. ... I just kind of thought that if you like a place, then you're not liable to see its faults. Okay, it had a sticky carpet and it was in a bit of a mess. We had nothing to compare it to, we didn't realise that this wasn't normal. It was when we saw the holes in the floor and things like that; we just thought that this should have been attended to.

Nanguy's reaction accurately reflects Cohen's (2007B, pp.13-14) rational perspective about threatened rock institutions, where the economic and political realities framing their proposed closure tend to be disregarded amidst the emotional outpourings that emerge in their wake. What Nanguy was directly experiencing was the negative side of fifty years of venue neglect within the hidden side of a live music environment. These unsavoury aspects, which meant that, from her perspective, the entire venue was not 'worth saving,' further

underlines the fragile and fuzzy nature of the allegiance bestowed upon the venue's poor conditions by many Apollo advocates.

As mentioned above, by re-opening in September 1978, the Apollo was saved from demise, and, as indicated in the local press (Robinson 1978C, p.10), the campaign, and, by extension, what it symbolised, was vindicated as a result. However, as Christine Nanguy discovered, the venue that had been saved possessed limited facilities, was extremely run-down and offered little scope for improvement. It was, at best, only appropriate for hosting rock concerts, which, as the campaign served to reiterate, seemed to provide its underlying sense of purpose more so than at any other time within its tenure to date. Therefore, as the Apollo entered the 1980s, it was encompassed by a rock identity that had been articulated and fixed during the events surrounding the venue's temporary closure in July 1978.

6.3 Conclusion

It has been shown that the period 1977-79 witnessed the conclusion of a key stage within the Apollo's history, where many of the key components that had shaped its existence during its initial period, such as its local identity, had started to dissolve as a result of the events surrounding its threatened closure. From the above analysis it was also discernible that, despite, representations of traditional forms of locality occurring inside the venue, the changing socio-cultural identity of the city served to diminish the Apollo's local standing. Such patterns placed further distance between the venue and the desired social relationships symbolised by a concert hall environment. Whilst the local authority's moves towards a cultural regeneration agenda were only becoming apparent at this stage, as evidenced by the political manoeuvring encapsulating the concert hall funding proposal, it can be seen that the Apollo was one of the first local traditional 'victims' of these new policies. In some ways therefore, parallels can be drawn with the local council's moves towards curtailment of Glasgow's music hall environment in the late nineteenth century and their policies and practices towards venues like the Apollo in 1978. Furthermore, framed by the Apollo-concert hall question, both periods also denote moves towards the gentrification of live entertainment by the local state.

The events surrounding the venue's closure also saw the local audience uniting to both articulate and fix the Apollo's genre identity as a live rock location at a time when, as will be discussed in the next chapter, music genre parameters (and genre worlds for that matter) were in the process of changing. In essence, this process led to the Apollo being encumbered with an identity that ran contrary to prevailing trends within popular music on a wide variety of levels. In viewing the trajectory of the venue since its opening, it can be seen that, whereas the affiliation between locality and genre helped to underpin the success of the venue in 1973-74, the links between the same actors in 1977-79, can be perceived to herald a less auspicious era for the Apollo.

Chapter Seven: 1980-84

The analysis of this period focuses on the way in which actors representing locality, genre, and industry impacted on the second phase of the venue's tenure. Although this timeframe is slightly broader than the previous chapters, the structure adopted mirrors the less intensive environment that accompanied the Apollo's latter period. This is most clearly reflected in the number of concerts held at the venue, which saw the annual total reduce from 109 in 1980 (Appendix 6K) to only 44 in 1984 (Appendix 6O). In addition, whilst the Apollo had assumed a key position within the realms of the rock genre world (Frith 2002, p.88) during its initial period, it was discernible that the venue grew increasingly isolated from many of its initial benefactors during 1980-84. Therefore, this detachment ultimately produced very few, if any, of the dynamic relationships between the relevant actors that had encapsulated the Apollo's first phase. While variations of these relationships and networks (between the Apollo and locality, music genre and industry) did materialise over the course of the designated period, they tended to be shrouded in conflict and, as a means of framing the discussion to follow, some applicable background information is provided in the first instance.

As noted in the previous chapter, the venue had reopened in September 1978 following a widespread local campaign against its proposed closure. Although the Apollo's continued existence was regarded as a form of victory for the local audience and media (Robinson 1978C, p.10), any resultant afterglow quickly dissolved amidst the realities that the venue faced within its new environment. Indeed, the new tenants (Maximus Investments) applied a significant caveat at the outset, which effectively warned that the existing owners (George Green Ltd.) would terminate their lease within eighteen months (and would also bulldoze the site), if the new venture did not receive sufficient support from local audiences (ibid).

The threat failed to materialise as Apollo Leisure (the new title given to Maximus Investments) eventually bought the venue in August 1980. However, the Company continued this trend of regularly issuing financial updates on some of the costs incurred in both running the operation and maintaining the property (Brogan 1979, p.5 and Kyle 1980, p.10), albeit this tended to be in response to

complaints made about the venue's operation within the no-longer-supportive local press (Houston 1979, pp.10-11). In effect, as Apollo Leisure were extending the somewhat apparent, but previously neglected, debate about the financial realities that underpinned the venue's closure in 1978, this development represented the first occasion when the venue's perceived aesthetic values were displaced within the local consciousness. Instead, a less romantic, business-in-crisis, identity took its place.

Frank Lynch (2013), the CEO of Unicorn Leisure, who ran the venue during 1973-78, could see clear differences in the business structures of the two companies that ran the Apollo:

I don't want to sound like an egomaniac here (with regard to the success of the initial phase of the Apollo), but that was organised by a bunch of guys, and not a corporate structure. It was Jan (Tomasik), Eddie (Tobin) and Ronnie (Simpson), and a few other people, and led by myself - that's what it was. But then (the venue) became corporate - (almost like) corporate uk.com, and the magic went ...

Lynch is suggesting that one of the venue's 'strengths' during its initial phase was the manner in which its commercial focus was underplayed, notwithstanding this may be one of the main reasons why the Apollo closed in 1978. Certainly, the transformation of the Apollo from a venue that was regarded as a local, 'people's' venue to a live music location that was managed by a national profit-driven company, emerged as a common local perception, and this is a factor that the next section will explore in more detail. However, it is sufficient to state at this stage that such pronouncements tend to enhance notions of locality and community, as well as align with Bird's (2002) aforementioned reflections on strength that local connections play in bolstering legends that embrace a sense of place.

Further significance within this development also lies within the fact that Apollo Leisure subsequently became part of the live music conglomerate Live Nation when it was bought out in 1999 (Kronenburg 2012, p.69). Thus, Apollo Leisure's takeover of the venue in 1980 can be regarded as a key indicator that locally run live music locations like the Apollo were becoming increasingly marginalised within the UK live sector as part of the growing professionalism (and focus on revenue generation) that was becoming more apparent during the late 1970s-early 1980s.

The remainder of this analysis therefore explores the three main conflicts that emerged between the Apollo and some of its former supportive networks within settings that encapsulated forms of locality, music genre and industry. In the first case, it is argued that the fragmentation of the local Apollo network, as well as the local state's explicit drive towards a cultural regeneration agenda, both served to detach the Apollo from its previously close links with locality. Second, it is shown that symbolic revisions within the live rock genre-world (Frith 2002, p.88) functioned to diminish the venue's stature. Lastly, it is revealed that the continuing moves towards professionalism within the live sector acted to ostracise the Apollo. Overall, these arguments provide sufficient evidence to support the claim that during 1980-84 the Apollo became increasingly distanced from the successful foundations of its initial phase, and, as a result, was almost obliged to close in 1985.

7.1 Locality

Three developments during 1980-84 helped to unravel the close connections between the Apollo and locality. First, the discussion argues that the evaporation of the aforementioned local Apollo network was prompted by the non-local identity of the new owners. Second, the discussion also suggests that, while Glasgow's live music environment was greatly enhanced due to the addition of a relatively large number of new venues, it also, conversely, served to further isolate the Apollo from its customer base. Last, it is shown that the local state's emphatic pursuit of a cultural regeneration policy hastened the end of the venue.

7.1.1 The Local Apollo Network

Chapter four had identified the existence of a local Apollo network, which had helped to sustain and elevate the venue during its initial phase. It suggested that this network had been underpinned by a high level of engagement with locality, and through the social exchanges that occurred between the parties that focused on the Apollo, all the transactions served to benefit (whether directly or indirectly) the city of Glasgow. However, as the discussion to follow will show, great significance lies in the fact that the takeover of the venue by Apollo Leisure represented the first time in venue's fifty-one year history that this location was no longer under local control.

It was also discernible that some of the main players within the network were no longer present, with Frank Lynch having left to pursue business interests abroad (*Evening Times* 1979, p.19). Radio Clyde had also relocated outside the city in 1983, although it still broadcast to the same area. In addition, journalists like Russell Kyle, who had previously served as Unicorn Leisure's public relations officer, no longer worked for the venue. Indeed, Kyle (2012) was someone who witnessed the Apollo's overall appeal diminish during its latter phase:

No, the (local) relationship wasn't the same. I did have dealings with them (Apollo Leisure) and they were perfectly fine people. But, by that time, the magic of the building had diminished. There were a couple of big gigs, although I can't remember what they were, but things just seemed to deteriorate and slide away ... something just wasn't right about the building, I don't know what it was, but it wasn't like the way the Apollo used to be.

Although Kyle was not able to pinpoint exactly what may have led to this change, others, such as local journalist-broadcaster Billy Sloan (2011), could determine that the non-local identity of the new operators was a key factor:

When the baton was handed over to people from south of the border, although they were passionate about the place, it wasn't in the blood ... the local element had been diluted somewhat.

Sloan's reference to "in the blood" serves to equate the Apollo with locality, to the extent that non-locals could not fully comprehend what the venue 'meant.' Likewise, Iain Gordon (2012), who was the former electrician at the Apollo before he went on to manage the Pavilion Theatre, also pinpointed the non-local identity of the new owners as a factor that acted to reshape the venue's identity. In addition, he also refers (*ibid*) to the break up of the Apollo network, and mirrors Frank Lynch's earlier comments about the perceived business focus of the new non-local operators:

I don't think Apollo Leisure had the same relationship with the local audience that Unicorn had, and the people who worked there didn't have the same commitment towards the company, there wasn't someone there like Jan (Tomasik) or Frank Lynch. ... Apollo Leisure didn't want any of the staff who had been there, and it just wasn't the same. ... The Apollo (previously) had a wee community working for it, both inside and outside the building and this would have included things like the policemen on the beat. And I think Apollo Leisure were the first theatre company not to think about the punter coming through the door. Apollo Leisure were the first group to come along and say, 'Fuck the punter.' While Unicorn and Apollo Leisure were ultimately both run by accountants, Frank (Lynch) was in the entertainment business and giving something back.

In effect, Gordon is engaging with the somewhat romantic (and legend-enhancing) notion that, of the two companies that managed the Apollo, it was only Apollo Leisure that was a commercially driven enterprise. However, as earlier commerce-related reflections by Lynch (2013) demonstrate (“I had to pay the rent”), this perception can be challenged, not least by the emphasis placed on the ‘protect the seats’ security policy adopted at the venue during the Unicorn Leisure phase. Moreover, this was a practice that was determined by the desire to attract a ‘worthwhile’ audience, who would be more likely to pay premium prices for concert tickets.

The breakdown in the Apollo’s relationship with locality became most apparent by the manner in which the previously supportive local press started to focus on the run-down nature of the venue. Indeed, a series of extremely critical articles, which began to appear within nine months of Apollo Leisure’s takeover, carried added resonance as they mainly featured within the same Glasgow-based (*Daily Record-Sunday Mail*) newspaper group that had led the campaign to save the venue the previous year (Robinson 1978C, p.10). Whereas the Apollo was formerly regarded as a local venue that ‘must’ be saved at all costs (ibid 1978A, pp.24-25), the Apollo was now represented as “the biggest pop slum in Europe” (Houston 1979, p.10) and as the “Appalling Apollo” (McGurk 1983, pp.16-17). In this instance, Russell Kyle (2012) admitted that, had such a local perspective existed during his tenure at the Apollo, then this would have made his PR role “impossible.”

Gerry Tait (2013A), who was the venue manager under Unicorn Leisure during 1976-77, but later went on to establish a long career with Apollo Leisure, suggests that a local grudge existed against the English company:

People didn’t like Apollo Leisure. Having worked for both companies I can look at it from both perspectives. Basically, there was a lot of jealousy surrounding Apollo Leisure, because they took over theatres from local authorities and ran them better than the local authorities. The thing was, there was a lot of jealousy in the industry, not only in Glasgow. A lot of people decried Apollo Leisure, but the thing is, without Apollo Leisure, it (the Glasgow Apollo) would have closed before that.

Tait also regarded the local press coverage of the venue as being somewhat “bitter” and locally framed (emphasis in the original):

There was this sense that an English company had taken over *our* venue - that was basically the way it was depicted.

As the then-General Manager of Theatres Division for Apollo Leisure, Sam Shrouder admits that running the Glasgow venue was “difficult,” and whilst recognising that some of the press comments were justifiable, they also embodied intolerant forms of parochialism (Shrouder 2013):

It was fair comment, but if they were going round Glasgow looking for places that were quite run down, then they would have had a lot of stories. I think they did us an injustice in that they kept somewhere open and brought tremendous pleasure to a lot of people, which without us, would not have been kept open.

Shrouder makes a valid point. Apollo Leisure’s stewardship of the venue lasted two years longer than the Unicorn Leisure period, and, in addition, the company did keep the venue afloat under particularly trying circumstances, even when most of the venue’s traditional supporters had abandoned it. However, such determination came at a cost, and, as the discussion to follow will show, the venue’s decline was advanced, yet both slow and lingering, during its second phase.

7.1.2 Local Live Music Environment

Another factor that acted to diminish the overall status of the Apollo was the paradigm shift that occurred within the local live music environment during the late 1970s-early 1980s. Although chapter four drew attention to the extremely limited nature of Glasgow’s live music sector in 1973 (which was one of the main reasons that framed the Apollo’s initial success), the addition of several new venues in the city between 1979 and 1983 possessed a converse effect. In essence, whilst the Apollo’s initial phase was one where it was *the* venue in Glasgow, this scenario no longer applied after 1979.

A clear example of this transformation can be evidenced by the prevailing concert-going habits of Christine Nanguy, who was one of the main organisers of the campaign to save the Apollo in 1978. Spurred to start the petition due to her yearning for new music, which only the Apollo alone could only supply at that time, Nanguy (2012) however failed to reconnect with the venue after its reopening mainly because:

... the concerts after that weren’t as good; the venue wasn’t the same as it was before. ... It was mainly because of the bands ... we went to the Art School, Tiffany’s and Night Moves. I was really into Fad Gadget as well; I saw them about four times in Night Moves. I basically stopped going to the

Apollo as much, and went to lots of different venues instead. Music was different then.

Nanguy is drawing attention to the way in which the post-punk music milieu heralded an abundance of new breakthrough artists that led those captivated to neglect past music endeavours and be “utterly focused on the present” (Reynolds 2005, p.xiv). Within this realm therefore, the Apollo represented an unfashionable past for those like Nanguy who were keen to embrace new music within a contemporary live environment.

Night Moves, a 500 capacity local rock club that opened in October 1981, was among a number of new or re-established local venues that emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s, all of which functioned to revive live music in Glasgow (McFadden 1981, p.4). Earlier, another two venues had come on stream in the city when, in a move initiated by Edinburgh-based promoters Regular Music, both the Pavilion Theatre and Tiffany’s had started to stage concerts from October 1979 (*New Musical Express* 1979, p.4). It was within this timeframe where the Apollo’s capacity, which was previously considered to be one of the venue’s prime components, became a logistical burden. Comments made by Colin Robertson (2012), the Apollo’s first manager, indicates that the venue’s status and its position as *the* venue in the city during its initial phase, acted as a magnet for promoters and artists, even if the concert was not expected to sell out:

We were sometimes competing against ourselves. We knew that some bands would be much better filling a one thousand capacity (venue) rather than play to two-thirds empty Apollo. But the Apollo held a certain allure for some artists, and they wanted to perform there nonetheless, and at least try to aim for a ‘sold right out’ - that was the ultimate achievement.

However, economic realities prevailed within Glasgow’s new live music environment. After witnessing many mid-range artists only selling approximately 1,000 tickets at the Apollo when he worked there as an electrician, Pavilion Manager Iain Gordon (2012) had realised that there was commercial potential for attracting these acts to his 1,449 seat venue, and the Pavilion thereafter attracted a number of these artists on a regular basis. Furthermore, in 1982, Mark Mackie, later of Regular Music, became the Entertainment Convenor at the University of Glasgow’s Queen Margaret Union (QMU). Mackie was instrumental in reviving the venue’s fortunes by updating the facilities and by attracting both

emerging local bands and zeitgeist national bands such as The Smiths (Mackie 2012).

Artists who would normally have performed at the Apollo therefore found a range of different venues in the city that were more readily suited on commercial and aesthetic grounds. Indeed, relatively new artists such as Public Image Limited and Imagination only appeared at the Apollo by default, with these concerts being transferred to the venue as a result of Tiffany's sudden closure in November 1983 (*New Musical Express* 1983, p.40). However, the demise of Tiffany's was quickly addressed by the re-opening of the city's Barrowland Ballroom the following month (ibid), and this 2,500 capacity venue thereafter assumed a key presence in Glasgow's live music scene, therefore casting a shadow over the last eighteen months of the Apollo's existence.

Therefore, it is evident that the shift within the city's live music environment during the late 1970s-early 1980s was one that helped to boost Glasgow's live music sector. However, by shifting the emphasis of the live infrastructure towards new venues that possessed smaller capacities, yet were more compatible for new artists and their audiences, the Apollo became, as Nanguy (2012) indicated, increasingly marginalised within this revised local live music milieu.

7.1.3 Cultural Agenda

The previous chapter had shown that, while the local authority had cast doubt on the venue's future by engineering a preference for the new concert hall in the city at the expense of the Apollo, such moves, whilst veiled, were, in the main, fairly isolated. However, as the discussion to follow reveals, several new measures, which formed part of the local council's cultural regeneration agenda, were explicitly linked to the Apollo's continued existence as a live music venue. In particular, it argues that forms of cultural elitism shaped aspects of Glasgow's cultural initiatives, which ultimately served to destabilise the Apollo.

Cultural regeneration policies, as Garcia (2004A, pp.312-14) explains, were implemented by several Western cities in order to galvanise their local economies following de-industrialisation in the early 1980s. This process compelled the relevant local authority to undertake significant levels of

investment in order to create high profile cultural events and spaces as a means of attracting further commerce and tourist activity (ibid). Indeed, in Glasgow's case, a key focus for initiatives of this nature was the city's successful acquisition of the European City of Culture title in 1990. Although this status was bestowed on Glasgow five years after the Apollo closed, the foundations of the cultural strategies that led to the award can be seen to have emerged during the course of the venue's tenure. Certainly, Glasgow's wholehearted enactment of these policies attracted a considerable range of local criticism (Boyle and Hughes 1991; Mooney and Danson 1997; Mooney 2004), due to what was considered to be the re-appropriation of local resources towards cultural projects that effectively intensified spatial conflicts in Glasgow (MacLeod 2002).

Several temporal factors however served to stimulate the 'fast pass' strategy that Glasgow adopted towards cultural regeneration. Not least, this was due to the city having experienced the most rapid and intense form of de-industrialisation suffered by any post-war local economy on a global basis (MacInnes 1995, pp.73-74). Such factors forced the newly elected local Labour administration, which had regained power in 1980 after two years in opposition, to consider a fresh approach to the city's almost insurmountable socio-economic problems and embrace the cultural regeneration agenda (MacLeod 2002, p.611). Whilst Mooney and Danson (1997) condemn such reversal strategies, Harvey (1989, p.5) illustrates that even the "most resolute" of municipal socialists were forced to play the "capitalist game" during this period due to the paradigm shift that had occurred in global economics

A by-product of the cultural regeneration policies was the way in which these endeavours functioned to marginalise traditional leisure spaces. As Garcia (2004B, p.106) describes, much emphasis was placed on the aesthetics of city centres, and, in this respect, Lever (1991, p.996) notes that the initial 'radical transformation' of Glasgow city centre began in 1978, which bears relevance as the year in which the Apollo first closed. Furthermore, Boyle and Hughes (1994, pp.460-61) note that 1984 plans by architect Gordon Cullen (on behalf of the city renewal 'public quango' *Glasgow Action*) to 'reaestheticize' this area not only avoided local input, it also, as it made evident from the map that re-imagines both existing and new cultural spaces, fails to acknowledge the presence of the still-operational Apollo (Figure 7-1).

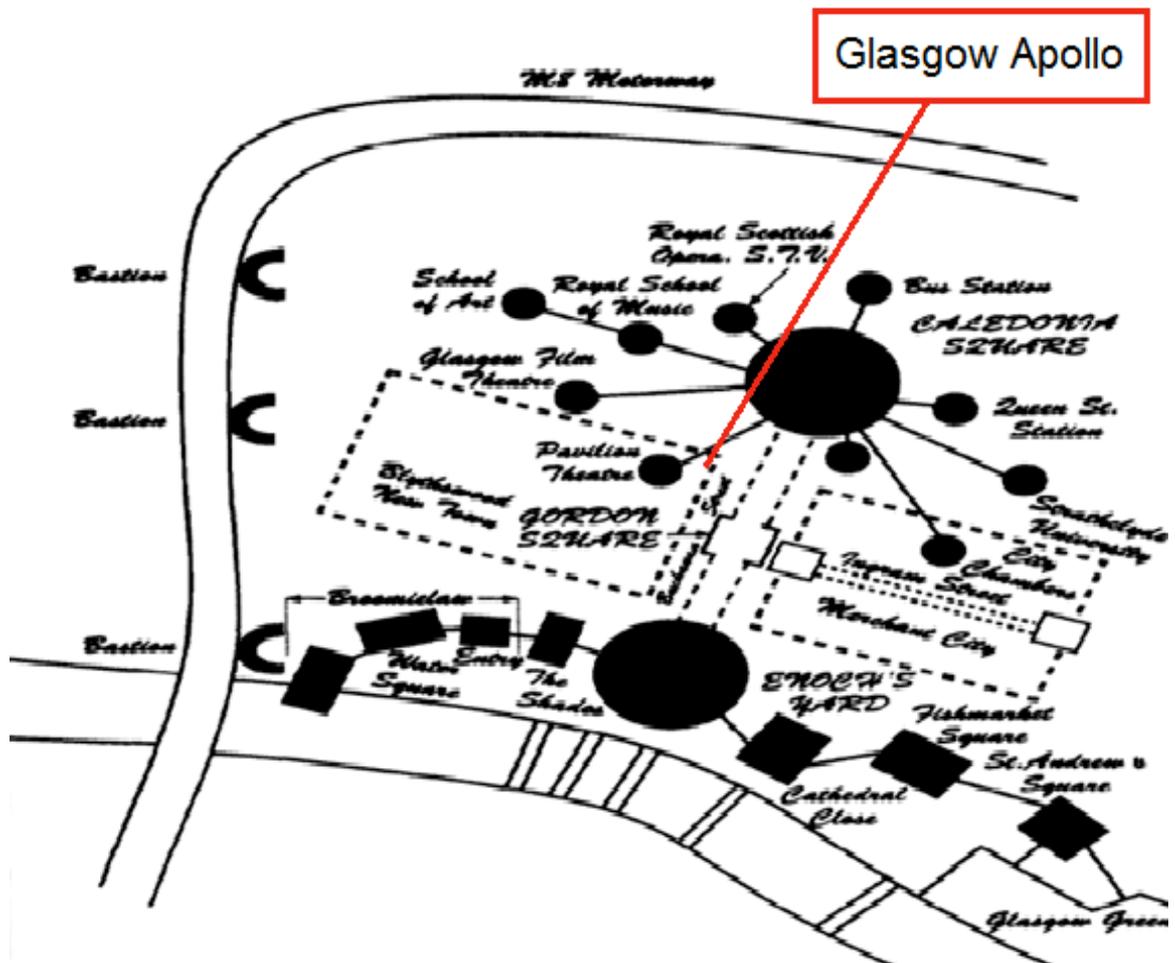


Figure 7-1. Gordon Cullen's 1984 plans to re-imagine Glasgow city centre (cited Boyle and Hughes 1994, p.461).

In effect, the key impact that this new agenda had on the Apollo stemmed from the long-awaited announcement that (what eventually became) the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC) had been given approval in March 1982, with the venue due to open in December 1984 (McKinlay 1982, p.1). Within local political circles, the announcement was regarded as being “vital to the hopes of economic regeneration in the West of Scotland” (*Glasgow Herald* 1982, p.6), thus justifying its then-£30 million cost (with £24 million of this total being from the public sector). However, for Sam Shrouder (2013) of Apollo Leisure, this declaration symbolised what was effectively the “final nail in the coffin” for the Apollo, given that the venue had to rely upon continued appearances by “the big acts” at the venue in order to achieve an operational profit.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ According to a local newspaper report, the Apollo last achieved an operational profit in 1980 and had incurred a £7,000 deficit during 1982-83 (*Glasgow Herald* 1983, p.3.)

In this respect, Shrouder clearly recognised that the capacity of venues like the SECC to host concerts by major artists and achieve large audiences, as well as accomplish the requisite economies of scale (Brennan 2010, pp.13-15), was something that the Apollo could never hope to achieve due its extremely limited infrastructure. Although the SECC's proposed opening functioned to alienate the Apollo from the local business, media and political networks that were aligned with the flagship project, such initiatives could 'just' be viewed as being 'natural' progressions that indirectly impacted on the Apollo. However, further moves taken by the local authority surrounding the venue's remaining lifespan, can be said to have directly marginalised the venue.

This development materialised in April 1983, when Glasgow City Council revoked their recently established annual guarantee to the Apollo against loss for up to £20,000 per annum (*Evening Times* 1983, p.2). Shrouder regarded the withdrawal of this award as being a "kick in the teeth" for the venue (ibid). His main complaint related to the lack of understanding shown by the local authority towards the venue's local audience, whereby "We thought we had convinced councillors that the Apollo was a vital ingredient in young people's lives in Glasgow and needed their support" (ibid). This move sparked claims of 'cultural snobbery' within the local press (MacCalman 1983, p.7), and was underlined by the fact that Scottish Opera had recently been given a grant of £225,000 by the same source that withdrew the Apollo funding (ibid). However, whilst the Apollo's guarantee was subsequently re-instated by the council later in 1983, the amount of this award was reduced by half to £10,000 per annum, and the term was also restricted to two years only (*Glasgow Herald* 1983, p.3).

In effect, the two-year period mirrored the remaining construction process for the SECC (which was now due to open towards the end of 1985), and, given that the Apollo was unlikely to continue without the grant, this tenure confirmed that, from the perspective of the council, the two venues would not co-exist. Indeed, in awarding the revised amount the local authority clearly stated that the grant was a temporary measure until the SECC opened (ibid). However, as indicated above, such policies possess wider symbolic meaning and, following the withdrawal of their support for the venue during the 1978 campaign in favour of a new concert hall, the council's policy towards the Apollo during

1982-83 provides further evidence that the venue proved to be one of the initial victims of the local state's much-maligned cultural regeneration agenda.

As Tretter (2009, p.112) notes, the value placed on cultural resources within regeneration models of this nature are underpinned by the potential relationship to other profitable investments. Therefore, in the case of both the SECC and the Royal Concert Hall (which eventually opened in 1990), the capacity of these venues to attract numerous conference and concert-related visitors to the city, in addition to their potential to generate further commercial opportunities and fill hotel rooms, helps to explain the zeal with which these flagship projects were pursued.

However, as the literature has already shown (Mooney and Danson 1997), the local authority's unequivocal approach towards the European City of Culture (ECOC) programme proved to be a divisive process, and led to a series of spatial divisions within the city. For some 'cultural critics,' such as the aforementioned artist group Workers City, the ECOC, and, by extension, the flagship components like the Royal Concert Hall and SECC that frame its infrastructure, not only marginalised the city's working-class traditions, they also left "reality behind" (McLay, cited Mooney 2004, p.331). The 'reality' that McLay is referring to is the 'real' Glasgow of poverty, deprivation and limited opportunities for many of its working-class population, which is distinct from the sanitised and tourist-friendly version of the city that aligns with the large-scale cultural facilities and events generated by the ECOC (ibid). Therefore, the previously mentioned cultural and class distinctions that Jenson (1992, pp.20-21) claims are liable to materialise in some environments due to the anticipated social relationships that the event and setting facilitate, can be seen to apply to a much larger milieu through the city's wholehearted adoption of a cultural regeneration policy.

In essence, as key flagship initiatives within the city's overall cultural regeneration policy, both the SECC and Royal Concert Hall can be seen to have shaped, and diminished, the Apollo's trajectory during its latter phase. In 1978 it was the council's preference for (what was to become) the Royal Concert Hall that initiated this process, whereas the events surrounding the SECC project during 1982-83 witnessed the same body placing restrictions on the Apollo's period of operation. As a venue which, in its original incarnation, was

specifically focused on the entertainment needs of the city's working-class population, the Apollo can be viewed as having been destabilised as a result of its underlying affinity with the traditional city and its cultural values.

As a further means of articulating this cultural hierarchy, Boyle and Hughes (1994, p.462) note the extent of local resources that were spent on the cultural regeneration process within a live music context where, as part of the ECOC programme in 1990, the Frank Sinatra concert held at Ibrox Stadium cost the local taxpayer £650,000, whilst the Bolshoi Ballet event at the SECC left the city with an outlay for £1 million. In such circumstances, the council's (somewhat reluctant) award of the £20,000 guarantee to the Apollo over a two-year period, speaks volumes about the manner in which the traditional foundations of the venue were valued by the local state. Furthermore, as the next section explains, these clear instances of cultural elitism, juxtaposed with the Apollo's increasingly prominent rock identity, ultimately served to widen the gap between the 'new' city and the 'traditional' venue.

7.2 Rock Music

This section focuses on the way in which the rock music genre was accommodated at the Apollo during the period 1980-84. It argues that, while this genre had helped to define and elevate the status of the venue during the majority of its first period of operation, the Apollo became stigmatised by similar associations during its second phase. This development was mainly due to the way in which perceptions of rock changed during the period that bridged these eras. The argument is developed over two parts. First, through an analysis of the music categories represented at the Apollo during 1980-84, the discussion suggests that the venue's underlying rock identity became more apparent at a time when negative connotations emerged about the genre. Second, it is shown that the increased emphasis on aspects of liveness within heavy metal over this period also imposed further notions of genre boundaries at the venue.

7.2.1 Genre World

As noted above, the second stage of the Apollo's period of operation is framed by the greatly reduced number of concerts that took place at the venue. Whereas the Unicorn Leisure phase (1973-78) averaged 120 concerts per year

(Appendices 6D-6I), the relevant figure for the Apollo Leisure period (1978-85) was only 76, despite this timeframe facilitating a potential concert capacity that was 16% greater (Appendices 6I-6P). In many ways therefore, the Apollo began to assume the appearance of an occasional venue, with this sense becoming increasingly discernible during 1983, when only 47 concerts were held (Appendix 6N). Whilst a further section will outline some of the reasons why this reduction materialised, it is sufficient at this point to highlight that the lower number of concerts during 1980-84 were more likely to characterise the venue than those that occurred during the Apollo's mid-1970s peak. Using the same music genre classifications that were outlined in chapter four, it can be seen that, whereas a variety of music genres competed for space within the peak concert schedules of 1975, a combination of rock and heavy metal represented an average of 49% of all concerts held at the Apollo between 1980-84.

This tendency for genres like heavy metal (as typified by artists such as Iron Maiden and Judas Priest) and rock (Status Quo and Thin Lizzy) to resonate more readily within the venue's schedule (and, by extension, the Apollo's identity) during its latter period is therefore of consequence. Thus, by aligning aspects of the relevant genre-worlds (Frith 2002, p.88) that accompanied these music categories, a fuller understanding of the impact that both rock and heavy metal made on the Apollo's status can be articulated. Central to any understanding of what 'rock' and 'heavy metal' meant during the early-mid 1980s is the manner in which, in the aftermath of punk, the polarisation of music genres occurred during the late 1970s. In particular, the changing perspective of rock frames the discussion that follows.

As described earlier, the literature showed that rock had assumed an all-embracing general 'supergenre' (Fornäs 1995, p.113) identity during the bulk of the 1970s. However, these sources also suggested that, in the aftermath of punk, 'rock' became fragmented amidst the number of genre "taste markets" that materialised (Frith 1988, p.5). Thus, in the absence of a 'general audience,' separate music genres were driven by a series of accompanying media platforms (such as *Smash Hits* and MTV) that placed equal value (within the marketplace at least) on each genre (ibid). An example of this development was the 1981 launch of the heavy metal magazine *Kerrang!*, which was an offshoot of the music paper *Sounds* (Hill 2010, p.79).

The genre-world cornerstones that had framed most of the Apollo's first phase and enshrined the notion of live rock (such as the 'traditional' music press and television shows like the *Old Grey Whistle Test*), therefore no longer framed the Apollo live experience in the same way. Furthermore, rock (along with its genre-advocates), once celebrated within the confines of music papers like the *New Musical Express*, was, in the early 1980s, 'exposed' as being 'rockist' by "activist critics" (Reynolds 2005, p.xxvii) within the same source (Reel 1982).

Accusations of rockism were framed by the unavoidable fact that rock cannot evade being 'rockist,' and were driven by its definition as a derogatory term that deemed the genre to be a caricature of itself by virtue of its over-reliance on its most basic elements, such as authenticity and liveness (Sanneh 2007, p.352). Inevitably, charges of rockism or possessing 'rockist' tendencies led to forms of genre confrontation. Indeed, Sanneh's observation that "... in certain impassioned circles, there is simply nothing worse than a rockist" (ibid), is based upon perceptions that privileging rock and its associated values and characteristics over other genres such as pop and rap is a process that is underpinned by sexist and racist connotations that ultimately "congealed into an ugly sort of common sense" (ibid).

This discourse took place as the disintegration of the rock genre in the late 1970s-early 1980s had led to a myriad of genres becoming emergent or re-activated, with some, like heavy metal, serving to embrace and intensify several of rock's underlying components. Thus as a "louder, harder and faster-paced" version of rock (Shuker 2003, p.160), where power and intensity prevail (Walser 1993, p.2), heavy metal became a key example of this genre conflict and inevitably drew accusations of rockism as a matter of course (Bannister 2006, p.88). This divergence was further elevated by the rising popularity of heavy metal as a live music phenomenon.

As a leading Apollo promoter who had witnessed these music genre changes materialise, Paul Loasby (2012) regarded 1980 as being the 'perfect time' to launch the successful heavy metal festival franchise *The Monsters of Rock*:

When we get to 1980 I really thought then that this was something that could be done on its own. When you look back at the Reading Festival, it always very rock-orientated, but it also included things like folk-rock, and (other) types of rock. But there was nothing genre-specific, and it was moving that way; the world of the heavy metal fan was being framed ...

but the more I thought about it, the more I thought that we should ‘take it out’ (of the mainstream environment), because it was never ever going to get regular mainstream radio play. It just seemed like the right time to go, and move it and make it into its own.

Certainly, Loasby’s timing for launching the franchise deserves sufficient credit in that he ‘seizes the moment’ where this paradigm shift in music genres took place and consumer demand for the live representation of heavy metal crystallised. However, despite the genre’s popularity, it became, and indeed still remains, an often disparaged music category, with Weinstein (2000, pp.1-3) highlighting that many music critics find little, if any, significance within its unsophisticated genre world, while its moral panic inducing characteristics of violence and sex engender a “chorus of contempt” elsewhere. If anything, the frequent representations of patriarchy and misogyny within its texts (Walser 1993, pp.109-120) were made more evident by the leading feminist artists within the prevailing post-punk environment (Reynolds and Press 1995, pp.316-17), thus further emphasising rock’s ‘ugly’ connotations that Sanneh (2007, p.352) referred to.

If the post-punk environment was a “golden age of newness and nowness that made you feel as if you were moving at high speed into the future” (Reynolds 2005, p.xvi), then, from some perspectives, music genres like rock and heavy metal belonged to a bygone and negative era by comparison. Given that rock *and* heavy metal, as two variations of a much-maligned supergenre, represented an average of almost half of all concerts held at the Apollo between 1980-84, the venue could be seen to attract a range of adverse associations simply by hosting these live shows alone. Certainly, other local venue operators, like Mark Mackie (2012), who, as mentioned above, ran the more contemporary-focused QMU at the University of Glasgow, could grasp the negative connotations that applied between the Apollo and its associated music genre during the early-mid 1980s:

It (the Apollo) was a tired old building. It was no longer fit for the purpose. ... It was fine for Thin Lizzy and stuff like that.

It can therefore be seen that, from some viewpoints, the Apollo was tainted by its close links with a much maligned music genre during a substantial part of its second phase, thus marking a clear contrast with its more celebrated initial period of operation.

7.2.2 Rock Liveness

The discussion that follows explores how aspects of liveness, as determined by Auslander (2011, p.61), were embraced within the context of heavy metal concerts during 1980-84, and argues that the genre assumed a key live presence at the Apollo due to the way in which it aligned with the venue's underlying characteristics. Whilst live performance represents a prime component of rock culture (ibid, p.76), for Weinstein (2000, pp.199-235) the power and intensity of the heavy metal concert experience extends beyond the 'standard' live rock event and represents the essence of the "metal epiphany," where the audience, artist and media celebrate its values as a "cultural form, and bring ... it to fulfilment." Furthermore, the manner in which the genre strives for high levels of interaction with its audience to the extent that "Excitement does not just happen at a heavy metal concert. It is planned for, worked on, and strongly encouraged" (ibid, p.214), also underpins the analysis. Indeed, such traits were accentuated further by such sub-genres as the New Wave of British Heavy Metal (NWOBHM), which embodied an abrasive and emphatic rock aesthetic beyond the conventional heavy metal persona (Cope 2010, pp.120; 128).

As a key example of a music sub-genre that was shaped by a consumer magazine (Thornton 1995, p.151) - in this case the genre-world platform *Kerrang!*, the NWOBHM created a considerable impact within the UK live environment during 1979-83 (Waksman 2009, pp.175-6). In many respects therefore, Weinstein's (2000, pp.8-9) claim that a heavy metal concert represents a "transaction between artists, audience and mediators," where the latter represents the 'metal media' (ibid, p.145), can be seen to hold substance:

The concert is a special event in which all of the participants in the transaction are brought together in a common context of space and time, producing the closest approximation there is to a community of heavy metal. (ibid, p.9)

Heavy metal and NWOBHM artists such as Iron Maiden, Judas Priest, Motorhead, Saxon and Whitesnake, performed on an average of six occasions each at the Apollo during the second half of its tenure, thus serving to align the venue with variations of the heavy metal genre. This is evidenced further by comments made to the Apollo audience by Biff Byford, the lead vocalist of the NWOBHM band Saxon, during a performance at the venue in 1982:

It's great to be back with all our friends in Glasgow. When people in the States ask us about Glasgow, we tell 'em it's the heavy metal capital of Scotland. (quoted Thrills 1982, p.51)

Indeed, from the perspective of some audience members, genres like NWOBHM represented the 'house' rock genre at the venue during the early-mid 1980s:

Most of the concerts I went to (at the Apollo) were rock concerts - in fact, all of them were, apart from Prog bands like Yes and Jethro Tull. It was the New Wave Of British Heavy Metal at the time ... and there were rock bands playing all the time. It was fantastic to see rock bands at the Apollo - really suited the venue. Best bit was when the balcony bounced up and down when folk were head banging. (Davies 2012)

It is within such realms where such audience behaviour at the Apollo becomes less associated with the venue, and more so with the desired representation of what Weinstein (2000, p.212) refers to as the typical "pumped-up, self-conscious, and unified metal community." In this case, drawing on earlier discussion threads, the emphasis is placed on the 'Genre Audience,' less so the 'Apollo Audience.' Whilst some of the distinct characteristics of the venue (like the shaking balcony) still resonate in some capacity, the main quest in the above example is to satisfy the pre-determined ritual of the heavy metal concert. Weinstein (ibid, p.213) expands on this ritual by highlighting the process involved:

The first consummation is pleasure, experiencing an exciting entertainment, the perfection of which is ecstasy. The second consummation is the representation of the heavy metal subculture to itself in an idealized form, a form in which the members of the subculture can take pride. The third consummation is the bonding of the audience and the band with one another.

Similarly, Frith (1996, pp.140-44) also notes that the audience behaviour at such live events encapsulates the crowd's engagement with the "power of the (heavy metal) concert as a whole," and functions to empower those present. This is reflected by the following recollection from an Apollo audience member (Berry 2005) who was attending his first concert at the venue featuring the NWOBHM artist Iron Maiden (emphasis in the original):

The atmosphere was thick with expectation. ... Then the lights went out. The place erupted with a roar reminiscent of a bloodthirsty Roman gladiatorial games crowd. Then the music blasted its way through the speakers and the lights came up and there was IRON MAIDEN on stage! The crowd went bananas. I don't know how anyone could have kept their heads on their shoulders with (the) ferocity of the head banging going on. It was brilliant. ... I felt myself lifted into another reality. I lost it at that point and banged my head as hard as the rest. ... It was music,

theatre and circus all rolled into one and the time went by too quickly. ... For me the key was the crowd, they were mad for metal and it showed. I count it an honour to have been part of it.

The ‘whole concert’ experience that Frith (1996, pp.140-44) refers to is clearly discernible within this example, in addition to the three stages of consummation that Weinstein (2000, p.213) alludes to. Indeed, in many respects, this “mad for metal” audience at the venue can be seen to typify the Apollo at some points during its second period of operation in the same way that the more ‘general rock’ audience did so during the venue’s initial phase. Whilst some forms of difference existed between these two audiences, the venue’s underlying down-at-heel environment represented a common framing between the two eras. With heavy metal being regarded as a genre that embraced authenticity, rebelliousness and rawness (Walser 1993, p.16) and as a music category that was, “often proffered as the refuge of authenticity” (Straw 1984, p.119), it follows that the venue’s condition in the last few years of its existence would entice the rock fan, yet deter others.

This is evidenced by the regular complaints about the venue’s condition that appeared in the local press during this timeframe, including the aforementioned report on the “Appalling Apollo” (McGurk 1983, pp.16-17), where, from the perspective of a female Cliff Richard fan, the overpowering aroma emanating from the venue’s poor facilities is perhaps ‘too authentic’ (ibid: 16):

The whole place was in a shocking state. I didn’t even have to go into the toilets to find out what they were like. I could smell them from outside.

Alternatively, for some male rock fans at the venue (Arbuckle 2012), aromas of this nature could symbolise a sense of freedom that functioned to enhance the live rock experience:

I remember a wild, exciting, slightly dangerous place, with the smell of pish and puke. It was run down, it was shabby, and you could do anything.⁵⁰

It is here where the Apollo’s condition and its clear links with rock’s perceived authentic characteristics symbolises gender divisions, as exemplified by Coates (1997, p.52), who argues that gender can be articulated by a “sedimented amalgam of various signifiers, gestures, (and) enactments.” In this case, the

⁵⁰ Similarly, for local journalist David Belcher the fungus that grew on the Apollo’s walls in its latter stages, “... only worked within a rock gig environment where you could make allowances for that ... rather than finding it disgusting” (Belcher 2011).

venue's environment represents a 'straightforwardness' that is encapsulated within elements of liveness and tangibility that underpin rock, as opposed to the more feminised versions of pop (ibid, p.53). Again, as has been noted previously, such levels of live tangibility tend to draw odour-related parallels with other equally ramshackle 'legendary' venues, such as the Cavern (Leigh 2008, p.24) and CBGB (Burrows 2009, p.127). In effect, it can be seen that variations of rock (most notably heavy rock and heavy metal) resonated at the Apollo during its latter phase mainly due to the alignment between the prevailing live music zeitgeist, the venue and its audience.

In summary, Fabbri's (1981, p.57) reference to the way in which a music genre can possess its own space appears particularly relevant when applied to the Apollo during its second period of operation.

7.3 Live Music Sector

The discussion that follows analyses the Apollo's position with the prevailing UK live music industry and argues that, whilst the venue assumed a key position within this sector during its initial phase, a distinct contrast applied during its second period of operation. In this instance, The Rolling Stones act as a key exemplar of this juxtaposition. Whereas the group had helped to define the extent of the Apollo's commercial and aesthetic magnetism when they were the second artists to perform at the venue after it opened in 1973, the sole purpose of the group's 1982 concert at the venue was as a warm-up date for their 'real' tour: a more lucrative tour of English stadia (Leadbetter 1995, p.129).

Indeed, from the commercial perspective of the group's promoter Harvey Goldsmith, the revenues from the 1982 Apollo concert failed to even cover the band's expenses (ibid). Therefore, within the space of three UK tours by The Rolling Stones over nine years, the Apollo had been transformed from being regarded as a key date in the group's UK tour, to being on the verge of being bypassed from the major domestic tour circuit. Although other UK venues of a comparable size (such as Newcastle City Hall) would also be bypassed in a similar manner by other 'stadium artists,' it is the extent to which the prevailing trends in the UK live sector exposed several of the Apollo's shortfalls that assumes significance, as such practices functioned to undermine the venue's

operational efficiency and overall status. Furthermore, previous allusions to the Apollo being the “jewel in the crown” of the UK live sector (Hanlon 2011), could no longer be substantiated.

Indeed, Paul Loasby (2012) recalled some of the issues he encountered during a Van Halen concert at the venue in June 1980:

When we promoted Van Halen, we experienced enormous problems trying to put five artics of equipment into that hall, and, due to this, we incurred significant delays in setting up, and I think we opened the doors at something like half past eight. As it was incredibly late by this point we had to blow out the support band, and Van Halen didn't come on stage until about quarter past nine. However, it was as nothing had happened; that great atmosphere just materialised, it just went whoosh. It was a wonderful mayhem, even though the show did not sell out. That's what I think it (the Apollo's 'unique' atmosphere) was; the two feeding off each other; all the other stuff that went with it, it didn't matter. It was as if all of the history of those walls and all of the sweat combined to make something unique. Unique may be an overused term in rock 'n' roll, but this certainly was.

In this instance, the logistics involved in setting up the live production were greatly exacerbated by the venue's inherent limitations. Certainly, the very narrow loading lane at the rear of the building, along with the limited backstage facilities, can be seen to have placed significant constraints on the concert schedule that evening. Whilst Loasby, an advocate of the Apollo's traditional live rock components, may suggest that, ultimately, such issues “didn't matter” due to the venue's unique dynamics and spatial aesthetics, it appears that this was not a view shared by other UK promoters, as evidenced by the 60% decrease in the concerts held at the venue between 1980 and 1984. Although the existing core of UK promoters, such as Kennedy Street, MAM, MCP, ITB and Mel Bush (along with new promoters such as Regular Music) were still using the Apollo at that time, several representatives were more selective about booking the venue during the second half of the venue's tenure.

Prominent among this group was Harvey Goldsmith, who had used the venue on a regular basis until 1979, but seldom associated with it thereafter. This statement from Pete Wilson of Harvey Goldsmith Promotions (quoted in Martin 1984, p.17) explains why the promoter avoided using the venue during the early-mid 1980s:

There are a lot of venues around the country that have kept (pace) with (the) changing face of the music business. To be perfectly honest, the Apollo has not. It has a reputation for a great atmosphere ... but I've found the same atmosphere elsewhere in Glasgow because it comes from the people, not the venue.

Wilson may have oversimplified several issues, not least the fact that an audience alone are the sole originators of 'atmosphere.' Nonetheless, his statement reflects the manner in which the Apollo appears to have been 'left behind' within the realm of the professionalisation of the UK live sector. Furthermore, in alluding to other, more suitable, venues in Glasgow, he was, almost without doubt, referring to the 2,500 capacity Barrowland Ballroom, which, from the perspective of some advocates like Bruce Findlay, the then-manager of Simple Minds, possessed a much better atmosphere than the Apollo (Findlay 2012).

In addition, a further more-compatible competitor for the Apollo had also emerged following the opening of the extensively re-furbished 3,000 capacity Edinburgh Playhouse in September 1980 (*New Musical Express* 1980, p.3), which began to attract major artists away from the Apollo.⁵¹ Moreover, Wilson's comments appeared within a local newspaper article (Martin 1984, pp.16-17) that highlighted the growing unease among several UK promoters about the Apollo's deteriorating fabric and limited facilities, with many stating that they now preferred the more professional facilities on offer at the Playhouse (ibid). Indeed, like Wilson, the general consensus among the promoters was that the Apollo's noted 'atmosphere' offered an insufficient incentive to use the venue.

In this respect, a noticeable difference between the venue's schedule of 1975 and that of 1984 is the sharp decrease in artists who belong to the 'popular entertainment' category, which fell from 32% to 9% during this period (Appendices 6F; 6O). For the Apollo's initial booker Ronnie Simpson (2013), the worsening condition of the venue was a major factor behind this trend:

As time went on and the condition of the venue deteriorated, the fact that groups such as The Damned and The Stranglers were playing didn't matter that much because the classy acts weren't going to play there anymore. I'm not sure if it worked out business-wise to host these types of acts. I tried for months and months to get (variety artist) Max Bygraves

⁵¹ Between 1981-85 some of the touring artists who performed at the Playhouse at the expense of the Apollo included: Bruce Springsteen and Tom Waits (1981) Joni Mitchell and U2 (1983), and Eric Clapton (1985).

and finally got him and he sold out. For me, you had to get these type of acts because you wanted to have a venue that could take any type of act and be able to sell it out - you could have people like Ella Fitzgerald and The Carpenters, middle of the road acts like Barry Manilow through to quality rock acts like Neil Young, The Eagles, going down to Status Quo and Slade and thereafter members of the noise brigade.

As mentioned previously, the venue's concert schedule assumes a more rock-orientated identity from 1976 onwards, and Simpson's observations are therefore generally accurate. However, such trends were discernible before this. After achieving the desired 'classy act' booking of Ella Fitzgerald in 1974, it is noticeable that when the artist next performed in the city during the following year, this concert took place at the city's Kelvin Hall (*Evening Times* 1975B, p.10). Despite returning to play Glasgow on several occasions thereafter, Fitzgerald never performed again at the Apollo. Thus, this example, along with the concert genre statistics (Appendices 6A-6P), shows that the quest to achieve a wide concert portfolio in order to maintain the venue's commercial profile, proved to be a short-lived process that held wider implications for the Apollo's subsequent viability.

The venue's deteriorating condition also impacted on some of the rock audience at the venue and, rather than assume that fans of this genre embraced the full extent of the venue's condition during its timeframe, some consideration should be given towards the negative side of the Apollo's rock-infused ambience and aesthetics. Certainly, some evidence exists that, as the venue's condition degenerated, the live concert experience was less, rather than more, aesthetically pleasing. For some audience members like Alan McGhee (2012) the Apollo's environment was "exceptional" in 1978, but "quite grotty" by 1983. Other Apollo regulars (Wilson, D. 2012) also found the unpleasant nature of the venue's shabbiness impacting on the live aesthetic at a UFO concert in 1983:

Only at the very end when the building was not being maintained. I am sure that my last gig was UFO, the toilets had overflowed and there was water running under my seat. That was the only gig I never enjoyed.

In returning to Pete Wilson's comments on behalf of Harvey Goldsmith (quoted Martin 1984, p.17) that the Apollo was no longer keeping pace with the "changing face of the music business," implicit reference is being made to the prevailing trend towards live venues accommodating larger stage productions. As an example, the UK section of Iron Maiden's *World Slavery* tour of 1984 required

120,000 watts of PA, 700 lights and “their most elaborate stage set to date” that required six articulated trucks to transport (*New Musical Express* 1984, p.35). However, as several of the mid-sized venues on the itinerary possessed limited backstage areas and load in facilities, only part of this production could be accommodated, with the large arenas on the schedule being the only locations that could host the full stage set (ibid).

For promoters like Jef Hanlon (2011), this two-tiered approach to major UK tours at this point, were either a ‘too much’ or ‘too little’ equipment scenario evolved at each tour date dependent on the size of the venue, proved to be “a tricky logistical problem.” As a result, it can be assumed that when Iron Maiden performed at the Apollo in September 1984, not only would the band have had to use a limited version of their stage production, they would have also experienced some of the “enormous problems” that Paul Loasby (2012) referred to earlier, in loading their equipment into the venue.

As a key example of the traditional cinema-live ‘adopted’ venue (Kronenburg 2012), the Apollo would have shared many of the inherent limited backstage constraints that were apparent in other live settings of a comparable size. However, aspects of the Apollo’s uniqueness are also discernible within this context; most notably the venue’s problematic loading bay, which proved to be particularly taxing for road crews. Even an Apollo advocate like Loasby (2012) admitted that the venue’s loading facilities were “shocking,” and necessitated the road crew having to load and unload equipment in the narrow lane, descend the steps at the rear of the venue, then re-assemble the equipment once more before using the forklift.

Despite a vast array of problems in setting up lighting and audio equipment for Apollo concerts, Loasby is of the opinion that the venue’s unique dynamics made such tribulations worthwhile due to the atmosphere that emanated at concerts at the venue (ibid). However, for some of the road crews who had to cope with the severe limitations of the venue’s logistics, the Apollo was, according to touring lighting technician Paul Weber (2012A), notorious within the live sector for its poor loading facilities, to the extent that a well-known poem about the Apollo circulated within this environment:

Oh Glasgee town
You get me down
Especially when it's raining
When I have to rig
That poxie (sic) gig
It does my fucking brain in

Such sentiments emanated from what Weber regarded as the “nightmare” loading in process, which involved, in some cases, having to transport vast amounts of lighting and sound equipment through the venue’s narrow front entrance and slim corridor towards the stage (ibid 2012B). If the venue’s forklift truck failed to operate, as happened on numerous occasions, equipment had to be lifted by attaching makeshift ropes on to what Weber regarded was the highest stage he encountered outside a festival environment (ibid). In such circumstances, both the limitations of the Apollo’s infrastructure and the logistical problems involved in setting up live concerts at the venue, especially when larger stage productions were becoming more commonplace, functioned to greatly diminish the perceived benefits of the Apollo’s unique atmosphere.

To summarise, in the face of increasing competition from other venues that possessed better facilities, it can be seen that the Apollo’s reliance on its spatial aesthetics were increasingly regarded as possessing inadequate value within the prevailing UK live sector.

7.4 Conclusion

This analysis focused on the Apollo during the period 1980-84 and found that the venue’s relationships with locality, the rock genre and the live sector, which combined to form the foundations of the venue’s initial success, were problematised by the evolving nature of these interactions. In the first instance, the venue’s close links with locality were seen to evaporate, as the non-local identity of the new owners became a barrier towards assimilation with the participants involved in the previously defined local Apollo network. Furthermore, it was also shown that, in addition to the reshaped local live music environment, the local state’s wholehearted pursuit of a cultural regeneration policy helped to advance the Apollo’s demise.

With regard to the rock genre, the discussion provided evidence of the close links between variations of this genre and the Apollo, which was a relationship

that ultimately tainted the reputation of the venue during its latter phase. Last, the analysis showed that the Apollo failed to keep pace with the evolving nature of the live music sector, where advances within this industry increasingly exposed the numerous inadequacies within the venue's fragile infrastructure.

Together, it is evident that the actors representing genre, industry and locality prove to be an incompatible mix during this timeframe. Thus, through such analysis, clear difference can be seen to have emerged between the two phases of the Apollo operation. When further contemplating these difference, it is relevant to note Russell Kyle's (2012) earlier, fairly general, comments that the venue's appeal had considerably lessened during its latter phase, where "the magic of the building had diminished," leading him to the conclusion that "it wasn't like the way the Apollo used to be." However, if only one example signifies the transformation between the two Apollo periods, then the 1980 concert at the venue by The New Alex Harvey Band serves as the prime exemplar.

As already noted, Harvey's December 1975 appearances at the venue, under the guise of The Sensational Alex Harvey Band (SAHB), had been perceived as being the high point of the live rock experience at the venue, to the extent that some audience members were of the opinion that, as a result of these concerts, (emphasis in the original) "SAHB were the Apollo" (Leadbetter 1995, p.133). Conversely, Harvey's 1980 concert functioned to reflect the venue's shortcomings with regard to the over-reliance placed on a capacity audience to enhance the live music experience through naturally evolving aesthetics. The *Melody Maker* journalist Allan Jones had witnessed (1974, p.55) Harvey's breakthrough live appearance at the venue in 1974, and had drawn attention to the Apollo ("one of the best rock venues in Britain") and Glasgow itself, as being the "perfect setting" for the group's raw, violent-tinged material.

Jones returned to the Apollo to review Harvey in 1980 (who was now performing as a solo artist and accompanied by a new band), and was therefore in a position to compare the two concerts. On this occasion, Jones describes (ibid 1980, p.8) how the almost-empty venue lost much of its allure due to the absence of the combined venue and audience aesthetics that enhanced the initial concert:

You should see it (the Apollo) when it's full. Half empty, with the circle closed and the stalls naked, the Apollo is cheerless, cold: a cavernous

void. The first time I came here (in 1974), the Apollo was full and it was a marvellous sight: alive, bursting with the excited anticipation of the audience. That was the first time the Sensational Alex Harvey Band had headlined at the Apollo, and the Glasgow audience received them like returning heroes.

In this instance from 1980 the Apollo is devoid of both character and atmosphere, and assumes a new disposition that seems distinctly remote from Harvey's (and by extension, the Apollo's) live peak. Whilst the new band formed by Harvey were unlikely to recapture the essence of what SAHB represented as a live entity in 1974-75, in the absence of a large, adoring audience in 1980, Jones helps to draw attention to the role played by the Apollo environment in contributing towards forms of atmosphere.

For an urbanist architect theorist like Michael Benedikt (1987, p.30) 'realness' can emanate in buildings where it functions to accommodate and elevate its "direct esthetic experience" and possess a sense of purpose or "special aboutness," thus becoming an attribute of the structure. In effect, the author enables a further element that contributes towards the configuration of the Apollo's spatial aesthetics, where, in addition to the aforementioned Glasgow-Apollo audience, the building itself holds significance as an atmosphere-inducing component. Further clarification by Benedikt (2001, p.85) points towards the four components that a building requires to assume 'realness,' where its presence ("self confidence"), significance ("involvement in people's life"), materiality ("physical elements") and emptiness ("intangible aesthetic"), all independently contribute towards the symbolic power that this "aboutness" generates. Of particular relevance, Benedikt (1987, p.32) also suggests that the degree of the building's realness depends on the strength or weakness of each of these four components.

In this case, significant parts of the Apollo's initial phase can be typified by the manner in which the venue building embodied a sense of conviction and proved to be of prime importance to the audiences that frequented it. Its physical elements, which were underpinned by the robust construction process and the local-industrial framing, can also be regarded as assuming a key presence during this phase, along with the venue's overall aesthetic. Furthermore, given its overall sense of palpability and correlation to the traditional essence of place, this building 'realness' also aligns with the previously mentioned class and

cultural 'reality' that both Jenson (1992, pp.20-21) and McLay (cited Mooney 2004, p.331) referred to.

Chapter Eight: 1985

Representing the year in which the Apollo finally closed, 1985 also witnessed the venue's immediate replacement, the Scottish Exhibition Centre (SECC), hosting live concerts within a four-month period of the venue's demise. In effect, this relatively short transformation represented a live music continuum in the city, and accommodated a local inclination to compare the two locations on a like-for-like basis. The discussion argues that, in the wake of the closure announcement, the initial attempts to elevate the reputation of the Apollo failed to resonate and only began to assume gravitas as a result of the restorative nostalgia (Boym 2001) that materialised after the SECC opened. As this process denotes the initial stages of the potent legend that still surrounds the venue, this development can be seen to hold significance within the Apollo narrative.

This argument is developed over three stages. First, it is shown that, due to the negative connotations surrounding the venue during its latter period, the Apollo's closure produced only limited forms of engagement with any allusions of the venue possessing a 'legendary' status. Second, an analysis of the Apollo's concert schedule in its final year reveals that, by engaging with prevailing representations of liveness, the Apollo assumed further detachment from its live peak era of the mid-1970s. Last, the discussion argues that the conflicts that encapsulated the initial SECC concerts ultimately acted to enhance the Apollo's by comparison alone. Together, this affiliation between the actors representing technology (as represented by liveness), memory and legend during 1985 serves to further underline why the second phase of the Apollo's tenure retains little relevance within the narratives that accompany the venue legend.

8.1 The Initiation of the Apollo Legend

As indicated in the previous chapter, the Apollo suffered a fairly rapid commercial and aesthetic decline between 1980-84. However, the venue became the focus of local attention again after it was announced in January 1985 that it would close in June of that year, with this being a process that stimulated celebratory overviews of the Apollo's history (Docherty 1985, p.4). As the discussion to follow shows, the initial attempts to mythologise the Apollo

failed to make the desired impact due to the distance between the rhetoric of the Apollo's legendary status (the Apollo as a defining live rock venue) and the (still available to experience) reality (a run-down live music location whose peak had occurred ten years previously). Indeed, indications that the venue's closure would not resonate within the local consciousness had already been made transparent by the previously mentioned prominent local newspaper article about the venue's likely demise in October 1984 (Martin 1984, pp.16-17). In essence, the article, which portrayed a particularly bleak future for the venue, invited the newspaper's readers to respond to the Apollo's unstable future by asking "Do you think its days are numbered or would you like to see it saved?" (Ibid, p.17).

In a marked contrast to the 1978 newspaper-led campaign, the scale of the local indifference to the venue's plight was indicated by what appears to have been an extremely low response to the article, with only four replies to the article being published in the newspaper's letters page during 24-26 October 1984. Whilst more replies could have been received, the overall response paled in comparison to the widespread coverage garnered by the initial campaign, which attracted 94,512 signatories (Robinson 1978B, p.16). Moreover, three of the four respondents in 1984 wished to see the venue closed, with this example (Clark 1984, p.6) being emblematic of the local perspective on the venue:

I don't know where to start criticizing the Apollo Theatre and its management, but I would just like to say how can people go and see their favourite band in a rubbish tip?

Such attitudes, indeed such a low response rate, could not be considered unusual, given that the Apollo's second phase had been repeatedly side-tracked by growing concerns about the venue's condition and the financial implications of the associated maintenance costs (Houston 1979, pp.10-11; *The Judge* 1983, p.21).⁵² When it was finally announced in January 1985 that the Apollo would close in June of that year, it confirmed the inevitable for some observers, but

⁵² In a move that gave a clear indication about the venue's future, Apollo Leisure received outline planning permission in April 1982 to demolish the venue (MacCalman 1982, p.3). Despite assurances by the company that this was a contingency plan, such guarantees did little to ease local dissatisfaction about the venue. Indeed, the musician Midge Ure encapsulated local sentiments, when he declared that "Somebody is letting the best gig in Britain to go to the dogs – somebody should be hanged" (Sloan 1983, p.37).

also represented a welcome relief for others. For local journalist Gavin Docherty, the certainty surrounding the venue's closure was transparent, whereby: "The fact of the matter is that the Apollo has been closing down for years" (1985, p.4). Whilst Russell Kyle (2012) thought that the venue's depiction in some sections of the local press as a "pop slum" (Houston 1979, p.10) was "a bit strong," he could not help but admit "At the very end it was definitely time for it (the Apollo) to go. It was sad."

This announcement also inevitably initiated claims that the venue was 'legendary,' albeit this was not the first time the term had been applied to the venue within this context. During 1982, in a response to one of the periodic threats about the venue's future, the promoter Paul Loasby had claimed that "The Apollo is a legend - it's the one gig all the top bands want. It's one of the best in the world" (quoted Swanson 1982, p.17). However, such declarations remained isolated, mainly due to the venue's continued existence over the next three years. Nonetheless, a precedent had been set, where the impending sense of loss surrounding the venue's future, was one that stimulated proclamations about its legendary status.

The venue's confirmed closure in 1985 therefore accommodated further, more intense, engagement with the revised versions of the venue's reputation, which only arose by nature of its now-imminent demise. Hence, it was no longer the "Appalling Apollo" (McGurk 1983, pp.16-17), but "undisputedly the greatest rock venue in Europe" (Sloan 1985B, p.6). Indeed, in an article that followed the closure announcement, local journalist Billy Sloan (ibid 1985A, p.24) claimed that, as a result of the venue's demise (emphasis in the original), "The Scottish pop scene will NEVER be the same again," thus signalling that an historic era of some description had been concluded. As a means of further articulating the Apollo's unique qualities, Sloan provided several early-period anecdotes about the venue's capacity to create close interaction between the audience and artists, and highlighted some of the venue's unique features, such as its bouncing balcony.

As well as framing the agenda for the debate to follow on the Apollo's reputation, Sloan accurately predicted the path this discourse would follow, when he suggested that "When they finally close the doors the music may stop,

but for many the memories - and legends - will live forever” (ibid). Additionally, in a further evaluation by the journalist when the venue closed (1985B), he suggested that the magnitude of the Apollo’s reputation is one which is based on the fact that the “... audience reaction was second to none” (ibid, p.6). Hence, at an early stage in the formation of the Apollo legend, the venue’s audience are included (or even colluded) within its contributory components. In summarising what the Apollo symbolised, Sloan (ibid, p.7) concludes that, what remains after the loss is a certainty that (emphasis in the original) “THERE WILL NEVER BE ANOTHER APOLLO. FULL STOP.”

An unswerving conviction of this nature raises several issues. By historicising the Apollo in such a manner, it is discernible that Sloan used, for the most part, anecdotes that related to the initial phase of the venue as evidence to support such a claim. One can only conclude that incidences from the venue’s latter period would only serve to dilute or complicate any legendary associations. As a member of the local press, Sloan would be inclined, as Kaniss (1991) suggests, to reflect local cultural values, as well as create forms of what Bennett (2002, p.98) refers to as the ”circularity between the myth and reality” within local music scenes. However, it is evident, that despite such strong representations of the Apollo’s legendary status by the journalist, such allusions failed to resonate with the local audience during the residue of the venue’s timeframe.

The remaining 19 concerts held at the Apollo in 1985 thus took place in the shadow of the venue’s confirmed closure, and, on this occasion, there were no protests or crusades to halt the venue’s demise. Moreover, it was only the last concert at the Apollo that served to stimulate interest in the venue, albeit this attention was of a negative nature. This was mainly due to the choice of final artist (the pop-soul group The Style Council), who many felt were ‘incompatible’ with what the venue represented (Kielty 2009, p.159), with this process functioning to alienate several Apollo advocates, like Sloan, who failed to attend this last event (Sloan 2011).

The concert, which will receive further analysis in the chapter to follow, therefore meant that the Apollo’s tenure ended on a distinctly low note, with little affiliation towards any proffered legendary status. Certainly, when it closed, a combination of the closeness to the venue’s less celebrated period,

along with the distance accrued from its 'more-legendary' reputation of the mid-1970s, functioned to nullify any allusions towards an overall 'legendary' status.

Thus, when aligning this development with aspects of literature on legends and myths discussed earlier, it can be seen that this initial attempt to initiate the Apollo legend mainly failed due to the lack of overall belief or certainty in this status (Stevens 1990, p.126), in addition to the small number of advocates who pursued this ideal (Jansen 1976, p.270). Indeed, such developments are framed by the manner in which the majority of the remaining concerts at the venue failed to align with symbolic representations of the Apollo's peak period of the mid-1970s, and the next section explores this aspect in more detail.

8.2 Apollo Liveness

Although the venue was closely associated with characteristics of 'classic liveness' (Auslander 2011, p.61) during its key mid-1970s period, such associations had, in the main, evaporated by the mid-1980s due to changing perceptions of what liveness represented within some genre world frameworks (Frith 2002, p.88). As the analysis to follow will show, this aspect was particularly discernible during 1985, and therefore added further to the sense that the venue assumed a 'non-legendary' identity during its latter phase. The argument initially focuses on the manner in which aspects of liveness became re-articulated during the early-mid 1980s, and is then followed by a short case study of an Apollo artist who typified this development.

Using similar music genre definitions to those outlined in chapter four, a brief overview of the condensed concert schedule during 1985 (Appendix 6P) reveals that the two main music genres were rock (37%) and pop (26%), albeit these represent a relatively low number of concerts for each category in a year in which the venue was destined to close. However, as the discussion reveals, it is the live representation of the pop genre during this period that denotes one the most revealing trends to impact on the venue with regard to liveness and genre world affiliations during 1985.

8.2.1 New Pop Genre World

As one of the most popular music genres to be represented at the venue in its last few years of operation, what became known as ‘new pop’ served to expose the Apollo’s over-reliance on its traditional foundations, such as its affiliation with the rock supergenre, ‘classic liveness’ (Auslander 2011, p.61) and the traditional music press. The new pop genre, which “involved a conscious and brave attempt to bridge the separation between ‘progressive pop’ and mass/chart pop” (Reynolds [1985] 2007, p.467), embodied a tendency among genre world stakeholders to market new artists as being “already successful” (Rimmer 1985, p.145) within a climate where cult success in the traditional music press was eschewed in favour of mainstream fame through the integrated marketing of the daily press and television ratings (ibid, p.154). In effect, the machinations of new pop combined to marginalise the conventional rock career model that had offered a linear trajectory towards modes of music success.

As a means of framing the difference between the traditional and new models, Frith (1990, pp.111-12) outlines the traditional ‘pyramid’ model (entitled ‘The Rock’), whereby new artists ‘paid dues’ by working through the various local-small to global-large stages of their desired career path towards international stardom (ibid). Most significantly, within this model, live performance acts a key facilitator for progress, where “Public performance authenticates studio appeal and defines the ideal audience/musicianship relationship” (ibid: 112). It is here where the Apollo would normally adopt (at least during the bulk of the 1970s) a key position within the ‘national touring’ strand of the model, as evidenced by some of the ‘live concert benchmark’ examples provided in chapter six (Snow 1991).

By contrast, the alternative model, the “talent pool” emerges, suggests Frith 1990, pp.113-14), at the beginning of the 1980s when new media and advertising stakeholders imposed a mediated filter through which popular music must pass (ibid). Within this environment, music videos, soundtracks, advertising and an increased emphasis on technology (Warner 2003) all hold relevance. As new pop acted as a prime exemplar of the “talent pool,” it can be seen that, as a traditional fixture on a traditional model, the Apollo was, at least during the early-mid 1980s, out of step with music developments in the field. In this

respect, Frith's (1990, p.125) further suggestion that the new model acts as a "... technological threat to rock's core values," also possesses substance. The implications that the "sweat, spontaneity, (and) collective inspiration" (ibid) which are regarded as representative of rock's authentic components, could be displaced, is, given its symbolic relevance to the Apollo, an aspect that requires further analysis.

Not least, earlier references to the way in which some observers felt the essence of sweat contributed towards what the Apollo signified, such as Colin Robertson's reflection (2012) that the venue possessed "a rock 'n' roll smell, due to the sweat and people jumping up and down," can be seen to articulate the physicality and tangibility that the desired live music experience at the venue represented. Similarly, Paul Loasby's (2012) reference to the Apollo's unique atmosphere as being the product of "all the history of those walls and all of the sweat combined," can also be regarded as reflective of the venue's close associations with the physicality of rock (Fiori 1984, p.275).

8.2.2 New Pop and Liveness

Before providing some focus on the music-related dichotomy that is symbolised by the difference between sweat and technology, a brief overview of the distinction between pop and rock can help to frame this analysis. Warner (2003, pp.4-5) offers a summary of these differences and they include what Negus (1992, pp.54-55) refers to as the organic and synthetic creative differences that shape the pop/rock divisions between the single and album, emphasis on recording and performance, technology and musicianship, artificial and authentic, as well as between the ephemeral and the lasting.

Central to our understanding about the underlying differences between the two genres is the manner in which respective pop and rock audiences gained access to music during the early-mid 1980s. For a then-teenage Apollo audience member like Karen Cheyne, who attended concerts by new pop artists such as Howard Jones, King and Frankie Goes to Hollywood during 1984-85, the key media texts of this era served to assume significance.

Cheyne recalls (2014) that she was exposed to new music at that time through television's *Top of the Pops* and *The Tube*, from Radio 1 before and after school

(especially the station's Sunday chart show) and magazines such as *Smash Hits*. Indeed, she also recognised that these platforms were an intrinsic part of what she regarded as pop's "new, commercial sound," and that her experiences of consuming music media and attending live concerts would have been very different had she been ten years older (ibid):

Music changed in the '80s, every newly released song was accompanied by a video. Merchandise for those bands were available from shops more readily than before. You didn't have to be at a gig to purchase a t-shirt. At 14/15 years old I would say there was a different attitude to music than say my older sisters or cousins had in that they were not exposed to their bands from the media as much.

The quite considerable distance that Cheyne assumed from the traditional music press and music media, such as the aforementioned rock-infused combination of the *New Musical Express* and *The Old Grey Whistle Test* that had accompanied the Apollo's rise to prominence, therefore reflects the declining influence of the traditional music media (Rimmer 1985, pp.154-57; 163-64). Of course, as Frith and McRobbie ([1978] 2007, p.378) emphasise, teenage magazines like *Jackie* had previously played an important part in facilitating a romance-tinged affinity between its readers and the pop world. Yet, as the authors concede, the magazine "never actually deals with music" (ibid). If anything, a new music text like *Smash Hits* vastly outsold the traditional rock press because it was specifically focused on new pop, thereby appealing to a new, young audience through its ability to capture the essence of an emerging, rather than existing, style of music (Toynbee 1993, p.292).⁵³ Its magnetism also lay, as Railton (2001, pp.328-30) notes, in the fact that it both celebrated and belittled pop and its star system, as well as elevating the position of the previously disparaged female fan.

Cheyne's reflections on pop's prevailing commercial identity can be seen to incline towards Frith's framing for the aforementioned "talent pool" model (1990, pp.113-14). In addition, her reference to the older members of her family engaging with music by different means also places a generational perspective on these models. Thus, from this example, indications exist that a typical

⁵³ Audit Bureau of Circulation statistics quoted by Toynbee (1993, p.292) show that, during the first half of 1985, *Smash Hits* sold more than four times the copies achieved by the *New Musical Express* (522,169 to 125,646), albeit these figures represent the respective fortnightly and weekly publication schedules for each publication. However, even *No.1*, a fairly innocuous weekly pop magazine, sold almost twice as many copies (237,864) as the *New Musical Express* during the same period (ibid).

concert attendee at the Apollo in 1985 relied upon a set of influential indicators that were far removed from the Apollo's rock cornerstones that framed the venue's peak mid-1970s period.

Another set of key differentials between pop and rock, as outlined by Warner (2003, pp.4-5), that impacted on the Apollo during 1985 was the emphasis placed on recording and technology within pop, and rock's accent on performance and musicianship. If The Sensational Alex Harvey Band's concerts of 1975-76 mark the peak of the Apollo's 'classic liveness' period, then the appearance by the new pop group Frankie Goes to Hollywood (FGTH) at the venue in 1985 symbolised the confirmation of a form of liveness that relied more on technology and less on sweat and authenticity. Certainly, given the extent of their (more so the group's record label and producer's) over-reliance on image, recording technology, videos and singles (ibid, pp.75-90), FGTH's live appearance at the venue appeared to sit uncomfortably with the Apollo's rock traditions, as Warner (ibid, p.77) suggests:

Tours ... that involve some elements of live performance tend to be associated with rock and the more old-fashioned, 'traditional' musicians. While in videos and personal appearances on television programmes Frankie Goes to Hollywood may have appeared to be playing their instruments and singing, it was in fact extremely rare.

Such traits can be seen to undermine the Apollo's traditional rock values and symbolise the aforementioned distinction between sweat and technology, as Frith (1986, p.268) explains:

One important strand of rock common sense is that playing an instrument is a physical experience, visibly involves the body, and is, above all, a matter of effort. This is reflected in the routine contrast of 'live' performance and 'dead' studio activity, and even now rock's belief in energy and community can only be celebrated in concert.

For Cheyne (2014), who was present when FGTH performed 'live' at the Apollo in March 1985, whilst the concert 'lived up to' the group's media image, the extent of its liveness was open to question:

You could definitely tell not all of the music was live and backing tracks were used. I recall thinking where was this music coming from? Yes, they were singing, but who were playing the instruments? It wasn't obvious on stage. They did live up to their video image as such as (their) dance moves as stage performances were replicated from videos.

Her reference to the use of backing tracks juxtaposed with live vocals at this performance encapsulates, in many ways, a live performance of the group's

video statements. The live vocal, which as Hughes (1992) reminds us remains *the* prime component of a live performance, is delivered amidst a simulated version of the choreography featured in their videos. However, by singing live and, through the audience experience of ‘seeing is believing’ (Auslander 1998), this represents a live performance that took place at the Apollo (albeit this could be more likely referred to as an ‘appearance’). But, in the main, for many traditional observers, this ‘performance’ acts as the antithesis of what the Apollo represents, and this remains one of the main reasons why such concerts rarely feature within many of the Apollo texts. Indeed, if *Live!* by Status Quo (1977) remains *the* live recording artefact that best reflects the venue, then, if such an album had existed, *Live at the Glasgow Apollo* by Frankie Goes to Hollywood (1985), would be a clear misrepresentation of both the artist and, more significantly, the venue itself.

It must be emphasised however that, rather than assume that several of the new pop concerts at the venue did not encompass modes of liveness or could be considered staid in comparison with the more traditional live rock concerts at the venue, these events, especially from the perspective of the audience, embraced numerous modes of physicality. Certainly, even for the pseudo-live concert by FGTH, Cheyne (2012) recalls “teetering” on the edge of the first balcony during this performance, which, only in hindsight, she recalls as being “quite dangerous.” Similarly, for her first ever concert at the Apollo by Howard Jones, outwith the screaming of the audience, the venue’s spatial aesthetics and encounters with the venue’s security staff resembles that of typical live concert at the venue (ibid):

I was in the left of the stalls, and I just remember this piercing screaming, like something out of The Beatles or something, and it was just these pre-pubescent girls just screaming their heads off. I was standing on the chairs, I think I was fourteen, it was a school night and it was in Glasgow; it was just such a great atmosphere. The security people would come along and say, ‘Sit down’, and as soon as they went away, my sister would say, ‘Get up.’ But I don’t think I remember much about what he said or did, it was just the excitement of it all.

Indeed, such behaviour can be seen to align with the aforementioned “reason-emotion dichotomy” (Jenson 1992, pp.20-21), where audiences who engage with modes of emotion and fandom acquire less cultural value than passive and respectful audiences. Furthermore, conduct of this nature also engages with perceptions of irrational gendered behaviour that can infuse pop-related

phenomenon like The Beatles (Ehreneich *et al* 1992). Thus, a predominantly female pop audience of this type would attract disdain based on cultural and gender grounds alone. Furthermore, it also symbolised a distinct contrast to the traditional rock foundations of the Apollo.

Although the venue had accommodated similar pop audiences before (such as when The Osmonds and The Bay City Rollers performed at the Apollo), the extent of new pop's genre world appropriation of previously rock-focused music media platforms, served to highlight the growing dichotomy between the venue and the marketplace. In addition, new pop's contravention of notions of 'classic liveness' (Auslander 2011, p.61) that the Apollo embraced functioned to distance the Apollo from its traditional roots. In effect, the new pop audience that frequented the venue during its latter period reflect Cavicchi's (2014) notion that different eras of popular music facilitate different modes of fan behaviour and practice, and, due to the extent of the all-embracing tendencies of the genre, it can be seen that, on occasion, new pop assumed discernible levels of cultural space at the Apollo during 1985, therefore acting to reshape perceptions of venue. Thus, along with the aforementioned emphatic representations of the heavy metal genre at the venue during the early-mid 1980s, the Apollo's identity accommodated a number of contrasting symbolic values in its latter stages.

In another live concert at the Apollo featuring the short-lived new pop group King, Cheyne recalls (2012) the audience as being both the instigators and recipients of the atmosphere at the venue, with this process being underpinned by the physical nature of their response:

... again there were lots of girls screaming, and it was a bit riotous. Not that there was any trouble, but it was just on a Friday night, and there were perhaps a few girls there that been drinking. At one point (lead singer) Paul King was sitting beside the speakers on the side of the stage singing a slow number. There was all this screaming going on, and he must have thought that he had got the crowd in the palm of his hand. But, what had happened was there was this girl who had started to scale the rigging at the side, and was in a position where she could jump on Paul King, and that's what all the screaming was about. Then she jumped on him and he got the fright of his life.

Such occurrences function to emphasise that music-related liveness essentially comprises four components, where representations of the location, technology, artist and audience assume different forms and stimulate sequences of diverse relationships depending on the context. Although technology may frame several

of these new pop concerts at the Apollo, it is the audience and their displays of physicality that shape the live experience on these occasions. Yet, few, if any of these events, are celebrated, or even feature, within the Apollo texts, whereas several live rock gigs that share similar audience-related components are represented as privileged live occasions. Thus, Auslander's (2011, p.61) concept of 'classic liveness' can be seen to be more complex than the basic outline of this category would suggest.

8.3 The SECC

Remaining in 1985, the analysis evaluates the symbolic transformation of the live music experience that materialised as a result of the Apollo's closure in June of that year, and the commencement of live concerts at the SECC in October. As mentioned previously, this development was underpinned by the notion that it represented a form of 'progress,' where the quality of the live music experience (better conditions for the audience, a larger capacity and enhanced facilities for the promoter) would be 'improved' almost by default (Martin 1984, pp. 16-17). However, as the discussion to follow argues, outwith the capacity, such expectations not only failed to emerge, but, due to the extent of the disparities between the two live locations and their associated experiences, this was a development that helped to shape and add fixed components to the previously-ignored Apollo legend. This argument is presented in two stages. First, several of the expectations held by some Apollo stakeholders are evaluated and shown to possess unrealistic expectations with regard to what the SECC would offer. Second, an analysis of the initial concert at the venue shows that the fragile nature of these expectations were made more evident as a result of this event. Overall, the discussion suggests that the previously ignored Apollo legend started to manifest itself as a result of the now-more-evident disparity between the two venues.

8.3.1 SECC Live Expectations

As noted earlier, the SECC had been a prime fixture-in-waiting on the local cultural map for over three years before the venue actually opened in September 1985 (McKinlay 1982, p.1). For one local journalist, this changeover meant that "... a sad reminder of a yesterday age ... (would) soon ... be replaced by something out of tomorrow's world" (Docherty 1985, p. 4). Although Docherty

was referring to the Apollo, a 1920s era cinema, being displaced by the contemporary-modern SECC, he could, given the extent to which the new Clydeside venue symbolised the ‘new’ Glasgow, also be alluding to the manner in which the traditional characteristics of the city had been supplanted by a flagship enterprise that symbolised a new, post-industrial, identity for Glasgow. However, whilst the SECC may have been situated in Glasgow and was, at least from the perspective of the native taxpayer, locally ‘owned’ (McKinlay 1982, p.1) the venue’s overall global vision (*Glasgow Herald* 1982, p.6) and ‘Scottish’ prefix essentially diminished any distinct localness, which (at least for the first part of its tenure) the Apollo had more readily embodied.

Other false expectations about the role of the SECC were evident from the outset. Rather than consider the new venue to be, as Sloan (1985C, p.15) described, as a “replacement for the legendary Glasgow Apollo,” the main remit of the SECC lay in its title as an ‘*Exhibition and Conference Centre.*’

Surprisingly, other than local journalist David Belcher (1985A, p.11), very few contemporary commentators appeared to grasp this key difference between the Apollo and the SECC in the same way as Belcher accurately projected:

Pop music will have to fit in around the conferences and product launches and such extra extravaganzas as the Scottish Motor show ... which are the Centre’s bread and butter, not the other way around.

Certainly, some indications about this non-realisation of the SECC’s role are still apparent. When the subject of this Scottish ‘Exhibition and Conference Centre’ nomenclature was raised during the course of audience interviews conducted for this study, the vast majority of the respondents condemned the SECC on a like-for-like basis with the Apollo, despite the incompatibility of the two venues, as this example (Harkin 2012A) demonstrates: “Going to the SECC is just a bad experience and I have seen Neil Young, Bowie, Elton John at both venues and there is no comparison.” The fact that the two venues are unlikely to equate on a wide range of already-established levels makes such ‘comparisons’ unrealistic. Indeed, when the SECC in general was referred to during the focus groups, it was, in the absence of a deeper understanding about the venue’s role, almost unreservedly, widely condemned by those present, almost in the same vein as a pantomime villain, and as a display of ‘Apollo versus SECC’ affinity among kindred spirits.

Similar false expectations also confronted promoters who believed that the SECC would ‘solve’ several of the logistical issues that the Apollo’s poor infrastructure facilitated (Martin 1984, pp.16-17). The venue’s emphasis on exhibition space is a factor that confronted promoter Jef Hanlon (2011) when he initially used the SECC for live concerts:

Basically, the SECC was staffed by Exhibition people and they considered pop shows or rock shows as an irritation ... they were not music business specialists, they were learning on the hoof.

Hanlon also found that, although the SECC halls could accommodate several thousand more audience members than the Apollo, the venue possessed no dressing room facilities and artists had to “make do” with office space instead (ibid).

Another of the Apollo promoters, Adrian Hopkins (2012) also discovered immediate problems with the SECC when he initially inspected the facilities prior to arranging a potential concert at the venue by Phil Collins:

(I found that) they had built this stage at the wrong end of the hall. Because if you wanted to put on a display you’d have a lift with a great big high ceiling at one end, but they’d built the stage round the other way. So, by the time you put the lighting rig in, even Phil Collins, who’s not very tall, would burn his head. Plus the ‘get-in’ was one ordinary door for all the equipment to come in. ... and the seating was designed in such a way that you couldn’t see the stage ...

Both these reflections highlight that live music concerts at the venue were not a top priority, and, despite indications that the live sector was becoming more ‘professional,’ this did not immediately translate into practice within this environment. The two promoters also display a sense of frustration that they possess limited influence over the proceedings at the venue. Indeed, it would not be until the ‘dedicated’ tier of UK arenas (Kronenburg 2012, p.81) materialised in the early part of this century, that promoters assumed some authority over a venue’s logistics, as evidenced by the in-house promoter design input within the First Direct Arena in Leeds (SMG Europe 2014).

8.3.2 SECC Live Experiences

This overview of the audience reaction to the opening live concert at the SECC in October 1985 argues that this event helped to initiate the process that elevated the status of the Apollo on the grounds of comparison alone. Certainly,

the initial concert, which featured UB40 supported by Simply Red, attracted a sell-out audience of 10,000 (which was more than double the capacity of the Apollo), but failed to impress some local commentators. Indeed, in a review of the concert, David Belcher (1985B, p.4) used the Apollo as a benchmark to critique the SECC (known in its initial stages as the Scottish Exhibition Centre or SEC):

Much maligned, the Apollo was colder, danker and your seat might have been in a state of terminal disrepair, the SEC's plastic seats are unbroken and uncomfortable although it's not cold or dank but the denizens of blocks I, J, K, L, Z, M, N, P, F, G and H will need to bring binoculars. The Apollo was a theatre, which meant that you could see, hear and sense what was happening; the SEC is not and so you can't. Some you lose, some you lose.

For many audience members interviewed for the study, it was the loss of intimacy and sense of 'thereness' that Belcher refers to, and which Tassell (2013, p.181) noted earlier, that was the most evident shortfall of the new venue, as this example (Wilson, D. 2012) demonstrates:

My favourite venues all hold around 3,000 or less people, that's where there is still a feeling of intimacy or connection with the band. The SECC is the worst venue of them all, I hate it; if I can't get in front of the centre of the stage (then) I won't get a ticket ...

Such reflections also underline the implied loss of community that prevailed within this new live music environment, thus elevating the local dimensions of the legend that encapsulate the Apollo, and further diminishing the SECC by nature of its more anonymous persona. In such instances, Giddens' (2007, pp.18-19) concept of 'place' and 'space' holds relevance, where the former symbolises notions of tradition, locality and community, while the latter represents modernity, gentrification and the non-local. Clear contrasts can therefore be drawn between the myth-enhancing properties of the Apollo as place, and the less-endearing multi-purpose exhibition space, as typified by the SECC.

Other, more serious, factors also impinged on the initial live event according to Billy Sloan (2011). Such was the poor level of crowd management, Sloan suggests that the SECC was fortunate to escape fatalities at this initial concert due to the inexperience of its staff (ibid):

It was a complete fucking shambles, they never got it together, they didn't know what they were doing. Suddenly, eight and a half thousand converged on them and they weren't ready for the show ... It was just uncharted waters, and they had to learn and learn very fast, and they got

away with it by the skin of their teeth because there wasn't any dangerous injury or fatality.

Newspaper headlines that accompanied this event, such as "Centre has to get its act together" (ibid 1985C, p.15), set a precedent where the venue's operational methods, lack of spatial aesthetics and overall cost to the local taxpayer were the subject of ongoing consternation among venue stakeholders. Indeed, the Simple Minds manager Bruce Findlay recalls (2012) that the group's first appearance at the venue in January 1986 almost ended in a riot after 200 seats were damaged and an audience member broke their leg due to poor organisation within the SECC's main hall.

Disparagingly referred to locally as the "big Red Shed" (MacKay 1991, pp.12-13), the venue's aesthetics and inferior acoustics also attracted criticisms from promoters such as Harvey Goldsmith ("It's a joke") and artists like Dave Stewart, who complained that "It's the worst (venue) I've ever been in. It's like playing in a Job Centre" (Hamilton 1989, p.3). Moreover, concerns about the cost of the venture, which now required frequent financial bail outs by the Glasgow taxpayer, also functioned to raise local concerns (*Evening Times* 1989, p.2). In essence, a combination of these aspects served to greatly taint the venue during its initial phase.

Other logistical issues also impacted on the SECC live concert experience for some fans that had frequented the Apollo. For an audience member like Maggie Duncan (2012), who, as noted earlier in chapter four, had previously been able to approach artists like Elton John almost without hindrance at the Albany Hotel as part of her Apollo live experience, she found that she was unable to return to this scenario due to the heightened level of security at the SECC.

I'm not a huge fan of the SECC. I remember going to see Elton John there and it was something like twenty-two years to the day since the Apollo gig. And I took along the (original) fifty pence ticket as proof and tried to see if they would let us backstage at the venue, but they wouldn't let us, and I can't say I'm surprised.

Thus, as part of the stricter audience controls that formed part of the ongoing professionalisation process of the live sector as exemplified at the SECC, Duncan displays a certain resignation about the fact that barriers have been placed between previously realised instances of desired closeness to major artists. For her, and others like her therefore, the 'benefits' of the SECC, if any, do not

compensate for the increased distance that now prevails between the audience and artists. Some parallels can be drawn between several of the above reflections on the Apollo-SECC transference and the prevailing changeover between older atmosphere-enhanced football grounds containing terracing and an 'anything goes' spatial ambience, with that of the safer, yet more staid, all-seated modern football stadiums (Bale 1993).

In one respect, the security firm Rock Steady eventually addressed the SECC's crowd management problems, as Jef Hanlon (2011) explained:

Rock Steady learned their trade there and sorted it out ... once (they) settled in and someone was thinking specifically about the job of managing a rock crowd safely as opposed to being volunteer or part time ... you know, thirty bob an hour tearing the tickets. And it took time and it took a few people to think about it.

Although this aspect of the venue's operational structure was addressed where, in effect, the venue's bouncers were professionalised, several other elements of the SECC's infrastructure took, in Adrian Hopkins' view (2012) "about ten years to get it right." Whilst such an elongated pathway towards an agreeable live concert experience may have mirrored the slowly-evolving nature of the move towards professionalism within this tier of the UK live sector, this meant that, at the same time, it took several years before local audiences warmed to the venue (if at all). During this time therefore, the more positive aspects of the Apollo live experience became the focus of sentiment.

In essence, the initial reaction to the SECC's many shortfalls functioned to apply a romantic sheen to the previously tarnished Apollo. Indeed, as Sam Shrouder (2013) of Apollo Leisure was pleased to acknowledge:

Yes, we became a much better venue once we'd closed. People had a lot of nostalgia for it, people weren't happy with the SECC - I don't think that anyone ever thought it recreated the same atmosphere for whatever reason.

Similarly, at the conclusion of his review of the initial UB40 concert at the SECC, a slightly exasperated David Belcher (1985B, p.4) asks "Can we have the Apollo back?" However, both Shrouder and Belcher appear to have neglected a key issue with regard to the Renfield Street venue. When considering what 'Apollo' Belcher wanted back, it is doubtful that the return of the Apollo of 1984-85 that would be embraced in the manner anticipated by the journalist. Similarly, despite the hopes of Shrouder to the contrary, it is uncertain whether a return

to the venue represented by most of the Apollo Leisure period would be appreciated by many of the Apollo advocates. If anything, most forms of Apollo-SECC comparison served to emphasise that, from the evidence provided by many of those who responded to the study, the main components that failed to transfer between the venues were key characteristics like intimacy, aesthetics, liveness, and forms of tangibility, all within a somewhat endearingly amateurish environment. In this case therefore, whilst variations exist about audience preferences, the Apollo of 1973-78, the mid-1970s specifically, would be the desired model to be reinvigorated.

Overall, the initial audience reaction to the SECC functioned to accentuate the attributes of the Apollo, albeit this tended to gloss over many of the venue's later imperfections, and also inclined to reshape the venue's historical trajectory. This process also helped to lay the foundations for the Apollo's subsequent status. Moreover, the first of the celebratory Apollo texts, a television documentary by BBC Scotland entitled *Apollo Countdown* and written by David Belcher, was locally broadcast in December 1985. The programme, which was narrated by the pop artist Alvin Stardust and featured contributions by Phil Collins, Bryan Ferry, Status Quo and Rick Wakeman, found Stardust introducing the documentary by stating "By the time I played here (in 1974), the venue was already a legend" (BBC Scotland 1985). Whilst there is no evidence to confirm that the venue 'was a legend' in 1974, it can be seen that, by the end of 1985 at least, rhetoric of this nature was more readily accepted. As discussed above, this development was underpinned by the disparity between the Apollo and the SECC, which, when experienced, helped to initiate and substantiate notions of the Apollo's legendary status.

8.4 Conclusion

This discussion has, by analysing the events of 1985, shown that the initial reluctance by the local audience to engage with the concept of the Apollo as a legendary venue was later reversed by process of the venue being authenticated by the numerous shortfalls which were made evident within the initial live events at the SECC. Whilst the next chapter provides further focus on the way in which forms of nostalgia feed the long-term nature of the Apollo legend, it is sufficient to note at this stage that aspects of restorative nostalgia (Boym 2001),

where the past is reclaimed and its imperfections are glossed over, can be seen to have possessed a short-term stimulus on the reappraisal of the venue legend during 1985.

Framed by the notion (ibid, p.10) that “Nostalgic manifestations are side effects of the technology of progress,” the negative aspects of the ‘progress’ symbolised by the SECC’s initial live events, can be seen to have kindled nostalgic tendencies towards the Apollo. In this case, two particular elements of restorative nostalgia (ibid, pp.41-48) permeate the initiation of the Apollo legend during 1985. First, this type of nostalgia tends to be focus on a fixed and sanitised notion of the past that follows a significant loss (ibid, pp.41-42). It therefore follows that the symbolic rituals and modes of behaviours associated with the previous phenomenon (such as the live rock concert experience) are wholeheartedly embraced, with the extent of the past’s ‘fixity’ being determined by the degree of change experienced in the interim period (ibid, p.42). In this instance, the ‘loss’ of the *traditional* live music experience at the Apollo is further exacerbated within the confines of the SECC, where forms of ‘progress’ are said to manifest, yet this process only serves to stimulate these underlying nostalgic tendencies. However, as emphasised earlier in the chapter, the desired live experience at the Apollo would most likely be focused on the venue’s mid-1970s peak, as opposed to a 1985 representation of liveness. In this respect, some distance can be seen to apply between the liveness and legend actants that shape 1985.

A second component of restorative nostalgia that shaped the initial stages of the Apollo legend is its focus on cultural identity or cultural intimacy, where stereotypical local agendas or modes of knowingness shape nostalgic inclinations and enable like-minded imagined communities to form (ibid, pp.42-43). Amidst such penchants, forms of complicity enable rigid, complexity-free conspiracy theories, which are driven by a “subversive kinship” and frames allegiance towards an imagined homeland (ibid, p.43). Again, several incidences within the Apollo narrative incline towards this type of nostalgia, whereby the loss of a distinctly local venue is further aggravated by the nature of its direct replacement. In addition, the aforementioned depiction of the SECC as a pantomime villain within the responses for this study (variations of which also

evident within many of the Apollo texts) can be regarded as another facet of this mode of nostalgia.

Overall, the discussion has shown that, infused by the realisation of false expectations, and driven by forms of restorative nostalgia, the Apollo legend can be seen to have retained substance during the course of the year in which the venue closed. In effect, this fusion of the actors representing liveness, memory and legend during 1985 show that, within the space of a year, the venue assumed a range of different values, with it being disregarded at the beginning of the year, yet celebrated at its conclusion, despite its 'fixed' dilapidated condition and the distinct absence of an 'actual' appreciative audience during the final part of the venue's operation.

Chapter Nine: Apollo Afterlife

The venue's post-closure period can be noted for the manner in which the Apollo legend came to fruition and the venue assumed a dynamic posthumous identity. This process therefore aligns with Benjamin's perspective that both the longevity and value of a text can be shaped by its existence within its own afterlife, where it can be further appreciated and embrace new dimensions (Benjamin 2002, pp.253-263). To this end, the fieldwork thus far has conferred with numerous participants and uncovered a wide range of venue-related experiences that possess both depth and detail despite it being, in some cases, over forty years since some of these events occurred. In order to apply some form of context as to why these events continue to leave an imprint for decades thereafter, the discussion that follows explores the way in which the collective representations of subjective experiences have helped to shape the legend that encapsulates the venue.

While attempts are made to maintain boundaries between these categories, it will be seen that overlaps do occur, with this development serving to reflect how individual and collective reminiscences have tended to cross-pollinate and inform the legend. Overall, the discussion argues that the venue's reputation is underpinned by the strong sense of belief held by a sufficient number of audience members that the Apollo *was* a legendary venue, and by the manner in which many of the affirmative Apollo memories are readily accommodated and reiterated within a series of platforms dedicated to the venue. Within this realm, the configuration between the actors representing memory and legend can be regarded as instrumental in shaping the venue's reputation.

9.1 Apollo Memories

Frith's (1981B, p.265; 1996, pp.140-42) aforementioned observation that the strength of an individual's engagement with live music rests upon subjective and collective experiences frames the analysis to follow. Using venue-related autobiographical reminiscences as a basis for discussion, it is argued that, for some participants, the venue became the site of several sensory encounters that, due to the extent of their temporal-spatial impact, have since become embedded in memory. Furthermore, it is also suggested that the manner in

which aspects of the memories are accommodated within some of the platforms that are devoted to the legacy of the venue, has fashioned a collective dimension to the history of the Apollo.

9.1.1 Apollo Autobiographical Memories

As the initial basis for both collective memory and the myths-legends that follow, autobiographical memory can be regarded as the foundational motivator for the Apollo legend that has materialised over the decades. The analysis therefore explores why some venue experiences impacted to such an extent within the subjective memories of several Apollo audience members. It is argued that the venue's temporal-spatial location and physical environment both held significant bearing on the longevity and clarity of these memories.

Earlier discussion in chapter four had shown that the Apollo was the first major venue of its type in West-Central Scotland, and was therefore the facilitator of many 'first-gig' experiences, as illustrated by this example (Wilson, D. 2012):

I was approximately 18. I travelled to Glasgow from Kincardine, Fife to see Rush. It was the most exciting night of my life to that point. The crowd and atmosphere was amazing but the music was unbelievable. I loved every minute of it. Being so close to the band and the smell of dry ice. I will never forget it and this was my night out of choice from then on.

This experience can be seen to align with Conway's (1990, pp.82-85) suggestion that a 'first-time' encounter of this type remains a highly vivid occurrence during a defining period in the audience member's life. Furthermore, in this case, it also represents the commencement of an Apollo concert history for the individual, thus aligning with Brown and Schopflocher's (1998, pp.471-74) aforementioned concept of systematic episodic memory, where, once a series of similar memory episodes gel, autobiographical memory 'clusters' can resonate and become rooted within memory.

Similarly, for another audience member (Pidgeon 2012), his initial Apollo experience is deemed notable by the sensory nature of the entire occasion, to the extent that it assumes a prime position among the traditional transitional experiences of youth:

My first attendance at the Apollo was Queen on 31 May 1977. I was sixteen at the time, ... I still remember very vividly entering the stalls from the central stairway and then to the right hand side of the stalls. Wow! What

a place, it seemed so huge and filled with electricity and there was something tense about the whole place. The overriding feeling was the atmosphere. It was magic and with bucket loads of excitement. I could have spent ages just soaking it all in, the size, the stage, the smell, the noise and most of all the anticipation of my fellow patrons. This was my first ever gig and it was Queen! At the world famous Glasgow Apollo! And I was there in amongst the madness. The show blew me away and I knew when leaving the auditorium with my ears buzzing I was hooked. I spent the rest of my formative youth mainly going to the Apollo, drinking and playing football. Girls, I am afraid, would have to come later.

In both these examples, the venue's smell lays foundations for these memories to take shape, and associations of this nature have been encapsulated within the Proustian phenomenon, which posits that distinctive smells from the distant past can assume a key presence within autobiographical memory due to their ability to evoke the specifics of the original experiences (Chu and Downes 2000).

Additionally, Lefebvre's (2011, p.197) suggestion that forms of intimacy between subject and place resonate most patently within environments where distinctive smells prevail and assume bodily presence, can also be seen to hold relevance.

In another exemplar, the enormity of the first-time experience serves to almost overwhelm the audience member, yet specifics about the concert still prevail despite the passing of several decades:

The first act I saw at the Apollo was T Rex. I was 13 - I think - and went with my friend. We travelled in from Lenzie by train and were practically sick with excitement. I remember being worried in case T Rex didn't show up and being concerned because some of the girls at school were trying to fake tickets and I didn't want them to fake mine. I was in row S seat 17- I still remember that after 40 odd years! I remember the noise and the screaming and standing on my seat yelling myself hoarse. I also remember the feeling of euphoria when I came out of the concert. The place was so dark inside and so exciting. (Lonsdale 2012)

In a similar example, the sheer power of the live performance engulfs, then grips, the young spectator:

I was about eleven, and hadn't been to a rock concert before, and walked in, not knowing what to expect. And then they (The Sensational Alex Harvey Band) started. I thought my head was going to blow off, so much so that I pulled the hood up on my Parka ... I had never experienced like it. And then I remember just taking my hood down, slowly, and thinking, 'What is going on? This is amazing.' I was astonished. (McKenna, K. 2012)

In this case, the slow realisation that this initial introduction to live rock music was to become a defining youthful experience further substantiates Conway's (1990, pp.91-92) claim that occurrences of this nature resonate due to their

intensity and timing. Such trends are recognised by another audience member (Godley 2012) who can relate to the vast changes in the way that live music is experienced in youth and middle age:

Live music can still exhilarate, and disappoint, and the experience is still fabulous (even when it is not so good, if that doesn't sound ridiculous) but going to gigs and concerts in your 50s is not the same as going in your teens. It is not as significant in your overall socialisation/growing up experience; I think that is what made it so crucial in the '70s as it was part of growing up and those experiences felt so much more intense then.

A central theme that exists within many of these autobiographical memories is the way in which the sensory and tangible nature of these experiences function to reiterate the overall intensity and 'physicalness' of the Apollo live events. Whether experienced through the modes of transport to and from the venue (especially if this included rushing to catch the last bus or train home due to the Apollo's erratic concert schedule), or, as mentioned above, by nature of the memory-evoking smells (Herz 2004), these aspects add further to the aforementioned sense of sensory-driven 'realness' that can elevate the live concert experience (Cohen 1991, p.94), and thus help to embed this experience within individual memories.

Some form of caveat however should be applied to the reliability of some Apollo memories, where, in some cases, concert experiences can be constructed or their content be misrepresented. Such examples include an audience member (Patterson 2006) who stated that that his memory of a Talking Heads concert at the venue will "live forever," despite the group never having performed at the Apollo. Furthermore, another audience member (quoted in Leadbetter 1995, p.76) whose "vivid" memories of the songs performed during a 1978 concert by The Clash included two titles (*Clampdown* and *Train in Vain*) that were not actually written until 1979 (Peachy 2008, p.240), can also be seen to raise doubts about the consistency of some Apollo reminiscences.

Nonetheless, such inconsistencies generally fail to diminish the legend that surrounds the venue. Whereas irregular examples of this type can be scrutinised with some ease when they exist in isolation, their location within texts that tend to uphold the Apollo legend leads them to assume forms of validity. Furthermore, because such examples embrace some of the instantly recognisable components that shape the legend (such as the long-lasting visceral

impact that key performances at the venue held for audience members), then, in effect, the details that accompany the reminiscence prove superfluous.

Within the realm of autobiographical memory, inaccuracies of this nature can also, as Conway (1990, p.9) suggests, still function to encapsulate the personal meaning gained through these experiences. However, Tourangeau (1999, p.45) also recognises that accuracy of subjective memories can be compromised by the passing of time, and, as a result, the recipient usually has to embrace forms of collective intrusion in order to maintain an outline of accuracy. The author's reference to the fact that autobiographical memory rarely exists in isolation possesses significance with regard to the live music environment, where the "construction of community" (Toynbee 2000, p.123), drives an individual's Apollo concert memories towards part of a larger, collective narrative. In this respect, the next section of the chapter explores the scope of the collective Apollo memories and considers the impact that this aspect possesses on the venue's perceived legendary status.

9.1.2 Apollo Collective-Cultural Memories

This discussion focuses on the collective memories that help to nurture and shape the Apollo legend. Whilst the term 'collective memory' generally relates to the tendency of individuals to engage with wider notions of a common past (Halbwachs 1992), Sturken (1997, p.3) more usefully applies the term 'cultural memory' as a means of highlighting the way that memory can become 'entangled' within cultural texts and, as a result, become saturated by the text's underlying message. Therefore, this analysis concentrates on the two main memory-based venue texts: the Glasgow Apollo website and series of *Apollo Memories* books (Kielty 2005; 2009; 2011). The discussion to follow argues that, by shaping aspects of the collective memories that underpin the Apollo narrative, both texts function to generalise the venue history and to also impose a genre-specific perspective on the Apollo legacy.

Since the Glasgow Apollo website (www.glasgowapollo.com) was launched in 2003, the site's popularity, with 6.6 million hits achieved by the end of 2014, can be regarded as a key indicator of the ongoing interest in the venue's legacy. Its structure, where audience members can post 'I was there' concert anecdotes, upload images of tickets, and also contribute towards a range of

forum threads on the site, functions to ‘confirm’ several of the venue’s ‘legendary’ facets. As an example, in the forum relating to the series of Status Quo concerts, the venue’s ‘legendary’ bouncing balcony assumes key focus. The initial post (Norwood 2003) relates that “The stories about the balcony are true ... the stuff of legend,” which is then reiterated by a number of other posts.

Another facet of the venue’s ‘legend’, the ticket scam process that some audience members used to gain entry to concerts at the venue, also attracts a flow of memories. The ruse, which generally involved the ticket holder gaining entry to the venue and then throwing the ticket (usually within a matchbox) from an upstairs window to an accomplice below for further re-use, was, according to venue folklore, a process that many audience members indulged in, as this memory post indicates:

I think every Apollo regular tried this trick a couple of times. It was a sort of rite of passage. You never thought you’d get caught and in 10 years of Apollo head banging I never did ... Can’t imagine having the bottle to do that now but we were 18/19 and didn’t give a toss. (Farrell 2005)

Several other forum contributors also allude to this practice. Commenting on this discussion thread, another audience member (Gregor 2006) reaffirms the popularity of this process (as well as its collusive potency) by stating “Seems like a lot of us used the ticket in the matchbox trick.” However, the extent to which other Apollo regulars adopted this method remains open to question.⁵⁴ Indeed, if this underhand practice was as widespread as these website posts would lead the casual observer to believe, then it is arguable that venue may well have suffered severe financial constraints within a relatively short time of opening. Certainly, whilst many of the audience members interviewed for this study were certainly aware of (and amused by) this practice, none admitted to indulging in activities of this nature. However, given its key position within the venue’s ‘legendary’ identity, the ticket scam process rarely fails to be excluded in any of the Apollo texts.

It can also be seen that a disparity exists across the spectrum of memories listed on the website. Key artists such as Duke Ellington, The Carpenters and The Four

⁵⁴ Fans on the website and other Apollo texts were keen to highlight the extent of their deception. In one case, two tickets were used to admit “four or five” collaborators (Farrell 2005), and in another (Forbes, quoted Leadbetter 1995, p.44) one ticket admitted six. One audience member mentioned above (Gregor 2006) used the website forum to proclaim that he very rarely paid for admission at the venue.

Tops have “no memories listed,” and thereby fail to leave an imprint on the venue’s reminiscence-framed narrative. In some cases, genre-based constraints are placed on the formation of memories. Whilst all eleven appearances at the venue by the rock artist Rory Gallagher receive prominent focus (as do the thirteen concerts by Thin Lizzy), a number of performances by non-rock artists fail to feature, including some by Cliff Richard (November 1973) and Neil Sedaka (February 1974; February 1975; April 1976). Indeed, by failing to even acknowledge the existence of several artists who performed at the Apollo, such as soul group Junior Walker and the All Stars (April 1974), disco act KC and the Sunshine Band (January 1980) and the James Last Orchestra (March 1980; October 1984), the website can, in effect, be accused of filtering memories of the venue’s history through a rock music prism.

In this respect, it is evident that an emphasis is placed on the rock and heavy metal genres within other aspects of the website content. Whilst the majority of the website content has been provided by online contributors, the site’s framing is mainly inclined towards embracing representations of these genres within the featured interviews or by the underlying message of the aforementioned flagship statement of “Fuck bingo, long live rock” (Glasgow Apollo 2014A). Indeed, this is a process that serves to attract genre-affiliates to the site, to the extent that a little-known heavy metal artist like Wastedy, who performed twice at the venue in a support band capacity, during 1983-84, attract substantially more online comments on the site than a major global headliner like Bob Marley and the Wailers. When asked about this tendency, the site’s co-author Scott McArthur (2012) commented that (emphasis in the original):

I think that live music tends to be, to this day, rock music, and rock music tends to be *the* live music. ... I think that a lot of the fans that you get on the website are rock fans. That’s more about the function of rock music.

Primarily, McArthur, who first attended the venue in 1981 for a Judas Priest concert, and lists AC/DC, Status Quo and Iron Maiden as representing his favourite concerts at the venue (ibid), is engaging with the notion, mentioned previously, that live music performance assumes an additional significance as *the* main focal point for the heavy metal genre (Walser 1993, p.17; Weinstein 2000, pp.180-81). Whilst the high level of website engagement by rock fans can, as McArthur suggests, shape the content of the website, it can also, as discussed

earlier, impose genre boundaries (Frith 2002, p.88) in the same manner that such parameters would have been applied at the Apollo itself.

Indeed, from MacArthur's perspective, the venue's demise in 1985 served to embody forms of genre ownership, whereby the closure *and* the threat to the Apollo's rock values initiated a sense of genre conflict as demonstrated by the choice of the pop-soul group The Style Council to perform at the last concert at the venue in June 1985. Despite this event having taken place almost thirty years ago, a sense emerges that this selection still rankles with McArthur (2012):

Yes, terrible, it's drivel of the highest order. There was talk one time of everyone going along and booing them off the stage. Nobody could believe that they were closing the venue with The Style Council. It was pop crap really; it was just terrible.

Such views align even more closely with the aforementioned notion of genre boundaries to the extent that there appears to be a requirement to rigorously defend the Apollo's rock values. Whereas Toynbee (2000, p.103) suggests that "... communities of listeners can lay claims to genres", it is evident that, if the affinity between a genre and venue are particularly strong, then some communities can also lay claims to the venue itself.

Similarly, Martin Kielty, author of the *Apollo Memories* books, also feels aggrieved about The Style Council closing the venue.⁵⁵ Within these texts the Uriah Heep concert of 16 May 1985 is not referred to as being the fourth last show at the Apollo, but as the venue's "last rock show" (2011, p.183). The final concert itself, emphasises Kielty (ibid, p.184) "... wasn't a special gala show - it was a Style Council show." Again, despite the passing of almost three decades, this episode still appears to irritate Kielty, with this aspect being made apparent during the interview conducted for this study (ibid 2012). The fact that he did not attend this concert or, for that matter, any other live performance at the venue as he was too young to do so, adds further to the sense that the association between genre affinity and place can be both resolute and somewhat erroneous.

When asked about the tendency to elevate the rock genre in the *Apollo Memories* books, Kielty (ibid) related that:

⁵⁵ Kielty is also a writer for *Classic Rock* magazine and was at one point, the manager of the post-Harvey version of The Sensational Alex Harvey Band.

Well, I think that rock fans are more passionate about the whole experience ... Rock was there (all the time), so they put their thumbprint over the Apollo more so than any other group of fans.

Certainly, Kielty makes an effective point. Rock can be considered to be the one music genre that encompasses the entire history of the venue. However, as earlier discussion has emphasised, it can be seen that the two main phases of the Apollo's tenure accommodated different forms of the rock genre, with its more general supergenre format assuming relevance during the venue's initial period, and a form of rock that was more inclined towards heavy metal, being predominant over the course of its latter phase. In this instance it is evident that both authors of the two main Apollo texts are more clearly affiliated with rock's depiction during the Apollo's second period, sometimes to the detriment of its more varied initial phase.

The structure applied by Kielty to accommodate reminiscences within the books, which uses venue memories as a series of condensed anecdotes representing a chronological narrative, is particularly revealing. Indeed, the author, who referred to this format as being "popular culture dispensed into easy chunks," highlighted that this process was particularly suitable for the Apollo history, which was "a story crying out to be told" (ibid). Thus, by simplifying many of the complex issues that encapsulated the venue during its period of tenure, Kielty appears to be following a common trait identified by Zerubavel (2003, p.13), where 'stories' can make complicated narrative meaningful by depicting it as a series of episodes within a larger storyline. Therefore, representations of the Apollo within the context of these publications, especially those pertaining to the venue legend and the venue's most prominent music genre, must be assessed within the limitations of its structure and content.

A further retelling of the Apollo stories also formed the basis of another celebratory text about the venue. 'I Was There: The Tale of the Glasgow Apollo' was a musical that ran for three performances at the Clyde Auditorium, Glasgow in 2009, and two performances at the same venue in 2010. Directed by Tommy McGrory, a manager of a local youth music charity, McGrory (2011) was inspired to create a story-telling vehicle that reflected the venue after receiving a copy of the *Apollo Memories* book, where he "had great fun reading it and half way

through the book. I just realised that there's a great story to be told about it basically.”

Certainly, McGrory based the majority of the musical's content on research conducted on the book and the memories posted on the venue website (ibid), thus not only reiterating many of the Apollo legend anecdotes, but also recycling these stories as well. Appropriately, according to McGrory (ibid), the writing process involved placing key Apollo memories (such as the ticket scams and the reputation of the bouncers) within small segments between musical performances:

It had to be told in two to three minutes ... the story about the Apollo wasn't complicated ... the storyline was pretty basic. (It was basically) tell a few stories, and then back to the music.

Overall, the frequent retelling of the Apollo legend within a number of the Apollo Memories' enterprises are inclined towards an 'easy-read' collective understanding about the origins and components of the venue folklore. In this case, Vazsonyi's concept of the multi-conduit system (cited in Dégh, 2001, pp.418-20), which facilitates the longevity of legendary narratives, attains significance. The system, which is framed by the social interaction within lines of communication between individuals who share similar references, characteristics and traits, tends to persuade the participants towards assuming levels of conformity (ibid). Moreover, certain channels or conduits within the system can be relied upon to ensure that the message of the text remains unaltered and assumes longevity due to its ready acceptance among willing receiver-participants (ibid).

In many ways therefore, the various platforms dedicated to the venue's legacy facilitate a 'safe channel' through which the Apollo legend circulates. These texts also privilege specific music genres, which, as Thornton (1990) relates in relation to the retelling of music histories, lacks inclusiveness and normally signifies a lack of affinity with the values that certain music styles symbolise. In essence, whilst the collective memories are initially formed from the subjective reminiscences of the Apollo audience, Bartlett's (1932, p.13) evaluation of remembering as "... not a completely independent function," that relies upon construction, perception and imagining, and where frequent reproduction leads

to the retained detail becoming stereotyped and fixed, is a perspective that frames some of the collective Apollo memories discussed within this section.

Sturken's (1997, p.5) claim that "personal memory, cultural memory, and history do not exist within neatly defined boundaries" also possesses relevance. This applies principally where texts that shape cultural memory possess the capacity to blur distinctions between subjective and collective experiences within a 'general script' that ultimately acts to overwhelm any subjective input, and ultimately determines the cultural impact of the phenomenon in question (ibid, p.6). In the case of the Apollo therefore, given the influence that the website and the *Apollo Memory* books hold as editors of the venue's 'legendary script,' these texts can be seen to assume additional gravitas within the context of the venue's afterlife. However, whilst recognising that individual memory can be marginalised within the overall collective narrative that the Apollo legend pursues, the elevation of the venue's reputation within such texts can, by association, serve to enhance the status of those who attended live concerts at the Apollo.

This is most clearly articulated by the 'I Was There' title used for the Apollo musical (McGrory 2009; 2010) mentioned above, which helped to create a further layer within the venue legend. In effect, by engaging with an increasingly recognised term (Paytress 2005; Nolan 2006) that generally represents a self-bestowed and self-congratulatory accolade that is engendered by the act of attendance at key live events or venues, and where notions of cultural capital can be seen to emerge as a result. This was exemplified by the publicity material for the musical, which highlighted that there are two types of music lovers in Glasgow; those who attended the Apollo, and those who wished they had attended the venue (Ticket Soup 2010).

Given the Apollo's timeframe, such modes of 'I Was There-ism,' can also be viewed as aligning with the previously mentioned rock heritage environment that encompasses a predilection for rock's 'golden period' (Bennett 2008) and is facilitated by ready accessibility of media content (O'Brien 2004, p.16). However, the Apollo's prime location within this realm was further enhanced by the general absence of media (Auslander 2011, p.67), thus privileging the individual who witnessed these live events, as this example (Harkin 2012A)

illustrates:

I believe that the Apollo was a unique experience but that it was partly due to your personal musical era. Music plays a huge part of your development during your formative years. For me, music is a time machine. For example, I can never hear “Take it Easy” without hearing the voice of Glenn Frey, saying “Hi, we’re The Eagles, from Southern California” before the guitar twangs on the song intro back in 1973. ... The sheer anticipation of seeing Bowie at his Aladdin Sane period, Roxy at their peak or Elton at his most flamboyant can never be repeated. Those memories are both personal and collective as in the “I was there” category.

Another audience member (Wilson, D. 2012) validates the Apollo’s symbolic values by positioning it within a larger context, whereby the last defining era of rock was in evidence:

I am certain that musicians of that era were the last that had a belief about the music that has virtually gone now. I think that the history of Rock ‘n’ Roll can be written now because as a movement and a tradition of playing that was handed on from musicians to musicians, that was innovative ended in the 80’s. As a part of the audience you felt part of something bigger and you were seeing gifted musicians at the very top of their game. The Apollo was the place to go to bring it all together, you were with your own and the music was outstanding.

These memories therefore resonate for a number of reasons, not least due to their engagement with the peak performances by key artists and the overall uniqueness that a myriad of factors facilitated, all of which remain inaccessible to those who did not attend these events. Thus, for those who hold memories of several key live events at the Apollo, a more exclusive sense of ‘I Was There’ can emerge.

In some cases, ‘just’ attending the Apollo and engaging with its symbolic characteristics can be a valid reason for positioning the audience member above those who have to ‘endure’ more modern live music environments, as this proclamation from an Apollo audience member (quoted Leadbetter 1995, p.77) exemplifies:

I feel sorry for live-rock music fans who can only go to either the Royal Concert Hall (more like a hospital than a gig venue) or the oversized tin shoebox known as the SECC. Both have about as much atmosphere as a dead fish. Not only Glasgow, but the whole of Scotland, lost something irreplaceable when the Apollo closed its doors. Some people might tell us Apollo-lovers are being over-sentimental, and I know things always look rosier when they belong to the past. But even so ... all that I can say is: if you were ever there, you’ll know how we feel.

Within this ‘you had to be there’ assertion, this Apollo advocate elevates the

stature of the venue (and its atmosphere) above any contemporary equivalent, yet provides only limited evidence to support this claim. In examples of this nature, the somewhat judgemental tone adopted acts to extend beyond simple 'I Was There' capital and assumes a less-endearing disposition, which could be classed as 'privileged presence.' A status of this nature is not necessarily based on the number of defining concerts that the audience member may have attended, but, more so, it can simply reflect that the recipient has been present at the 'legendary' venue at some point. Therefore, the attendee is a position to embrace and elucidate the known celebrated components of the live location to those who have to 'tolerate' contemporary venues, which cannot, under any circumstances, match the 'unsurpassable' live experiences of the past. With the overall potency of the 'legendary' venue providing the basis for the notion of privileged presence, locations like the Apollo, the Cavern and CBGB can be deemed to be key initiators of this process.

Certainly, some evidence of privileged presence was discernible during the course of some of the focus group interviews that were conducted for this study, with this mainly consisting of a (sometimes animated) celebratory enthusiasm for what the Apollo represented, coupled with a marked reluctance by the individual concerned to even consider engaging with a contemporary concert experience at a major venue. Whilst such proclivities were limited to one or two members of each focus group, there was, in the main, an overall sense of an 'I Was There' sheen to each of the group interviews, with this aspect becoming more apparent as the Apollo-related anecdotes circulated during the course of the exercise. Again, it has to be recognised that such eagerness to embrace the legend that encapsulates the venue can serve to pre-shape at least some of the Apollo memories.

By returning to Boym's (2001, pp.41-48) concept of restorative nostalgia, where the inadequacies of the past tend to be glossed over, it is evident that several of the Apollo audience can follow such inclinations, thus serving to maintain the prominent reputation of the venue. Indeed, audience responses such as "Who wants to remember the negative stuff (about the Apollo)? There were plenty of negative moments but the good stuff outweighed them" (Dearie 2012), serves to underline the emphasis placed on minimising the adverse components of the Apollo's history.

In another exemplar by an audience member (Pidgeon 2012) the regular array of major artists who performed at the venue forms the basis of their reminiscences about the venue (emphasis in the original):

(Perhaps) ... there is an aspect of rose-tinted glasses when nostalgia and the Apollo are concerned. However, it does not take away from the fact that the world's entire rock artists held the Apollo as *the* place to be seen and heard. ... Where else nowadays would you get bands like: The Who, David Bowie, Queen, The Rolling Stones, Status Quo, Roxy Music, Genesis, Rush, AC/DC, Rory Gallagher & Peter Gabriel etc. continually play year in year out and even some bands tipping their hat to the Apollo and recording live material.

These recollections, from which a total belief in the venue's overall legendary reputation is evident, tend to conceal the fact that several of these artists (perhaps with the exception of Status Quo), did not perform at the venue "year in year out" as suggested, with performers like David Bowie last appearing in 1978 (after a five-year gap no less), Queen in 1979, and Genesis in 1980. Furthermore, despite allusions to the contrary, many major artists, such as Pink Floyd, Stevie Wonder, Bruce Springsteen and Tom Waits never performed at the Apollo, despite appearing at several comparable UK venues during the Apollo's timeframe.⁵⁶

In a further, more nuanced, audience example (Lonsdale 2012), the sense of initial loss about the demise of the venue diminishes, and the audience member admits that her memories may not have possessed their positive afterglow had she encountered the negative dimensions of the venue during its latter period:

I can't remember ever having a bad experience at the Apollo and I'd be hard pushed to think of anything that gave me that feeling of intense anticipation and excitement that going to a concert there gave. I went to other venues in the 70s but nothing came close to the atmosphere that you got there. ... I don't sit and mourn the passing of those days, I'm just grateful that I was there and have them in my memory - it's part of who I am. ... I went regularly until 1975. ... I think I experienced it at its best and am glad I didn't witness its deterioration.

These reflections act as an exemplar for what Pickering and Keightley (2006) suggest is the way in which nostalgia possesses a number of facets that blend numerous divergent elements. Loss is undoubtedly one of its prime

⁵⁶ Pink Floyd performed at the Usher Hall, Edinburgh in 1974, while Stevie Wonder appeared live at the Rainbow Theatre, London during the same year. In 1981 both Bruce Springsteen and Tom Waits used the Playhouse Theatre in Edinburgh as the location for their only Scottish date for their respective tours.

characteristics, but this must also be aligned with an awareness of “social gain or liberation” that can also manifest within reminiscences (ibid, p.921).

This juxtaposition of contradictory senses is further complicated by nostalgia’s fluidity, where the shifting patterns in the individual’s life circumstances ultimately serve to impose different perspectives on previous experiences (ibid, p.929). Such configurations therefore serve to marginalise Davis’ (1979, p.18) concept of ‘simple nostalgia,’ which symbolises the dichotomies of a “beautiful past and unattractive present.” Whilst instances of ‘straightforward’ nostalgia may be seen to exist (as some of the featured examples demonstrate), such inclinations are certainly more complex than Davis allows. Therefore, when an audience member (Fraser 2012) relates that “there are no aspects of the Apollo that I would not wish to encounter again,” such a declaration requires further scrutiny, given that it is debatable whether a contemporary concert-goer would readily accept the general venue conditions encountered in the past within the tumbledown environment at the Apollo.

Accordingly, a study of mature music fans by Bennett (2013, p.18) suggests that the current popularity of heritage rock acts within a live environment, which is focused on middle-aged, moneyed rock fans, is something that is readily accommodated within the network of large dedicated live arenas, where a host of facilities like car parking and restaurants symbolise convenience, accessibility and well-being. Therefore, whilst several Apollo audience members continue to celebrate the run-down conditions that were an intrinsic part of the Apollo experience, it is doubtful whether such surroundings would be tolerated by audiences (or allowed to manifest by the relevant authorities for that matter) within a current live environment.

In summary, the analysis suggests that an inclination by some audience members to minimise the negative aspects of the Apollo experience can embrace a range of contradictions that are, in some cases, nullified by the persuasive nature of the venue legend.

9.2 The Legendary Apollo

Analysing practices that encompass forms of engagement with ‘legendary’ institutions can be problematic due to the persuasive nature and ready assimilation of mythical dialogue (Dégh 2001, p.13), along with the tendency for modern myths of this nature to be grounded by frequent repetition, different variations, and a local framing (Brunvand, cited *ibid*, p.46). As mentioned earlier, Barthes’ (1977, p.165) perspective on myths acts to underline the power of the meta-language that encapsulates descriptions of the legendary entity, whereby the ‘common sense’ or ‘given’ nature of its status is already embedded in discourse. Of course, as already noted (Frith 1981A, p.168), the rock genre is prone to affiliation with the mythical elements that underpin its foundations, and, again, its potency functions to inspire ready acceptance of its mythical attributes amongst many of its advocates (*ibid*).

Given the Apollo’s tendency to attract a ‘legendary’ prefix, a predisposition for reputations to be established through reiteration holds relevance within the venue’s afterlife status. Certainly, Brodie’s (2009, pp.127-29) study of memes reveals that regular repetition of fixed messages ultimately assumes a conditioning effect on the recipient. Furthermore, in a similar study, Blackmore (2000, pp.99-107) refers to the power that can be carried by forms of persuasive and easily imitated language within a digital environment, whereby not necessarily accurate information can be conveyed and replicated easily. In essence, whilst the basis of the Apollo’s legendary reputation resides within an analogue environment, this depiction has mainly gathered pace in a digital milieu (such as the venue website) where such claims can easily manifest.

9.2.1 Audience Representation of the Apollo Legend

This section explores the level of engagement with the Apollo legend held by several of the Apollo audience and argues these participants served to provide modes of celebratory circularity relating to the venue’s iconic status. This process of self-perpetuation, already discernible within many of the Apollo legacy platforms, can be seen to further elevate the memories of those who attended the venue through the positive affirmation supplied by other stakeholders, as this example from an audience member (Yuill 2012) illustrates:

Having read articles and books about the Apollo, where most of the artists who performed there and the members of the audience who attended the gig are of the same opinion - the Apollo was their favourite venue - surely all these people can't be wrong?

Similarly, for another person who regularly attended concerts at the Apollo (McFadzean 2012), forms of confirmation also emerged from numerous sources, thus adding to the instances of self-perpetuation:

Of course, the term legendary is over-used, especially in recent times, but the Apollo was somehow special. Even if there was an element of local pride in this, the fact that it was accepted as fact by so many (musicians, visiting fans, journalists etc.) means there must be more than a germ of truth there.

Whilst such conviction about the venue's legendary reputation is underpinned by the role played by a combination of sources, some audience members (Harkin 2012B) instead sought confirmation from the artists who performed at the Apollo:

For me ... I'm not even sure it's for us (the audience) to declare whether it was a legendary venue. The people who have given it its legendary status are the artists that performed there and there's enough testimonies and memorials in that book (*Apollo Memories*) and on the website where it's the actual bands. ... I remember Neil Young ... (at the SECC with Booker T and the MGs. It was a fabulous gig, and during one of his monologues, he said, 'Does anyone remember the mighty Apollo?' And he got a big cheer. And in reply, he said, 'legend.' And if Neil Young said it was a legend, then that's good enough for me.

Indeed, the sense that Apollo artists assume a key position within the venue's 'legend confirmation' hierarchy is evident across the range of Apollo texts. However, unlike Young's fairly general reference to the venue's legendary identity, the artist Elkie Brooks (2013) applies a more reasoned perspective on the Apollo's legendary status:

Legendary venues earn their reputation through the hard work, history and memories people have of them. No matter how much people try to claim or make the O2 a 'legendary venue' this is not going to happen, it can never have the musical history or legacy of somewhere like the Apollo. If it was still standing now, there would be a good chance it would have been taken over by some conglomerate theatre group and the life and soul drained from it. I suppose it is more legendary due to the fact it is no longer with us and those old memories can remain undiminished.

Brooks' reference to the corporate branding of venues resonates, given that, in these instances, the brand name retains prominence within the venue nomenclature and offers limited opportunities to achieve forms of audience

affinity. In addition, branding also provides an incompatible format to attach a 'legendary' prefix, as evidenced by the fact that, while venues like the Hammersmith Odeon can readily accommodate a 'legendary' attachment (Swanson 2013), its brand-endorsed incarnation, the Eventim Hammersmith Odeon, functions to repel such associations.

Positioning the Apollo within a comparative-historical context, as Brooks has done within this articulate reflection, further serves to provide a sense of the venue's significance. However, for some audience members, it is the way in which the venue, by association with its 'classic rock' timeframe, has assumed a prime location within rock heritage platforms (Bennett 2009, pp.474-75), that provides adequate proof of its legendary qualities:

What made the Apollo legendary was that ... the bands that were playing there were in their heyday, they were at the peak of their game: I mean, they were legendary. If you listen to Rock radio now it's all these bands they're playing, and these were the bands that were coming here. If you go to other venues, other countries, other cities, none of them have ever had that atmosphere. There was a quality about it, and the bands themselves speak about it with affection, but there was a legendary quality to it. (Heron 2012),

In this instance the audience member does not relate whether he attended live music events in the "other venues, other countries, other cities" mentioned, but, presuming that this was not the case, it provides another indication that the Apollo's legendary reputation tends to be confirmed within the context of its own celebratory ecosystem. Indeed, for Frank Lynch (2013), the local entertainment entrepreneur who started the Apollo over forty years ago, the continuing public interest in the venue's legacy, as typified by the popularity of the website (as well as the existence of this study), is a factor that underlines the venue's reputation:

Well, you know you've done something pretty good when, thirty years after the Apollo closes, as many as one to two hundred people a day are visiting a website devoted to it because it brings back so many memories. So, you know that you've something good when these people are doing that and you're sitting with me in this coffee shop talking about it. So, I'm so proud of it.

Overall, the longevity of the Apollo legend can be underpinned by the extent of the continued belief of those who support such allusions (Tangherlini 1990, p.379). Nonetheless, given the frequency of audience responses like "Of course it's legendary!" (Davies 2012), and "It was legendary, it is legendary" (Godley

2012), it is evident that rather than a 'belief,' it is more so the 'conviction' or 'absolute certainty' that Stevens (1990, p.126) mentioned previously, that embeds the Apollo legend among many of the audience members.

9.2.2 Media Representation of the Apollo Legend

This final section provides analysis of two media representations of the Apollo legend, which, despite both examples containing certain inaccuracies, further serve to reiterate the legendary qualities of the venue within the Apollo's afterlife. The first example, which features the rock artist Ozzy Osbourne, acts to outline the flexibility possessed by some of the Apollo's legendary components, as well as the manner in which venue stakeholders can contribute towards the sense of the Apollo's continuing significance.

When Osbourne performed in Glasgow in 1995, ten years after the Apollo closed, arrangements for a locally filmed interview by Scottish Television proved problematic as the artist insisted that it took place at the site of the Apollo, which was then a gap site. Despite such obstacles, the interviewer, Billy Sloan, who was then entertainment correspondent for the local news programme, looked on as Osbourne paced out to where the centre stage position would have been at the venue, after which the interview commenced (Sloan 2011).

When the interview was broadcast in November 1995, Osbourne is observed explaining how one of his first ever solo concerts at the venue in 1980 proved to be a live music epiphany, which, despite the numerous other live appearances that the artist had undertaken in the interim period, had resonated with him ever since (Scottish Television 1995). Osbourne also made specific reference to the Apollo's "bending" balcony, the depth of the audience's reaction, and acknowledges the venue's unique atmosphere (ibid). As a result of the interview therefore, the casual viewer cannot help but be convinced about the key 'stock' components that underpin the Apollo's legendary attributes.

It is the way however in which the venue legend has been pre-constructed within the context of the interview, which holds particular interest. Certainly, Sloan is seen to introduce the segment by informing the viewer (ibid) that, amidst the gap site, he is standing on the "hallowed ground" of the location of what was the "legendary Apollo Theatre." Furthermore, as part of the opening question

(ibid), the artist is asked by Sloan (emphasis added) “What was it like standing on the *thirty-foot high* Apollo stage?”

In one short question the journalist has not only asked Osbourne to expound on a ‘known’ component of the Apollo legend, but, as part of this process, has also vastly exaggerated the size of the seventeen foot high stage (Kielty 2011, p.93). Such incidences are not isolated, as evidenced by the same source representing the stage as being twenty feet (Sloan 1985B, p.6) and twenty-five feet (ibid 2010). Again, rather than undermine the legend, such contradictions, as Degh (2001, pp.2-3) posits, only function to enliven aspects of folklore, as evidenced by Osbourne’s affirmation that the venue’s (now thirty-foot high) stage was indeed a prime component within his live music epiphany at the Apollo (Scottish Television 1995).

Similar inconsistencies are also evident within the second example, which featured on the Elvis Costello chat show *Spectacle* (2009). In this episode Costello interviews the Motown performer Smokey Robinson on the stage of the Harlem Apollo, when comparisons are made with its Glasgow namesake, as this exchange from the interview illustrates:

Costello: ... I said to the audience before, I reminded them that we were in the Apollo theatre, the world-famous Apollo theatre ... (audience applauds for several seconds). I did actually play the Apollo once, but it was the Apollo in Glasgow (audience and Robinson laugh). And actually the Apollo in Glasgow has a fearsome reputation for being the burial ground for many an English comedian. You go up to Scotland and they don’t want to laugh at your jokes. If you come up from England and sing songs, you’re lucky if you get out alive, or you did when that was open. And I know that this theatre has a tough reputation if the crowd ...

Robinson (at great pains to interrupt): I was just about to say that the *Apollo right here, this Apollo* has ... (emphasis in the original)

Costello: The same reputation?

Robinson: Yeah, and it can be a burial ground if you’re not ready. I think it’s because the people in New York, especially here in Harlem, have been so used to seeing the best of the best. So many wonderful black entertainers started right here at the Apollo. I mean, Ella Fitzgerald won the talent contest here and everybody has come through here.

Of obvious note, Costello has confused aspects of Glasgow's variety theatre audience traditions with the realities of the Apollo.⁵⁷ Whilst he may have been widely incorrect about this perceived component, it, nonetheless embraces aspects of the renowned customs of the 'Glasgow audience' in general, whilst further validating the Apollo's legendary reputation for the global audience that will view Costello's programme. Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of the interview is the speed with which Robinson wanted to demonstrate that *his Apollo* shares the same reputation as the Glasgow venue. Again, through such misconceptions, the legend that surrounds the Glasgow Apollo continues to manifest. Furthermore, such actions serve to underline the potency that a legendary status possesses, and, as the discussion above has shown, this factor seems to have shaped some of the practice that serves to acknowledge and confirm the venue's legendary reputation.

9.3 Conclusion

This chapter has considered aspects of the cross-pollination between individual reminiscences, collective-cultural memories and the legend that encapsulates the Glasgow Apollo. The discussion found that, while many of the autobiographical memories resonated due to their temporal-spatial impact, the collective nature, specific genre focus and overall format of the platforms dedicated to the Apollo's legacy, tended to re-shape the dimension of the audience reminiscences. As a result, although the Apollo legend embraced several vague and contradictory elements within a celebratory environment, a cohesive, almost one-dimensional, perspective about the venue's notable reputation has materialised.

In this instance, numerous parallels can be drawn with Sherrie Tucker's (2014) noteworthy account of the social memory that encompasses the Hollywood Canteen venue (1942-45). The Canteen, which provided a live entertainment refuge point for wartime servicemen, subsequently became enshrined within numerous cultural texts as a symbol of American nostalgia for the 'greatest generation' that fought the 'good fight' on behalf of democracy (ibid). However,

⁵⁷ Such engagement with modes of local audience behaviour may have materialised through Costello's father, Ross McManus, a vocalist with the Joe Loss Band between 1955 and 1969 (Laing 2011), who performed in a wide range of Glasgow venues (including the Glasgow Empire) during this timeframe (Young 1985, p.9).

as Tucker reveals, far from being a democratic establishment, the venue, its dance floor in particular, was the source of racism, sexism and other forms of inequality (ibid). Indeed, the author articulately argues that, such was the overwhelming potency of its cohesive image as a landmark institution that symbolised the USA's democratic principles, that these (what would be disruptive) contradictions failed to resonate in any form, and the underlying legend remained intact (ibid).

Certainly, Tucker's study provides further evidence that nostalgia, especially if 'entangled' within the repeated representation of cultural stereotypes (Sturken 1997), emits a powerful and persuasive essence, to the extent that even those who experienced the Canteen find it difficult to distinguish between their actual memories and the popular representations of the venue within cultural texts (Tucker 2014, pp.2-3). In such circumstances, this process of an audience 'remembering together' the uncomplicated history of the treasured venue by virtue of the simultaneity of memory (ibid, p.5), bears striking similarities with the Apollo and the manner in which its collective memories, as framed by its self-perpetuating cultural texts, follows a comparable pathway towards a one dimensional and straightforward perspective. In this respect, the affiliation between the actors representing memory and legend within the Apollo's afterlife can be seen to hold close associations.

Central to the analysis (indeed to this study) is the continued existence and longevity of the Apollo legend. Whilst much of the discussion has questioned the validity of the legend and probed many of its components, it has never been the intention to deny its existence in any way, as doing so would serve to disregard the many participants who believe it to be true (Frith 1981A, p.168). However, the longevity of the Apollo legend remains open to question. Whilst Reynolds (2011, p.3) may posit that pop music is about the "momentary thrill," it is clear from the vast majority of Apollo reminiscences that these 'moments' have been embedded for decades thereafter. Nonetheless, despite the continuing popularity of Apollo memory vehicles like the venue website, it is discernible that the majority of the memory posts on the site peak around 2006 and therefore assume a generational perspective, leading the site co-author Scott McArthur to conclude (2012) that, while the books and website dedicated to the

venue will keep the legend alive “for a while,” it is inevitable that it will ultimately fade through time.

As emphasised earlier, the strength and durability of any legend is reliant on the overall level of support (Tangherlini 1990, p.379), as well as the depth of commitment shown towards its underlying message (Stevens 1990, p.126). Given that artist accolades about the Apollo are regarded by some as valid confirmation of the venue’s legendary status, it is relevant to note that the commitment of even some of the Apollo’s biggest advocates can fade through time.

Russell Leadbetter, a local journalist who was then in the process of researching the initial (1995) book about the venue, related (2011) how he was kept waiting for over three hours in 1995 for an interview slot with Rod Stewart, who was frequently cited as being one of the venue’s biggest supporters (Docherty 1985, p.5). However, Stewart, who was then performing at Ibrox Stadium in Glasgow, was found to be somewhat less than accommodating or overtly enthusiastic about the venue, as evidenced by this quote, which represented the entirety of the interview that the journalist managed to achieve (quoted Leadbetter 1995, p.43):

The Apollo? I had some magical times there, Great concerts, amazing crowds. I think that one of the band fell into that orchestra pit. It was huge wasn't it? What's there now? (On being told that that it was now a gap site) Sad ... still, life goes on.

Like Mick Jagger before him (as epitomised by his quote contrasting the Apollo with Madison Square Garden in chapter five), life for Stewart has ‘moved on,’ and, as an artist of global stature who is now performing in football stadia, he no longer has to familiarise himself with what now appears to be a quaint representation of a bygone era. However, as exemplified by Leadbetter’s determination to receive even a cursory acknowledgement of the venue’s unique qualities, the quest to maintain the venue’s reputation for an appreciative audience, serves to frame much of the memory discourse that has been analysed in this chapter.

Chapter Ten: Conclusions

The main contributions and findings that have emerged from the thesis are now drawn together. The analysis of the thesis findings is provided over three categories. First, the main findings that have emerged from the thesis are discussed, while the second section offers some personal reflections on the overall study. Last, some suggestions for future research endeavours are outlined.

10.1 Main Findings

Overall, the findings indicate that the most prominent phase of the Apollo phenomenon (1973-75/76) materialised as a result of the venue, which ultimately represented the sum of its parts, being the unique focus of a series of network relationships between the actors representing locality, genre and liveness, that coalesced during this timeframe. As a reflection of a once highly-industrialised city that possessed a large capacity for interaction with live entertainment, the Apollo not only met, but exceeded, the commercial, logistical and aesthetic expectations of the various stakeholders (promoters, audience, artists and genre world platforms) that embraced the venue.

As the analysis showed however, this series of relationships were ultimately “momentary associations” (Latour 2007, p.65), and the various components that shaped this phenomenon began to unravel thereafter, thus serving to reduce the impact of the Apollo’s decidedly fixed characteristics. For the most part, the remaining period of the venue’s tenure witnessed a fairly rapid downward spiral in the Apollo’s fortunes before its eventual closure in 1985. However, further activated by negative connotations of ‘progress’ within the live sector (as exemplified by the SECC), nostalgic notions of the legendary ‘whole period’ Apollo emerged, with this reputation being reiterated within the realm of the various celebratory texts that continue to maintain the venue’s post-closure profile.

What remains therefore at the conclusion of the study is, governed by the significant level of influence that these factors imparted at key stages in the Apollo’s history, that the prime importance of actors such as locality, industry,

liveness and genre cannot be ignored. In addition to providing the basis for its most notable period when they configured during 1973-75/6, it was the manner in which the dimensions of these actors changed (and therefore conflicted) thereafter, that helped to hasten the venue's demise from the early 1980s onwards. Yet, despite the fairly evident distinctions between the two periods, the venue legend remains, for the most part, reluctant to engage with any discrepancies. Indeed, such inclinations help to maintain the 'clean' version of the venue legend. Thus, if returning to the purpose of the thesis, then the elements that symbolise the 'made,' 'shaped' and 'maintained' elements of the venue legend outlined at the outset of the study can be respectively located within locality-industry, liveness-genre and memory-legend. As a result, the discussion to follow will articulate the findings of the thesis within these component categories

The first of the three main findings to emerge from the thesis is that the confines of place can greatly impact on live music experiences. Whilst this is not an uncommon conclusion within locally focused live music research studies, the extent to which the Apollo accentuated this factor, especially during its key timeframe, cannot be understated. However, in line with the fluid nature of music-related locality, the parameters of such influences have to be established, and therefore, it would be more appropriate to refer to this process as more so resembling 'temporal locality,' with regard to how this impacted on the local live music experience.

The main factor that frames the concept of the Apollo as a representation of place was the prevailing live sector infrastructure that, for the most part, legitimised local venues like the Apollo. Unlike contemporary 'local' venues that possess a local veneer, but which are ultimately owned by live music global conglomerates (Webster 2010), the study showed that, until 1978 when a change of leaseholders occurred, locality permeated almost every aspect of the Apollo structure and operation. Indeed, in its original incarnation as Green's Playhouse, the venue was locally designed for a local audience in order to accommodate their high levels of engagement with live entertainment. Moreover, its sturdy, abrasive design, even its building materials, reflected the robust industrial identity that the city possessed during the early part of the twentieth century.

Furthermore, despite the “Cinderella conversion” (*New Musical Express* 1973A, p.16), the venue’s later down-at-heel identity after it became the Apollo, also served to reflect the city’s de-industrialised and somewhat disheveled environment during the 1970s, to the extent that, for many artists, the Apollo epitomised Glasgow (Gouldman 2013). In addition, with Green’s Playhouse and Apollo being locally managed for over fifty years (1927-78), the venue became a key part of the city’s live entertainment infrastructure based on its affinity with the local audience. Again, if comparing the Apollo to contemporary local venues, such as the SECC and the SSE Hydro Arena, then their much less discernible local identity acts to further emphasise the Apollo’s local characteristics.

The study also showed that locality framed the dimensions of the venue’s supportive infrastructure. The study traced the formation of a local musical pathway between the Apollo, the Albany Hotel and the Anderson Centre, where the locally focused Radio Clyde was resident. This well-trodden local path therefore accommodated audiences, artists and representatives from the music industries towards the Apollo. Furthermore, the thesis revealed the existence of a local network that help to support the Apollo, with each stakeholder being driven by commitment towards upholding aspects of local identity.

In many ways the Apollo of 1973-78 could be regarded as a microcosm of Glasgow’s industrial past during a period that followed significant forms of urban renewal. Certainly, for many of the local inhabitants who had been displaced throughout the city and beyond (Fyfe 1996, p.395), the Apollo symbolised one of the last bastions of the former Glasgow that several of those affected sought to re-engage with (Paice 2008). Also, as the location that accommodated the conjoined Apollo-Glasgow audience, which was in evidence on several occasions at the venue, the level of self-awareness about the traditions that this audience encapsulated led to the formation of what was essentially, ‘a sense of us.’ The evidence supplied by the thesis suggests this impacted on the intensive nature of the live music experience on occasion.

In summary, the findings show that a unique form of temporal locality helped to shape the local parameters of the live music experience at the venue. This was articulated within the venue’s location, design, traditions and networks during the period until 1978. Moreover, such strong links with locality help to explain

the almost immediate distance that materialised between the post-1978 non-local owners and existing local stakeholders, such as the Glasgow media.

Another of the main findings to emerge from the thesis was the key significance that liveness held within the formation of the Apollo live music experience, to the extent that, when its key components aligned, as it did on many occasions at the venue, such occurrences served to articulate and amplify aspects of 'thereness.' Indeed, coupled with several factors that symbolised the 'sense of place' that emerged at the venue, this combination of liveness and place-as-music, proved to be an additional facet that resonated within the confines of the Apollo live music experience. With the venue's initial period running parallel with the ascending trajectory of the live rock experience, the Apollo's run-down condition, which encompassed local dirt and disrepair that had accumulated over several decades, added not only to the overall sense of authenticity that the genre relied upon, it also further personified the venue's local traditions.

As a prime temporal exemplar of the 'classic liveness' era (Auslander 2011, p.61), where forms of live intimacy occurred between artists and audiences within a pre-arena environment, the Apollo hosted concerts by a large number of major artists, many of whom were within a reasonable vicinity of their peak creative periods. Thus, as Auslander highlighted (ibid, pp.67-68), attendance at such concerts are liable to be embedded in memory and thereafter elevate notions of 'I was there-ism.'

Furthermore, the essence of authenticity or 'realness,' as outlined by Middleton (2002, pp.258-59), could be measured at the Apollo through the audience member experiencing venue components such as broken seats, the bouncing balcony, and its extremely high stage, not forgetting the pungent aroma of the venue, its toilets in particular. If other factors are also taken into consideration - such as the vivid nature of numerous first-time live concert experiences at the Apollo, the physical presence of the venue's bouncers, and, as result of the venue's erratic concert schedule, the bodily endeavours involved in trying to ensure that the audience member caught the last mode of public transport home - then the overall sense of the high degree of physicality, tangibility and 'realness' of the Apollo live music experience becomes evident. Moreover, the

high levels of intimacy experienced at the Apollo became more apparent after less-endearing venues like the SECC started to host concerts in the city.

In summarising this finding, the evidence suggests that, on many occasions, both the visceral sense of place and strong, sometimes vibrant, associations of ‘being there’ liveness at the Apollo, helped to elevate the nature of the live music event, to the extent that this ‘thereness’ meant that the audience member assumed a distinct temporal-spatial presence in that city, in that venue and at that concert.

The last of the findings to be discussed relates to the venue legend as part of the ‘maintained’ component within the aim of the thesis. In the main, the study found that, whilst the legend that encapsulates the Apollo tends to generalise and apply a one-dimensional perspective on the venue’s legacy, its potency acts as a persuasive nullifier, due to its reliance on fairly rudimentary narratives that accompany such rhetoric. As mentioned previously, the actuality of the legend, in whatever form, (as in, ‘did it exist?’) was never a focus of the thesis.

In essence, the Apollo legend exists because numerous stakeholders believe it to be true. What the study did find however were indications of the strong sense of belief about the validity of the legend, to the extent that it represented a ‘conviction’ or ‘absolute certainty,’ which, as Stevens (1990, p.126) suggested, provides a solid foundation for the perseverance of legends. Thus, declarations from some Apollo audience members, such as “Of course it’s legendary!” (Davies 2012), are reflective of such inclinations. This is underlined by the fact that, although this quote was provided within the context of a written reply, the sense of exasperation that prevails from being asked if the venue ‘was’ legendary is transparent.

This degree of certainty about what symbolised the defining qualities of the live music experience at the Apollo, which is more than adequately represented (and reiterated) within several of the Apollo legacy platforms, therefore means that a common disposition about the venue and its legendary attributes tends to form within such texts. Therefore, whilst one audience member was resilient in his attitude that, effectively, ‘you had to be there’ (quoted Leadbetter, 1995, p.77), this, in the case of either ‘buying into,’ or implanting oneself within, the venue legend, is not actually necessary.

Another of the findings from the study was that, both in its latter and immediate post-closure period, several of the Apollo audience did not embrace the venue legend, neither were they 'there' during its final few years. Indeed, the local state could be regarded as being a prime example of this change of perspective about the venue's 'legendary' status. As the study indicated, the local council's drive towards cultural regeneration came at the expense of the venue's temporary closure in 1978 and final demise in 1985. Yet, despite such actions, within the context of Glasgow's status as a UNESCO City of Music, the local state now serves to celebrate the Apollo's 'unique' and 'legendary' qualities (UNESCO 2008, p.24) as a basis of a 'reputation initiator' for the city's international music profile.

What is evident from the findings however, is that the Apollo, as a key venue within the UK live sector, *did*, at least for a period encapsulating the mid-1970s, facilitate the essential components that produced an enhanced live music experience for many who frequented it, which thereafter remain embedded within the memories of audience members for decades thereafter, mainly due to the elevated sense of place, liveness and 'thereness' that manifested within an accommodating (as in authentic) environment. Whilst variations of these live experiences obviously exist both within and beyond this timeframe, the thesis showed that the configuration between locality, genre and liveness during the period 1973-75/6 formed the template for the venue's perceived legendary status.

However, no matter the lengths to which this thesis has attempted to highlight that the Apollo attained a key presence within the UK live music sector of the mid-1970s, and that it continues to possess great significance to those who attended live concerts at the venue, such findings may, no doubt, fail to resonate with some observers who hold little connection with the Apollo. This, in turn, may be regarded as one of the study's shortcomings. In response, whilst the venue experiences can be deemed by some participants as being reflective of an exclusive environment, in that, 'you had to be there' in order to appreciate its characteristics, the value of the findings serve to extend beyond the boundaries of the Apollo.

If anything, the study showed that, within the pre-arena live music environment, aspects of locality could assume relatively high levels of presence within venues like the Apollo and thereafter enriched the live music experience. Framed by the manner in which these events were enhanced by a sense of community and intimacy (Cohen 1991, p.40), the capacity for Apollo-like venues to host concerts by major global artists during a defining period in popular music, further added to the local dimensions and overall status of such locations. As already mentioned, the recent trend towards the corporate branding of 'local' music venues has ultimately functioned to marginalise their local identity. Thus, despite suggestions that only those who 'were there' can gain capital from defining live music locations of the past, current live audiences in music cities, such as Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester, indirectly benefit from the extent of the "semiotic excess" (Shank 1994, p.xiv) generated by the enduring memories of long-lost locations like the Apollo. In effect, this local sense of "music in the air" (Kloosterman 2005, p.181) is framed by the one-time presence of venues like the *Glasgow Apollo*, not the *O2 Apollo* or *Carling Apollo*.

In summarising the main findings, revisiting the circumstances of the live music epiphany experienced at the Apollo by Richard Jobson of The Skids, as detailed in chapter six, proves to be a useful process. As a reminder, Jobson (2013) related how, on the occasion of the group's first headline concert at the venue in 1979, the vocalist shared a brief, 'knowing' glance with his colleague Stuart Adamson as they walked on stage at the venue, with the sense emerging from this brief visual exchange that their appearance represented 'it'; the actual moment where a myriad of factors converge to represent the defining live music experience. Whilst Jobson did not relate how long this glance lasted, one could reasonably estimate that this lasted no more than a few seconds.

On the one hand, this glance was framed by over fifty years of venue history, where the sense of place emanated and the focus on local traditions were discernible. On the other hand, the glance expired after a few seconds, in the same way that fleeting live music moments evaporate. Thus, as previously mentioned, this gaze encapsulated a complex combination of the momentary and the momentous, where the essence of the overall experience materialises within such a short duration (O'Brien 1981, p.47). Yet, despite the passing of almost thirty-five years, Jobson clearly recalls what this exchange symbolised. In

effect, this Apollo gaze represents, within the context of key live music experiences, the power of place and the ephemeral, yet enduring nature of live music, which, in the Apollo's case, inclines towards the mythical, yet somehow believable, reputation as a legendary live music venue.

10.2 Reflections on the Study

This discussion provides some personal reflections on the study, which are provided in three stages. In the first part, some of the expectations held by the author and other stakeholders are discussed. Second, some further consideration is given towards the methodology adopted for the study. Last, in an overview of the thesis, the role of the researcher is given further consideration within the context of what may follow this study.

With regard to some of the expectations held about the thesis, the fact that the Apollo was, for the most part (at least among some parts of the more mature local audience), a highly regarded local music landmark that possessed a widely known history was both a help and a hindrance to the study. In the first instance it meant, to my benefit, that members of the venue audience (which seemed, at times, to represent a large proportion of the city's population), could immediately 'relate' to an academic study, which is a process that may not always transpire. This meant that, in most cases, potential interview participants were not just more than willing to talk about their venue experiences, but were also able to produce their Apollo memorabilia. In addition, it led to several of these participants to refer me to other potential interviewees within their venue-related networks. Thus, this process served to extend access to the relevant strand of actors within the realm of the Actor Network framing that has been adopted for this thesis.

On the other hand, the relatively high number of potential interviewees also meant that, due to the resource implications involved, not everyone could be interviewed. As an extension of this factor, there were several participants who were interviewed as part of the study, but, due to space constraints, I was unable to include their contribution within the thesis. Nonetheless, within the scope of both the individual and focus groups interviews, there were, on occasion, various forms of repetition about individual or collective Apollo

audience experiences. There were also some instances where other interviewees were liable to reiterate strands of the Apollo narrative that had already been published elsewhere. This reliance on existing sources to facilitate forms of repetition and reiteration about the venue became more evident when a BBC Radio Scotland presenter asked me during the course of a live interview whether pursuing the thesis was a worthwhile endeavour, given that several books had been written about the venue and that a popular website dedicated to the Apollo also existed. This also meant that, in contrast to any lines of enquiry that followed the Apollo's celebratory narrative, questions that focused on the fragile nature of the venue legend tended to be less well received in principle. A sense emerged therefore that, in many ways, an expectation existed among several of those who were interviewed that they expected the study to represent an elongated, yet similar, version of the Apollo texts, which would ultimately commemorate the venue.

It has to be emphasised nonetheless that, in many ways, the study could not have progressed in the manner in which it did so without the existence of the texts dedicated to the venue's history. Not only did they provide the basis of understanding about the venue's memory-laden history, they also supply the context for the Apollo's legend, in addition to serving as the source of conflict about the venue's reputation. Certainly, the authors concerned were also of considerable assistance to this study by the manner in which they were willing to contribute towards the thesis, supply additional information, or, most significantly, help to arrange further network-related interviews.

Amongst my own peers, a sense existed that, by nature of its local appeal and ready number of willing interviewees, the topic of the thesis was not so much an 'easy' topic, but more so one that was considered to be a relatively 'straightforward' study, which, in a way, tended to diminish its academic dimensions. In fact, I almost lost count of the number of friends and relatives who indicated that I was 'lucky' to be covering such an interesting subject. However, whilst I have always felt fortunate to be given such an opportunity to research this topic, this has never been at the expense of embracing many of the theoretical and conceptual threads that underpin the study. Overall, whilst recognising that the study could not have been completed without their input, the expectations of my peers and other stakeholders about the study acted, in

whatever context, to both drive and shape the thesis towards its current conclusion.

With regard to the methodology for the study, I consider that, in general, the most appropriate research strategy was adopted. Whilst the route chosen to explore the research question did change track on several occasions during the course of the study's progression, with the emergence of cultural geography being a factor that assumed a belated presence, the chosen methodology remained unchanged. The mainly qualitative approach, which was chiefly based on semi-structured interviews, proved to be a valid approach for several of the individual interviews, especially those that involved representatives of the venue's staff.

As mentioned in chapter three, some doubt still remains about the effectiveness of the series of focus groups that formed a key part of the methodology. On reflection, it can be seen that the group interview process held both positive and negative connotations. On the plus side, a number of valid contributions did emerge from the adoption of this method, not least the opportunity to witness the relevant body language and modes of celebratory gusto 'in action' amongst the participants. Again, meeting the audience members within this context and experiencing their enthusiasm for the venue in a 'live' context, also proved to be a beneficial part of the overall research process. Nonetheless, variations of the audience questionnaires that were completed by email, proved to be, in some cases, just as effective as the focus groups. Whilst a doubt also remains about the wider use of an online facility for the research project, this process, which has already been the subject of discussion within chapter three, was regarded as possessing a number of unknown quantities that would, most likely, impact on the resources dedicated towards the thesis.

When I return to my personal experience-related reflections about the Apollo (as detailed within chapter three), I find that my overall perspective remains intact, whereby I still regard it as a short-lived, yet significant, venue. However, as a result of the research process that brought me into contact with a wide range of people whose (sometimes) unbounded enthusiasm for the venue proved contagious, I now regret that I did not attend more concerts at the venue, especially during its peak period. Nonetheless, such declarations do not in any

way serve to detract from the critique applied towards aspects of the legend that encapsulates the venue, even if this unlimited passion is both a driver and a by-product of this status.

In the main, this thesis served to confirm that, as Frith (2007) relates, 'live music matters.' It matters because, as we have heard within the scope of this study, it resonates within localities and place, within legendary venues, and within memories. This may seem, at best, to represent a rather rudimentary overview of a more complex research project, but it remains a valid synopsis nonetheless.

The Apollo phenomenon essentially represents a place and a timeframe where, for some of the audience who attended key concerts at the venue, a sense of 'I Was There' emanated, with this process serving to form the basis of the venue's subsequent reputation. Whilst I feel fortunate to have attended some of these concerts, I do not, in any sense, feel privileged for 'being there.' I do, however, feel privileged for being provided with the opportunity to undertake this study, and, therefore, my focus throughout remained on assuming a fair, balanced and objective disposition with regard to the research question.

On further reflection, part of the reason why the Apollo retains only a small presence within my own live music reminiscences is that I still attend live concerts on a fairly regular basis. Whilst the Apollo represented the starting point for my live music education as it were, after several decades of attending live performances in different local venues, different cities and on different continents, my live music experiences in this run-down venue now represents only a very small percentage within my overall concert-attending history. Nevertheless, given the significance of its depiction within this thesis as an era-defining live music venue that encapsulated a noteworthy period in popular music, the Apollo now assumes more space and relevance within the context of live music research.

This trend reflects my own personal circumstances, where, after a long period working within a non-music industry sector, I returned to higher education and started on a new pathway that brought me towards this thesis and this focus on live music research. Therefore, invigorated by my ongoing passion for live music, and using my actual and thesis-based Apollo experiences as a foundation, the

prospect of being able to advance these relatively fleeting live music occasions into something more meaningful within the academy represents a favourable research career path, and the next section will endeavour to articulate this in more detail.

10.3 Suggestions for Future Research

The findings suggest that not only does live music matter, it also holds the potential to resonate for considerable periods after the live music performance experience. In the case of the Apollo, the intense nature of some of these experiences mean that the memories from such occasions became embedded thereafter. Whilst this study has attempted to grasp the full context for the question, space restrictions meant that certain aspects of the research question could not be pursued. There were also other discussion threads within the thesis that could not be developed further and, on occasion, certain aspects of arguments, themes and supporting evidence had to be curtailed due to space limitations. However, some of these research strands did materialise as conference papers that were delivered during the course of the PhD process (Appendix 9), and the potential also exists to develop other relevant research themes towards further journal articles.

In this instance, it is discernible that the key themes that underpin the study's findings provide a solid basis for several future research projects. Not least, this involves further investigation of the concept of 'privileged presence' or elements of 'I was there-ism' that can emerge in the form of social capital as a result of an individual having attended a variation of key live events and legendary venues during significant timeframes for the artist or popular music in general. Whilst the meaning and connotations of 'I was there' are fairly apparent (Paytress 2005; Nolan 2006), outwith a brief mention by (Auslander 2011, p.67), there appears to be no academic studies that focused on this rich, but under-represented, research area.

A further potential research avenue that emerges from the findings of the thesis, where the Apollo's 'localness' was a significant factor, is the fragile nature of the 'local' live music venue within the contemporary live industry sector. A project of this nature could be framed by analysing perceptions of locality within

a selection of small to medium sized live venues that operate within the context of national venue chains, such as the O2 Academy. Whilst live music experiences within these venues still takes place within a local setting and will be viewed by a predominantly local audience, this experience is usually shaped by the venue's national and international infrastructure, which most likely acts to compete with aspects of locality, as framed by notions of 'glocalisation' (Robertson 1995). A research study of this type would not only serve to position the current conflict about the rising number of small local music venues that are forced to close (Harris 2013) within an academic setting, it would also help to build on the work of Webster (2010) and enable a more contemporary overview of the 'fixed' and 'fluid' components of local music scenes, as described by Connell and Gibson (2003, pp.9-11).

Lastly, as a natural extension of the study, the opportunity to compare and contrast the characteristics of other 'legendary' UK live music venues that share a similar timeframe to the Apollo would also be considered to be a worthwhile study. This is a research pathway that could not be pursued within the parameters of the thesis due, again, to space constraints. Whilst several of these venues form part of academic and non-academic local music histories, it would be interesting to compare the defining periods of a number of these venues based on a variance between their 'localness' and 'non-localness,' in a similar way that the Apollo's period of decline can, in part, be outlined by its transformation from a local to a non-local venue.

Ultimately, these suggestions for future research projects are substantiated by the steps taken within this thesis, which ultimately addresses the capacity for live music to be both momentary and momentous (O'Brien 1981, p.47). As a case study that focuses on the juxtaposition of locality, industry, genre, liveness and memory-legend, it serves to accentuate that several experiential elements, such as immediacy, intimacy and thereness, can flourish within live music environments that embrace the essence of the live music moment. To this end, the thesis has shown that the Apollo legend originated from within a fairly unique milieu that accommodated several 'momentary-momentous' live music occasions, which have been further facilitated by the collective nature of the platforms that uphold notions of the venue's celebrated legacy.

Therefore, this study builds on, and contributes towards, the expanding field of live music research by being the first in-depth analysis of a 'legendary' UK venue located within and articulated via existing literature. It therefore extends our knowledge of the factors that shape 'legendary' venues specifically, as well as enhance our understanding of the pre-arena live music sector in general. Taken together, the findings serve to locate the initial marginalisation of the local live music venue, whereby commercial objectives and cultural regeneration assumed precedence over notions of local identity. In effect, the thesis has functioned to 'move' the Apollo from what was a celebrated venue that formed part of a one-dimensional local music history, towards some form of recognition as an era-defining live music location that is deemed to be worthy of the academic scrutiny afforded by this study.

Appendix One

Focus Group Schedule

Glasgow Apollo Research
Focus Group Schedule - October 2012

Time Slot	Content/Themes	Purpose/Themes
19.00-19.10	Welcome and Introductions Domestics. Purpose of Focus Group / Study. Ethics, Informed Consent, Recording	Ethics/Consent
19.10-19.25	First Apollo Concert. What, if anything, made the first concert resonate? Age, travel pattern, curfew, experiences First impressions of the Apollo - what were its most distinctive aspects and why?	Ice Breaker / Familiarisation / Group Interaction / Composition of Group and Range of Apollo Experiences / Genre Affiliations / Autobiographical Memory
19.20-19.35	Glasgow (Framed by images of 1970s-80s Glasgow) What area did you live in when you attended concerts at the venue? How did you travel to the venue and did this become part of the concert experience? Impressions of Glasgow, and if connections existed between the city and the venue.	Locality and the De-Industrial and Post-Industrial City / Autobiographical Memory
19.35-19.50	Glasgow Audience Were you aware of 'Glasgow Audience' traditions existed If witnessed/experienced, how did this materialise by example, and what impact did these experiences have on you/fellow audience members?	Locality-Cultural Lineage / Locality-Identity / Collective Memory / Apollo-Glasgow Audience / Local Live Venue
19.50-20.00	Break	-
20.00-20.20	The Apollo Live Experience (Framed by images and footage of live performances at the venue) What factors, if any, made or stimulated the Apollo live experience memorable and why? Do these type of live experience still materialise? Compared with the SECC? Any negative Apollo experiences and why? Did aspects of the venue diminish through time? Did you stop going to the Apollo before it closed in 1985? If so, why?	Liveness-Classic Liveness / Authenticity / Tangibility and the Sensory Live Experience Autobiographical-Collective Memory / Live Music Aesthetics versus Commerciality
20.20-20.35	Genre (Framed by images encompassing the wide range of artists who performed at the venue) What category of music 'best suited' the venue and why? Similarly, what type of music was 'not suited' to the venue? What music-related media did you engage with? Did the condition of the venue enhance or diminish the live experience?	Genre World Affiliations / Genre and Liveness / Rock-Authenticity
20.35-20.50	Legendary Status Does the venue deserve this accolade? If so, why? What does such a reputation actually entail? Are certain periods of the Apollo period 'more legendary' than others? When did it become legendary?	Legend / Myth / Memory / Nostalgia / Collective Memory
20.50-21.00	Final Thoughts One incident or experience that encapsulates what the venue represented (or provide a whattheapollomeantto tweet). Any final thoughts or questions. Summarise.	



Kenneth Forbes, School of Culture and Creative Arts, University of Glasgow
PhD Study: 'You had to be there? Reflections on the 'legendary' status of the Glasgow Apollo theatre (1973-85)'

Glasgow Apollo Audience Questionnaire: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this academic study relating to the Glasgow Apollo Theatre. Full details of the study are contained within the accompanying research statement (Plain Language Statement). Your contribution is greatly appreciated and will ultimately help to provide a fuller understanding of why the venue is still so fondly remembered nearly thirty years after its closure. I would be obliged if you could answer the questions listed below and return by email to k.forbes.1@research.gla.ac.uk along with the consent form which accompanied the questionnaire. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require any further information about the study.

Kenny Forbes

Q1. First Apollo concert: Can you recall your first Apollo live experience? What age were you and where did you live at that time? If this was outside Glasgow did travelling to and from the venue add to the overall experience? Who was the headliner? What are your overriding memories of your first concert at the venue?

Q2: Types of Live Concerts: Were there certain types of music genres (rock, pop, punk, jazz etc.) that you favoured more than others when attending concerts at the Apollo? Was this type of music particularly suited to the type of venue that the Apollo was? Why was it suitable/unsuitable? What types of music media (music magazines/radio and television programmes) did you engage with?

Q3. The Venue: Did the venue's condition have any impact on your concert going experiences? Did it add or detract from the live experience? If you felt that this added something to the experience, was there a point reached when the venue's condition became less than endearing?

Q4: The Apollo Audience: You would have attended the Apollo as an individual but were there occasions when you felt as if you belonged to an 'Apollo Audience' or were part of a community? If so how did this sense of community materialise? Were you also aware of being part of a 'Glasgow Audience' that had a reputation of being somewhat hard to please but being enthusiastic towards artists regarded as being of high quality? Do you also feel that the venue reflected the city of Glasgow at that time?

Q5: The Apollo and Contemporary Live Music Experiences: Do you still attend live music events? If so, how does the contemporary live music experience differ from that of the Apollo era? Are there any aspects of the Apollo live experience that you miss? Similarly, are there any aspects that you do not wish to encounter again?

Q6: Apollo Attendance: After your first Apollo live experience did you continue to regularly attend concerts at the venue until it closed in 1985? If so, did you notice a change in the venue during its latter period be it the atmosphere, its condition, the type of artists who performed there? If you stopped regularly attending the Apollo what factors made contributed towards this? What do you think represented the 'golden period' of the Apollo and why?

Q7: Apollo Memories: Why do you think memories of some Apollo experiences still resonate after several decades? Are these memories mainly positive or do you possess any negative reminiscences of the venue?

Q8: Legendary Status: The venue is often described as 'legendary.' Does the Apollo deserve this accolade or is it a term that has been over used? What, if anything, made it legendary? Is it important that the venue is remembered in this manner? If so, why?

Q9: Encapsulating the Apollo: You may have attended numerous live events at the Apollo but if there was one concert experience or incident that serves to encapsulate what the Apollo represented what would it be? Why does this event still resonate after several decades? Would this experience be repeatable or achievable now in any form? Please also use this space to include any additional comments about the Apollo that you would like to add or indeed provide an answer to a question that you thought that should have been asked within this questionnaire.

Q10: Further Research: If required would you be willing to answer further questions by email in order to assist the study?

End of Questionnaire: Many thanks for taking the time to complete this - please return to k.forbes.1@research.gla.ac.uk along with the consent form

Appendix Three List of Interviewees

Artists (15)

Name	Date Conducted	Mode of Interview	Location
Dave Bartram (Showaddywaddy)	13 February 2013	Telephone	N/A
Elkie Brooks	18 June 2013	Email	N/A
Jake Burns (Stiff Little Fingers)	28 October 2011	Personal	Kilmarnock
Barbara Dickson	11 June 2012	Email	N/A
Graham Gouldman (10cc)	12 June 2013	Email	N/A
Mike Granda (Ozark Mountain Daredevils)	9 September 2012	Email	N/A
Steve Hackett (Genesis)	15 June 2013	Email	N/A
Kenny Hyslop (Salvation/Slik)	1 March 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Ray Jackson (Lindisfarne)	22 June 2013	Email	
Richard Jobson (The Skids)	22 August 2013	Email	N/A
Steven Lindsay (The Big Dish)	3 November 2011	Personal	Glasgow
Kevin McGinlay (Salvation)	9 August 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Ted McKenna (The Sensational Alex Harvey Band)	18 June 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Tommy Ramone (The Ramones)	31 December 2011	Email	N/A
Rick Wakeman (Yes)	31 August 2011	Email	N/A

Audience Members (47)

Type	Date(s)	No. Of Interviewees	Location
Personal Interview - Maggie Duncan	3 September 2012	1	Glasgow
Email Interviews	September - November 2012	23	N/A
Focus Group 1	9 October 2012	13	Glasgow
Focus Group 2	22 October 2012	11	Glasgow
Focus Group 3	29 October 2012	8	Glasgow
Personal Interview - Christine Nanguy	31 May 2012	1	Glasgow

Glasgow Apollo Management and Staff (14)

Name (Role)	Date Conducted	Mode of Interview	Location
Russell Gilchrist (Manager 1977-78)	13 June 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Ian Gordon (Electrician 1975-78)	5 October 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Danny Hendry (Steward Supervisor 1973-83)	20 August 2013	Personal	Motherwell
Frank Lynch (Unicorn Leisure CEO)	16 September 2013	Personal	Glasgow
George Miller (Unicorn Artists Road Manager)	11 December 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Trish Ordish (Usherette)	2 August 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Colin Robertson (Manager 1973-74)	22 November 2012 4 April 2013	Personal Personal	Glasgow Glasgow
Tom Ross (Venue Photographer 1973-79)	12 June 2012	Personal	Prestwick

Glasgow Apollo Management and Staff (Continued)

Yvonne Sambucci (Box Office Clerk 1973-75)	8 November 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Sam Shrouder (General Manager Apollo Leisure)	11 September 2013	Telephone	N/A
Ronnie Simpson (Booker 1973-74)	16 November 2011	Personal	Glasgow
Gerry Tait (Manager 1976-77)	13 September 2013 31 October 2013	Telephone Personal	N/A Glasgow
Jan Tomasik (Manager 1974-76)	1 June 2012	Personal	Crianlarich
Eddie Tobin (Booker 1973-74)	13 March 2012	Personal	Glasgow

Journalists, Broadcasters and Media Commentators (14)

Name (Role)	Date Conducted	Mode of Interview	Location
David Belcher (Herald Journalist)	14 October 2011	Personal	Glasgow
Stuart Cruickshank (BBC Producer)	18 November 2011	Personal	Glasgow
Tom Ferrie (Radio Clyde DJ)	11 November 2011	Personal	Prestwick
Bill Gourlay (Talisman Films)	25 April 2012	Personal	Dunfermline
Brian Guthrie (Journalist)	24 February 2011	Personal	Glasgow
Brian Hogg (Author on Scottish Music History)	1 December 2011	Personal	Glasgow
Stuart Hoggard (local NME Correspondent 1973)	11 January 2013	Email	N/A
Martin Kielty ('Apollo Memories' Author)	24 May 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Russell Kyle (Evening Times Journalist and Unicorn Leisure PR 1974-77)	29 August 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Scott McArthur (Glasgow Apollo website)	24 May 2012	Telephone	N/A
John MacCalman (Radio Clyde Producer)	13 August 2012	Personal	Glasgow
Tom Russell (Radio Clyde DJ)	18 June 2013	Personal	Glasgow
Billy Sloan (Journalist/Broadcaster)	20 September 2011	Personal	Clydebank
John Williamson (Journalist/Academic)	11 June 2012	Personal	Glasgow

Live Music Promoter-Agents / Personnel (7)

Name (Role)	Date Conducted	Mode of Interview	Location
Brian Adams (Live Agent-Promoter)	10 January 2013	Telephone	N/A
Jef Hanlon (Promoter)	22 November 2011	Telephone	N/A
Adrian Hopkins (Promoter)	31 August 2012	Telephone	N/A
Paul Loasby (Promoter)	11 September 2012	Personal	London

Live Music Promoter-Agents / Personnel (Continued)

Derek Nichol (Live Agent-Promoter)	12 September 2012	Personal	London
John Ramsay (Live Engineer)	8 October 2012	Personal	Erskine
Paul Weber (Lighting Engineer)	2 December 2012	Email	N/A

Miscellaneous (5)

Name (Role)	Date Conducted	Mode of Interview	Location
Bruce Findlay (Manager, Simple Minds)	31 July 2012	Personal	Edinburgh
George McCracken (Environmental Health Officer, Glasgow District Council)	17 April 2013	Personal	Glasgow
Tommy McGrory (Producer, 'I Was There' Musical)	19 September 2011	Personal	Paisley
Duncan McLean (SNP Councillor)	5 April 2013	Personal	Glasgow
Paul Waterson (Burns Howff)	22 May 2012	Personal	Glasgow

**Plain Language Statement****1. Study title and Researcher Details**

'You Had To Be There? Reflecting on the 'Legendary' Status of the Glasgow Apollo Theatre (1973-85)'

Researcher: Kenneth Forbes. Contact: k.forbes.1@research.gla.ac.uk

School of Culture and Creative Arts, 14 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ

2. Invitation

You are being invited to take part in the above research study. Before you decide if you wish to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

3. What is the purpose of the study?

The study aims to explore the legendary status accrued by the Glasgow Apollo Theatre (1973-85) by considering the key factors that may contributed towards this status both during and after its period of operation.

4. Why have I been chosen?

You will have been chosen because you may have attended live concerts at the Apollo theatre, performed at the venue, or were employed there in some capacity. You may have also been chosen because your relevant professional capacity enables you to provide appropriate input. This selection criterion may apply to other live music venues in Glasgow or elsewhere.

5. Do I have to take part?

Please note that participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and interviewees can refuse to answer any of the questions posed for whatever reason they deem necessary. Similarly, you can, if you so wish, withdraw from this research at any stage, without having to give a reason for doing so.

6. What will happen to me if I take part?

Typically, you will be interviewed by the researcher named above in person. Alternatively, this will be by telephone or email. The personal interviews should last no more than one hour, while it is anticipated that responses related to the questions posed by telephone or email should take approximately thirty to forty-five minutes to provide or complete. Some interviews (such as those focused on audience research) may also take place within a 'Focus Group' interview set up, or within a website forum. Normally, with your prior permission and understanding, the personal and telephone interviews will be recorded on tape and later transcribed. It is emphasised that any recorded contribution, in written form, on tape, or in notes taken from the interview by the above named, will only be used in accordance with your wishes. A copy of the interview transcript will be made available upon request.

7. Where and when will the interview take place?

The interview will normally take place at a time and location of your choice, and typically be at a local site where you feel comfortable. This will usually be agreed with the researcher when the interview is being arranged.

8. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

According to your individual preference, your personal details can be made known, be anonymised or be removed. While some interviewees may have no concerns about their names appearing in the study, the right of participants to have their confidentially protected is fully recognised and their name, and any details that may identify them, will be removed from the study if required. The data obtained from any interview will be retained in a secure environment by the researcher, be password-protected, and will remain in their possession at all times. Normally, the data obtained from interviews will be destroyed after the research process has been completed.

9. What will happen to the results of the research study?

It is anticipated that information obtained from interviews will be included within a doctoral thesis that will be published at the end of the research period. Some of this information may also appear within other academic channels used by the researcher, such as journal articles, conference papers or in other publications, all of which would be related to the study.

10. Who is organising and funding the research?

The study has been initiated by the researcher named above, and was self-funded for the first two years of research (2010-12). A Post Graduate Scholarship was awarded by the College of Arts at the University of Glasgow from 1 October 2012.

11. Who has reviewed the study?

The College of Arts Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow gave this research study the appropriate ethical approval on 1 December 2010.

12. Contact for Further Information

PhD Supervisor: Professor Martin Cloonan. Contact: martin.cloonan@glasgow.ac.uk



Consent Form

Title of Project: 'You had to be there? Reflections on the 'legendary' status of the Glasgow Apollo theatre (1973-85)

Name of Researcher: Kenneth Forbes

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. If the interview is being conducted on a face to face basis or by telephone I hereby give consent to the interview being tape-recorded and acknowledge that this recorded contribution may be used, within the context of the above study and related research, such as the PhD thesis, academic journal articles, conference papers and in other publications. Similarly, it is recognised that data from interviews conducted by email would also appear in similar publications.
4. I have been made aware that my personal details can be anonymised and that my name, and any details which may identify me, can be removed from the study if so required.
5. I understand that, once the material has been transcribed, is the property of the above study and the University of Glasgow

I would prefer to remain anonymous (please tick this box)

Signed by the contributor: _____ Date:

By typing your name above and emailing it to kenneth.forbes.1@research.gla.ac.uk, this qualifies as a handwritten signature, and will therefore be used to show your consent.

If you would rather print the form out and return it via post, please send to the address below.

Kenneth Forbes, School of Culture and Creative Industries, University of Glasgow,
14 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ

Appendix Six: Overview of Genre Coding / Ticket Price Averages

Overview

The following entries in this appendix represent the concert schedules for both Green's Playhouse (1970-73) and Glasgow Apollo (1973-85). The schedule adds further to the listings represented on the Glasgow Apollo website (www.glasgowapollo.com) by including venue advertisements from local newspapers, gig listings in the music press and from ticket information obtained from online auction sites. Whilst the full range of desired information (headlining act, promoters and range of ticket prices) is represented as a matter of course, some of the aforementioned sources fail to include all these details, so some concert listings may include more information than others. As far as possible, the relevant concert details have been cross-verified by a combination of, say, a ticket stub and music press listing, albeit, in some cases only one source was available.

Genres (Appendices 6A-6P; 7A-7B)

The allocated genres (country and western, folk, heavy metal, jazz, pop, popular entertainment, punk-new wave, reggae-ska, rock and soul-dance) are framed by the discussion that focuses on the range of music categories that were represented at the venue (pp. 105-106). In this respect, the genres represented are not meant to be exhaustive and are more intended to be illustrative of the general industry-audience classifications that these types of music would be produced and consumed. As the percentages have been calculated and rounded to whole positive integers for the sake of simplicity, in places these figures may not reconcile fully to a 100% total.

Ticket Price Average (Appendices 6A-6P; 8A-8B)

In general, where a range of ticket prices has been provided for a single concert (as per the standard format of local newspaper advertisements for upcoming concerts), then an average ticket price has been calculated for the concert. If only one ticket price is available, then this has been used to represent an assumed average ticket price, albeit, 2-3 pricing tiers could exist for each part of the auditorium. Where no ticket price is available for a listing, the field is left blank. Average ticket prices for the year are calculated with the exclusion of the assumed average prices.

Coding (Appendices 6A-6P)

The following codes apply within the concert schedules:

Sources: Apollo Website (**A**), Evening Times (**ET**), Melody Maker (**MM**), New Musical Express (**NME**), Sunday Mail (**SM**) and Ticket Stub (**TS**), whereby an image of the ticket stub is held by the researcher. In addition, the two main Apollo books - Apollo Memories by Martin Kietly (2009) and 'You Don't Have To Be In Harlem' by Russell Leadbetter (1995), also serve as sources of confirmation and are respectively listed as **MK** (2009, page number) and **RL** (1995, page number).

Note: The 2014 equivalent price has been provided by means of the Inflation Calculator at [thisismoney.com](http://www.thisismoney.com). Available at: <http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html>

Appendix 6A: Concert Schedule, Green's Playhouse 1970

GREEN'S PLAYHOUSE EVENT SCHEDULE (1970)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Sun 15/2/70	The Dubliners		8/-, 11/-, 14/-, 18/-	A/ET 13/02/70 P27	64p average (40p/55p/70p/90p)
2	Fri 13/3/70	The Nice	Jordanhill College of Education	('Most prices')	A/ET 13/03/70 P37	(65p average assumed)
3	Fri 3/4/70	Pentangle	Andy Lothian (Temple of Peace)	10/-, 12/-, 14/-, 16/-	A/ET 13/03/70 P37	65p average (50p/60p/70p/80p)
4	Tue 28/4/70	Ginger Baker's Airforce (1st show)	Andy Lothian (Temple of Peace)	('12/6 to 25/-')	A/ET 10/04/70 P35	94p average (62.5p-£1.25)
5	Tue 28/4/70	Ginger Baker's Airforce (2nd show)	Andy Lothian (Temple of Peace)		A/ET 10/04/70 P35	94p average (62.5p-£1.25)
6	Fri 9/5/70	Tom Paxton	Andy Lothian (Temple of Peace)	8/-, 10/-, 12/-, 14/-, 16/-	ET 01/05/70 P38	60p average (40p/50p/60p/70p/80p)
7	Fri 22/5/70	Ten Years After	Andy Lothian (Temple of Peace)	10/12/14/16/-	A/ET 01/05/70 P38	65p average (50p/60p/70p/80p)
8	Fri 5/6/70	Family	Andy Lothian (Temple of Peace)	10/13/15/18/21 shillings	ET 01/05/70 P38	75p average (50p/65p/75p/90p/£1.05)
9	Fri 25/9/70	Derek & the Dominos		18/- Divans	RL (1995, p15)	90p average
10	Fri 2/10/70	Jethro Tull	Chrysalis	8/10/12/14/18 shillings	ET 04/09/70 P37	62p average (40p/50p/60p/70p/90p)
11	Fri 9/10/70	Emerson, Lake & Palmer			A	(75p average assumed)
12	Fr 23/10/70	The Who	John & Tony Smith	Stalls K28	TS	£1.00 average
13	Fri 13/11/70	Family	John & Tony Smith (with Bradgate Bush Ltd)	10/-, 12/-, 15/-, 18/-	A/ET 30/10/70 P38	69p average (50p/60p/75p/90p)
14	Fri 20/11/70	Fleetwood Mac	Richard Macey	12/-6 Balcony LL12 (12/6, 16/-, 20/-)	RL (1995, p.11) & ET 16/10/70 P30	82p average (65p/80p/£1.00)
15	Thu 26/11/70	The Beach Boys (1st show)			A/The Beach Boys (Badman, 2004, p.282)	(75p average assumed)

16	Thu 26/11/70	The Beach Boys (2nd show)			A/The Beach Boys (Badman, 2004, p.282)	(75p average assumed)
17	Thu 3/12/70	T Rex			A	(60p average assumed)
18	Wed 09/12/70	Chicago	Richard Macey	Boxes 2/10 (35/40/45/-)	ET 23/10/70 P30	£2.12 average (£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50)
		ROCK	14	78%	AVERAGE COST	87p
		FOLK	3	17%		
		POP	1	6%	ACCOUNTING FOR INFLATION (2014)	£12.50
		TOTAL	18			

Appendix 6B: Concert Schedule, Green's Playhouse 1971

GREEN'S PLAYHOUSE EVENT SCHEDULE (1971)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Wed 13/1/71	The Age of Atlantic feat. Iron Butterfly	Derek Block for Ensdale	12/15/20/25/-	A/ET 08/01/71 P29	90p average (60p/75p/£1.00/£1.25)
2	Wed 20/1/71	Traffic			A/MM 09/01/71 P3	(75p average assumed)
3	Wed 27/1/71	Deep Purple	Peter Bowyer		MM 14/01/71 P3	(75p average assumed)
4	Thu 11/2/71	Eric Burdon & War			MM 31/01/71 P4	(75p average assumed)
5	Fri 5/3/71	Deep Purple		Stalls O34 (21/-)	A/TS	£1.05 average
6	Mon 8/3/71	The Rolling Stones	John & Tony Smith	Stalls LL26 (14/-)	ATS	70p average
7	Fri 12/3/71	John Mayall		Circle KK41 (15/-)	TS/MM 13/02/71 P13	78p average
8	Fri 19/3/71	Stone the Crows			A	(75p average assumed)
9	Fri 2/4/71	Emerson, Lake & Palmer	John & Tony Smith	Circle GG20 (15/-)	TS/MM 16/01/71 P1	75p average
10	Tue 13/4/71	Uriah Heep			MM 13/02/71 P4	(75p average assumed)
11	Sun 18/4/71	Strawbs			MM 03/04/71 P7	(75p average assumed)
12	Fri 23/4/71	Van Der Graft Generator	John & Tony Smith	(8/-)	A/TS	40p average (unreserved seating)
13	Fri 21/5/71	T Rex	John & Tony Smith		TS/MM 17/04/71 P28	60p average (unreserved seating)
14	Mon 24/5/71	Rory Gallagher	Peter Bowyer		MM 24/04/71 P4	(75p average assumed)
15	Fri 28/5/71	King Crimson	John & Tony Smith with EG Management	Stalls GG35	TS/MM 08/05/71 P25	70p average

16	Fri 25/6/71	Mungo Jerry			ET 18/06/71 P27	63p average (50p/75p)
17	Thu 16/9/71	Johnny Cash (1st show)			MM 31/07/71 P3/MM 11/09/71 P4	(90p average assumed)
18	Thu 16/9/71	Johnny Cash (2nd show)			MM 31/07/71 P3/MM 11/09/71 P4	(90p average assumed)
19	Fri 24/9/71	Deep Purple	NEMS Enterprises	Stalls A13	A/TS	£1.10 average
20	Fri 1/10/71	John Mayall			A/MM 10/07/71 P5	(75p average assumed)
21	Wed 6/10/71	Yes			A/TS	60p average (unreserved stalls)
22	Mon 11/10/71	King Crimson	John & Tony Smith with EG Management	Stalls W36	TS/MM 21/08/71 P3/MM 09/10/71 P41	60p average
23	Sun 17/10/71	Slim Whitman (1st show)	Mervyn Conn		MM 11/09/71 P29	80p average (60p/70p/90p/£1.00)
24	Sun 17/10/71	Slim Whitman (2nd show)	Mervyn Conn		MM 11/09/71 P29	80p average (60p/70p/90p/£1.00)
25	Thu 21/10/71	The Who	John & Tony Smith	Divans HH27	A/TS	£1.00 average
26	Fri 29/10/71	T Rex	Johh & Tony Smith	Stalls P24	MM 09/10/71 P35	60p average
27	Thu 4/11/71	Mott the Hoople	Island Records	Divans A11	TS/MM 02/10/71 P41	80p average
28	Tue 9/11/71	The Who	John & Tony Smith	Divans G29	A/TS	£1.00 average
29	Fri 12/11/71	Fairport Convention	John & Tony Smith	Stalls N42	TS/MM 06/11/71 P.13	75p average
30	Fri 10/12/71	Groundhogs			A	(75p average assumed)
31	Sun 19/12/71	Emerson, Lake and Palmer (1st show)	John & Tony Smith	Stalls FF16 & Stalls GG04	TS/MM 13/11/71 P21	78p average (55p/70p/85p/£1.00)
32	Sun 19/12/71	Emerson, Lake and Palmer (2nd show)	John & Tony Smith		TS/MM 13/11/71 P21	78p average (55p/70p/85p/£1.00)
		ROCK	25	78%		AVERAGE COST 77p
		COUNTRY & WESTERN	4	13%		
		POP	2	6%	ACCOUNTING FOR INFLATION (2014)	£10.40
		FOLK	1	3%		
		TOTAL	32			

Appendix 6C: Concert Schedule, Green's Playhouse 1972

GREEN'S PLAYHOUSE EVENT SCHEDULE (1972)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Thu 13/1/72	Family	John & Tony Smith		A/ET 24/12/71 P17	73p average (55p/65p/80p/90p)
2	Fri 28/1/72	Black Sabbath	Chrysalis	Balcony HH37 & Balcony BB10	A/TS	70p average (65p/75p)
3	Wed 16/2/72	Genesis			www.genesisfan.net	
4	Thu 24/2/72	Free	Island Records	Stalls OO45	A/TS	(40p average assumed)
5	Sun 26/3/72	Jethro Tull	Chrysalis	Stalls U36 & Balcony E37	TS/RL (1995,p125)	88p average (75p/99p)
6	Wed 12/4/72	Mott the Hoople	Island Records	Stalls P23	A/TS	(80p average assumed)
7	Fri 28/4/72	John Mayall	John & Tony Smoth	Stalls E26	A/TS	(90p average assumed)
8	Sun 30/4/72	Donovan	UCS	Stalls K25	A/TS	(60p average assumed)
9	Thu 11/5/72	Slade	Mel Bush with Barn Productions	Divans G03	TS/MM 29/04/72 P5	(65p average assumed)
10	Fri 19/5/72	ELO	John & Tony Smith		MM 29/04/72 P19	
11	Wed 14/6/72	The Faces			A	
12	Fri 16/6/72	Julie Felix	Clyde Fair International		A/TS	
13	Sun 25/6/72	The Faces	Brian Adams		A	
14	Fri 7/7/72	Flamin' Groovies	Zak Agency		MM 24/06/72 P56	
15	Fri 8/9/72	Elton John	NEMS Promotions		A/TS	

16	Fri 15/9/72	Stone the Crows	Mel Bush	Stalls NO.20	A/TS	(75p average assumed)
17	Fri 22/9/72	Deep Purple	NEMS Promotions	Stalls JJ32	A/TS	(75p average assumed)
18	Fri 29/9/72	Fanny			A	
19	Fri 6/10/72	Lindisfarne	John & Tony Smith	Stalls Q30	A/TS	(85p average assumed)
20	Thu 2/11/72	Humble Pie	John & Tony Smith	Stalls RR26 & Stalls L15	A/TS	93p average (85p/£1.00)
21	Fri 10/11/72	Alice Cooper	John Smith Productions	Divans GG07 & Stalls P04	A/TS	£1.35 average (£1.20/£1.50)
22	Fri 17/11/72	ELP	John & Tony Smith	Stalls F40 & Stalls CC36	TS/MM 21/10/72 P8	£1.13 average (£1.00/£1.25)
23	Sun 19/11/72	Barclay James Harvest	Phil Davies	Stalls R25	TS/ET 17/11/72 P42	62p average (50p/60p/75p)
24	Mon 21/11/72	The Groundhogs	Chrysalis Productions	Stalls PP22	TS/MM 28/10/72 P3	75p average (60p/90p)
25	Thu 23/11/72	Slade	Mel Bush with Barn Productions	Stalls R22 85P	A/TS	
26	Fri 1/12/72	King Crimson	John & Tony Smith with EG Management	Stalls OO35 & Divans B9	TS/MM 04/11/72 P25	80p average (60p/£1.00)
27	Sun 3/12/72	Led Zeppelin	John & Tony Smith with Peter Grant	Stalls O32 & Stalls N6	A/TS	£1.00 average
28	Mon 4/12/72	Led Zeppelin	John & Tony Smith with Peter Grant	Divans DD39	A/TS	(£1.00 average assumed)
29	Thu 7/12/72	Wishbone Ash	Peter Bowyer	Stalls QQ40	A/TS	(60p average assumed)
30	Fri 15/12/72	Family	John & Tony Smith	Stalls EE36	A/TS	(85p average assumed)
		ROCK	30	97%	AVERAGE COST	89p
		FOLK	1	3%		
		TOTAL	31		ACCOUNTING FOR INFLATION (2014)	£10.99

Appendix 6D: Concert Schedule, Green's Playhouse-Glasgow Apollo 1973

GREEN'S PLAYHOUSE/GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1973)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Fri 5/1/73	David Bowie (1st show)	Mel Bush	Stalls V13	ATS	(£1.00 average assumed)
2	Fri 5/1/73	David Bowie (2nd show)	Mel Bush		ATS	(£1.00 average assumed)
3	Mon 15/1/73	Chuck Berry (1st show)	Jumping Jack and Anelique		ET 05/01/73 P22/SM 07/01/73 P26	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
4	Mon 15/1/73	Chuck Berry (2nd show)	Jumping Jack and Anelique		ET 05/01/73 P22/SM 07/01/73 P26	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
5	Sun 21/1/73	Uriah Heep	NEMS	Stalls B30 & Stalls N45	ATS	£1.05 average (£1.00/£1.10)
6	Fri 9/2/73	Hawkwind	Asgard Entertainments	Stalls N1 & Balcony	ATS	80p average
7	Fri 16/2/73	Genesis	John & Tony Smith	Stalls Y47	TS/SM 04/02/73 P19	(70p average assumed)
8	Thu 22/2/73	Mott the Hoople			A/SM 04/2/73 P22	
9	Sun 25/2/73	Elton John	Peter Bowyers	Stalls M32 & Stalls PP11	ATS	85p average (50p/£1.25)
10	Fri 2/3/73	Rory Gallagher	Peter Bowyers	Stalls OO12	ATS	(60p average assumed)
11	Fri 9/3/73	Black Sabbath	Chrysalis with World Wide Artistes Management	Balcony BB35 & Balcony E16	TS/SM 18-02-73 P22	90p average (80p/£1.00)
12	Fri 16/3/73	King Crimson	Chrysalis with EG Management	Stalls M22	ATS	(£1.00 average assumed)
13	Wed 21/3/73	Status Quo	Derek Block	Stalls CC13	ATS	(60p average assumed)
14	Fri 6/4/73	Roxy Music	John & Tony Smith with EG Management	Stalls M29	TS/SM 18-03-73 P26	85p average (70p/85p/£1.10)
15	Mon 9/4/73	Hawkwind			A	

16	Fri 13/4/73	Captain Beefheart	Mel Bush	Balcony JJ26 & Stalls H25	RL (1995, P.13)/SM 01-04-73 P26	87p average (50p/75p/£1.00/£1.25)
17	Wed 25/4/73	Bruce West and Lang	John & Tony Smith	Stalls D23	TS/SM 15-04-73 P33	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
18	Fri 18/5/73	David Bowie (1st show)	Mel Bush	Stalls PP45	A/TS	(£1.00 average assumed)
19	Fri 18/5/73	David Bowie (2nd show)	Mel Bush		A/TS	(£1.00 average assumed)
20	Thu 24/5/73	Paul McCartney & Wings	MAM		A/SM 05-05-73 P25	97p average (60p/90p/£1.40)
21	Thu 31/5/73	Slade	Mel Bush	Stalls JJ14	A/TS	(£1.25 average assumed)
CHANGEOVER TO GLASGOW APOLLO						
1	Wed 5/9/73	Johnny Cash (1st show)	Chrysalis		NME 01-09-73 P27/SM 15-07-73 P22	£1.56 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.50)
2	Wed 5/9/73	Johnny Cash (2nd show)	Chrysalis		NME 01-09-73 P27/SM 15-07-73 P22	£1.56 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.50)
3	Thu 6/9/73	Johnny Cash	Chrysalis		NME 01-09-73 P27/SM 15-07-73 P22	£1.56 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.50)
4	Sun 16/9/73	Rolling Stones	John & Tony Smith with Five One Productions	Stalls K45 & Stalls D11 & Balcony S35	TS/SM 05-08-73 P23	£1.65 average (£1.10/£1.65/£2.20)
5	Mon 17/9/73	Rolling Stones	John & Tony Smith with Five One Productions	Balcony S03 & Stalls D18	TS/SM 05-08-73 P23	£1.65 average (£1.10/£1.65/£2.20)
6	Mon 24/9/73	Lou Reed	John Smith Productions	Balcony L05 & Stalls B15 & Stalls H34	TS/ET 07-09-73 P35	£1.22 average (80p/£1.10/£1.35/£1.65)
7	Wed 26/9/73	Family (Farewell Performance)	John & Tony Smith with Bradgate Bush	Stalls EE09	TS/ET 07-09-73 P35	(£1.10 average assumed)
8	Thu 27/9/73	The Moody Blues	NEMS		TS/ET 07-09-73 P35	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.75/£2.25)
9	Fri 28/9/73	Status Quo	Derek Block	Box D02	TS/SM 19-08-73 P26	96p average (75p/85p/£1.00/£1.25)
10	Sat 29/9/73	Diana Ross (1st show)	Danny O'Donovan		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 07-09-73 P35	£2.06 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.25/£2.75)
11	Sat 29/9/73	Diana Ross (2nd show)	Danny O'Donovan		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 07-09-73 P35	£2.06 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.25/£2.75)

12	Sun 30/9/73	Argent	Peter Bowyer	Stalls NN24	TS/ET 07-09-73 P35	85p average (60p/80p/90p/£1.10)
13	Wed 3/10/73	The Kinks	Phil Davies & Alan Cottam	Stalls D32	A/TS	85p average (60p/80p/90p/£1.10)
14	Fri 5/10/73	Genesis			ET 08-09-73 P35/ NME 06-1-73 P40-41	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
15	Sun 7/10/73	Don McLean	Robert Paterson	Balcony L11 & Balcony W42	TS/ET 07-09-73 P35	£1.19 average (80p/£1.10/£1.35/£1.50)
16	Fri 12/10/73	Lindisfarne	John & Tony Smith with Mother Management	Stalls TT29 & Balcony T23	TS/ET 07-09-73 P35	£1.14 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
17	Sun 14/10/73	Tom Paxton			NME 13-10-73 P40-41/ ET 21-09-73 P30	86p average (40p/80p/£1.00/£1.25)
18	Wed 17/10/73	Wishbone Ash	Peter Bowyer	Stalls LL37	TS/ SM 23-09-73 P32	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
19	Fri 19/10/73	Ten Years After	Chrysalis	Stalls J23	A/TS	£1.16 average (90p/£1.10/£1.50)
20	Sun 21/10/73	Nazareth	Peter Bowyer	Stalls G19	TS/ET 28-09-73 P40	80p average (60p/80p/£1.00)
21	Mon 22/10/73	Four Tops (1st show)			NME 20-10-73 P39/ET 21-09-73 P30	87p average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
22	Mon 22/10/73	Four Tops (2nd show)			NME 20-10-73 P39/ET 21-09-73 P30	87p average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
23	Tue 23/10/73	King Crimson	Chrysalis with EG Management	Stalls P24 & Stalls N12	TS/ET 12-10-73 P34	90p average (60p/80p/£1.00/£1.20)
24	Wed 24/10/73	Humble Pie	John Smith Productions	Stalls MM32 & Balcony B02	TS/ET 280973 P40	£1.14 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
25	Thu 25/10/73	The Osmonds			A/NME 27-10-73 P35	
26	Wed 31/10/73	Labri Siffre			NME 27-10-73 P37/ET 19-10-73 P47	94p average (60p/90p/£1.00/£1.25)
27	Fri 2/11/73	Roxy Music	Chrysalis with EG Management	Stalls RR26	A/TS	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
28	Sun 4/11/73	The Sweet			MK (2009, p.24)/ET 19-10-73 P47	85p average (60p/80p/90p/£1.10)
29	Thu 8/11/73	Neil Young & Crazy Horse	Harold Davidson on behalf of MAM	Balcony U01	RL (1995, p.121)/MK (2009, p.24)	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)

30	Sun 11/11/73	Fairport Convention	Island Artists	Stalls T31 & Balcony F30	TS/ET 26-10-73 P48	(80p average assumed)
31	Tue 13/11/73	The Groundhogs	Derek Block	Stalls C29 & Stalls KK23	TS/ET 19-10-73 P47	80p average (60p/80p/£1.00)
32	Wed 14/11/73	Cliff Richard (1st show)	A Howes		MK (2009, p.24)/ET 12-10-73 P34	£1.31 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
33	Wed 14/11/73	Cliff Richard (2nd show)	A Howes		MK (2009, p.24)/ET 12-10-73 P34	£1.31 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
34	Thu 15/11/73	Steeleye Span	Chrysalis in association Jo Lustig	Stalls J11	TS/MK (2009, p.24)	£1.00 average (80p/£1.00/£1.20)
35	Fri 16/11/73	Uriah Heep	Peter Bowyers	Stalls E23	TS/MK (2009, p.24)	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
36	Sun 18/11/73	Miles Davis (1st show)	Scottish Arts Council with Robert Paterson	Balcony O33	TS/MK (2009, p.24)	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.75/£2.25)
37	Sun 18/11/73	Miles Davis (2nd show)	Scottish Arts Council with Robert Paterson		TS/MK (2009, p.24)	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.75/£2.25)
38	Thu 22/11/73	Nashville Cavalcade	Mervyn Conn with RCA		ET 12-10-73 P34/SM 16-09-73 P34	£1.18 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.75)
39	Fri 23/11/73	Mott The Hoople	Mel Bush	Stalls DD15	TS/ET 12-10-73 P34	96p average (75p/85p/£1.00/£1.25)
40	Sun 25/11/73	Gary Glitter (1st show)	Jef Hanlon for RAM (Promotions) Ltd		TS/ET 12-10-73 P34	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
41	Sun 25/11/73	Gary Glitter (2nd show)	Jef Hanlon for RAM (Promotions) Ltd		TS/ET 12-10-73 P34	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
42	Wed 28/11/73	Duke Ellington (1st show)	Arts Council		MK (2009, p.24)	£2.08 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.35/£2.75)
43	Wed 28/11/73	Duke Ellington (2nd show)	Arts Council		MK (2009, p.24)	£2.08 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.35/£2.75)
44	Thu 29/11/73	Dionne Warwick	Danny O'Donovan	Balcony C41	TS/SM 11-11-73 P3	£1.69 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.50)
45	Fri 30/11/73	Rory Gallagher	Peter Bowyers	Stalls M25	TS/MK (2009, p.24)	87p average (50p/75p/£1.00/£1.25)
46	Tue 4/12/73	Donovan	Derek Block	Stalls R04 & Stalls LL16	TS/MK (2009, p.24)	£1.13 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
47	Thu 6/12/73	Yes	John Smith Productions	Balcony S18	TS/ET 07-09-73 P35	£1.31 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)

Appendix 6E: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1974

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1974)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Tue 8/1/74	Beck, Bogart & Appice	Harvey Goldsmith for John Smith Entertainments	Stalls C25	TS/ET 30-11-73 P31	£1.22 average (80p/£1.10/£1.35/£1.65)
2	Sat 19/1/74	Bob Hope Show (1st show)			ET 07-12-73 P24	£1.62 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
3	Sat 19/1/74	Bob Hope Show (2nd show)			ET 07-12-73 P24	£1.62 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
4	Tue 22/1/74	T Rex	Tony Smith for John Smith Entertainments	Stalls X25 & Stalls Y33	A/TS	£1.50 average
5	Fri 25/1/74	Max Bygraves Show (1st show)			NME 26-01-74 p30/ET 28-12-73 P27	£1.41 average (90p/£1.10/£1.65/£2.00)
6	Fri 25/1/74	Max Bygraves Show (2nd show)			NME 26-01-74 p30/ET 28-12-73 P27	£1.41 average (90p/£1.10/£1.65/£2.00)
7	Sat 2/2/74	Peters & Lee Show			NME 02-02-74 P32/ET 28-12-73 P27	£1.12 average (75p/£1.25/£1.50)
8	Thu 7/2/74	Wizzard with Roy Wood			MM 09-02-74 P17/NME 26-01-74 P3/ET 11-01-74 P29	£1.12 average (75p/£1.25/£1.50)
9	Fri 8/2/74	Ralph McTell			NME 09-02-74 p32/ET 21-12-73 P22	87p average (50p/75p/£1.00/£1.25)
10	Sun 10/2/74	American Blues Legends			NME 09-02-74 P32/ET 01-02-74 P.27	£1.00 average (80p/£1.00/£1.20)
11	Wed 13/2/74	Neil Sedaka		Balcony X15	TS/ET 110174 P29	£1.12 average (75p/£1.25/£1.50)
12	Thu 14/2/74	Argent	Peter Bowyers	Stalls D33	NME 16-02-74 P30/ET 18-01-74 p25	90p average (70p/90p/£1.10)
13	Mon 18/2/74	The Carpenters			SM 20-01-74 P29	
14	Thu 21/2/74	Traffic			MK (2009, p.171)	
15	Sun 24/2/74	The Electric Light Orchestra	Dartbill Ltd with Mervyn Conn	Stalls T29 & Stalls M24	TS/ET 01-02-74 P.27	92p average (75p/90p/£1.10)

16	Mon 25/2/74	Manitas de Plata			NME 23-0-2-74 p34/SM 24-02-74 P22	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
17	Sat 2/3/74	Tom Jones	Gordon Mills on behalf of MAM		NME 02-03-73 P32/SM 03-02-74 P26	£2.05 average (£1.75/£2.25/£2.50/£2.75)
18	Sun 10/3/74	Bill Haley & the Comets	Brian Adams with GWF Partners	Stalls KK07	TS/ET 01-02-74 p27	£1.12 average (75p/£1.25/£1.50)
19	Mon 18/3/74	Tony Christie Show			ET 18-01-74 p25/ET 08-02-74 P16	£1.13 average (80p/£1.25/£1.50)
20	Tue 19/3/74	Cat Stevens	MAM with BKM	Stalls JJ08	A/TS	(£2.25 average assumed)
21	Wed 20/3/74	George Hamilton IV			ET 08-02-74 P16/SM 17-03-74 p22	£1.13 average (75p/£1.25/£1.50)
22	Thu 21/3/74	Golden Earing	Scottish International	Stalls E28	TS/ET 08-02-74 P16	88p average (75p/90p/£1.00)
23	Tue 26/3/74	Foreman vs. Norton			SM 17-03-74 P22	£2.50 average
24	Wed 27/3/74	Glen Campbell			NME 19-01-74 P3	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.00)
25	Thu 28/3/74	Glen Campbell (1st show)			NME 23-03-74 P42/ET 15-02-74 P26	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.00)
26	Thu 28/3/74	Glen Campbell (2nd show)			NME 23-03-74 P42/ET 15-02-74 P26	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.00)
27	Sun 7/4/74	New Seekers			NME 02-02-74 P3/ET 22-02-74 P39	£1.25 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£1.75)
28	Thu 11/4/74	Ella Fitzgerald	Adrian Hopkins		MM 06-04-74 P1/ET 21-12-73 P22	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
29	Wed 17/4/74	Mick Ronson	John Smith Entertainments with Main Man	Circle W36	TS/SM 24-03-74 P24	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
30	Thu 18/4/74	Bad Company	Mel Bush with Peter Grant	Stalls C21	TS/SM 24-03-74 P24	80p average (60p/80p/£1.00)
31	Sun 21/4/74	Deep Purple	John Smith Entertainments for Purple Records	Circle W13 & Stalls W32	A/TS	£1.50 average (£1.00/£2.00)
32	Mon 22/4/74	Deep Purple	John Smith Entertainments for Purple Records	Circle E38 & Stalls TT18	A/TS	£1.62 average (£1.25/£2.00)
33	Wed 24/4/74	Junior Walker	Danny O'Donovan		SM 07-04-74 p24	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)

34	Thu 25/4/74	Traffic	Peter Bowyers	Balcony S28	TS/SM 17-03-74 P22	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
35	Thu 2/5/74	Slade	Mel Bush Organisation Ltd	Box G02	TS/SM 24-03-74 P24	£1.31 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
36	Fri 3/5/74	Slade	Mel Bush Organisation Ltd	Stalls F23	TS/SM 24-03-74 P24	£1.31 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
37	Mon 6/5/74	Mud	Peter Bowyers	Stalls P04	TS/SM 24-03-74 P24	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
38	Sun 12/5/74	Nazareth			NME 11-05-74 P48/ET 03-05-74 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
39	Tue 14/5/74	Status Quo	Derek Block	Box D & Stalls CC46	TS/SM 24-03-74 P24	£1.28 average (£1.00/£1.20/£1.65)
40	Wed 15/5/74	Status Quo	Derek Block	Stalls N17 & Stalls CC03	TS/SM 24-03-74 P24	£1.28 average (£1.00/£1.20/£1.65)
41	Thu 16/5/74	Status Quo	Derek Block	Stalls K15	TS/SM 24-03-74 P24	£1.28 average (£1.00/£1.20/£1.65)
42	Fri 17/5/74	Steeleye Span	Chrysalis with Jo Lustig Ltd	Stalls LL09	TS/ET 26-04-74 P46	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
43	Mon 20/5/74	Focus	MAM	Circle D06 & Stalls EE24	TS/ET 170574 P46	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
44	Tue 21/5/74	Alvin Stardust			ET 26-04-74 P46	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
45	Sun 26/5/74	Sensational Alex Harvey Band	*Mountain Management	Circle L26	NME 04-05-74 P33/ET 26-04-74 P46	82p average (65p/80p/£1.00)
46	Tue 28/5/74	Black Sabbath	Harvey Goldsmith for John Smith Entertainments	Stalls K15 & Stalls GG26	TS/ET 26-04-74 P46	£1.38 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.80)
47	Wed 29/5/74	The Hollies	MAM	Stalls D18	TS/ET 26-04-74 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
48	Mon 3/6/74	Lou Reed	Harvey Goldsmith for John Smith Entertainments	Stalls H39	TS/ET 03-05-74 P46	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
49	Wed 5/6/74	Captain Beefheart	Virgin Concerts	Stalls F31	A/TS	(£1.50 average assumed)
50	Fri 7/6/74	Barclay James Harvest			MK (2009, p.171)	
51	Mon 10/6/74	Blood, Sweat & Tears	Arthur Howes		NME 30-03-74 P2/ET 26-04-74 P46	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)

52	Sun 23/6/74	Gary Glitter	Jef Hanlon for RAM		NME 18-06-74 P16/ET 10-05-74 P47	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
53	Mon 2/9/74	Roy Wood's Wizzard	Mel Bush		ET 30-08-74 P38	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
54	Tue 10/9/74	Leo Sayer	M.A.M.		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 30-08-74 P38	£1.22 average (75p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.80)
55	Wed 11/9/74	Leonard Cohen	Derek Block	Circle P39 & Stalls M26	TS/SM 18-08-74 P20	£1.42 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
56	Tue 24/9/74	George Foreman vs Mohhammad Ali		Stalls LL34	TS/SM 08-09-74 P22	£10.83 average (£7.50/£10.00/£15.00)
57	Wed 25/9/74	Charles Aznavour	MAM in association with CTA		ET 26-07-74 P43	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
58	Thu 26/9/74	Larry Cunningham			ET 13-09-74 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
59	Fri 27/9/74	Maggie Bell	John Smith Entertainments		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-09-74 P46	£1.13 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
60	Wed 2/10/74	Man	Brian Adams	Circle D44	TS/ET13-09-74 P46	£1.01 average (75p/95p/£1.05/£1.30)
61	Fri 11/10/74	Wishbone Ash	Peter Bowyer	Stalls P18 & Circle H34	TS/ET 13-09-74 P46	£1.20 average (90p/£1.20/£1.50)
62	Sun 13/10/74	Sensational Alex Harvey Band	John Smith Entertainments with Mountain Management	Stalls LL04	MM 05-10-74 P47/SM 15-09-74 P20	£1.13 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
63	Tue 15/10/74	Mud	Mel Bush	Stalls HH24	TS/ET 13-09-74 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
64	Wed 16/10/74	Johnny Mathis (1st show)	Derek Block		ET 26-07-74 P43/ET 27-09-74 P43	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
65	Wed 16/10/74	Johnny Mathis (2nd show)	Derek Block		ET 26-07-74 P43/ET 27-09-74 P43	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
66	Sun 20/10/74	Uriah Heep	John Smith Entertainments with Bronze Records	Stalls V40 & Circle Z43	MK (2009, p.171)/ET 27-09-74 p43	£1.20 average (80p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
67	Tue 22/10/74	Roxy Music	John Smith Entertainment with EG Management		ET 04-10-74 P47	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
68	Wed 23/10/74	Roxy Music	John Smith Entertainment with EG Management	Stalls GG13	A/TS	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
69	Thu 24/10/74	Roxy Music	John Smith Entertainment with EG Management	Circle T41	A/TS	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)

70	Fri 25/10/74	Roxy Music	John Smith Entertainment with EG Management	Stalls S03	A/TS	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
71	Sat 26/10/74	Slim Whitman	Mervyn Conn		ET 04-10-74 P.47	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
72	Tue 29/10/74	Lindisfarne	MAM	Circle A33	TS/ET 04-10-74 P.47	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
73	Wed 30/10/74	Suzi Quatro	Mel Bush		SM 15-09-74 P20	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
74	Sun 3/11/74	Bay City Rollers			ET 30-087-4 P38	£1.02 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25)
75	Thu 7/11/74	Tom Paxton	Johnny Jones on behalf of Evolution		MK (2009, P.171)/ET 26-07-74 P.43	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
76	Fri 8/11/74	Queen	Mel Bush	Stalls KK32 & Circle O02	TS/ET 11-10-74 P.23	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
77	Mon 11/11/74	Jethro Tull	Chrysalis	Stalls GG22	TS/ET 13-09-74 P.46	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
78	Tue 12/11/74	Jethro Tull	Chrysalis	Circle G33 & Circle K34	TS/ET 01-11-74 P.40	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
79	Wed 13/11/74	David Essex (1st show)	Mel Bush	Stalls D32	TS/ET 04-10-74 P47	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
80	Wed 13/11/74	David Essex (2nd show)	Mel Bush		TS/ET 04-10-74 P47	£1.43 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
81	Thu 14/11/74	Golden Earing	John Smith Entertainments with Trifold	Stalls FF24	TS/ET 01-11-74 P40	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
82	Fri 15/11/74	Ralph McTell	Derek Block		TS/ET 26-07-74 P43	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
83	Sun 17/11/74	Humble Pie	Harvey Goldsmith for John Smith Entertainments		ET 27-09-74 p43	£1.20 average (80p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
84	Mon 18/11/74	Charlie Ritch			MM 10-087-4 P1	
85	Wed 20/11/74	Kevin Ayers	Peter Bowyers	Stalls F27	TS/ET 08-11-74 P41	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
86	Thu 21/11/74	Sparks	Island Artists		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-09-74 P.46	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
87	Sun 24/11/74	Fairport Convention feat. Sandy Denny	Brian Adams	Circle U21	TS/ET 08-11-74 P41	£1.13 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)

88	Tue 26/11/74	George & Gwen McRae	Seven Sun Artists with Maurice King		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 11-10-74 P23	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
89	Thu 28/11/74	Choralerna			ET 11-10-74 P23/SM 18-08-74 P20	65p average (50p/65p/80p)
90	Fri 29/11/74	Argent ('In quadrophonic sound')	Astra International	Stalls OO26	TS/ET 04-10-74 .P47	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
91	Sun 1/12/74	Rory Gallagher	Derek Block	Stalls GG18	TS/ET 04-10-74 P47	£1.22 average (90p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
92	Mon 2/12/74	Rory Gallagher	Derek Block	Stalls H12	A/TS	£1.22 average (90p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
93	Tue 3/12/74	Bad Company	Mel Bush	Stalls F24	TS/ET 11-10-74 P23	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
94	Wed 4/12/74	Bad Company	Mel Bush	Stalls P40	A/TS	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
95	Fri 6/12/74	Steeleye Span	Chrysalis in association with Jo Lustig Ltd		ET 04-10-74 P47	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
96	Sun 8/12/74	Jack Jones	Chrysalis		ET 26-077-4 P43	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
97	Thu 12/12/74	The Rubettes	N&M in association with MAM		ET 08-11-74 P41/SM 01-12-74 P28	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
98	Fri 13/12/74	Hawkwind	Peter Bowyers	Stalls X39	TS/ET 11-10-74 P23	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
99	Sat 14/12/74	The Faces		Circle S31 & Circle B35	A/TS	£2.00 average (£1.75/£2.25)
100	Mon 16/12/74	The Faces			SM 15-09-74 P29	£2.00 average (£1.75/£2.25)
101	Tue 17/12/74	The Faces		Stalls Z16	A/TS	£2.00 average (£1.75/£2.25)
102	Wed 18/12/74	The Faces		Stalls G26	A/TS	£2.00 average (£1.75/£2.25)
103	Sun 22/12/74	Slik (Tiger Tim Super Xmas Show)			ET 08-11-74 P41/SM 01-12-74 P28	63p average (50p/60p/80p)
104	Mon 23/12/74	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)
105	Mon 23/12/74	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)

106	Tue 24/12/74	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
107	Tue 24/12/74	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
108	Wed 25/12/74	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
109	Wed 25/12/74	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
110	Thu 26/12/74	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
111	Thu 26/12/74	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
112	Fri 27/12/74	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
113	Fri 27/12/74	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
114	Sat 28/12/74	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
115	Sat 28/12/74	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90p/£1.10)	
116	Sat 28/12/74	The Callum Kennedy Show			ET 06-12-74 P45	£1.00 average	
		ROCK	55	47%	AVERAGE COST	£1.39	
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	33	28%			
		POP	12	10%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£14.67	
		COUNTRY & WESTERN	7	6%			
		FOLK	6	5%			
		SOUL	2	2%			
		JAZZ	1	1%			
		TOTAL	116				
		NOTE - CANCELLED CONCERTS					
		Allman Brothers	15/01/1970				
		Eno & the Winkies	03/03/1970				

Appendix 6F: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1975

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1975)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Wed 1/1/75	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90/£1.10)
2	Wed 1/1/75	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90/£1.10)
3	Thu 2/1/75	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90/£1.10)
4	Thu 2/1/75	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90/£1.10)
5	Fri 3/1/75	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90/£1.10)
6	Fri 3/1/75	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90/£1.10)
7	Sat 4/1/75	The Wombles (1st show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90/£1.10)
8	Sat 4/1/75	The Wombles (2nd show)	David Gordon Productions with Lion Leisure		A/ET 29-11-74 P40	89p average (75p/80p/90/£1.10)
9	Sun 26/1/75	Mahavishnu Orchestra	Harvey Goldsmith for John Smith Entertainments	Stalls FF22	TS/ET 20-12-74 P43	£1.44 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£2.00)
10	Wed 29/1/75	Barclay James Harvest	MAM	Stalls O22 & Circle H37	TS/ET 20-127-4 P43	£1.25 average
11	Thu 30/1/75	Charley Pride (1st show)	Andy Daisley with Jeffrey S Krueger		NME 01-02-75 P40/ET 22-11-74 P45	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
12	Thu 30/1/75	Charley Pride (2nd show)	Andy Daisley with Jeffrey S Krueger		NME 01-02-75 P40/ET 22-11-74 P45	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
13	Tue 4/2/75	The Dermott O'Brien Show	Shannon Distributions		ET 17-01-75 P47/SM 12-01-75 P20	£1.37 average (70p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
14	Sun 9/2/75	The Glitter Band	Jef Hanlon for RAM		A/ET 10-01-75 P37	£1.02 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25)
15	Mon 10/2/75	Steve Harley & Cockney Rebel	MAM with Trigram	Circle G40	TS/ML (2009. p.171)	(£2.50 average assumed)

16	Fri 21/2/75	Chuck Berry	Mervyn Conn		TS/ET 20-12-74 P43	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
17	Sun 23/2/75	RAK Rocks Britain 1975 -Suzi Quatro	RAK		NME 22-02-75 P52/ET 07-02-75 P46	£1.50 average (all tickets £1.50)
18	Fri 28/2/75	Neil Sedaka	Michael Rouse		NME 01-03-75 P40/ET 20-12-74 P43	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
19	Sun 2/3/75	RFCSA 26th Charity Rally	Rangers Football Supporters Association	Stalls K02 & Stalls K03	A/TS	
20	Thu 13/3/75	The Rubettes	MAM		ET 07-03-75 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
21	Fri 14/3/75	Caravan	BTM with Sherry Copland Artistes Ltd	Stalls P23 & Circle A07	TS/ET 31-01-75 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
22	Sun 16/3/75	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle A7	TS/ET 31-01-75 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
23	Tue 18/3/75	Gilbert O'Sullivan	MAM		NME 15-05-75 P45/ET 21-02-75 P43	£1.83 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.75)
24	Wed 19/3/75	Ralph McTell	Derek Block		NME 01-0-375 P45/SM 23-02-75 P24	£1.20 average (80p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
25	Sun 23/3/75	Ian Hunter/Mick Ronson Band	* (see bottom of table)	Stalls G10	TS/ET 21-02-75 P43	£1.13 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
26	Sun 6/4/75	Steve Harley & Cockney Rebel (1st show)	MAM in association with Trigram	Stalls J36 & Stalls AA19	ET 31-01-75 P46/SM 09-03-75 P20	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
27	Sun 6/4/75	Steve Harley & Cockney Rebel (2nd show)	MAM in association with Trigram		ET 31-01-75 P46/SM 09-03-75 P20	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
28	Wed 9/4/75	Showaddywaddy	SAS Artistes		ET 07-03-75 P46	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
29	Thu 10/4/75	Demis Rousoss	Robert Patterson for International Entertainments		NME 12-04-75 P36/ET 07-03-75 P46	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
30	Fri 18/4/75	Yes	John Smith Entertainments	Circle R27	TS/ET 21-03-75 P47	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.75/£2.25)
31	Sat 19/4/75	Yes	John Smith Entertainments		TS/ET 21-03-75 P47	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.75/£2.25)
32	Sun 27/4/75	Bay City Rollers (1st show)	Jef Hanlon for RAM		ET 21-03-75 P47	£1.20 average (80p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
33	Sun 27/4/75	Bay City Rollers (2nd show)	Jef Hanlon for RAM		ET 21-03-75 P47	£1.20 average (80p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)

34	Wed 30/4/75	Bay City Rollers (1st show)	Jef Hanlon for RAM		SM 06-04-75 P20	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
35	Wed 30/4/75	Bay City Rollers (2nd show)	Jef Hanlon for RAM		SM 06-04-75 P20	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
36	Thu 1/5/75	Bachman Turner Overdrive	Derek Block	Stalls LL06 C & Circle R39 & Stalls V26	TS/ET 21-03-75 P47	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
37	Fri 2/5/75	Slade	Mel Bush		MK (2009, p.171)	
38	Sat 3/5/75	Slade	Mel Bush	Stalls O09	A/TS	(£2.00 average assumed)
39	Sun 4/5/75	Sensational Alex Harvey Band	John Smith Entertainments	Circle S38	TS/ET 07-03-75 P46	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
40	Tue 6/5/75	Pilot	MAM with Fireworks Music		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 07-03-75 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
41	Sun 11/5/75	The Glitter Band	Jef Hanlon for RAM		SM 30-03-75 P32/ET 18-04-75 P46	£1.02 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25)
42	Mon 12/5/75	Alan Price	MAM		SM 30-03-75 P32/ET 18-04-75 P46	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
43	Wed 14/5/75	Man	Brian Adams	Stalls JJ13	TS/ET 21-03-75 P47	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
44	Thu 15/5/75	Status Quo	Derek Block	Circle S11	TS/ET 18-04-75 P46	£1.75 average (£1.50/£2.00)
45	Fri 16/5/75	Status Quo	Derek Block	Circle W16	A/TS	£1.75 average (£1.50/£2.00)
46	Sat 17/5/75	Status Quo	Derek Block	Stalls CC16	A/TS	£1.75 average (£1.50/£2.00)
47	Wed 21/5/75	Don McLean	Robert Patterson for International Entertainments	Stalls JJ21	TS/ET 18-04-75 P46	£2.12 average (£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50)
48	Thu 22/5/75	The Kinks	MAM	Stalls C05	RL (1995, p.146)/ET 18.04.75 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
49	Thu 29/5/75	Paul Kossoff	Virgin Concerts	Circle C28 & Stalls O32 & Stalls TT16	TS/SM 27-04-75 P20	£1.02 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25)
50	Sat 31/5/75	The Osmonds	MAM	Stalls LL33	A/TS	(£2.00 average assumed)
51	Mon 2/6/75	Tammy Wynette	MAM		SM 27-04-75 P20	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)

52	Tue 3/6/75	Jack Bruce Band feat. Carla Bley/Mick Taylor	John Smith Entertainments	Circle B26	TS/ET 18-04-75 P46	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
53	Wed 4/6/75	Donovan	Derek Block	Box M06	TS/SM 27-04-75 P20	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
54	Sun 29/6/75	Uriah Heep	John Smith Entertainments	Circle N26 & Circle T27	TS/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
55	Mon 30/6/75	Muhammad Ali vs Joe Bugner	Viewsport		ET 13-06-75 P41	£6.25 average (£5.00/£7.50)
56	Fri 1/8/75	Duane Eddy			NME 02-08-75 P37	
57	Sun 10/8/75	Hawkwind	Lion Leisure	Stalls GG44	ET 25-07-75 P38/ET 08-08-75 P42	£1.14 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
58	Fri 22/8/75	The Ozark Mountain Daredevils	Radio Clyde and A&M Records	Stalls NN17	TS SM 27-07-75 P20	£1.05 average (85p/£1.05/£1.25)
59	Mon 1/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes	Stalls K46	TS/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
60	Tues 2/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
61	Wed 3/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
62	Thu 4/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes	Circle A10	A/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
63	Fri 5/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
64	Sat 6/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
65	Sun 7/9/75	The Hank Locklin Show	Shannon		ET 18-07-75 P45/ET 05-09-75 P47	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
66	Mon 8/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes	Circle M22	TS/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
67	Tue 9/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
68	Wed 10/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
69	Thu 11/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)

70	Fri 12/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes		MK (2009, p.171)/ET 13-06-75 P41	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
71	Sat 13/9/75	Billy Connolly	Unicom Artistes			£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
72	Sun 14/9/75	Supremes	IR Entertainment		NME 30-08-75 P18/ET 18-07-75 P45	£1.87 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.50)
73	Tues 16/9/75	Santana	Mel Bush		NME 13-09-75 P42/ET 18-07-75 P45	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
74	Wed 17/9/75	Santana	Mel Bush	Stalls P02	ET 18-07-75 P45	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
75	Thu 18/9/75	Johnny Cash	Adrian Hopkins for Chrysalis Promotions		NME 20-09-75 P45/ET 27-06-75 P41	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
76	Sun 21/9/75	Paul McCartney & Wings	Mel Bush	Stalls X18	A/TS	(£2.50 average assumed)
77	Mon 22/9/75	America	MAM	Circle O28 & Circle B05	TS/ET 15-0-875 P28	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
78	Tue 23/9/75	David Essex	Mel Bush		NME 20-09-75 P45/ET 18-07-75 P45	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
79	Wed 24/9/75	David Essex	Mel Bush		NME 20-09-75 P45/ET 18-07-75 P45	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
80	Thurs 25/9/75	George Jones	Mervyn Conn		NME 27-09-75 P37/ET 01-08-75 p26	£1.87 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.50)
81	Mon 29/9/75	Showaddywaddy	SAS		ET 29-08-75 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
82	Tue 30/9/75	John Mayall	Derek Block		ET 08-08-75 P42	£1.20 average (80p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
83	Thu 2/10/75	Thin Lizzy			NME 06-09-75 P3	
84	Fri 3/10/75	Demis Roussos	Robert Patterson for International Entertainments		NME 04-10-75 P45/ET 29-08-75 P46	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
85	Sat 4/10/75	Leo Sayer	Mervyn Conn		NME 04-10-75 P45/ET 15-08-75 P28	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
86	Sun 5/10/75	Todd Rundgren	Harvey Goldsmith for John Smith Entertainments	Stalls F30	TS/ET 29-08-75 P46	£1.20 average (80p/£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
87	Mon 6/10/75	Steeleye Span	Adrian Hopkins for Chrysalis		NME 04-10-75 P46/ET 29-08-75 P46	£1.50 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)

88	Tue 7/10/75	Paul Kossof Band	ALE Ltd		ET 29-08-75 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
89	Wes 8/10/75	Roxy Music	Adrian Hopkins for Chrysalis with EG Management	Circle W26 & Stalls HH02 & Circle C33	TS/ET 29-08-75 P46	£1.75 average (£1.30/£1.60/£1.90/£2.20)
90	Thu 9/10/75	Roxy Music	Adrian Hopkins for Chrysalis with EG Management	Circle C44	TS/ET 29-08-75 P46	£1.75 average (£1.30/£1.60/£1.90/£2.20)
91	Fri 10/10/75	Roxy Music	Adrian Hopkins for Chrysalis with EG Management	Circle S37	A/TS	£1.75 average (£1.30/£1.60/£1.90/£2.20)
92	Sat 11/10/75	The Dubliners	Allmusic		NME 11-07-75 P39/ET 05-09-75 P47	£1.25 average (75p/£1.25/£1.75)
93	Sun 12/10/75	Melaine	Robert Patterson for International Entertainments	Circle R39	TS/ET 26-09-75 P46	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
94	Tue 14/10/75	Barclay James Harvest	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls RR44 & Stalls T04	TS/ET 29-08-75 P46	£1.75 average (£1.30/£1.60/£1.90/£2.20)
95	Wed 15/10/75	The Who	John Smith Entertainments with Trifold Ltd	Stalls TT20 & Circle P41 & Box H01	A/TS	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
96	Thu 16/10/75	The Who	John Smith Entertainments with Trifold Ltd	Stalls F42 & Stalls E38	A/TS	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
97	Fri 17/10/75	Fairport Convention	ALE Ltd	Circle G29	TS/ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
98	Sat 18/10/75	Sparks	ALE Ltd	Circle A38 & Stalls L41	TS/ET 29-08-75 P46	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
99	Sun 19/10/75	Black Sabbath	John Smith Entertainments	Circle G11	TS/ET 01-08-75 p26	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
100	Tue 21/10/75	Lena Zavaroni Show	Derek Block		ET 19-09-75 P45	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
101	Wed 22/10/75	Argent	Astra International Entertainments Ltd	Stalls JJ06	TS/ET 19-09-75 P45	£1.30 average (£1.00/£1.20/£1.40/£1.60)
102	Thu 23/10/75	Baker Gurvitz Army	John Smith Entertainments		NME 25-10-75 P44/ET 26-09-75 P46	£1.14 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
103	Fri 24/10/75	The Chieftans	Robert Patterson for International Entertainments		ET 26-09-75 P46	£1.31 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
104	Sat 25/10/75	George Hamilton IV	Mervyn Conn		ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.87 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
105	Mon 27/10/75	Dr Feelgood	John Smith Entertainments	Stalls E16	NME 25-10-75 P45/ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.14 average (80p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)

106	Sat 1/11/75	Lynyrd Skynyrd	John Smith Entertainments	Stalls J15	TSET 26-09-75 P46	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
107	Sun 2/11/75	Jack Jones	Adrian Hopkins for Chrysalis		A/NME 01-11-75 P38	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
108	Mon 10/11/75	Four Tops	Kennedy Street Ltd and Harold Landy		NME 09-08-75 P3/ET 15-08-75 P28/ET 29-08-75 P46	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
109	Fri 14/11/75	Hot Chocolate			NME 15-11-75 P44	
110	Sun 16/11/75	Tom Paxton	Johnny Jones on behalf of Evolution		NME 15-11-75 P45/ET 08-08-75 P42	£1.35 average (90p/£1.20/£1.50/£1.80)
111	Mon 17/11/75	Blue Jays - Justin Hayward & John Lodge	MAM		A/ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.55 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
112	Tue 18/11/75	The Carpenters	Harold Landey		ET 04-07-75 /ET 03-10-75 P45	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
113	Wed 19/11/75	All Platinum Show	Derek Block		ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
114	Fri 21/11/75	Nazareth	John Smith Entertainments	Circle B43	NME 22-11-75 P46/ET 14-11-75 P50	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
115	Mon 24/11/75	Supertramp	Peter Bowyers	Stalls C16	TS/ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
116	Wed 26/11/75	Paul Kossoff Band 'Back Street Crawlers'	ALE Ltd	Circle B5	TS/ET 21-11-75 P46	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
117	Thu 27/11/75	Uriah Heep	John Smith Enterprises	Circle S12 & Stalls M14	TS/ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.50 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
118	Sat 29/11/75	Cliff Richard (1st show)	Save Artistes		NME 27-09-75 P3/ET 14-11-75 P50	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
119	Sat 29/11/75	Cliff Richard (2nd show)	Save Artistes		NME 27-09-75 P3/ET 14-11-75 P50	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
120	Wed 3/12/75	Caravan	Robin Gee for SCA	Stalls SS37	NME 29-11-75 P45/ET 28-11-75 P30	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
121	Thu 4/12/75	Red Sovine	Shannon		NME 06-12-75 P48/ET 21-11-75 P46	£1.33 average (£1.25/£1.75/£2.00)
122	Sun 7/12/75	Mud	John Martin		NME 06-12-75 P49/ET 28-11-75 P30	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
123	Fri 12/12/75	David Essex			A	

124	Sat 13/12/75	Rory Gallagher	Derek Block	Stalls N41 & Stalls R36	TS/ET 14-11-75 P50	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
125	Mon 15/12/75	Queen	Mel Bush	Stalls R40 & Circle E15	TS/ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
126	Tue 16/12/75	Queen	Mel Bush	Circle W32	TS/ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
127	Thu 18/12/75	SAHB Xmas Show	John Smith Entertainments	Stalls G42 & Stalls CC35	TS/ET 03-10-75 P45	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
128	Fri 19/12/75	SAHB Xmas Show	John Smith Entertainments	Stalls M40	A/TS	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
129	Sat 20/12/75	SAHB Xmas Show	John Smith Entertainments	Upper Circle C18 & Circle R28	RL (1995, p.135)/TS	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
130	Sun 21/12/75	Glen Michael Christmas Cavalcade	Andy Daisley's Pop Promotions		ET 28-11-75 P30	80p average (60p/70p/80/90p/£1.00)
131	Mon 22/12/75	Glen Michael Christmas Cavalcade (1st show)			ET 28-11-75 P30	80p average (60p/70p/80/90p/£1.00)
132	Mon 22/12/75	Glen Michael Christmas Cavalcade (2nd show)			ET 28-11-75 P30	80p average (60p/70p/80/90p/£1.00)
133	Mon 22/12/75	SAHB Xmas Show	John Smith Entertainments		A	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
134	Tue 23/12/75	Glen Michael's Christmas Cavalcade (1st show)			ET 28-11-75 P30	80p average (60p/70p/80/90p/£1.00)
135	Tues 23/12/75	Glen Michael's Christmas Cavalcade (2nd show)			ET 28-11-75 P30	80p average (60p/70p/80/90p/£1.00)
136	Wed 24/12/75	Glen Michael's Christmas Cavalcade			ET 28-11-75 P30	80p average (60p/70p/80/90p/£1.00)
137	Thu 25/12/75	Glen Michael's Christmas Cavalcade (1st show)			ET 28-11-75 P30	80p average (60p/70p/80/90p/£1.00)
138	Thu 25/12/75	Glen Michael's Christmas Cavalcade (2nd show)			ET 28-11-75 P30	80p average (60p/70p/80/90p/£1.00)
139	Fri 26/12/75	Callum Kennedy Xmas Show (1st show)	Glen Music Ltd		ET 03-10-75 P45	95p average (60p/65p/75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
140	Fri 26/12/75	Callum Kennedy Xmas Show (2nd show)	Glen Music Ltd		ET 03-10-75 P45	95p average (60p/65p/75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
141	Sat 27/12/75	Callum Kennedy Xmas Show (1st show)	Glen Music Ltd		ET 03-10-75 P45	95p average (60p/65p/75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)

142	Sat 27/12/75	Callum Kennedy Xmas Show (2nd show)	Glen Music Ltd		ET 03-10-75 P45	95p average (60p/65p/75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)	
143	Sat 27/12/75	Callum Kennedy Xmas Show (3rd show)	Glen Music Ltd		ET 03-10-75 P45	95p average (60p/65p/75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)	
144	Mon 29/12/75	Callum Kennedy Xmas Show				95p average (60p/65p/75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)	
145	Tue 30/12/75	Callum Kennedy Xmas Show				95p average (60p/65p/75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)	
146	Wed 31/12/75	SAHB Xmas Show	John Smith Entertainments		A	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)	
		ROCK	60	41%		AVERAGE COST	
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	46	32%		£1.46	
		POP	21	14%		ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	
		COUNTRY & WESTERN	9	6%		£13.28	
		FOLK	8	5%			
		SOUL	2	1%			
		TOTAL	146				
		NOTE - CANCELLED CONCERTS				*John Smith Entertainments with Main Man & Heller Enterprises	
		Kraftwerk	14/09/1975				
		Charlie Rich	26/09/1975				
		The Temptations	12/10/1975				
		Ray Stevens	05/11/1975				

Appendix 6G: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1976

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1976)

	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Fri 2/1/76	Sensational Alex Harvey Band			MK (2009, p.172)	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
2	Sat 3/1/76	Sensational Alex Harvey Band			MK (2009, p.172)	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
3	Mon 17/1/76	Buck Owens & the Buckaroos	GMG Entertainments Ltd		NME 17-01-76 P36/ET 09-01-76 P54	£1.87 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
4	Sun 23/1/76	Chapman-Whitney Street Walkers			NME 24-01-76 P40	
5	Sun 25/1/76	Gallagher and Lyle	A&M Records with Radio Clyde	Stalls S32	TS / ET 09-01-76 P54	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
6	Fri 30/1/76	Woody Herman Orchestra	Adrian Hopkins for Chrysalis		NME 31-01-76 P36/ET 09-01-76 P54	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
7	Tue 3/2/76	Commander Cody and the Lost Planet Airmen	Mervyn Conn		NME 31-01-76 P37/ET 09-01-76 P54	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
8	Mon 9/2/76	Steve Harley & Cockney Rebel	MAM with Trigram and Radio Clyde		NME 07-02-76 P37/ET 09-01-76 P54	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
9	Tue 10/2/76	Steve Harley & Cockney Rebel	MAM with Trigram and Radio Clyde		NME 07-02-76 P37/ET 09-01-76 P54	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
10	Fri 13/2/76	Lynyrd Skynyrd	John Smith Entertainments	Stalls G12	TS/ET 09-01-76 P54	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
11	Mon 16/2/76	Emmylou Harris and the Hot Band	Mervyn Conn	Stalls OO13	TS/ET 09-01-76 P54	£2.12 average (£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50)
12	Sat 27/2/76	Slik	MAM with Unicom Artistes	Stalls X16	TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
13	Sun 28/2/76	Robin Trower	Adrian Hopkins with Radio Clyde	Stalls X20	TS/ ET 16-01-76 P45	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
14	Mon 1/3/76	T Rex	Derek Block	Circle E18 & Stalls AA13	TS/ET 20-02-76 P46	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
15	Fri 5/3/76	Gary Glitter	Jef Hanlon for RAM		NME 06-03-76 P46/ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)

16	Sat 6/3/76	Slim Whitman	Mervyn Conn		NME 06-03-76 P46/ET 09-01-76 P54	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.25/£2.50/£2.75/£3.00)
17	Wed 10/3/76	Status Quo	Derek Block	Upper Circle K25 & Stalls E37 & Stalls K12	TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
18	Thu 11/3/76	Status Quo	Derek Block	Upper Circle A26 & Stalls P04	A/TS	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
19	Fri 12/3/76	Status Quo	Derek Block		A	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
20	Sat 13/3/76	The Hollies	Evolution with Radio Clyde	Stalls E24	TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
21	Sun 14/3/76	Deep Purple	Harvey Goldsmith for John Smith Entertainments	Circle F21	TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£2.26 average (£1.60/£2.40/£2.80)
22	Thu 18/3/76	The Drifters	Henry Summer with Fay Tradwell		NME 20-03-76 P44/ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
23	Sat 20/3/76	Man	Straight Music	Circle B06	TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
24	Tue 23/3/76	Diana Ross (1st show)	Danny Donovan		NME 20-03-76 P45/ET 05-03-76 P47	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
25	Tue 23/3/76	Diana Ross (2nd show)	Danny Donovan		NME 20-03-76 P45/ET 05-03-76 P47	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
26	Wed 24/3/76	Sydney Devine	Unicorn Artistes		ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
27	Thu 25/3/76	Sydney Devine	Unicorn Artistes		ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
28	Fri 26/3/76	John Denver (1st show)	MAM	Circle G23	TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£3.25 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
29	Fri 26/3/76	John Denver (2nd show)	MAM		TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£3.25 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
30	Sat 27/3/76	Johnny Mathis (1st show)	Derek Block		NME 27-03-76 P44/ET 09-01-76 P54	£3.00 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
31	Sat 27/3/76	Johnny Mathis (2nd show)	Derek Block		NME 27-03-76 P44/ET 09-01-76 P54	£3.00 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
32	Fri 2/4/76	Neil Young with Crazy Horse	MAM	Stalls AA19	TS/MK (2009, p.172)	(£2.40 average assumed)
33	Sun 4/4/76	Camel	Robin Gee for SCA		TS /ET 05-03-76 P47	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)

34	Thu 8/4/76	Frankie Valli & The Four Seasons	MAM		A/ET 20-02-76 P46	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
35	Wed 21/4/76	Marty Robbins	Andy Daisley Promotions		NME 17-04-76 P40/ET 02-04-76 P45	£2.62 average (£2.25/£2.50/£2.75/£3.00)
36	Fri 23/4/76	Nazareth	Harvey Goldsmith	Circle G14	TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
37	Sat 24/4/76	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle S31	TS/ET 19-03-75 P47	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
38	Sun 25/4/76	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises		MK (2009,p.172)/ET 19-03-75 P47	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
39	Mon 26/4/76	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises		MK (2009,p.172)/ET 19-03-75 P47	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
40	Tue 27/4/76	Neil Sedaka (1st show)	MAM		ET 16-01-76 P45/ET 23-01-76 P46	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.25/£2.75/£3.50)
41	Tue 27/4/76	Neil Sedaka (2nd show)	MAM		ET 16-01-76 P45/ET 23-01-76 P46	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.25/£2.75/£3.50)
42	Fri 30/4/76	Ozark Mountain Daredevils	Mervyn Conn	Stalls P34	TS/ET 19-03-75 P47	£1.69 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.25)
43	Sat 1/5/76	Leo Sayer	MAM	Stalls MM12	TS/ET 12-03-76 P50	£1.86 average (£1.00/£1.60/£1.90/£2.30/£2.50)
44	Wed 5/5/76	Tony Bennett	John Holmes with Jeffrey S Krueger & Derek Block		NME 01-05-76 P33/ET 02-04-76 P45	£3.00 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
45	Fri 7/5/76	Rick Wakeman	Harvey Goldsmith		NME 08-05-76 P36/ET 23-01-76 P46	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.25/£2.50/£2.75/£3.00)
46	Sat 8/5/76	Rick Wakeman	Harvey Goldsmith		NME 08-05-76 P36/ET 23-01-76 P46	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.25/£2.50/£2.75/£3.00)
47	Mon 10/5/76	Rolling Stones	Harvey Goldsmith with Five-One Productions	Circle Y02	TS /ET 19-03-75 P47	£2.50 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
48	Tue 11/5/76	Rolling Stones	Harvey Goldsmith with Five-One Productions	Stalls H36 & Boxes A10	A/TS	£2.50 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
49	Wed 12/5/76	Rolling Stones	Harvey Goldsmith with Five-One Productions	Stalls W37	A/TS	£2.50 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
50	Thu 13/5/76	Nils Lofgren	MAM	Circle E41	TS/NME 15-05-76 P40	(£1.75 average assumed)
51	Sat 15/5/76	Leonard Cohen	Derek Block	Circle ZZ36 & Circle LL15	TS/ET 23-01-76 P46	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)

52	Tue 18/5/76	Gallagher & Lyle	Robert Paterson International Entertainments	Circle P32	Tix Pix/ET 16-04-76 P42	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
53	Fri 21/5/76	Average White Band	Freddie Bannister with Radio Clyde		ET 12-03-76 P50	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
54	Sat 22/5/76	Average White Band	Freddie Bannister with Radio Clyde	Stalls O42	NME 22-05-76 P40/ET 12-03-76 P50	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
55	Sun 23/5/76	Average White Band	Freddie Bannister with Radio Clyde	Stalls LL05	NME 22-05-76 P40/ET 12-03-76 P50	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
56	Tue 25/5/76	Elton John	Mel Bush and John Reid	Boxes L02	TS/ET 07-05-76 P47	(£3.00 average assumed)
57	Sun 30/5/76	John Miles	Mel Bush	Stalls C25	TS/ET 16-04-76 P42	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
58	Mon 7/6/76	BA Robertson (The Shadow of a Thin Man)	Unicorn Artistes	Circle B2	TS/ET 21-05-76 P27	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
59	Thu 10/6/76	Dr Hook	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Upper Circle A36	TS/ET 30-04-76 P50	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
60	Thu 24/6/76	Slik	MAM		NME 19-06-76 P28/ET 30-04-76 P50	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
61	Sat 26/6/76	ELO	John Martin		NME 26-06-76 P28/ET 21-05-76 P27	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
62	Thu 8/7/76	Genesis	Harvey Goldsmith with Tony Smith	Stalls J12	TS /ET 25-06-76 P35	£2.00 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50)
63	Fri 9/7/76	Genesis (1st show)	Harvey Goldsmith with Tony Smith	Stalls Y16	TS /ET 25-06-76 P35	£2.00 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50)
64	Fri 9/7/76	Genesis (2nd show)	Harvey Goldsmith with Tony Smith		TS /ET 25-06-76 P35	£2.00 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50)
65	Mon 9/8/76	Eric Clapton	Robert Stigwood Organisation with Harvey Goldsmith	Stalls HH19	TS/SM 18-07-76 P24	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.20/£2.80)
66	Tue 10/8/76	Eric Clapton	Robert Stigwood Organisation with Harvey Goldsmith	Stalls MM15	MK (2009, p.172)/SM 18-07-76 P24	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.20/£2.80)
67	Tue 31/8/76	Black Oak Arkansas	John Martin	Stalls M36	TS/SM 18-07-76 P24	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
68	Sat 11/9/76	Bay City Rollers	Jef Hanlon	Stalls T14	A/TS	(£2.00 average assumed)
69	Thu 16/9/76	Trapeze			NME 18-09-76 P32	

70	Sat 18/9/76	Dr Feelgood	Harvey Goldsmith	Stalls X11 & Stalls M10	A/TS	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
71	Mon 19/9/76	Flying Burrito Brothers	Straight Music	Stalls L18	TS/SM 18-07-76 P24	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
72	Tue 21/9/76	Hawkwind	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls R42 & Stalls GG30 & Circle R42	NME 18-09-76 P32/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.50 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
73	Thu 23/9/76	The Runaways	Ian Sciater Management (Edinburgh)		NME 23-09-76 P32/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.50 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
74	Sun 26/9/76	Be-Bop Deluxe	Harvey Goldsmith	Stalls X03	TS/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
75	Tue 28/9/76	Muhammad Ali vs. Ken Norton			ET 10-09-76 P33	£6.00 average (£5.00/£7.00)
76	Fri 1/10/76	Sutherland Brothers & Quiver	Kennedy Street Artistes with Andrew Miller	Stalls V22	TS/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
77	Sat 2/10/76	Steve Hillage	Alan McGowan and Bob Fisher for Virgin Records	Stalls BB37 & Stalls FF15	TS/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
78	Sun 3/10/76	Hot Chocolate	Michael Rouse		NME 02-10-76 P45/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.31 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
79	Tue 12/10/76	Barclay James Harvest	Kennedy Street Enterprise		NME 09-10-76 P45/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
80	Wed 13/10/76	Showaddywaddy	Derek Block		ET 10-09-76 P33/ET 01-10-76 P32	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
81	Thu 14/10/76	Aerosmith	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stall F(?)	ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.45 average (£1.10/£1.50/£1.75)
82	Wed 20/10/76	Max Boyce	Kennedy Street Artistes		ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.31 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
83	Fri 22/10/76	Demis Roussos	Robert Patetrsonn for International Artistes		NME 23-10-76 P32/ET 10-09-76 P33	£3.87 average (£2.75/£3.50/£4.25/£5.00)
84	Sat 23/10/76	Poco	MAM with Radio Clyde	Upper Circle K41	TS/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.56 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.75/£2.25)
85	Sun 24/10/76	Sailor	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments		NME 23-10-76 P53/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
86	Mon 25/10/76	Peter Frampton	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Circle J13 & Circle E19	TS/ET 10-09-76 P33	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.20/£2.80)
87	Wed 27/10/76	Status Quo	Derek Block	Circle F37	TS/ ET 15-10-76 P32	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)

88	Thu 28/10/76	Status Quo	Derek Block	Stalls M40	TS/ ET 15-10-76 P32	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)
89	Fri 29/10/76	Status Quo	Derek Block	Stalls K33	TS/ ET 15-10-76 P32	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)
90	Sat 30/10/76	Thin Lizzy	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls S09 & Stalls UU37 & Circle O33	ET 10-09-76 P33/ET 01-10-76 P32	£1.62 average (£1.10/£1.40/£1.80/£2.20)
91	Wed 3/11/76	Tammy Wynette	Mervyn Conn		NME 30-107-6 P45/ET 10-09-76 P33	£3.00 average (£2.50/£2.75/£3.00/£3.25/£3.50)
92	Thu 4/11/76	David Essex	Mel Bush		NME 06-10-76 P42/ET 10-09-76 P33	£2.00 average (£1.00/£2.00/£3.00)
93	Fri 5/11/76	The Drifters (1st show)	Henry Sellers with Fay Tradwell		NME 06-10-76 P42/ET 10-09-76 P33	£2.00 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50)
94	Fri 5/11/76	The Drifters (2nd show)	Henry Sellers with Fay Tradwell		NME 06-10-76 P42/ET 10-09-76 P33	£2.00 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50)
95	Sun 7/11/76	Tom Paxton	Johnny Jones on behalf of Evolution		NME 06-11-76 P42/ET 01-10-76 P32	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.30/£1.70/£2.00)
96	Wed 10/11/76	Linda Ronstadt	MAM	Stalls H44 & Stalls X25	TS/ET 15-10-76 P32	£2.00 average (£1.25/£1.75/£2.20/£2.80)
97	Fri 12/11/76	Charley Pride	Jeffrey Kueger		NME 13-11-76 P54/ET 10-09-76 P33	£3.50 average (£3.00/£3.25/£3.50/£3.75/£4.00)
98	Sat 13/11/76	Santana	Mel Bush	Stalls HH42	TS/ET 15-10-76 P32	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)
99	Sun 14/11/76	Van Der Graff Generator	Derek Block		NME 13-11-76 P55/ET 01-10-76 P32	£1.62 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
100	Mon 15/11/76	Steeleye Span	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls MM35	TS/ET 10-09-76 P33	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
101	Wed 17/11/76	Kiki Dee	John Reid Entertainments		NME 13-11-76 P55/ET 15-10-76 P32	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
102	Fri 19/11/76	Wishbone Ash	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls J37 & Stalls T36	TS/ET 17-09-76 P32	£1.62 average (£1.10/£1.40/£1.80/£2.20)
103	Tue 23/11/76	Nazareth			A	
104	Wed 24/11/76	Man	Straight Music	Stalls R28 & Stalls LL27	TS/SM 31-10-76 P28	£1.75 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
105	Fri 26/11/76	Cliff Richard	SAS		ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)

106	Sat 27/11/76	Cliff Richard	SAS		NME 27-11-76 P44/ET 10-09-76 P33	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
107	Sun 28/11/76	Loudon Wainwright III	John Martin for Classic Concerts Promotions	Stalls X25	NME 27-11-76 P44/ET 15-10-76 P32	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
108	Wed 1/12/76	Bonnie Bramlett	Alec Leslie Entertainments Ltd		NME 27-11-76 P45/SM 31-10-76 P28	£1.45 average (£1.10/£1.30/£1.60/£1.80)
109	Thu 2/12/76	The Dubliners	Allmusic		NME 04-12-76 P44/ET 15-10-76 P32	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
110	Fri 3/12/76	Steve Hillage		Stalls & Circle Y15	MK (2009.p.ix)/TS	£1.50 average
111	Sun 5/12/76	Jackson Browne	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls E35 & Stalls G34 & Circle Z18	NME 04-12-76 P44/ET 15-10-76 P32	£1.53 average (£1.10/£1.50/£2.00)
112	Wed 8/12/76	Joan Armatrading	Andrew Miller		NME 04-12-76 P45/ET 15-10-76 P32	£1.12 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)
113	Fri 10/12/76	Steve Harley & Cockney Rebel	MAM	Stalls X27	TS/SM 31-10-76 P28	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
114	Thu 16/12/76	Rory Gallagher	Quarry Productions	Stalls X27 & Stalls GG17	TS/SM 07-11-76 P26	£1.98 average (£1.50/£1.70/£2.20/£2.50)
115	Fri 17/12/76	Rory Gallagher	Quarry Productions	Circle B35	TS/SM 07-11-76 P26	£1.98 average (£1.50/£1.70/£2.20/£2.50)
116	Sun 19/12/76	Eddie and the Hot Rods	Frederick Bannister		TS	£1.00 average (75p/£1.00/£1.25)
117	Sun 19/12/76	Animal Kwackers Christmas Show	Unicorn Artistes with Bernard Lee Management		ET 15-10-76 P32	60p average (45p/55p/65p/75p)
118	Mon 20/12/76	Animal Kwackers Christmas Show (1st show)	Unicorn Artistes with Bernard Lee Management		ET 15-10-76 P32	60p average (45p/55p/65p/75p)
119	Mon 20/12/76	Animal Kwackers Christmas Show (2nd show)	Unicorn Artistes with Bernard Lee Management		ET 15-10-76 P32	60p average (45p/55p/65p/75p)
120	Mon 20/12/76	Devine Time with Sydney Devine	Unicorn Artistes with SD Promotions		ET 15-10-76 P32	£2.00 average (£1.25/£1.75/£2.25/£2.75)
121	Tue 21/12/76	Animal Kwackers Christmas Show (1st show)	Unicorn Artistes with Bernard Lee Management		ET 15-10-76 P32	60p average (45p/55p/65p/75p)
122	Tue 21/12/76	Animal Kwackers Christmas Show (2nd show)	Unicorn Artistes with Bernard Lee Management		ET 15-10-76 P32	60p average (45p/55p/65p/75p)
123	Tue 21/12/76	Devine Time with Sydney Devine	Unicorn Artistes with SD Promotions		ET 15-10-76 P32	£2.00 average (£1.25/£1.75/£2.25/£2.75)

124	Wed 22/12/76	Animal Kwackers Christmas Show (1st show)	Unicom Artistes with Bernard Lee Management		ET 15-10-76 P32	60p average (45p/55p/65p/75p)
125	Wed 22/12/76	Animal Kwackers Christmas Show (2nd show)	Unicom Artistes with Bernard Lee Management		ET 15-10-76 P32	60p average (45p/55p/65p/75p)
126	Wed 22/12/76	Devine Time with Sydney Devine	Unicom Artistes with SD Promotions		ET 15-10-76 P32	£2.00 average (£1.25/£1.75/£2.25/£2.75)
127	Thu 30/12/76	Rod Stewart	Gaff Management & Gaff Music		A/NME 25-12-76 P26	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
128	Fri 31/12/76	Rod Stewart	Gaff Management & Gaff Music	Stalls W36	TS/NME 25-12-76 P26	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
		ROCK	72	56%	AVERAGE COST	£1.88
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	23	18%		
		POP	11	9%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£13.77
		SOUL	8	6%		
		COUNTRY & WESTERN	7	5%		
		FOLK	6	5%		
		JAZZ	1	1%		
		TOTAL	128			
		NOTE - CANCELLED CONCERTS				
		Mud	17/11/1976			
		Rod Stewart	28/12/1976			

Appendix 6H: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1977

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1977)

	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Sun 2/1/77	Rod Stewart	Gaff Management & Gaff Music	Circle V03	NME 25-12-76 P26/ET 15-10-76 P32	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
2	Mon 3/1/77	Rod Stewart	Gaff Management & Gaff Music		NME 25-12-76 P26/ET 15-10-76 P32	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
3	Tue 4/1/77	Rod Stewart	Gaff Management & Gaff Music	Stalls K35	NME 25-12-76 P26/ET 15-10-76 P32	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
4	Wed 5/1/77	Andrae Crouch and the Disciples	Scope		NME 25-12-76 P26/ SM 21-11-76 P28	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
5	Thu 27/1/77	Hall & Oates	MAM	Stalls Z22	NME 29-01-77 P32/ET 14-01-77 P29	£1.85 average (£1.30/£1.60/£2.00/£2.50)
6	Fri 28/1/77	Gallagher & Lyle	Andrew Miller	Circle S01	NME 29-01-77 P32/ET 14-01-77 P29	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
7	Sun 30/1/77	Todd Rundgren	Alec Leslie Ents Ltd	Circle F15 & Stalls L34 & Stalls AA20	TS/ET 14-01-77 P29	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
8	Wed 2/2/77	Jethro Tull	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Upper Circle N22	TS/SM 28-11-76 P28	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.20/£2.80)
9	Fri 4/2/77	Be-Bop Deluxe	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Boxes B	NME 05-02-77 P42/ET 14-01-77 P29	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
10	Sat 5/2/77	Farron Young	Jeffrey F Kruger for Ember Concert Division		NME 05-02-77 P42/SM 21-11-76 P28	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.00/£2.25/£2.50/£2.75)
11	Wed 9/2/77	Lynyrd Skynyrd	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls N40 & Stalls J40	TS/SM 21-11-76 P28	£1.62 average (£1.10/£1.40/£1.80/£2.20)
12	Thu 10/2/77	Lynyrd Skynyrd	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls M17 & Stalls PP22 & Upper Circle D24	TS/SM 21-11-76 P28	£1.62 average (£1.10/£1.40/£1.80/£2.20)
13	Fri 11/2/77	Uriah Heep	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments		ET 14-01-77 P29	£1.62 average (£1.10/£1.40/£1.80/£2.20)
14	Sat 12/2/77	Abba	Cowbell & Knud Thrborsen with EMA	Circle A31	TS/SM 14-11-76 P26	£4.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
15	Sun 13/2/77	Frank Zappa	Frederick Bannister	Stalls V45 & Circle R40 & Upper Circle H37	TS/ET 14-01-77 P29	£1.73 average (£1.20/£1.80/£2.20)

16	Wed 23/2/77	Bryan Ferry	Mel Bush		NME 19-02-77 P43/ET 12-11-76 P36	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
17	Thu 24/2/77	Bryan Ferry	Mel Bush		NME 26-02-77 P38/ET 12-11-76 P36	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
18	Fri 25/2/77	Ted Nugent	Straight Music	Stalls J26	TS/ET 14-01-77 P29	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
19	Wed 2/3/77	Black Sabbath	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls Z16	TS/ET 21-01-77 P32	£1.50 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
20	Fri 11/3/77	Uriah Heep	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls N24 & Circle F17	A/TS	£2.20 average
21	Sat 13/3/77	T Rex	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls F22	TS/ET 04-02-77 P27	£1.53 average (£1.10/£1.50/£2.00)
22	Mon 14/3/77	David Soul (1st show)	Barry Dickens for MAM		NME 12-03-77 P44/ET 11-02-77 P23	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.25/£2.75/£3.50)
23	Mon 14/3/77	David Soul (2nd show)	Barry Dickens for MAM		NME 12-03-77 P44/ET 11-02-77 P23	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.25/£2.75/£3.50)
24	Fri 18/3/77	Roy Orbison	Derek Block Concert Promotions		MK (2009, p.172)/ ET 04-02-77 P27	£2.50 average (£1.75/£2.25/£2.75/£3.25)
25	Sat 19/3/77	Graham Parker & the Rumour	Kennedy Street Enterprises		NME 19-03-77 P44/ET 21-01-77 P32	£1.33 average (£1.00/£1.35/£1.65)
26	Fri 25/3/77	George Hamilton IV	Mervyn Conn		NME 260377 P40/ET 210177 P32	£2.50 average (£1.75/£2.25/£2.75/£3.25)
27	Sat 26/3/77	Frankie Miller's Full House	Straight Music	Circle C40 & Stalls MM27	NME 26-03-77 P40/ET 11-02-77 P23	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
28	Wed 30/3/77	Plaice, Ashton, Lord	Rod McSween and Rob Cooksey (ITB)	Circle V29	TS/ET 04-02-77 P27	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
29	Mon 4/4/77	Fleetwood Mac	Barry Dickens for MAM	Back Circle 080 & Back Circle 078	TS/ET 11-02-77 P23	£2.17 average (£1.60/£1.90/£2.40/£2.80)
30	Fri 15/4/77	Glen Campbell (1st show)	Jeffrey S Krueger for Ember Concert Division		NME 16-04-77 P.46/ET 25-02-77 P30	£4.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
31	Fri 15/4/77	Glen Campbell (2nd show)	Jeffrey S Krueger for Ember Concert Division		NME 16-04-77 P.46/ET 25-02-77 P30	£4.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
32	Sun17/4/77	The Small Faces	Mel Bush	Stalls UU15	A/TS	(£1.00 average assumed)
33	Sat 23/4/77	Eric Clapton and his Band	Harvey Goldsmith with the Robert Stigwood Org.	Stalls K31 & Circle ZZ26	A/TS	£2.75 average (£2.00/£3.50)

34	Wed 27/4/77	Roy Harper & the Black Sheep			NME 23-04-77 P45	
35	Fri 29/4/77	Tavares & Heatwave	Derek Block	Stalls F16	TS/ET 29-04-77 P31	£1.87 average (£1.50/£1.75/£2.00/£2.25)
36	Sat 30/4/77	The Eagles	Harvey Goldsmith with Trifold	Circle O14 & Circle V35	A/TS	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
37	Sun 1/5/77	The Eagles	Harvey Goldsmith with Trifold	Upper Circle O14	A/TS	(£2.50 average assumed)
38	Thu 5/5/77	McGuinn/Hillman/Clark	Straight Music	Circle J25	A/TS	(£2.50 average assumed)
39	Sat 7/5/77	The Shadows	Mel Bush	Stalls T22 & Stalls N09 & Stalls PP35	TS/ET 06-05-77 P33	£2.00 average (£1.00/£2.00/£3.00)
40	Mon 9/5/77	Slade			NME 07-05-77 P45	
41	Sat 14/5/77	Bill Anderson	Jeffrey S Krueger		NME 14-05-77 P44/ET 25-02-77 P30	£2.70 average (£2.00/£2.25/£2.50/£3.25/£3.50)
42	Wed 18/5/77	The Ian Gillan Band	Brian Adams	Stalls G28 & Stalls Y33	TS/NME 14-05-77 P45	£2.25 average
43	Fri 20/5/77	Johnny Mathis	Derek Block Concert Promotions	Circle V13	TS/ET 25-02-77 P30	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
44	Sun 22/5/77	Television	Straight Music	Stalls P24	TS/ET 06-05-77 P33	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
45	Mon 23/5/77	Neil Sedaka	Radio Clyde with Barry Dickins for MAM	Stalls AA39	A/TS	(£6.00 average assumed)
46	Wed 25/5/77	George Benson			NME 21-05-77 P53	
47	Thu 26/5/77	Nils Lofgren	MAM	Circle O08	TS/ET 06-05-77 P33	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.25/£2.75)
48	Fri 27/5/77	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle H11 & Stalls H11	NME 28-05-77 P50/ET 06-05-77 P33	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)
49	Sat 28/5/77	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls EE14 & Stalls EE14	TS/NME 28-05-77 P50	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)
50	Mon 30/5/77	Queen	Harvey Goldsmith with John Reid	Stalls P16 & Stalls CC13 & Stalls X17	TS/ET 06-05-77 P33	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.75/£3.50)
51	Tue 31/5/77	Queen	Harvey Goldsmith with John Reid	Box G03 & Stalls K15	TS/ET 06-05-77 P33	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.75/£3.50)

52	Fri 3/6/77	Dory Previn			ET 03-06-77 P32	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
53	Sat 4/6/77	Eddie & the Hot Rods	Alec Leslie Entertainments Ltd	Stalls J30	NME 04-06-77 P44/ET 03-06-77 P32	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
54	Sun 12/6/77	Rush	Straight Music	Box L07	TS/ET 03-06-77 P32	(£2.50 average assumed)
55	Sat 10/9/77	Harry Chapin	Barry Clayman for MAM	Stalls JJ17 & Stalls E17	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£1.55 average (75p/£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
56	Thu 15/9/77	Peter Gabriel	Harvey Goldsmith with Tony Smith	Stalls Z05	TS/ET 05-08-77 P27	£2.31 average (£1.75/£2.40/£2.80)
57	Fri 16/9/77	The Small Faces	Mel Bush	Stalls U30	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
58	Sun 18/9/77	Hawkwind	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle J26	TS/ET 05-08-77 P27	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
59	Sat 24/9/77	Caravan	Peter Bowyer	Stalls CC34	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£1.00 average
60	Sun 25/9/77	Camel	Peter Bowyer	Circle Y02	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£1.75 average (£1.25/£1.75/£2.25)
61	Thu 29/9/77	Sutherland Brothers & Quiver	Barry Dickins for MAM	Stalls K14 & Stalls J42	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
62	Thu 29/9/77	Muhammad Ali vs. Earnie Shavers	Viewsport		ET 16-09-77 P31	£6.00 average (£5.00/£7.00)
63	Sat 1/10/77	Dr. Feelgood	Straight Music Ltd	Stalls HH08	A/TS	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
64	Thu 6/10/77	Ian Gillan Band	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls J42	TS/ET 02-09-77 P29	£2.31 average (£1.75/£2.40/£2.80)
65	Sat 8/10/77	Leo Sayer	MAM	Stalls H05	TSx/ET 19-08-77 P.27	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
66	Sun 9/10/77	Dr Hook	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls S37 & Stalls P22	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£3.25 average (£2.50/£3.25/£4.00)
67	Mon 10/10/77	Brothers Johnston			NME 08-10-77 P45	
68	Wed 12/10/77	Barclay James Harvest	Kennedy Street Enterprises		NME 08-10-77 p45/ET 05-08-77 P27	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
69	Thu 13/10/77	Elvis Costello plus the Attractions	Brian Hawkins for Unicorn Artists	Stalls M09	TS/ET 16-09-77 P31	£1.25 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50)

70	Fri 14/10/77	Bob Seger and the Silver Bullet Band	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls MM04	TS/ET 16-09-77 P31	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
71	Sun 16/10/77	The Stranglers	Straight Music	Stalls BB28 & Circle V21 & Upper Circle A18	RL (1995, p.113)/TS	£1.50 average (£1.25/£1.75)
72	Mon 17/10/77	Wishbone Ash	Harvey Goldsmith and John Sherry	Circle YY29	TS/ET 02-09-77 P29	£2.31 average (£1.75/£2.40/£2.80)
73	Sat 22/10/77	AC/DC	Restenneth Promotions with Cowbell	Stall O3	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
74	Tue 25/10/77	The Clash	Endale Concerts	Stalls K45	A/TS	(£2.50 average assumed)
75	Wed 26/10/77	Supertramp	Peter Bowyer	Stalls EE13	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
76	Thu 27/10/77	Supertramp	Peter Bowyer	Stalls S24	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
77	Fri 28/10/77	Joan Armatrading	Andrew Miller		NME 29-10-77 P38/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
78	Sun 6/11/77	Yes	Harvey Goldsmith with Sun Artistes	Circle J32 & Stalls S25 & Box D05	TS/ET 05-08-77 P27	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
79	Mon 7/11/77	Yes	Harvey Goldsmith with Sun Artistes	Stalls DD15	TS/ET 05-08-77 P27	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
80	Tue 8/11/77	Yes	Harvey Goldsmith with Sun Artistes	Circle J13	A/TS	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
81	Wed 9/11/77	Rainbow	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Circle J20 & Stalls L28	A/TS	£2.50 average (£1.75/£3.25)
82	Thu 10/11/77	Graham Parker and The Rumour	Kennedy Street Enterprise	Stalls FF25	A/TS	(£2.00 average assumed)
83	Fri 11/11/77	The Runaways	Straight Music	Stalls G39	A/TS	(£2.50 average assumed)
84	Sat 12/11/77	Thin Lizzy	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls R40	A/TS	(£3.50 average assumed)
85	Sun 13/11/77	Thin Lizzy	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls K07	A/TS	(£3.50 average assumed)
86	Wed 16/11/77	Ry Cooder			NME 12-11-77 P70	
87	Thu 17/11/77	Cliff Richard	SAS		NME 20-11-77 P63/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)

88	Fri 18/11/77	Cliff Richard	SAS		NME 20-11-77 P63/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)
89	Sat 19/11/77	Cliff Richard	SAS	Stalls M28	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)
90	Sun 20/11/77	Cher & Greg Allman	Barry Dickins for MAM	Stalls FF24	TS/NME 19-11-77 P28	(£2.00 average assumed)
91	Mon 21/11/77	David Essex			A	
92	Tue 22/11/77	Uriah Heep	Kennedy Street Enterprise	Circle B14 & Stalls N26	A/TS	£2.50 average
93	Wed 23/11/77	Steve Gibbons Band	John Martin for Derek Block Concerts	Circle A36	TS /ET 11-11-77 P31	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75/£2.00)
94	Thu 24/11/77	Horslips	Harvey Goldsmith	Stalls G44	TS/NME 26-11-77 P47	(£2.20 average assumed)
95	Sat 26/11/77	The Chieftans	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments with Jo Lustig	Stalls K28 & Circle N17	TS/ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.05 average (£1.40/£1.80/£2.20/£2.80)
96	Sun 27/11/77	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Stalls KK07	TS/ ET 19-08-77 P27	£3.50 average (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
97	Mon 28/11/77	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Stalls FF29 & Stalls OO20	TS/ ET 19-08-77 P27	£3.50 average (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
98	Tue 29/11/77	Status Quo	Quarry Productions		NME 26-11-77 P44/ET 19-08-77 P27	£3.50 average (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
99	Wed 30/11/77	The Jam	Restenneth Promotions with Cowbell	Stalls T09	A/TS	£1.62 average (£1.10/£1.40/£1.80/£2.20)
100	Fri 2/12/77	Narazeth	Andrew Miller	Stalls GG17	A/TS	(£2.00 average assumed)
101	Sat 3/12/77	Showaddywaddy	Bailley Records & Management		NME 03-12-77 P53/ET 11-11-77 P31	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
102	Sun 4/12/77	The Drifters	Henry Sellers with Fay Tradwell		ET 19-08-77 P27	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
103	Mon 5/12/77	Joan Baez	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments		RL (1995, p.29)	£2.50 average (£1.50/£2.50/£3.50)
104	Wed 7/12/77	The Boomtown Rats	MAM		TS/ET 18-11-77 P35	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
105	Sat 10/12/77	The Damned	Restenneth Promotions with Derek Block	Stalls GG38 & Stalls GG42	TS/ET 18-11-77 P35	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)

106	Sun 11/12/77	The Clash	Endale Concerts	Stalls R22	TS	(£2.00 average assumed)
107	Sun 18/12/77	The Animal Kwackers Christmas Show (1st show)	Restenneth Promotions with Bernard Lee Management		ET 18-11-77 P35	67p average (55p/65p/80p)
108	Sun 18/12/77	The Animal Kwackers Christmas Show (2nd show)	Restenneth Promotions with Bernard Lee Management		ET 18-11-77 P35	67p average (55p/65p/80p)
109	Mon 19/12/77	The Ramones	Barry Dickins for MAM	Stalls T45	A/TS	(£2.00 average assumed)
		ROCK	69	63%	AVERAGE COST	£2.29
		POP	10	9%		
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	9	8%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£14.40
		PUNK/NEW WAVE	8	7%		
		COUNTRY & WESTERN	5	5%		
		FOLK	4	4%		
		SOUL	4	4%		
		TOTAL	109			

Appendix 6I: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1978

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1978)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Sun 22/1/78	Ultravox	Restenneth Promotions with Cowbell and Island Records		A/NME 22-01-78 P30	
2	Sun 5/2/78	Judas Priest	Restenneth Promotions with Cowbell	Stalls SS33 & Stalls H37	TS/SM 05-02-78 P28	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
3	Tue 7/2/78	Be-Bop Deluxe	Mel Bush		NME 04-02-77 P43/SM 05-02-78 P28	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.25/£3.00)
4	Sun 12/2/78	Emmylou Harris	Asgard		NME 11-02-78 P41/SM 12-02-78 P26	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
5	Thu 16/2/78	Rush	Straight Music	Stalls F25	TS/SM 12-02-78 P26	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
6	Fri 17/2/78	Rush	Straight Music	Upper Circle D38	TS/SM 12-02-78 P26	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
7	Fri 24/2/78	Gallagher & Lyle	Andrew Miller	Stalls JJ28	TS/ET 24-02-78 P31	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
8	Sat 25/2/78	Gallagher & Lyle	Andrew Miller		NME 25-02-78 P53/SM 19-2-78 p24	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
9	Sun 26/2/78	Steeleye Span		Stalls H7 & Stalls J33	TS/ET 24-02-78 P31	(£1.50 average assumed)
10	Sat 4/3/78	Eddie and the Hot Rods	Straight Music	Stalls LL28 & Stalls D39 & Stalls AA31	A/TS	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
11	Sun 5/3/78	Gary Glitter & The Glitter Band			A	
12	Thurs 9/3/78	Gordon Giltrap	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls N15	TS/SM 12-02-78 P26	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
13	Sun 12/3/78	John Miles	Restenneth Promotions	Stalls P35	A/TS	(£2.50 average assumed)
14	Fri 17/3/78	Hot Chocolate	MAM	Circle B32	TS/SM 05-02-78 P28	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
15	Fri 24/3/78	Tangerine Dream	Adrian Hopkins with Andrew Graham-Stewart	Stalls EE39 & Circle W22 & Stalls O6	TS/SM 19-03-78 P28	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)

16	Sat 8/4/78	Manfred Mann's Earth Band	Alec Leslie		NME 08-04-78 P45/ET 07-04-78 P32	£1.75 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
17	Sun 9/4/78	Rory Gallagher	Quarry Promotions	Stalls Z26 & Circle E43	TS/ET 07-04-78 P32	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
18	Tue 11/4/78	Television	Harvey Goldsmith		TS/ET 07-04-78 P32	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
19	Thu 13/4/78	Kris Kristofferson	MAM	Stalls P42	A/TS	(£7.50 average assumed)
20	Fri 14/4/78	Carl Perkins	Mervyn Conn		NME 15-04-78 P51/SM 09-04-78 P28	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
21	Wed 19/4/78	The Commodores	Straight Music	Stalls V15	TS/SM 09-04-78 P28	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
22	Sat 29/4/78	Blue Oyster Cult	Straight Music	Circle C40 & Stalls S17 & Stalls SS24	A/TS	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
23	Sun 30/4/78	AC/DC	Restenneth Promotions	Stalls L30 & Stalls EE27	A/TS	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
24	Tue 2/5/78	Jethro Tull	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls K26	TS/SM 23-04-78 P26	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.75/£3.50)
25	Fri 12/5/78	Charlie Pride	Mervyn Conn/Clyde 78		NME 13-05-77 P49/SM 07-05-78 P26	£4.00 average (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00/£4.50/£5.00)
26	Sat 13/5/78	Don McLean	Derek Block		NME 13-05-78 P49/SM 07-05-78 P26	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
27	Thu 18/5/78	Black Sabbath	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls J19 & Box B02	TS/SM 14-05-78 p28	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.20/£2.80)
28	Fri 19/5/78	Lindisfarne			ET 19-05-78 P32	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
29	Wed 24/5/78	Harry Chapin	Radio Clyde	Stalls GG40 & Circle J15	TS/SM 14-05-78 SM p28	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
30	Thu 25/5/78	Showaddywaddy			NME 27-05-78 P61/SM 14-05-78 p28	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
31	Fri 26/5/78	The Stranglers	Harvey Goldsmith Enterprises	Upper Circle D28 & Stalls P45	A/TS	£1.75 average (£1.50/£2.00)
32	Sat 27/5/78	Darts	Frederick Bannister	Stalls D19	TS/SM 14-05-78 SM p28	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
33	Sun 28/5/78	The Stranglers	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls PP25 & Stalls P45 & Upper Circle D28	TS/ET 19-05-78 P32	£1.75 average (£1.50/£2.00)

34	Fri 2/6/78	Ian Dury and the Blockheads	Straight Music	Circle K37	A/TS	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
35	Sun 4/6/78	The Buzzcocks	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls U17	TS/SM 04-06-78 P26	£1.72 average (£1.50/£1.75/£1.90)
36	Fri 9/6/78	David Gates and Bread	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls TT30	TS/SM 19-03-78 P26	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
37	Sat 17/6/78	Thin Lizzy	Harvey Goldsmith with Morrison O'Donnell	Stalls Y15	A/TS	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
38	Mon 19/6/78	David Bowie	MAM	Stalls U33	A/TS	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
39	Tue 20/6/78	David Bowie	MAM	Circle H12 & Upper Circle H23 & Stalls N19	A/TS	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
40	Wed 21/6/78	David Bowie	MAM	Stalls K33 & Upper Circle H22	A/TS	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
41	Thu 22/6/78	David Bowie	MAM	Stalls AA05 & Stalls LL32	A/TS	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
42	Fri 23/6/78	The Boomtown Rats	Restenneth Promotions with Cowbell	Stalls J12 & Circle T16	TS/SM 18-06-78 P37	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
43	Sat 1/7/78	UFO	Stardate Concerts	Stalls Z18	TS/NME 29-06-78 P43	£1.50 average (£1.00/£1.50/£2.00)
44	Tue 4/7/78	The Clash	Stardate Concerts with Bernard Rhodes	Stalls T12	TS/ET 02-06-78 P32	£2.25 average (£2.00/£2.50)
45	Wed 5/7/78	Christian "Last Show at the Apollo"	Restenneth Promotions with Unicorn Artistes	Stalls DD20	TS/ET 09-06-78 P32	£1.37 average (£1.00/£1.25/£1.50/£1.75)
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46	Fri 29/9/78	Tom Robinson Band	Outlaw Artistes	Stalls GG22	TS/ ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
47	Sat 30/9/78	The Stranglers	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls EE09 & Stalls O26	A/TS	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
48	Wed 4/10/76	Dr Feelgood	Straight Music		NME 30-09-78 P48/ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
49	Sat 7/10/78	Weather Report	Alec Leslie Entertainments	Circle J26	TS/ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
50	Mon 9/10/78	Wishbone Ash	Peter Bowyer and John Skery	Stalls P36	TS/ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)

51	Tue 10/10/78	Steel Pulse	Restenneth Promotions		ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
52	Tue 17/10/77	Smokie	MAM		NME 14-10-78 P60/ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.20 average (£1.60/£2.00/£2.40/£2.80)
53	Sat 21/10/78	The Buzzcocks	Straight Music	Stalls M17	TS/ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
54	Thu 26/10/78	Steve Hackett	MAM	Box H10	TS/ET 06-10-78 P35	£2.25 average (£1.60/£2.20/£2.40/£2.80)
55	Fri 27/10/78	Siouxsie and the Banshees	Regular Music with London City Entertainments	Stalls P16	TS/ET 06-10-78 P35	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
56	Sun 29/10/78	Whitesnake	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls J25	TS/ET 20-10-78 P36	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
57	Wed 1/11/78	AC/DC	MCP	Circle J12 & Circle G1 & Stalls Y18	TS/ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.33 average (£1.80/£2.40/£2.80)
58	Fri 3/11/78	Sham 69	Straight Music	Stalls SS12	TS/NME 04-11-78 P43	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
59	Sat 4/11/78	Leo Sayer (1st show)	MAM	Stalls U31	TS/ET 15-09-78 P34	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
60	Sat 4/11/78	Leo Sayer (2nd show)	MAM		TS/ET 15-09-78 P34	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
61	Sun 5/11/78	The Jam	Restenneth Promotions	Stalls PP25 & Stalls J30 & Stalls BB33	TS/ET 20-10-78 P36	£2.30 average (£1.80/£2.40/£2.80)
62	Wed 8/11/78	Judas Priest	MCP	Circle E16	TS/ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
63	Fri 10/11/78	Eddie and the Hot Rods			ET 06-10-78 P35	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
64	Wed 15/11/78	Hawkwind (Hawklords)	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle A03	TS/ET 15-09-78 P34	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
65	Thu 16/11/78	Lindisfarne			NME 18-11-78 P55/ET 20-10-78 P36	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
66	Sat 18/11/78	Gordon Giltrap			NME 18-11-78 P55/ET 20-10-78 P36	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
67	Fri 24/11/78	Eric Clapton	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments with Robert Stigwood Org.	Stalls GG13 & Box C02	TS/ET 20-10-78 P36	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
68	Mon 27/11/78	Devo	Straight Music	Circle 1A & Stalls N34	TS/ET 27-10-78 P36	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)

Appendix 6J: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1979

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1979)

	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Wed 3/1/79	Leo Sayer	MAM	Stalls W21	TS/NME 06-01-79 P27	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
2	Thu 4/1/79	Leo Sayer	MAM		ET 20-10-78 P36/ET 08-12-78 P35	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
3	Fri 5/1/79	Leo Sayer (1st show)	MAM	Box M37	TS/NME 06-01-79 P27	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
4	Fri 5/1/79	Leo Sayer (2nd show)	MAM		TS/NME 06-01-79 P27	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
5	Sat 6/1/79	Leo Sayer (1st show)	MAM	Stalls K32	TS/NME 06-01-79 P27	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
6	Sat 6/1/79	Leo Sayer (2nd show)	MAM		TS/NME 06-01-79 P27	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
7	Fri 12/1/79	Elvis Costello & the Attractions	Straight Music	Circle YY28 & Circle M28	TS/ET 22-12-78 P21	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
8	Sat 20/1/79	Nazareth	MCP	Circle N25	TS/ET 01-12-78 P36	£2.33 average (£1.80/£2.40/£2.80)
9	Wed 24/1/79	The Kinks	Glasgow Apollo	Stalls LL16	TS/NME 20-01-79 P35	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
10	Fri 26/1/79	Andrae Crouch & the Disciples			NME 27-01-79 P37/ET 15-12-78 P34	£2.25 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
11	Wed 7/2/79	UFO	Peter Bowyer	Circle W38	TS/ET 01-12-78 P36	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
12	Fri 9/2/79	Horslips	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls S33 & Stalls GG24	TS/NME 10-0-279 P39	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.20/£2.80)
13	Sat 10/2/79	The Enid	Quarry Promotions	Stalls PP19	TS/ET 19-0-179 P32	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
14	Wed 14/2/79	Frank Zappa	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls HH34 & Box B03	TS/ET 19-01-79 P32	£3.50 average (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
15	Wed 21/2/79	Chris De Burgh			NME 17-02-79 P48/ET 05-01-79 P19	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)

16	Thu 22/2/79	Average White Band	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls GG41	TS/NME 24-02-79 P43	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
17	Fri 23/2/79	Average White Band	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments		ET O2-02-79 P32	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
18	Wed 28/2/79	Darts			NME 24-02-79 P44/ET 26-01-79 P30	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.20/£2.80)
19	Thu 1/3/79	Jacksons (1st show)	Derek Rawden & Jeffrey S Krueger		ET 23-02-79 P31/SM 14-01-79 P28	£4.00 average (£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
20	Thu 1/3/79	Jacksons (2nd show)	Derek Rawden & Jeffrey S Krueger		ET 23-02-79 P31/SM 14-01-79 P28	£4.00 average (£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
21	Fri 2/3/79	Joan Armatrading	Harvey Goldsmith	Circle F32	TS/MM 03-03-79 P58	£3.25 average (£2.50/£3.25/£4.00)
22	Tue 6/3/79	Bad Company	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments with Peter Grant	Stalls T08	TS/ET 09-02-79 P34	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
23	Wed 7/3/79	Bad Company	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments with Peter Grant	Stalls FF16	TS/ET 09-02-79 P34	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
24	Thu 8/3/79	Graham Parker and the Rumour	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls O35 & Stalls P40	TS/ET 09-02-79 P34	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
25	Fri 16/3/79	Van Morrison	Asgard	Circle32D	TS/ET 02-03-79 P33	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
26	Sat 17/3/79	Elton John & Ray Cooper	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls J45	A/TS	(£5.00 average assumed)
27	Sun 18/3/79	Elton John & Ray Cooper	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls DD26	A/TS	(£5.00 average assumed)
28	Mon 19/3/79	Bill Haley & the Comets	Jeffrey S Kruger with Clyde Valley Promotions	Stalls M27	TS/NME 17-03-79 P54	£3.25 average (£2.50/£3.25/£4.00)
29	Tue 20/3/79	Johnny Cash Show (1st show)			NME 17-03-79 P54/ET 01-12-78 P36	£6.00 average (£5.00/£6.00/£7.00)
30	Tue 20/3/79	Johnny Cash Show (2nd show)			NME 17-03-79 P54/ET 01-12-78 P36	£6.00 average (£5.00/£6.00/£7.00)
31	Thu 22/3/79	Journey	MCP	Stalls P29	TS/ET 09-02-79 P34	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
32	Sun 25/3/79	Booty's Rubber Band			ET 09-02-79 P34	£2.67 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.50)
33	Wed 28/3/79	Motorhead			NME 24-03-79 P44/ET 09-02-79 P34	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)

34	Fri 30/3/79	John Denver			MK (2009, p.174)/ET 16-02-79 P35	£6.33 average (£4.50/£6.50/£8.00)
35	Tue 3/4/79	Showaddywaddy			ET 23-02-79 P31	£2.92 average (£2.00/£3.00/£3.75)
36	Wed 4/4/79	Gloria Gaynor & Her Experience (1st show)			NME 31-03-79 P37/ET 09-03-79 P34	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
37	Wed 4/4/79	Gloria Gaynor & Her Experience (2nd show)			NME 31-03-79 P37/ET 09-03-79 P34	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
38	Fri 6/4/79	John Miles		Circle F38	TS/NME 07-04-79 P43	£2.00 average (£1.00/£2.00/£3.00)
39	Sat 7/4/79	Frankie Miller's Full House	Regular Music	Stalls O35	TS/ET 02-03-79 P33	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
40	Sat 14/4/79	Thin Lizzy	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls CC16	TS/NME 14-04-79 P43	£3.25 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
41	Sun 15/4/79	Thin Lizzy	Adrian Hopkins	Upper Circle A21	TS/NME 14-04-79 P43	£3.25 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
42	Thu 19/4/79	Three Degrees (1st show)			NME 21-04-79 P43/ET 09-03-79 P34	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
43	Thu 19/4/79	Three Degrees (2nd show)			NME 21-04-79 P43/ET 09-03-79 P34	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
44	Wed 25/4/79	Rush	Straight Music	Circle A13	TS/ET 23-03-79 P35	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
45	Thu 26/4/79	Rush	Straight Music	Stalls J14	TS/ET 23-03-79 P35	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
46	Fri 27/4/79	Child			NME 28-04-79 P47/ET 23-03-79 P35	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
47	Tue 1/5/79	Iggy Pop			NME 17-03-79 P3/ET 23-03-79 P35	£2.20 average (£1.60/£2.20/£2.80)
48	Sun 6/5/79	Neil Sedaka			NME 05-05-79 P52/ET 19-01-79 P32	£6.16 average (£5.00/£6.00/£7.50)
49	Tue 8/5/79	Roxy Music	Mel Bush	Stalls GG26 & Stalls DD41	TS/ET 23-02-79 P31	£3.50 average (£2.50/£3.50/£4.50)
50	Wed 9/5/79	Roxy Music	Mel Bush	Stalls MM24	TS/ET 23-02-79 P31	£3.50 average (£2.50/£3.50/£4.50)
51	Fri 11/5/79	The Tubes	Straight Music	Circle G19 & Stalls HH13	NME 12-05-79 P47/ET 09-03-79 P34	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)

52	Sat 12/5/79	Judas Priest			A/ET 09-03-79 P34	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
53	Wed 16/5/79	The Scorpions	Straight Music		ET 27-04-79 P37	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
54	Sun 27/5/79	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Circle M23	TS/ET 23-03-79 P35	£4.16 average (£3.50/£4.00/£5.00)
55	Mon 28/5/79	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Circle T35	TS/ET 23-03-79 P35	£4.16 average (£3.50/£4.00/£5.00)
56	Tue 29/5/79	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Upper Circle J17	TS/ET 13-04-79 P29	£4.16 average (£3.50/£4.00/£5.00)
57	Thu 31/5/79	The Police	Apollo (Glasgow) Ltd	Unreserved 1240	TS/MM 02-06-79 P24	£2.25 average (£2.00/£2.50)
58	Fri 8/6/79	The Who	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls CC24 & Stalls O10	A/TS	£5.00 average
59	Sat 9/6/79	Dire Straits	Regular Music	Circle B31	TS/ET 06-04-79 P36	£2.33 average (£1.80/£2.40/£2.80)
60	Sun 10/6/79	Stiff Little Fingers	MCP	Stalls RR25 & Stalls J04 & Stalls H17 & Circle N29	TS/ET 13-04-79 P29	£2.25 average (£1.75/£2.25/£2.75)
61	Sat 16/6/79	The Skids	Arthur Haggerty	Stalls Y03	TS/ET 04-05-79 P37	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
62	Tue 19/6/79	Dire Straits			NME 09-06-79 P45/MM 09-06-79 P56	
63	Fri 29/6/79	Sham 69	Regular Music	Stalls HH16 & Stalls W41 & Stalls TT30	TS/ET 18-05-79 P34	£2.33 average (£1.80/£2.40/£2.80)
64	Sat 30/6/79	Dave Edmunds Rockpile			ET 27-04-79 P37	
65	Wed 18/7/79	Liverpool Explosion Tour		Stalls J22	A/TS	(£2.80 average assumed)
66	Fri 20/7/79	Bugs Bunny in Space	Rodger Hess		ET 06-07-79 p35	£2.35 average (£2.10/£2.60)
67	Sat 21/7/79	Bugs Bunny in Space	Rodger Hess		ET 06-07-79 p35	£2.35 average (£2.10/£2.60)
68	Sun 22/7/79	Bugs Bunny in Space	Rodger Hess		ET 06-07-79 p35	£2.35 average (£2.10/£2.60)
69	Mon 23/7/79	Bugs Bunny in Space	Rodger Hess		ET 06-07-79 p35	£2.35 average (£2.10/£2.60)

70	Tue 24/7/79	Bugs Bunny in Space	Rodger Hess		ET 06-07-79 p35	£2.35 average (£2.10/£2.60)
71	Wed 25/7/79	Bugs Bunny in Space	Rodger Hess		ET 06-07-79 p35	£2.35 average (£2.10/£2.60)
72	Thu 26/7/79	Bugs Bunny in Space	Rodger Hess		ET 06-07-79 p35	£2.35 average (£2.10/£2.60)
73	Fri 27/7/79	Bugs Bunny in Space	Rodger Hess		ET 06-07-79 p35	£2.35 average (£2.10/£2.60)
74	Tue 31/7/79	Ian Dury & the Blockheads	Derek Block	Stalls W26	YS/ET 18-05-79 P34	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
75	Thu 23/08/79	The Commodores			ET 03-08-79 P31	£3.50 average (£2.50/£3.50/£4.50)
76	Wed 12/9/79	Nils Lofgren			NME 25-08-79 P9/ET 10-08-79 P31	£2.67 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.50)
77	Fri 14/9/79	Loudon Wainwright III	Straight Music	Circle U19	TS/ET 31-08-79 P32	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
78	Sat 15/9/79	Boney M	Apollo	Circle U17	TS/ET 11-05-79 P35	£5.50 average (£4.50/£5.50/£6.50)
79	Sun 16/9/79	Boney M			NME 15-09-79 P45/ET 11-05-79 P35	£5.50 average (£4.50/£5.50/£6.50)
80	Mon 17/9/79	The Shadows			NME 15-09-79 P46/ET 13-07-79 P28	£3.00 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00)
81	Thu 20/9/79	Gary Numan	MCP & Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls BB14	TS/ET 27-07-79 P27	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
82	Sat 22/9/79	Don Williams (1st show)			NME 22-09-79 P49/ET 18-05-79 P34	£5.50 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00/£7.00)
83	Sat 22/9/79	Don Williams (2nd show)			NME 22-09-79 P49/ET 18-05-79 P34	£5.50 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00/£7.00)
84	Thu 27/9/79	Sky	Mel Bush	Stalls BB14	Tix Pix/ET 17-08-79 P31	£4.00 average (£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
85	Mon 1/10/79	Chic			MM 29-09-79 P56/ET 10-08-79 P31	£4.00 average (£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
86	Fri 5/10/79	The Buzzcocks	Asgard	Stalls BB30	TS/ET 17-08-79 P31	£2.00 average (£1.50/£2.00/£2.50)
87	Sat 6/10/79	Sister Sledge	Derek Block	Stalls M12	TS/ET 24-08-79 P31	£3.12 average (£2.75/£3.00/£3.25/£3.50)

89	Mon 8/10/79	Darts			NME 06-10-79 P55/ET 17-08-79 P31	£2.87 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.25/£3.75)
90	Wed 10/10/79	The Boomtown Rats	Straight Music	Circle F33 & Stalls V35	TS/ET 24-08-79 P31	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
91	Thu 11/10/79	The Boomtown Rats	Straight Music	Stalls S38	TS/ET 24-08-79 P31	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
92	Sat 13/10/79	Gladys Knight & the Pips (1st show)			NME 13-10-79 P54/ET 05-10-79 P35	£4.16 average (£2.00/£4.50/£6.00)
93	Sat 13/10/79	Gladys Knight & the Pips (2nd show)			NME 13-10-79 P54/ET 05-10-79 P35	£4.16 average (£2.00/£4.50/£6.00)
94	Mon 15/10/79	Hot Chocolate			NME 13-10-79 P55/ET 05-10-79 P35	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.00/£4.50)
95	Tue 16/10/79	Whitesnake	Adrian Hopkins with ITB	Stalls S18	TS/ET 03-08-79 P31	£2.92 average (£2.25/£2.75/£3.75)
96	Fri 19/10/79	Sham 69	Outlaw	Stalls LL25	TS	(£3.00 average assumed)
97	Sun 21/10/79	Elkie Brooks			ET 24-08-79 P31	£4.00 average (£3.25/£3.75/£4.25/£4.75)
98	Mon 22/10/79	Camel	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls K41	TS/ET 24-08-79 P31	£2.75 average (£2.25/£2.75/£3.25)
99	Tue 23/10/79	Steve Hackett		Stalls M18	TS/ ET 05-10-79 P35	£2.75 average (£2.25/£2.75/£3.25)
100	Fri 26/10/79	Lene Lovich	Regular Music	Stalls W41	TS/NME 27-10-79 P53	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
101	Sat 27/10/79	AC/DC	MCP	Stalls U28 & Upper Circle H10 & Upper Circle N07	TS/ET 05-10-79 P35	£3.25 average (£2.75/£3.25/£3.75)
102	Sun 28/10/79	AC/DC	MCP	Circle N25 & Upper Circle H40 & Circle W13	TS/ET 05-10-79 P35	£3.25 average (£2.75/£3.25/£3.75)
103	Mon 29/10/79	The Moody Blues	MCP	Circle C05	TS / ET 24-08-79 P31	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
104	Wed 31/10/79	Leo Sayer (1st show)			NME 27-09-79 P55/ET 13-07-79 P28	£3.83 average (£3.25/£4.00/£4.25)
105	Wed 31/10/79	Leo Sayer (2nd show)			NME 27-09-79 P55/ET 13-07-79 P28	£3.83 average (£3.25/£4.00/£4.25)
106	Fri 2/11/79	Steve Hillage	MCP	Stalls W36	TS/ET 05-10-79 P35	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)

107	Fri 9/11/79	The Skids	Regular Music	Circle E37	TS/ET 05-10-79 P35	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
108	Sat 10/11/79	Gallagher & Lyle			NME 10-11-79 P47/ET 31-08-79 P32	£3.91 average (£3.25/£4.00/£4.50)
109	Sun 11/11/79	The Specials			NME 10-11-79 P48	
110	Tue 13/11/79	Abba	Apollo Glasgow	Circle O21 & Circle ZZ06 & Circle S04 & Circle S05	A/TS	£7.00 average (£6.50/£7.50)
111	Thu 15/11/79	Tammy Wynette			NME 17-11-79 P56/ET 13-07-79 P28	£4.75 average (£4.00/£4.50/£5.00/£5.50)
112	Sun 18/11/79	Hawkwind	Kennedy Street Enterprises		NME 17-11-79 P56/ET 13-09-79 P21	£2.50 average (£2.00/£3.00)
113	Mon 19/11/79	Motorhead	MCP	Circle W16	TS/ET 05-10-79 P35	£2.50 average (£2.00/£3.00)
114	Wed 21/11/79	Cliff Richard			ET 13-07-79 P28/ET 20-07-79 P27	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
115	Thu 22/11/79	Cliff Richard			NME 24-11-79 P53/ET 13-07-79 P28	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
116	Fri 23/11/79	Cliff Richard			NME 24-11-79 P53/ET 13-07-79 P28	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
117	Sat 24/11/79	Cliff Richard			NME 24-11-79 P53/ET 13-07-79 P28	£3.50 average (£2.00/£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
118	Sun 25/11/79	Andy Williams			NME 24-11-79 P54/ET 31-08-79 P32	£6.50 average (£5.50/£6.50/£7.50)
119	Tue 27/11/79	Dr Feelgood			NME 24-11-79 P45/ET 19-10-79 P36	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
120	Fri 30/11/79	Queen	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Stalls LL31 & Stalls W40 & Circle H35	TS/ET 19-10-79 P36	£4.37 average (£4.00/£4.75)
121	Sat 1/12/79	Queen	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Circle W06 & Stalls AA16	TS/ET 19-10-79 P36	£4.37 average (£4.00/£4.75)
122	Mon 3/12/79	Joe Jackson Band	MAM	Stalls M36	TS/ET 09-11-79 P35	£2.35 average (£2.20/£2.50)
123	Tue 4/12/79	The Damned	Outlaw	Stalls RR29 & Stalls L30	TS/ET 09-11-79 P35	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
124	Sat 8/12/79	The Jam	MCP	Stalls R35 & Circle D10 & Stalls EE13	TS/ET 05-10-79 P35	£2.75 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)

Appendix 6K: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1980

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1980)

	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Thu 10/1/80	The New Alex Harvey Band	MAM	Stalls RR13	TS/ET 14-12-79 P34	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
2	Mon 14/1/80	UFO	MCP	Stalls H31 & Stalls GG09	A/TS	£3.50 average
3	Thu 17/1/80	KC & The Sunshine Band			MM 19-01-80 P26	
4	Mon 21/1/80	The Clash	Straight Music	Stalls Z10	TS/RL (1995, p.90)	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
5	Tue 22/1/80	The Clash	Straight Music	Circle O34 & Stalls N13	TS/ET 28-12-79 P21	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
6	Sat 26/1/80	Wishbone Ash	Outlaw Artists and John Sherry	Stalls M13	TS/ET 14-12-79 P34	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
7	Mon 28/1/80	The Ramones	Straight Music	Stalls Z09	TS/ET 14-12-79 P34	£2.93 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
8	Mon 4/2/80	Robin Trower	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls AA13	TS/ET 23-11-79 P36	£3.25 average (£2.75/£3.25/£3.75)
9	Tue 5/2/80	Uriah Heep	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle B25	TS/ET 14-12-79 P34	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
10	Mon 11/2/80	Madness	Straight Music	Circle H27	TS/ET 18-01-80 P31	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
11	Sun 24/2/80	The Tourists	MCP	Circle E11	TS/ET 11-01-80 P30	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
12	Fri 29/2/80	Peter Gabriel	Jo Chester for Gail Force	Stalls KK45 & Circle N26	TS/ET 14-12-79 P34	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.50)
13	Tue 4/3/80	Gillan		Stalls H30	TS /ET 18-01-80 P31	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
14	Sat 8/3/80	Nazareth	MCP	Circle 42D	TS/NME 08-03-80 P45	£3.00 average (£2.75/£3.25)
15	Sat 22/3/80	Judas Priest	MCP	Circle K05	TS/ET 02-11-79 P36	£3.00 average (£2.25/£2.75/£3.25/£3.75)

16	Sun 23/3/80	Sad Café	Kennedy Street Enterprises		NME 22-03-80 P48/ET 08-02-80 p30	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
17	Wed 26/3/80	James Last			MM 22-03-80 P32/ET 03-08-79 P31	£7.30 average (£5.50/£7.50/£9.00)
18	Thu 27/3/80	James Last			ET 03-08-79 P31	£7.30 average (£5.50/£7.50/£9.00)
19	Fri 28/3/80	Rose Royce			ET 22-02-80 P32	£3.50 average (£2.50/£3.50/£4.50)
20	Sat 29/3/80	Andrae Crouch and the Disciples			NME 29-03-80 P39/ET 25-01-80 P34	£3.50 average (£3.00/£4.00)
21	Sun 30/3/80	Stiff Little Fingers	MCP	Circle K03 & Stalls J11	TS/ET 25-01-80 P34	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
22	Mon 31/3/80	Pat Travers	MCP	Stalls W41	TS/ET 01-02-80 P35	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
23	Wed 2/4/80	Blood, Sweat and Tears	Jeffrey S Krueger		NME 29-03-80 P40/ET 01-02-80 P35	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
24	Thu 3/4/80	Jack Jones	Paul Gregg for Apollo Concerts		NME 05-04-80 P43/ET 22-02-80 P32	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
25	Sat 5/4/80	Gerry Rafferty			NME 05-04-80 P43/ET 08-02-80 p30	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.50)
26	Tue 8/4/80	Jethro Tull		Upper Circle G08	TS/ET 22-02-80 P32	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
27	Fri 11/4/80	Sammy Hagar	Straight Music	Stalls M25 & Circle L06	TS/ET 01-02-80 P35	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
28	Mon 14/4/80	BA Robertson			NME 12-04-80 P41/MM 12-04-80 P4	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
29	Tue 15/4/80	The Osmonds	Paul Stockridge with Malcolm Feld Management		NME 12-04-80 P42/ET 14-03-80 P34	£6.50 average (£5.50/£6.50/£7.50)
30	Sat 19/4/80	Def Leppard	MCP	Box E08	TS/ET 14-03-80 P34	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
31	Wed 23/4/80	Judi Tzuke	Andrew Miller & Noel D'Abo		NME 19-04-80 P44/ET 07-03-80 P32	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
32	Thu 24/4/80	Dr. Hook	Kennedy Street Enterprise		NME 26-04-80 P47/ET 08-02-80 p30	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
33	Sat 26/4/80	Nicky Cruz			ET 11-04-80 P29	(£1.00 average assumed)

34	Sun 27/4/80	Genesis	Jo Chester & Tony Smith for Hit and Run Music	Circle K37	A/TS	£4.00 average
35	Mon 28/4/80	Genesis	Jo Chester & Tony Smith for Hit and Run Music	Circle R22	A/TS	£4.00 average
36	Mon 5/5/80	Thin Lizzy	Adrian Hopkins	Circle W17 & Stalls V27	TS/ET 14-03-80 P34	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
37	Tue 6/5/80	Thin Lizzy	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls U14	TS/ET 04-04-80 P27	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
38	Fri 9/5/80	Eric Clapton and his Band	Harvey Goldsmith	Circle U22	TS/ET 09-05-80 P32	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
39	Mon 12/5/80	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises		ET 07-03-80 P32	£4.00 average (£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
40	Tue 13/5/80	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls N42	ET 07-03-80 P32/ET 07-03-80 P32	£4.00 average (£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
41	Wed 14/5/80	Black Sabbath	Straight Music	Stalls J36	A/TS	£3.50 average (£2.50/£4.50)
42	Thu 15/5/80	Black Sabbath	Straight Music	Stalls RR22	A/TS	£3.50 average (£2.50/£4.50)
43	Sat 17/5/80	The Scorpions	MCP	Stalls U35	TS/ET 25-04-80 P36	£3.50 average (£3.25/£3.75)
44	Mon 19/5/80	Mike Oldfield	Andrew Miller	Stalls U35	TS/ET 14-03-80 P34	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
45	Tue 20/5/80	Mike Oldfield	Andrew Miller		A/ET 14-03-80 P34	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
46	Thu 22/5/80	David Gates			NME 22-03-80 P5/ET 04-04-80 P27	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
47	Fri 23/5/80	Frankie Valli & the Four Seasons	Radio Clyde		ET 21-03-80 P32	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
48	Sat 24/5/80	Average White Band	Paul Loasby for Umbella Productions	Stalls T13 & Stalls CC23	TS/ET 22-02-80 P32	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
49	Sun 25/5/80	Johnny Mathis (1st show)			A/ET 02-11-79 P36	£6.33 average (£5.00/£6.00/£8.00)
50	Sun 25/5/80	Johnny Mathis (2nd show)			A/ET 02-11-79 P36	£6.33 average (£5.00/£6.00/£8.00)
51	Mon 26/5/80	David Essex	Mel Bush	Circle W16	TS/ET 11-04-80 P29	£3.25 average (£2.75/£3.75)

52	Sat 31/5/80	The Undertones	Regular Music	Upper Circle B09 & Upper Circle J32	TS/ET 04-04-80 P27	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
53	Sun 1/6/80	Devo	Straight Music	Stalls SS27 & Circle N34 & Stalls R26	TS/ET 09-05-80 P32	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
54	Tue 3/6/80	Saxon	Straight Music	Stalls J44	TS/ET 25-04-80 P36	£2.50 average (£2.00/£2.50/£3.00)
55	Fri 6/6/80	Joan Armatrading	Umbrella Productions		ET 21-03-80 P32/ET 23-05-80 p32	£4.00 average (£3.50/£3.75/£4.75)
56	Sat 7/6/80	Whitesnake	Barry Dickins and Rod McSween for LTB	Stalls K18 & Circle E20	TS/ET 21-03-80 P32	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
57	Tue 10/6/80	Rush	Straight Music	Circle G24	A/TS	£4.50 average
58	Wed 11/6/80	Rush	Straight Music	Stalls AA06	A/TS	£4.50 average
59	Fri 13/6/80	Iron Maiden	MCP	Stalls W28	A/TS	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
60	Sat 14/6/80	Steve Hackett			MK (2009, p.174)/ET 11-04-80 P29	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
61	Wed 18/6/80	Van Halen	Umbrella Productions	Circle F39 & Stalls M40	TS/ET 04-04-80 P27	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
62	Thu 10/7/80	Bob Marley and the Wailers	Mike Carter for Alec Leslie Entertainments	Circle K37 & Stalls W11	TS/ET 16-05-80 P36	£4.50 average (£4.25/£4.75)
63	Fri 11/7/80	Bob Marley and the Wailers	Mike Carter for Alec Leslie Entertainments	Circle L25	TS/ET 16-05-80 P36	£4.50 average (£4.25/£4.75)
64	Fri 18/7/80	The Stranglers	Straight Music	Circle G4	TS/ET 11-07-80 P31	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
65	Mon 28/7/80	Roxy Music		Circle D44 & Stalls T37	A/TS	£5.00 average
66	Tue 29/7/80	Roxy Music		Stalls V37	A/TS	£5.00 average
67	Tue 5/8/80	Barbara Dickson			NME 02-08-80 P36	
68	Fri 12/9/80	Ozzy Osbourne	Panda Artistes with Adrian Hopkins	Box K2 & Stalls S23	TS/ET 05-09-80 P30	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
69	Thu 18/9/80	Secret Affair			NME 20-09-80 p45/ET 05-09-80 P30	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)

70	Fri 19/9/80	Rick Wakeman			NME 20-09-80 p45/ET 13-06-80 P36	£3.50 average (£3.25/£3.75)
71	Sat 20/9/80	The Tourists	MCP	Circle E21	TS/NME 20-09-80 P45	(£3.50 average assumed)
72	Sun 21/9/80	The Specials	Straight Music	Stalls N30	TS/ET 19-09-80 P28	(£3.00 average assumed)
73	Mon 22/9/80	Camel			ML (2009, p.174)	
74	Thu 25/9/80	Don McLean			NME 27-09-80 P45/ET 19-09-80 P28	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
75	Fri 26/9/80	Gary Numan	Kennedy Street Enterprises and MCP	Stalls OO13	TS/MM 27-09-80 P26	£3.26 average (£3.00/£3.25/£3.55)
76	Sun 28/9/80	Rory Gallagher	Straight Music	Stalls J33	TS/ET 05-09-80 P30	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
77	Thu 2/10/80	The Skids			NME 04-10-80 P45/ET 19-09-80 P28	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
78	Thu 9/10/80	The Scorpions	MCP and Paul Loasby	Stalls J25	TS/ET 26-09-80 P32	(£4.00 average assumed)
79	Thu 16/10/80	The Pretenders			NME 04-10-80 P19/ET 19-09-80 P28	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
80	Sun 19/10/80	The Shadows			NME 18-10-80 P50/ET 17-10-80 P32	£4.00 average (£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
81	Mon 20/10/80	UFO	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls GG44 & Stalls FF43 & Stalls G14	TS/ET 05-09-80 P30	£3.50 average (£3.25/£3.75)
82	Tue 21/10/80	Hawkwind	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls X40	TS/ET 17-10-80 P32	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
83	Fri 24/10/80	Gillan	Outlaw and Phil McIntyre	Stalls G19	TS/ET 30-05-80 P33	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
84	Sat 25/10/80	The Dooleys	BDA		NME 25-10-80 P47/ET 05-09-80 P30	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
85	Tue 28/10/80	Captain Beefheart & His Magic Band	Derek Block	Stalls P5	TS/ET 17-10-80 P32	£3.50 average (£3.25/£3.75)
86	Thu 30/10/80	The Jam	MCP	Upper Circle A6 & Upper Circle M32 & Stalls FF11	A/TS	£3.75 average (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
87	Fri 31/10/80	Elkie Brooks			NME 01-11-80 P47/ET 17-10-80 P32	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)

88	Sat 1/11/80	AC/DC	MCP	Stalls V28 & Circle G31 & Circle V10	A/TS	£4.50 average
89	Sun 2/11/80	AC/DC	MCP	Upper Circle E14 & Circle V10	A/TS	£4.50 average
90	Mon 3/11/80	Tangerine Dream	Adrian Hopkins with Andrew Graham-Stewart	Stalls R18	TS/ET 26-09-80 P32	£3.25 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
91	Tue 4/11/80	Motorhead	Straight Music	Stalls & Circle H18	TS/ET 24-10-80 P31	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
92	Thu 6/11/80	The Buzzcocks	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls U22	TS/ET 31-10-80 P35	£2.75 average (£2.50/£3.00)
93	Sat 8/11/80	Barbara Dickson			NME 08-11-80 P39/ET 05-09-80 P30	£4.62 average (£4.25/£5.00)
94	Mon 10/11/80	OMD	MCP	Upper Circle MM22 & Stalls MM42	TS/ET 24-10-80 P31	£3.00 average (£2.75/£3.00/£3.25)
95	Tue 11/11/80	Triumph	Straight Music	Stalls G22	TS/ET 24-10-80 P31	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
96	Sat 15/11/80	Battle of the Bands	Battle of the Bands Ltd		TS/ET 17-10-80 P32	£2.00 average
97	Wed 19/11/80	Chris De Burgh		Stalls R8	TS/ET 26-09-80 P32	£3.50 average (£3.00/£4.00)
98	Mon 24/11/80	Rod Stewart	Gaff Music		NME 22-11-80 P54/ET 14-11-80 P33	£7.00 average (£6.00/£7.00/£8.00)
99	Tue 25/11/80	Rod Stewart	Gaff Music	Upper Circle A40 & Circle Z41	TS/ET 14-11-80 P33	£7.00 average (£6.00/£7.00/£8.00)
100	Wed 26/11/80	Rod Stewart			NME 22-11-80 P54/ET 14-11-80 P33	£7.00 average (£6.00/£7.00/£8.00)
101	Thur 27/11/80	Yes	Harvey Goldsmith with Sun Artistes	Stalls U33	TS/ET 05-09-80 P30	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
102	Fri 28/11/80	Yes	Harvey Goldsmith with Sun Artistes	Stalls FF15	TS/ET 05-09-80 P30	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
103	Sat 29/11/80	Sad Café	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle G11	TS/ET 24-10-80 P31	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
104	Wed 3/12/80	Sky	Mel Bush	Upper Circle D29 & Stalls BB12	TS/ET 24-10-80 P31	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
105	Sat 6/12/80	Dire Straits	Outlaw with Damage Management	Circle F19 & Circle X37	TS/ET 24-10-80 P31	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)

106	Sun 7/12/80	The Damned	Derek Block	Stalls DD31	TS/ET 14-11-80 P33	£3.50 average (£3.25/£3.75)
107	Wed 10/12/80	Madness Christmas Show	Regular Music	Circle YY39	TS/ET 31-10-80 P35	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
108	Sat 13/12/80	Jon Anderson and the New Life Band	MCP	Stalls X45	TS/ET 21-11-80 P34	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
109	Sun 14/12/80	Saxon	MCP	Stalls M36	TS/ET 31-10-80 P35	(£3.25 average assumed)
		ROCK	50	46%	AVERAGE COST	£3.80
		HEAVY METAL	18	17%		
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	12	11%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£16.80
		PUNK/NEW WAVE	11	10%		
		POP	8	7%		
		REGGAE/SKA	5	5%		
		SOUL/DANCE	3	3%		
		FOLK	2	2%		
		TOTAL	109			

Appendix 6L: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1981

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1981)

	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Tue 13/1/81	The Boomtown Rats	Straight Music	Stalls OO36 & Circle T12	TS/ET 12-12-80 P30	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
2	Fri 23/1/81	Slade	MCP	Stalls FF21 & Circle F7	TS/ET 12-12-80 P30	£3.12 average (£3.00/£3.25)
3	Sat 7/2/81	Emmylou Harris			NME 07-02-81 P37/ET 12-12-80 P30	£3.50 average (£3.00/£4.00)
4	Sat 14/2/81	The Who	Harvey Goldsmith with Trinifold Ltd	Box K & Stalls P29 & Circle R2	TS/ET 05-12-80 P31	£5.00 average
5	Sun 15/2/81	The Who	Harvey Goldsmith with Trinifold Ltd	Upper Circle F23 & Stalls J17	TS/ET 05-12-80 P31	£5.00 average
6	Wed 18/2/81	Camel	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls T24	TS/ET 05-12-80 P31	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
7	Sat 21/2/81	Krokus	MCP	Stalls G16 & Stalls P2	TS/ET 09-01-81 P29	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
8	Wed 25/2/81	The Stranglers	Regular Music	Stalls GG19	TS/ET 09-01-81 P29	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
9	Wed 4/3/81	Gamma	Straight Music	Stalls G21	TS/NME 28-02-81 P40	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
10	Sun 8/3/81	Iron Maiden	MCP	Stalls FF45	TS/ET 09-01-81 P29	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
11	Tues 10/3/81	Elvis Costello & the Attractions	Paul King & Paul Loasby with Regular Music	Circle E19	TS/ET 06-03-81 P26	£2.87 average (£2.75/£3.00)
12	Sat 14/3/81	Judas Priest		Stalls H31	A/TS	(£4.00 average assumed)
13	Wed 18/3/81	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Stalls L9	A/TS	£5.50 average (£5.00/£6.00)
14	Thu 19/3/81	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Stalls X18 & Upper Circle F44	A/TS	£5.50 average (£5.00/£6.00)
15	Fri 20/3/81	The Sweet			A/MM 21-03-81 P33	

16	Tue 24/3/81	Adam &The Ants	TBA International	Circle R4 & Stalls KK45	A/TS	£3.50 average
17	Fri 27/3/81	Charley Pride			NME 28-03-81 P35/ET 06-03-81 P26	£5.50 average (£5.00/£6.00)
18	Mon 30/3/81	Steeleye Span	Adrian Hokins		NME 28-03-81 P36/ET 27-02-81 P29	£3.50 average (£3.25/£3.75)
19	Sat 11/4/81	Leo Sayer			NME 11-04-81 P39/ET 12-12-80 P30	£5.50 average (£5.00/£6.00)
20	Mon 20/4/81	Neil Sedaka	Derek Block	Circle E2	TS/ET 09-01-81 P29	£6.00 average (£5.50/£6.50)
21	Wed 22/4/81	Girlschool	Straight Music	Stalls GG32	A/TS	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
22	Sat 25/4/81	The Undertones	Regular Music	Stalls M8	A/TS	(£3.50 average assumed)
23	Sat 2/5/81	Tygers of Pang Tang			NME 02-05-81 P40	
24	Sat 9/5/81	Hazel O'Connor			A/NME 09-05-81 P45	
25	Thu 14/5/81	The Kinks	MCP	Stalls W17 & Circle G9	TS/NME 16-05-81 P43	£2.70 average (£1.65/£3.75)
26	Sat 16/5/81	Gordon Lightfoot	Andrew Miller Promotions Ltd	Stalls P33	TS/ET 06-03-81 P26	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
27	Thu 21/5/81	Whitesnake	Barry Dickins & Rod McSween for ITB	Upper Circle B8 & Circle W6	A/TS	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
28	Fri 22/5/81	Whitesnake	Barry Dickins & Rod McSween for ITB	Stalls G34	TS/ET 06-03-81 P26	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
29	Sun 24/5/81	Stiff Little Fingers	MCP	Stalls LL37	TS /ET 22-05-81 P30	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
30	Fri 29/5/81	Wishbone Ash	Outlaw	Stalls N11	TS/ET 13-03-81 P33	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
31	Sat 30/5/81	Toyah	MCP	Stalls O9	TS/NME 30-05-81 P42	£3.00 average (£2.50/£3.00/£3.50)
32	Sun 31/5/81	Rita Coolidge	MAM	Circle A35	TS/ET 22-05-81 P30	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
33	Thu 4/6/81	The Moody Blues	Apollo Concerts with MAM	Circle YY22	A/TS	(£5.00 average assumed)

34	Wed 10/6/81	UB40	Regular Music	Stalls K33	TS/NME 30-05-81 P25	(£3.50 average assumed)
35	Tue 16/6/81	Kraftwerk	Straight Music	Stalls H21	TS/ET 05-06-81 P33	£3.50 average (£3.00/£4.00)
36	Wed 12/8/81	Siouxsie & the Banshees	Derek Block with Dave Woods	Circle B29	TS/ET 24-07-81 P23	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
37	Sat 19/9/81	Simple Minds	Kiltiorch and Regular Music	Stalls I31	TS/ET 11-09-81 P29	£3.08 average (£2.75/£3.00/£3.50)
38	Sun 20/9/81	Nazareth	Regular Music	Stalls AA31	TS/ET 24-07-81 P23	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
39	Fri 25/9/81	Ultravox	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle H30	TS/ET 24-07-81 P23	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
40	Tue 29/9/81	Sad Café			NME 26-09-81 P46/ET 24-07-81 P23	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
41	Sat 3/10/81	Europe's First Disco Concert feat. Mr Superbad			MM 15-08-81 P3/ET 14-08-81 P28	£1.83 average (£1.25/£1.75/£2.50)
42	Tue 6/10/81	Sheena Easton	Outlaw	Circle X36	TS/ET 24-07-81 P23	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
43	Wed 7/10/81	The Clash	Straight Music	Stalls H16	TS/ET 18-09-81 P27	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
44	Thu 8/10/81	The Clash	Straight Music	Circle YY39 & Stalls K41 & Circle YY25	TS/ET 18-09-81 P27	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
45	Fri 9/10/81	Hawkwind	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls CC32 & Stalls N4	TS/ET 24-07-81 P23	£3.50 average (£3.25/£3.75)
46	Sat 10/10/81	Madness	Regular Music	Circle O18	TS/ET 11-09-81 P29	£3.50 average (£3.00/£4.00)
47	Sun 18/10/81	Saxon	MCP	Stalls J21	TS/ET 11-09-81 P29	£3.80 average (£3.60/£4.00)
48	Tue 20/10/81	Dr Hook			NME 17-10-81 P53/ET 11-09-81 P29	£5.50 average (£5.00/£6.00)
49	Wed 21/10/81	Dr Hook			NME 17-10-81 P53/ET 11-09-81 P29	£5.50 average (£5.00/£6.00)
50	Tues 27/10/81	Tangerine Dream	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls O45	TS/ET 11-09-81 P29	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
51	Mon 2/11/81	Cliff Richard			NME 31-10-81 P44/ET 05-06-81 P33	£5.50 average (£4.50/£5.50/£6.50)

52	Tue 3/11/81	Cliff Richard			NME 31-10-81 P44/ET 05-06-81 P33	£5.50 average (£4.50/£5.50/£6.50)
53	Wed 4/11/81	Cliff Richard			NME 31-10-81 P44/ET 05-06-81 P33	£5.50 average (£4.50/£5.50/£6.50)
54	Sun 8/11/81	Chris De Burgh			NME 07-11-81 P44/ET 14-08-81 P28	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.00/£4.50)
55	Tue 10/11/81	Gillan	Outlaw and Phil McIntyre	Stalls P3	TS/ET 11-09-81 P29	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
56	Wed 11/11/81	Orchestral Manouvers in the Dark	MCP	Stalls N34	TS/ET 11-09-81 P29	£3.50 average (£3.25/£3.50/£3.75)
57	Sat 14/11/81	Rick Wakeman	Outlaw with Phil McIntyre		NME 14-11-81 P45/ET 11-09-81 P29	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
58	Sun 15/11/81	Judas Priest	MCP	Circle G37	TS/ET 11-09-81 P29	£3.50 (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
59	Thu 19/11/81	Billie Jo Spiers			ET 23-10-81 P30	£4.00 average (£3.00/£4.00/£5.00)
60	Fri 20/11/81	The Human League	Regular Music	Circle X43 & Stalls R5	TS/ET 23-10-81 P30	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
61	Sat 21/11/81	Shakin' Stevens			NME 21-11-81 P50/ET 31-07-81 P24	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
62	Mon 23/11/81	The Stranglers	Regular Music	Stalls K20	TS/NME 21-11-81 P50	(£3.50 average assumed)
63	Wed 25/11/81	Glen Campbell			A/NME 21-11-81 P50	£6.00 average (£4.50/£6.00/£7.50)
64	Sat 28/11/81	The Pretenders	Regular Music	Stalls R9 & Circle O41	TS/NME 28-11-81 P48	£3.50 average
65	Fri 4/12/81	Joan Armatrading			NME 05-12-81 P43/ET 11-09-81 P29	£4.50 average (£4.00/£4.50/£5.00)
66	Sat 5/12/81	Ozzy Osbourne			NME 05-12-81 P44/ET 24-07-81 P23	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
67	Sun 6/12/81	Thin Lizzy (re-scheduled from 31/10/81)	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls N18	TS/ET 140881 P28/ET 18-09-81 P27	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
68	Wed 9/12/81	Hot Gossip			NME 05-12-81 P44	
69	Thu 10/12/81	Echo and the Bunnymen	Outlaw and Kiltorch	Circle E5	TS/ET 18-09-81 P27	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)

70	Sat 19/12/81	Toyah	MCP	Stalls U22 & Circle G24	TS/ET 23-10-81 P30	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
		ROCK	22	31%	AVERAGE COST	£3.95
		POP	13	19%		
		HEAVY METAL	12	17%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£14.80
		PUNK/NEW WAVE	10	14%		
		COUNTRY & WESTERN	5	7%		
		FOLK	3	4%		
		SOUL/DANCE	2	3%		
		REGGAE/SKA	2	3%		
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	1	1%		
		TOTAL	70			

Appendix 6M: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1982

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1982)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Mon 11/1/82	Adam & the Ants	Straight Music with TBA International	Circle H43	A/TS/ET 271181 P34	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
2	Tue 12/1/82	Adam & the Ants	Straight Music with TBA International	Box G7	A/TS/ET 271181 P34	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
3	Wed 13/1/82	Adam & the Ants	Straight Music with TBA International	Upper Circle A11 & Stalls O34 & Circle B31	A/TS/ET 271181 P34	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
4	Thu 14/1/82	UFO	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls J19	A/TS/ET 271181 P34	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
5	Fri 22/1/82	UB40			A/NME 230182 P31/ET 051281 P31	£3.50 average (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
6	Thur 28/1/82	Sammy Hagar	MCP	Stalls L20	A/TS/ET 271181 P34	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
7	Thur 11/2/82	Gary Glitter	String Music	Stalls DD17	A/TS/ET 181281P26	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
8	Fri 19/2/82	Alice Cooper	Mick Cater	Circle L7 & Upper Circle O13	A/TS	£5.00 average (£4.00/£6.00)
9	Thu 25/2/82	10cc	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls M31	A/TS/ET 051281 P31	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
10	Sun 28/2/82	Gathering of the Clans	Regular Music	Stalls P26	A/TS/ ET 290182 P27	£3.00 average
11	Sun 14/3/82	Iron Maiden	MCP	Circle F27	A/TS/ET 051281 P31	£3.25 average (£2.75/£3.25/£3.75)
12	Thur 18/3/82	Motorhead	MCP	Stalls Y8 & Circle O29	A/TS	£4.50 average
13	Mon 26/3/82	Slade	MCP	Stalls EE8	A/TS/ET 260382 P28	£3.62 average (£3.50/£3.75)
14	Sun 4/4/82	Elkie Brooks			NME 030482 P38	
15	Mon 5/4/82	Sky			A/NME 030482 P38/ET 290182 P27	£4.50 average (£3.50/£4.50/£5.50)

16	Wed 7/4/82	The Jam	MCP	Stalls DD9	A/TS	£4.50 average
17	Thur 8/4/82	The Jam	MCP	Circle Y3 & Stalls N47	A/TS	£4.50 average
18	Fri 9/4/82	Blackfoot	MCP	Stalls J34 & Stalls K8	A/TS/ET 290182 P27	£3.50 average (£3.00/£3.50/£4.00)
19	Sun 18/4/82	The Boomtown Rats			Tour Poster/TS	
20	Fri 30/4/82	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Stalls S45 & Circle ZZ19 & Circle P42	A/TS	£6.50 average
21	Sat 1/5/82	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Stalls FF23	A/TS	£6.50 average
22	Tues 11/5/82	Rose Royce			NME 080582 P40	
23	Sat 22/5/82	Ry Cooder			A/NME 220582 P42	
24	Sun 23/5/82	Barbara Dickson			A/NME 220582 P42	
25	Thur 27/5/82	The Rolling Stones	Harvey Goldsmith	Stalls U31	A/TS	(£6.50 average assumed)
26	Fri 28/5/82	Rory Gallagher	Derek Block	Stalls W10 & Stalls J41	A/TS	£4.00 average
27	Tues 1/6/82	Squeeze			A/NME 290582 P44	
28	Sat 5/6/82	Girlschool	Kiltorch		A/TS	
29	Thur 8/7/82	Toyah	MCP	Stalls G23	A/TS	(£4.50 average assumed)
30	Mon 19/7/82	The Steve Miller Band	Apollo Concerts	Stalls LL20	A/TS	(£5.50 average assumed)
31	Mon 2/8/82	The Average White Band			A/ET 020882	
32	Fri 10/9/82	Hot Chocolate	TBA International		A/NME 110982 P41/ET 130882 P24	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
33	Wed 15/9/82	UB40	Derek Block with Regular Music		NME 210882 P9/ET 270882 P28	(£4.00 average assumed)

34	Sat 18/9/82	Saxon	MCP	Stalls N38	A/TS/ET 170982 P30	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
35	Thur 30/9/82	Roxy Music	Levi's	Stalls CC13	Roxyrama Website/A/TS	(£7.50 average assumed)
36	Mon 4/10/82	Shakin' Stevens			A/NME 021082 P42/ET 270882 P28	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
37	Fri 8/10/82	AC/DC	MCP	Stalls P10	A/TS	£5.25 average (£4.50/£6.00)
38	Sat 9/10/82	AC/DC	MCP	Circle F37 & Circle R42	A/TS	£5.25 average (£4.50/£6.00)
39	Sun 10/10/82	Kim Wilde	Mel Bush		NME 091082 P43/ET 100982 P26/ET 170982 P30	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
40	Mon 11/10/82	Neil Sedaka			A/NME 161082 P45/ET 270882 P28	£6.75 average (£6.00/£7.50)
41	Mon 18/10/82	Kid Creole & the Coconuts			A/NME 161082 P46/ET 270882 P28	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
42	Tue 19/10/82	Hawkwind	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls V36 & Stalls K18	A/TS/ET 270882 P28	£3.16 average (£2.50/£3.00/£4.00)
43	Wed 20/10/82	The Four Tops			ET081082 p29	£6.00 average (£5.50/£6.50)
44	Sun 24/10/82	Japan			A	(£6.00 average assumed)
45	Mon 25/10/82	Japan	Maxell with PLP and Marshall Arts	Stalls MM43	A/TS	(£6.00 average assumed)
46	Thur 28/10/82	Stiff Little Fingers	MCP	Stalls GG32	A/TS/ET 100982 P26	(£4.00 average assumed)
47	Fri 29/10/82	Tangerine Dream	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls BB30 & Stalls 028	A/TS/ET 221082 P29	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
48	Sat 30/10/82	Diamond Head	MCP		A/NME 301082 P46/ET 100982 P26/ET 291082 P29	£3.50 average
49	Sun 31/10/82	Duran Duran (1st show)	Regular Music	Circle V42 & Stalls X23	A/TS/ET 240982 P24	£4.50 average
50	Sun 31/10/82	Duran Duran (2nd show)	Regular Music		A/TS/ET 240982 P24	£4.50 average
51	Mon 1/11/82	Adam Ant	Barry Dickins and Rod Matheson for ITB	Stalls AA38	A/TS/ET 221082 P29	(£5.00 average assumed)

52	Thurs 4/11/82	Chris De Burgh	Andrew Miller Concerts with Mismanagement Inc.	Stalls CC46	A/TS/ET 100982 P26/ET 291082 P29	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
53	Fri 5/11/82	ABC	ITB		A/NME 061182 P37/ET 100982 P26/ET 170982 P30	£5.00 average
54	Sat 6/11/82	Gillan	Outlaw and Phil McIntyre	Stalls T25 & Box E6	A/TS/ET 270882 P28	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
55	Sun 7/11/82	Elton John	Mel Bush and John Reid		A/NME 061182 P38/ET 100982 P26	£8.00 average (£7.50/£8.50)
56	Mon 8/11/82	Elton John	Mel Bush and John Reid	Stalls OO34 & Circle M32	A/TS/ET 100982 P26	£8.00 average (£7.50/£8.50)
57	Sat 13/11/82	Shalamar		Stalls JJ46	TS/NME 131182 P43	(£3.50 average assumed)
58	Mon 15/11/82	Siouxsie & the Banshees	Derek Block with Dave Woods	Stalls RR34 & Circle ZZ39	A/TS	£3.50 average
59	Fri 19/11/82	The Three Degrees	Derek Block		A/NME 201182 P39/ET 221082 P29	£5.50 average (£5.00/£6.00)
60	Mon 22/11/82	Dr Hook	Kennedy Street Enterprises Ltd		TS/Apollo DVD/ET 100982 P26	£6.00 average (£5.50/£6.50)
61	Tue 23/11/82	Dr Hook	Kennedy Street Enterprises Ltd		TS/ET 100982 P26	£6.00 average (£5.50/£6.50)
62	Wed 24/11/82	John Denver	MAM and Apollo Concerts		ET 291082 P29	£6.00 average (£4.50/£6.00/£7.50)
63	Thur 25/11/82	The Jam	MCP	Stalls FF25	A/TS	(£5.00 average assumed)
64	Sat 27/11/82	GBH			NME 271182 P40	
65	Thur 2/12/82	Michael Schenker Group	MCP	Stalls R6	A/TS	(£4.50 average assumed)
66	Fri 3/12/82	Cliff Richard Gospel Choir			NME 041282 P39	
67	Sun 5/12/82	Dire Straits	Outlaw and Damage Management	Circle V27	A/TS	(£6.50 average assumed)
68	Tue 7/12/82	Lindisfarne	Barry McKay for LMP	Stalls O29	A/TS/ET 151082 P29	£3.25 average (£3.00/£3.50)
69	Sat 18/12/82	The Irish Christmas Variety Show	Carousel Promotions		ET 261182 P35	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)

70	Sun 19/12/82	Ozzy Osbourne	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls EE25	A/TS	(£5.00 average assumed)
71	Mon 20/12/82	Whitesnake	Barry Dickens & Rod Macsween for ITB	Box K4 & Stalls Y15 & Stalls T28	A/TS/ET 261182 P35	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
72	Tue 21/12/82	Whitesnake	Barry Dickens & Rod Macsween for ITB	Circle ZZ8 & Stalls CC44	A/TS/ET 261182 P35	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
		ROCK	24	33%	AVERAGE COST	£4.61
		HEAVY METAL	14	19%		
		POP	13	17%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£15.44
		PUNK/NEW WAVE	8	12%		
		SOUL/DANCE	5	7%		
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	4	6%		
		REGGAE/SKA	2	3%		
		FOLK	2	3%		
		TOTAL	72			

Appendix 6N: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1983

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1983)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Wed 12/1/83	Ultravox	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Circle E15	TS/ET 07-01-83 P27	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
2	Sun 6/2/83	Stiff Little Fingers	MCP	Circle Y3	TS/ET 07-01-83 P27	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
3	Wed 9/2/83	The Stranglers	TBA International	Circle V11	TS/ET 07-01-83 P27	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
4	Fri 4/3/83	Bucks Fizz	Apollo		NME 05-03-83 P39/ET 07-01-83 P27	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
5	Tue 8/3/83	Madness			NME 05-03-83 P40/ET 07-01-83 P27	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
6	Sat 19/3/83	Thin Lizzy	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls G16	TS/ET 07-0-183 P27	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
7	Fri 1/4/83	UFO	Adrian Hopkins	Stalls TT13 & Stalls G27	TS/ET 07-01-83 P27	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
8	Wed 6/4/83	Elkie Brooks			NME 02-04-83 P34	
9	Thur 14/4/83	Joan Armatrading	Alec Leslie Entertainments Ltd	Stalls H28	TS/ET 07-01-83 P27	£5.12 average (£4.75/£5.50)
10	Sat 16/4/83	Leo Sayer			NME 16-04-83 P42/ET 07-01-83 P27	£6.00 average (£5.00/£6.00/£7.00)
11	Sat 23/4/83	Spandau Ballet	Markman Promo and Reformation	Stalls FF26 & Circle F17	A/TS	£4.50 average
12	Thu 28/4/83	Orchestral Manuoveres in the Dark	MCP	Circle O28	TS/ET 08-04-83 P29	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
13	Thu 12/5/83	Iron Maiden	MCP	Circle V24 & Stalls KK29	TS/ET 15-04-83 P27	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
14	Sat 21/5/83	Kajagoogoo	Regular Music		MM 26-02-83 P3/ET 01-04-83 P3I	
15	Wed 25/5/83	Dionne Warwick	MAM		NME 21-05-83 P40/ET 21-01-83 P29	£5.50 average (£4.50/£5.50/£6.50)

16	Sat 18/6/83	Motorhead	MCP	Circle F27 & Stalls Z12	A/TS	£5.00 average
17	Sun 3/7/83	Men At Work	MCP and PLP	Stalls G39	TS/ET 01-07-83 P34	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
18	Sat 3/9/83	Kid Creole & the Coconuts			NME 03-09-83/ET 02-09-83 P37	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
19	Mon 5/9/83	Barry Manilow	Kennedy Street Enterprises with Andrew Miller	Circle Y43	A/TS	(£12.50 average assumed)
20	Tue 6/9/83	Barry Manilow	Kennedy Street Enterprises with Andrew Miller	Circle Z2	A/TS	(£12.50 average assumed)
21	Mon 12/9/83	Peter Gabriel	Jo Chester	Stalls J37	A/TS	(£7.00 average assumed)
22	Sat 17/9/83	Tom Jones	Gordon Mills with MAM		ET 29-04-83 P29	£7.50 average (£4.50/£6.50/£8.50/£10.50)
23	Tue 20/9/83	Gary Numan	Rock City Promotions Ltd	Stalls N31 & Circle S04 & Circle P15	A/TS	£5.00 average
24	Wed 28/9/83	Meat Loaf	Kennedy Street Enterprises & Andrew Miller with ITB	Upper Circle K31	TS/ET 16-09-83 P31	£7.00 average (£6.50/£7.50)
25	Fri 7/10/83	Diamond Head	MCP	Stalls DD5	TS/ET 16-09-83 P31	£3.75 average (£3.50 adv/£4 doors)
26	Sun 9/10/83	UB40	Regular Music	Stalls EE43 & Stalls N30	A/TS	£4.00 average
27	Tue 11/10/83	Cliff Richard			NME 08-10-83 P42	
28	Wed 12/10/83	Cliff Richard			NME 08-10-83 P42/A	
29	Thu 13/10/83	Wham			NME 15-10-83 P37/A	
30	Thu 27/10/83	Kiss	Kennedy Street Enterprises & MCP with ITB	Upper Circle K16 & Stalls O29	TS/ET 07-10-83 P38	£5.50 average
31	Sat 29/10/83	Shakin' Stevens	Kennedy Street Street Enterprises Ltd	Stalls DD32	TS/ET 16-09-83 P31	£5.00 average (£4.50/£5.50)
32	Mon 31/10/83	The Michael Schenker Group	MCP	Stalls R13 & Stalls M27	TS/ET 16-09-83 P31	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
33	Tue 8/11/83	The Shadows			A/NME 05-11-83 P44	

34	Thu 10/11/83	Marvin Hagler vs. Roberto Duran			ET 28-10-83 P36	£11.25 average (£10.00/£12.50)
35	Sat 12/11/83	Dio	MCP and PLP	Stalls S14	TS/ET 16-09-83 P31	£3.87 average (£3.75/£4.00)
36	Wed 16/11/83	Public Image Ltd	Regular Music	Circle V24	TS/ET 14-10-83 P36	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
37	Sat 19/11/83	Ozzy Osbourne	MCP	Stalls L25	TS/ET 16-09-83 P31	£4.00 average
38	Tue 22/11/83	Robert Plant	MCP and Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments	Circle P31 £5	A/TS	(£5.00 average assumed)
39	Wed 23/11/83	The Eurythmics	Regular Music	Stalls GG35	TS/ET 28-10-83 P36	(£4.00 average assumed)
40	Thu 24/11/83	ZZ Top	ITB and MCP	Stalls AA41 & Circle D01	TS/ET 14-10-83 P36	£4.50 average (£4.00/£4.50/£5.00)
41	Fri 25/11/83	Hot Chocolate			NME 26-11-83 P35/ET 14-10-83 P36	£5.00 average (£4.50/£5.50)
42	Sat 26/11/83	Boxcar Willie			NME 26-11-83 P36/ET 30-09-83 P34	£5.50 average (£5.00/£6.00)
43	Sun 27/11/83	Y&T		Stall U12	TS/ET 16-09-83 P31	£3.75 average (£3.50 adv/£4 doors)
44	Sun 4/12/83	Imagination			NME 03-12-83 p39/ET 04-11-83 P29	£5.00 average
45	Sun 11/12/83	The Police	Guinness, Harvey Goldsmith and MCP	Upper Circle J02	A/TS	(£6.50 average assumed)
46	Tue 13/12/83	Judas Priest	MCP	Stalls BB27	TS/ET 30-09-83 P34	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
47	Thu 15/12/83	Culture Club			ET 07-10-83 P38	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
		POP	15	32%	AVERAGE COST	£4.94
		HEAVY METAL	10	21%		
		ROCK	7	15%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£15.23
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	5	11%		
		PUNK/NEW WAVE	5	11%		
		REGGAE/SKA	2	4%		
		SOUL/DANCE	2	4%		
		COUNTRY & WESTERN	1	2%		
		TOTAL	47			

Appendix 6O: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1984

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1984)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Thu 12/1/84	Magical Memories of the '60s Concert	Kensitas	Complimentary	TS	
2	Thu 19/1/84	The Pretenders	Regular Music	Stalls N26	TS/ET 13-01-84 P32	(£4.00 average assumed)
3	Fri 27/1/84	The Scorpions	MCP	Stalls J02	TS/ET 13-01-84 P32	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
4	Sat 11/2/84	Saxon	MCP	Stalls PP22	TS/ET 130184 P32	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
5	Tue 14/2/84	Gary Moore	MCP	Stalls U39 & Stalls X35	TS/ET 04-11-83 P29	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
6	Fri 17/2/84	Marillion	MCP	Box K05	TS/ET 13-01-84 P32	£4.00 average (£3.50/£4.50)
7	Sat 18/2/84	Tina Turner	Regular Music & Marshall Arts		NME 21-01-84 P32/ET 03-02-84 P30	£5.50 average (£5.00/£5.50/£6.00)
8	Sun 26/2/84	Hawkwind	Kennedy Street Enterprises	Stalls M33 & Stalls L23	TS/ET 13-01-84 P32	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.50)
9	Thu 1/3/84	Whitesnake	Barry Dickins & Rod MacSween for ITB	Circle S23 & Stalls K41 & Stalls DD30	TS/ET 13-01-84 P32	£5.25 average (£5.00/£5.50)
10	Sat 10/3/84	The Thompson Twins			NME 10-03-84 P46/ET 13-01-84 P32	£6.00 average (£5.50/£6.50)
11	Tue 13/3/84	Charlie Pride			NME 10-03-84 P46/ET 13-01-84 P32	£6.00 average (£5.50/£6.50)
12	Sat 17/3/84	Dr Hook			NME 17-03-84 P39/ET 13-01-84 P32	£6.50 average (£6.00/£7.00)
13	Mon 19/3/84	Howard Jones	Regular Music	Circle B36	TS/ET 17-02-84 P30	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
14	Tue 20/3/84	The Style Council	MCP	Stalls L14	A/TS	(£5.00 average assumed)
15	Sun 1/4/84	Foster & Allen			ET 13-01-84 P32/ET 24-02-84 P32	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)

16	Fri 27/4/84	The Cure	MCP	Stalls DD11	A/TS	(£4.50 average assumed)
17	Fri 11/5/84	Bucks Fizz			NME 31-03-84 P31/A	
18	Wed 16/5/84	Ultravox	PLP	Circle H35	A/TS	(£6.00 average assumed)
19	Thu 17/5/84	Ultravox	PLP	Stalls U39	A/TS	(£6.00 average assumed)
20	Sat 26/5/84	OMD	MCP	Stalls CC18 & Stalls S22 & Stalls S23	TS/ET 24-02-84 P32	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
21	Mon 4/6/84	Leo Sayer			ET 24-02-84 P32	£6.50 average (£6.00/£7.00)
22	Tue 12/6/84	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Upper Circle N9 & Circle L36 & Stalls M46	A/TS	£7.00 average (£6.50/£7.50)
23	Wed 13/6/84	Status Quo	Quarry Productions	Stalls M12	A/TS	(£7.50 average assumed)
24	Sat 1/9/84	Jethro Tull	Cowbell	Stalls S05 & Stalls O24	TS/ ET 01-06-84 P38	£6.00 average (£5.00/£6.00/£7.00)
25	Sat 8/9/84	Scheme	Easter House (sic) Community Trust	Circle E33	TS / ET 07-09-84 P32	(£3.00 average assumed)
26	Tue 11/9/84	Iron Maiden	MCP with Fair Warning	Stalls AA32 & Upper Circle L17 & Circle S10	A/TS	£5.00 average (£4.50/£5.00/£5.50)
27	Sun 23/9/84	Dio	MCP with Niji Productions and ITB	Stalls O29 & Circle Z19	A/TS	£5.00 average
28	Fri 5/10/84	Kiss	Kennedy Street Enterprises & MCP	Upper Circle E24 & Stalls OO30 & Stalls V30	TS/ET 05-10-84 P33	£6.50 average (£6.00/£7.00)
29	Sun 7/10/84	Big Country	Regular Music	Circle K12	A/TS	(£5.00 average assumed)
30	Wed 10/10/84	Elkie Brooks			NME 04-08-84 P34/A	
31	Sat 13/10/84	James Last			NME 13-10-84 p43/ET 03-02-84 P30	£11.17 average (£8.50/£11.50/£13.50)
32	Sat 20/10/84	The Wolfe Tones			ET 19-10-84 p36	£4.50 average (£4.25/£4.75)
33	Fri 26/10/84	The Everley Brothers (1st show)	Derek Block	Stalls W28	TS/ET 08-06-84 P31	£7.00 average (£4.00/£6.00/£8.00/£10.00)

34	Fri 26/10/84	The Everley Brothers (2nd show)	Derek Block		TS/ET 08-06-84 P31	£7.00 average (£4.00/£6.00/£8.00/£10.00)
35	Sat 27/10/84	Man O' War	PLP	Stalls S3 & Stalls L15	A/TS/ET 261084 P36	£3.50 average
36	Tue 6/11/84	Alison Moyet			NME 29-09-84 P2/A	
37	Sun 11/11/84	Johnny Cash	Adrian Hopkins with Artist Consultants		NME 10-11-84 P40/ET 15-06-84 P31	£9.50 average (£8.50/£10.50)
38	Sat 29/11/84	Paul Young		Circle G1 & Circle J31	A/TS	£5.25 average (£4.50/£6.00)
39	Mon 3/12/84	Gary Numan	MCP and Kennedy Street Enterprises Ltd	Stalls T31	TS/ET 30-11-84 P36	£4.75 average (£4.50/£5.00)
40	Wed 5/12/84	Wham!			ET 30-11-84 P36	
41	Tue 11/12/84	Nik Kershaw			NME 13-10-84 P41/ET 30-11-84 P36	
42	Wed 19/12/84	Meat Loaf	Kennedy Street Enterprises & Andrew Miller	Stalls O24	A/TS	(£7.50 average assumed)
43	Thu 20/12/84	Howard Jones	Regular Music	Stalls LL26	A/TS	(£6.00 average assumed)
44	Fri 21/12/84	Big Country	Regular Music	Stalls HH10	A/TS	(£6.00 average assumed)
		ROCK	15	34%	AVERAGE COST	£5.65
		POP	12	27%		
		HEAVY METAL	6	14%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£16.66
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	4	9%		
		COUNTRY & WESTERN	3	7%		
		PUNK	2	5%		
		FOLK	1	2%		
		SOUL/DANCE	1	2%		
		TOTAL	44			

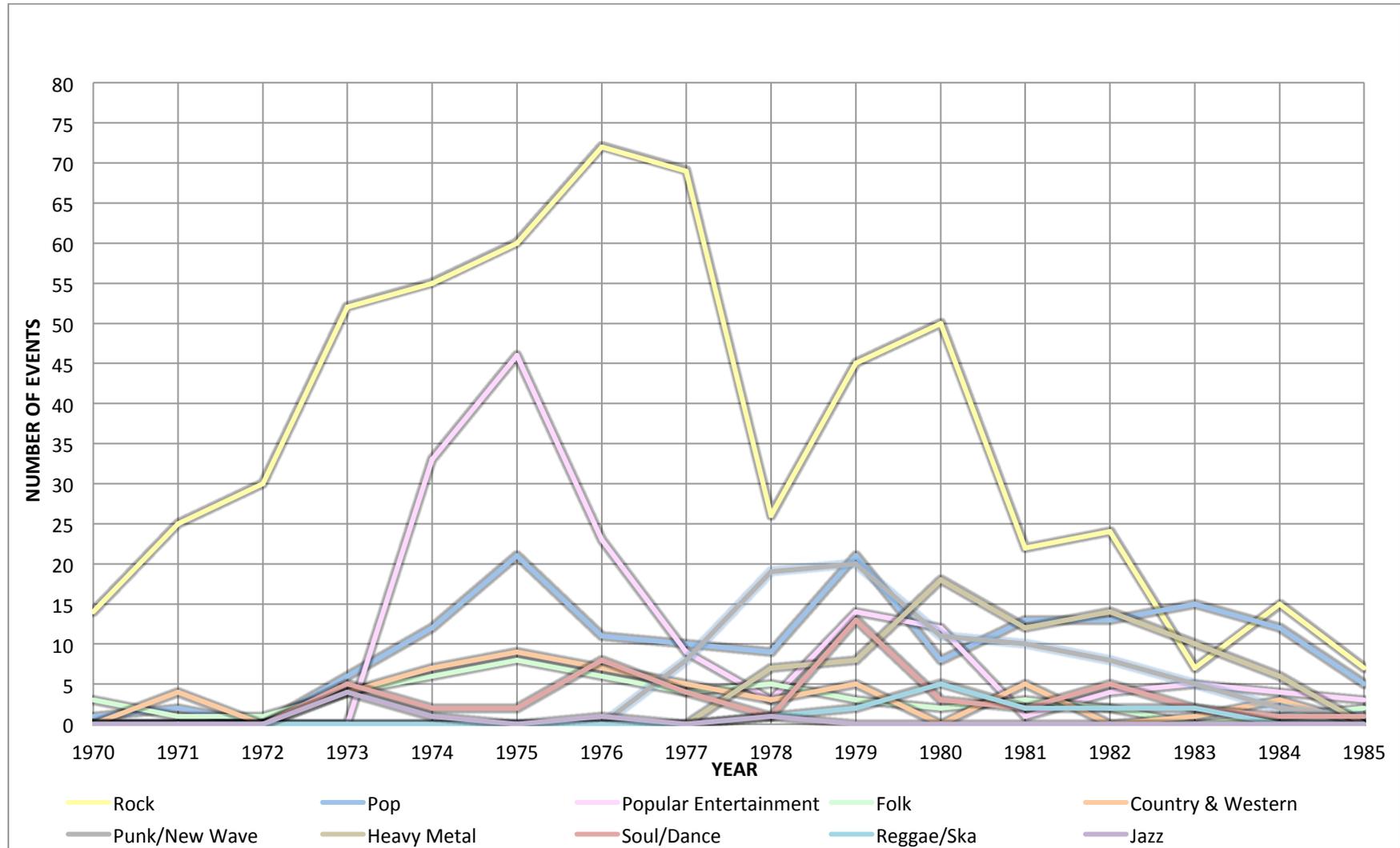
Appendix 6P: Concert Schedule, Glasgow Apollo 1985

GLASGOW APOLLO EVENT SCHEDULE (1985)						
	DATE	ARTIST	PROMOTER	TICKETS	CONFIRMATION	AVERAGE PRICE
1	Wed 13/2/85	Phil Collins	Jo Chester for Tony Smith and Hit and Run Music	Circle Y27	A/TS	(£7.50 average assumed)
2	Fri 15/2/85	The Stranglers	TBA International	Stalls TT14	A/TS	(£5 average assumed)
3	Thu 21/2/85	Joan Armatrading	ALE '83 Ltd	Stalls AA36	A/TS/ET 301184 P36	£7.00 average (£6.50/£7.50)
4	Fri 22/2/85	Meatloaf	Kennedy Street Enterprises & Andrew Miller	Circle Y40 & Circle P39	A/TS	£7.00 average (£6.50/£7.50)
5	Sat 9/3/85	Slade			A	
6	Wed 20/3/85	Frankie Goes To Hollywood	Phil McIntyre with Fair Warning	Upper Circle F8 & Circle F44	A/TS	£7.00 average (£6.50/£7.50)
7	Wed 27/3/85	Shakin' Stevens			A/ET 141284 P35	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
8	Sat 30/3/85	Foster & Allen			ET 010385 P32	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
9	Sun 7/4/85	Tears For Fears			A/TS/ET 010385 P32	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
10	Tue 16/4/85	Hagler vs. Hearns			ET 220385 P32	£13.75 average (£12.50/£15.00)
11	Wed 24/4/85	Sheila Walsh			ET 190485 P34	£4.50 average (£4.00/£5.00)
12	Thurs 25/4/85	King			A/NME 230285 P27/ET 010385 P32	£3.75 average (£3.50/£4.00)
13	Fri 26/4/85	Jerry Lee Lewis			A/ET 010385 P32	£6.50 average (£6.00/£6.50/£7.00)
14	Sun 28/4/85	Rick Wakeman			A/NME 270485 P34/ET 050485 P31	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)
15	Mon 6/5/85	Clancy Brothers			NME 040585 P38/ET 220385 P32	£5.00 average (£4.00/£5.00/£6.00)

16	Thu 16/5/85	Uriah Heep	Kennedy Street Enterprises Ltd	Stalls CC10 & Circle A44	A/TS/ET 220385 P32	£4.25 average (£4.00/£4.25)
17	Fri 24/5/85	Barbara Dickson			NME 250585 P51/ET 080385 P32	£6.00 average (£5.00/£6.00/£7.00)
18	Thur 6/6/85	Dr Hook			A/NME 3000385 P30/ET 050485 P31/ET 100585 P34	£7.00 average (£6.00/£7.00/£8.00)
19	Sun 16/6/85	Style Council	Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments with World Services	Stalls M26	A/TS/ET 100585 P34	(£5.50 average assumed)
		ROCK	7	37%	AVERAGE COST	£6.05
		POP	5	26%		
		POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT	3	16%	ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION (2014)	£16.99
		FOLK	2	11%		
		SOUL/DANCE	1	5%		
		PUNK/NEW WAVE	1	5%		
		TOTAL	19			

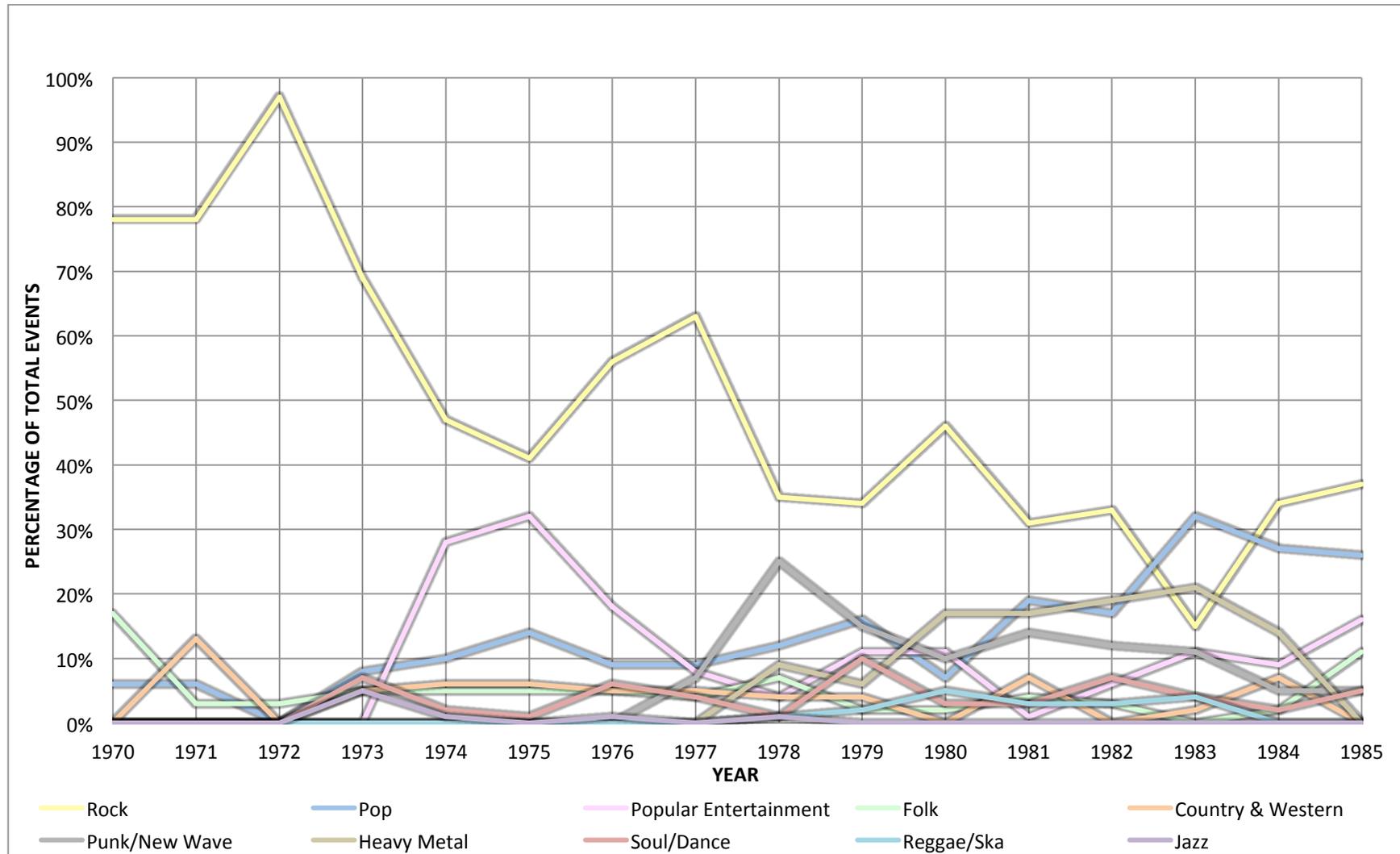
Appendix 7A

Genre Data (Integer)



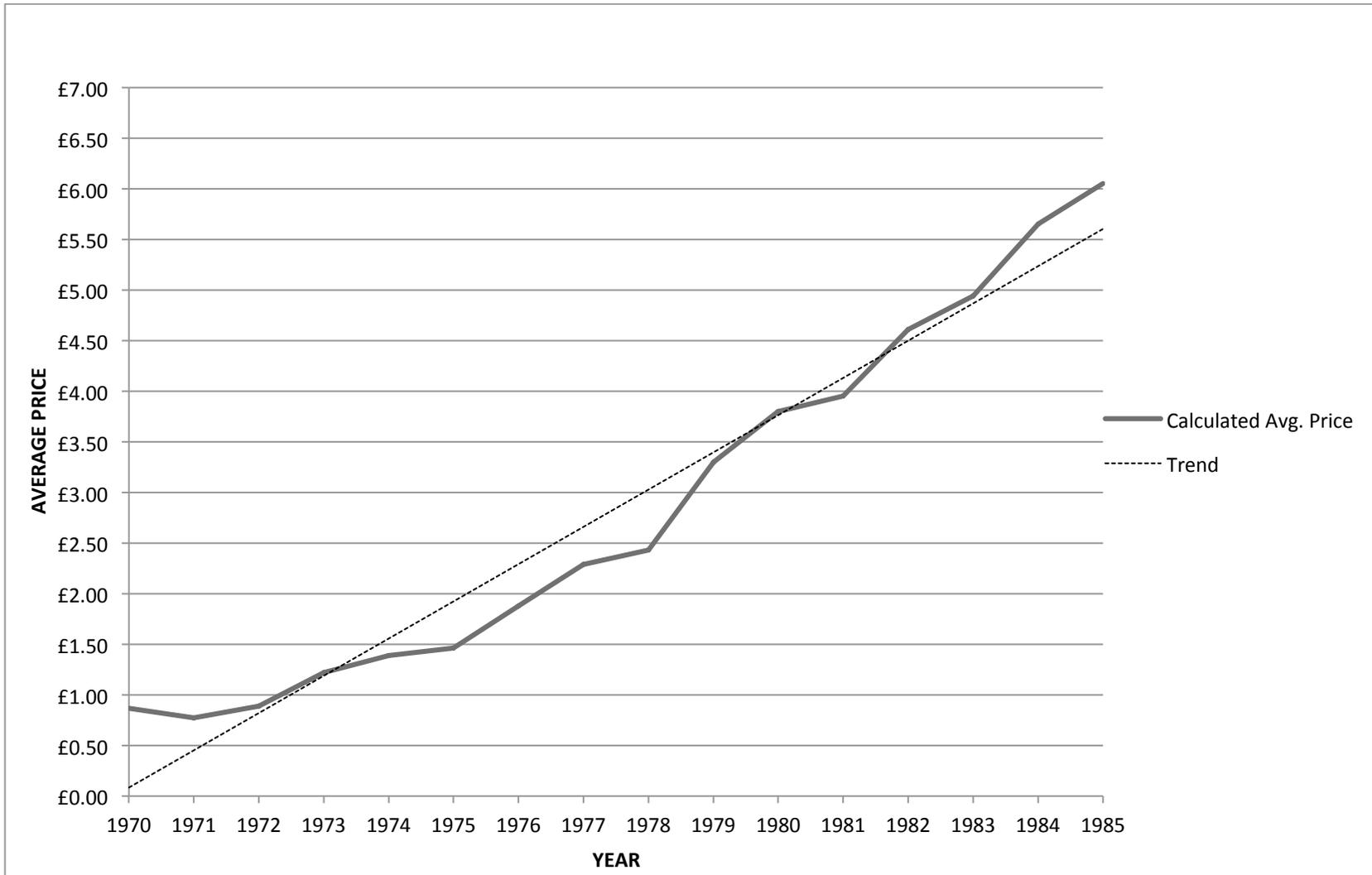
Appendix 7B

Genre Data (Percentage)



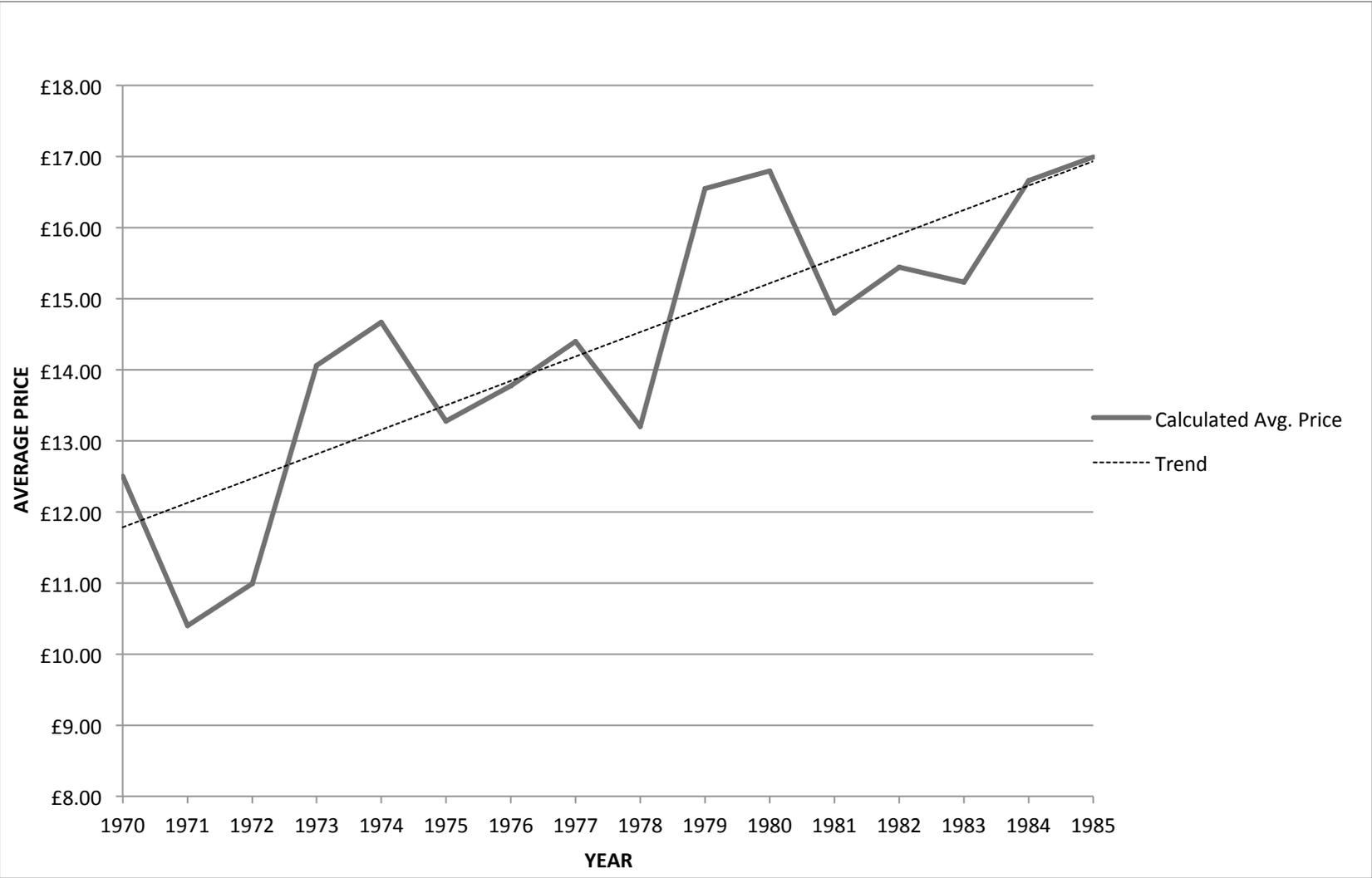
Appendix 8A

Average Ticket Price (1970-85)



Appendix 8B

Average Ticket Price (1970-85) (Adjusted For Inflation 2014)



Appendix Nine PhD Publications-Conference Papers

Conference Papers

Forbes, K. (2011A) 'Glasgow as a live music city: An analysis of the 'legendary' Apollo venue and its audience.' Conference Paper. *Business of Live Music*, University of Edinburgh, 2 April.

Forbes, K. (2011B) 'You Had To Be There': Memories of the Glasgow Apollo Audience.' Conference Paper. *Sites of Popular Music Symposium*, Institute of Popular Music, Liverpool, 9 September.

Forbes, K. (2012A) 'Rock, Space, Place: The Influence of Geomusicology and the Associated Values of the Rock Music Genre on the Glasgow Apollo Audience.' Conference Paper. *Royal Musical Association*, University of Hull. 7 January.

Forbes, K. (2012B) 'Why 1973? Towards an understanding of the 'legendary' status of the Glasgow Apollo.' Conference Paper. *Live Music Exchange*, Leeds. 4 May.

Forbes, K. (2012C) 'Rock This Place: Online memories of the Glasgow Apollo Audience.' *International Association for the Study of Popular Music (UK)* Conference, University of Salford. 6 September.

Forbes, K. (2013A) 'You Had To Be There': Memories of the Glasgow Apollo Audience.' Conference Paper. *POPID* Conference, Rotterdam. 31 January.

Forbes, K. (2013B) 'Bridging the gap between the analogue live experience and subsequent digital detachment: Towards an understanding of rock music heritage websites.' Conference Paper. *IASPM International* Conference, Oviedo, Spain. 27 June.

Publications

Forbes, K. (2012D) 'Glasgow as a live music city: an analysis of the 'legendary' Glasgow Apollo and its audience.' *Social Semiotics* 22 (5), pp. 605-621

Forbes, K. (2014) 'You Had to Be There' Memories of the Glasgow Apollo' in Cohen, S., Knifton, R., Leonard, M. and Roberts, L. (eds.) *Sites of Popular Music Heritage*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 143-159.

Forbes, K. (In Press) 'The Live Music Entrepreneur.' In: Dumbreck, A. and McPherson, G. (eds.) *The Music Industries Entrepreneur*. London, Bloomsbury Academic.

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